

'FROM LOCAL HERO TO NATIONAL STAR?'
THE CHANGING CULTURAL REPRESENTATION
OF THE PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALLER IN
ENGLAND, 1945 - 1985.

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ABSTRACT

'From Local Hero to National Star?' The Changing Cultural Representation of the Professional Footballer in England, 1945 - 1985.

This thesis investigates continuities and changes in the cultural representation of the professional footballer in England, modifying one of the major existing assumptions that there was a transformation in his public persona from 'local hero' to 'national star'. It does this by establishing the context and significance of the local player in both pre and post-war football through the analysis of empirical data, as well as proposing a non-linear model for the development of football stardom. Instead of the binary opposition of the local hero/national star trope, it argues that footballers' star images embody different male cultural types. Types are complex constructions, that mutate in relation to changes within football and in society.

The first two chapters analyse the results of statistical surveys of the geographical origins and careers of professionals between 1890 and 1985, concluding there was no 'golden age' when the local, 'one club' player dominated. Chapter Three examines the nature of football stardom, contending that players functioned as both stars and heroes from the earliest days of professionalism. It also adapts cross-disciplinary methodologies for using 'problematic' sources of evidence.

Chapters Four and Five analyse the three main 'types' through which cultural representations of the professional are formulated and circulated. Four discusses the hegemony of the 'model professional' type which emerged in 1946 as a democratised gentleman and national hero and persisted until 1985. Five considers oppositional types, the 'hard man' and the 'maverick', constructions of less acceptable masculinity that became prominent in the 1960s, suggesting a counter-cultural challenge, that was, however, short-lived.

The conclusion argues for a less linear, more reflexive paradigm for understanding cultural representations of post-war professional footballers and identifies possible future agendas for research.

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I have used several libraries and archives, too many to name here, but the greatest help in providing source material has come from the ranks of non-academic football enthusiasts. Tony Brown of the Association of Football Statisticians provided computer databases which were not then commercially available. Thomas Taw braved his attic to help a stranger who emailed him with a query about football in 1946. A number of booksellers were prepared to search their stock for autobiographies, magazines and Breedons. Such unsung enthusiasts have compiled a wealth of statistics which can be of immense value to academic football historians, if only they have the wit to use them.

During the course of my studies I became pregnant and gave birth to a long hoped for child, my son Sean, but also fell ill. I would like to thank the University of Central Lancashire for allowing me to suspend my studies while I recovered. My partner was highly supportive then, as he has been throughout the PhD, though the mention of Stanley Matthews now causes him to grit his teeth. Without him I would not have been able to complete this work. My final thanks are to my parents. Firstly, to my mother for providing me with an excellent education and the example of her indomitable spirit. Secondly, to my father for believing that girls should like watching sport, and talking constantly about Manchester United and cricket for the first eighteen years of my life.

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INTRODUCTION

'From Local Hero to National Star?' The Changing Cultural Representation of the Professional Footballer in England, 1945-1985.

In the last thirty years, the social history of sport has received, albeit sometimes grudgingly, recognition for its importance as an area for academic study. As the main organised leisure activity of British urban, working-class males from the 1900s onwards, association football has been acknowledged as having a major contribution to make in debates about the nature of working-class community and working-class identity, whether local, regional or national, and about changing ideas of masculinity.¹

Despite this, academic literature on the central figure of the game, the professional footballer, is sparse. John Bale (1982) and Wray Vamplew (1988) have both carried out very useful statistical analyses of the geographical origins of professional footballers, Vamplew concentrating on the Edwardian professional, Bale comparing 1950 with 1980.² These are both small scale studies and therefore their value is limited. No full-length academic historical study exploring the social history of professional footballers in England has been published. The first book which begins to fill the gap is John Harding's *Living to Play: From Soccer Slaves to Socceratti - A Social History of the Professional* (2003), a populist, but nonetheless extremely well-researched, study which surveys players' lives away from 'the playing arena', including chapters on coaching, physical culture and the private lives of professionals.³ Some academic histories of football, from James Walvin's *The People's Game* (1975) to

Dave Russell's *Football and the English: A Social History of Association Football in England, 1863 - 1995* (1997), and most recently Matthew Taylor's *The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football in England, 1900-1939* (2005) have valuable chapters on the player, though he is not the central focus.⁴ The social significance of individual football stars has been investigated through a small number of case studies by Richard Holt (1994 and 1997) and Tony Mason (1989 and 1996) *inter alia*.⁵ However, it is still the case that the academic history of professional football remains largely 'Hamlet without the Prince'.

A major theme of those studies which do exist is what Richard Giulianotti has described as the 'transformation' in the cultural status of the professional footballer in England during the twentieth century.⁶ However, although there is unanimous agreement that considerable change has taken place, the nature of that change, its timing and significance is the subject of much debate. The phrase which begins the title of this thesis summarises one of the most influential versions of the change in the public persona of the professional footballer, that at some point in the twentieth century he went from being a 'local hero' to a 'national star'. So influential has the idea of the authentic local hero been, that in some cases it has become accepted as fact. Michael Parkinson's biography of George Best offered a powerful populist description of this shift as early as 1975.

Once upon a time a professional soccer player was indistinguishable from the fan behind the goal. Indeed in many cases the fan earned more than the player. They were stars in shabby macs whom you could meet in billiard halls. Social and economic embourgeoisification has created a rupture between fan and star which has bred contempt on one side and self-loathing in the other.⁷

The persistence of this ideal of the authentic football hero is demonstrated in Ellis Cashmore's recent profile of David Beckham. This academic work, albeit written for a general audience, states,

Football up to the late twentieth century was a sport in which fans and players co-existed in the same small world. Players were often drawn from local talent, and they would stay with their club for their entire playing career. It would not be unusual for fans to know personally the players they watched and with who they would share a drink after the game.⁸

This is obviously a very broad generalisation, and not only are its overall conclusions contentious, but there is, as this introduction will demonstrate, a lack of clarity about what being a local hero or national star meant.

In 1979, Chas Critcher recognised that the methodologies developed in Cultural Studies for the analysis of the creation, nature, function and consumption of stardom and star image should be applied to explorations of the meanings and significances of sporting heroes.⁹ However, in 1994, Jeffrey Hill felt it necessary to repeat such an appeal, this time via a post-modernist approach to sports history, in his essay 'Reading the Stars', in which he argued that sporting heroes should be treated as texts if their full significance for their audiences and for history is to be understood.¹⁰ The coverage of football stardom remains unsatisfactory and patchy because it lacks the underpinning of systematic supporting empirical evidence about what sports geography has termed 'player production', the geographical origins, recruitment and careers of the professional in England. Existing analyses of football stardom also suffer from the lack of a coherent methodological approach.

In order to begin to rectify some of the empirical and methodological gaps this thesis will investigate continuities and changes in the cultural representation of the professional footballer in England, modifying one of the major existing assumptions that there was a transformation in his public persona from 'local hero' to 'national star'. In order to achieve this, it will pursue two major interconnected strands of enquiry. Firstly, it will seek to establish the context and importance of the local players in both pre and post-war football through the analysis of empirical data.

Secondly, it will propose a non-linear model for the development of football stardom. Drawing upon methodology taken from Cultural and Film Studies, in place of the binary opposition of the 'local hero'/'national star' trope, it will argue that footballers' star images embody different male cultural types. The period covered by the thesis, 1945 - 1985, has been chosen because it spans the decades when this change is most likely to have taken place, beginning with the period of adjustment post-war, and ending before the revival of the professional game in the 1990s.

However, a longer-term perspective is taken; the statistical surveys date from 1890 to 1985 to allow for comparison with the post-war period and thus to understand the wider significance of any changes. The pre-war antecedents of cultural representations of the player are also traced.

The geographical origins of professional footballers and their career patterns in the English League have received little attention, compared with aspects of the material conditions of the professional footballers' employment, such as wages, contracts and union activities.¹¹ Hence the quantitative section of the research focuses upon professionals' geographical origins, where they went to play football, the duration and length of their careers, as well as the number of clubs for which they played.

(i) Studies of The Professional Footballer

(ia) Empirical Research on the Geographical Origins of Players

Despite initial studies in the 1980s, there has been remarkably little work on what John Bale termed the 'geography of player production' in English professional football. The first study of this type, by Tony Gavin in 1979, considered only First Division elite professionals in England in the 1970 - 1971 season, 552 players in total. Gavin concluded that the important 'producer areas' in 1970 - 71 were in Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire and East London.¹² Bale carried out pioneering sports geography studies in the early 1980s of the geographical origins of professional footballers. Using two samples of professional players with English League clubs, one from 1950 and the other from 1980, he compared their birthplaces to identify changes in the areas of 'footballer production'. He concluded that certain areas, Scotland, the North East, the North-West and Yorkshire/Humberside, were 'soccer rich' in 1950, accounting for above average numbers of professional footballers. However, by 1980, the South-East had become the major regional centre of footballer production in the country, providing 20.6% of the total, whereas in 1950 it had ranked only fifth. Thus, though the area north of the Trent remained the largest producer, there had been a reduction in the contribution to the ranks of the professionals from football's traditional northern 'hotbeds', and a concomitant rise in the numbers of professionals born in Southern England.¹³

Wray Vamplew's 1988 economic analysis of professional mass spectator sport before the First World War, *Pay Up and Play the Game*, included

the initial results of a study by John Osborne of the geographical origins of Football and Southern League players for the year 1910. This suggested, in line with Bale's findings, that the north of England and Scotland were the main recruiting areas of the Football League, but additionally that the majority of players came from outside the region in which they played.¹⁴

These studies provide a highly suggestive and important starting point for a wider empirical study of the changing geographical origins of the professional, but also patterns of recruitment of local or non-local players. However, they remain isolated studies, limited in their use because of their modest scope. The extended statistical surveys on which the first part of this thesis is based will provide a chronological, overarching framework within which these earlier studies can be situated and understood, and which can form the basis for future work.

(ii) The Historiography of Studies of Representations of Professional Footballers

(iia) Representations of Local, Regional and National Identity

That footballers' images are not referential, but that they represent certain cultural types, was first proposed by Chas Critcher in 1979 in his 'Football Since the War: A Study in Social Change and Popular Culture'.¹⁵

Since then the majority of the studies of the representation of the professional footballer have focused on how certain individual footballers helped to fashion and reflect ideas of local, regional and national community. Tony Mason's studies of the professional, from his chapter about the first professionals in his *Association Football and English Society*

1863-1915 (1980) through to his essays on Stanley Matthews (1989) and the Edwardian players Steve Bloomer and Harold Fleming (1996) have situated the professional within the framework of the process of urbanisation from Victorian times onwards. Thus his 'local hero' functions as a representative of the town in which his club was situated and served as a focus around which civic identity and pride could be expressed. The local hero was 'essentially local', which Mason explained as requiring some geographical connection; 'largely bred if not born in [his] town.'¹⁶ Stanley Matthews, though identified closely with Stoke, represents for Mason the specific wider region of the Potteries of north Staffordshire, remaining 'very much a regional possession' despite his post-war elevation to the status of a 'national sporting figure'.¹⁷

Other historians have discussed the way in which a professional footballer could represent the virtues of a larger and sometimes less distinctly defined area. Gavin Mellor sees Tom Finney, Nat Lofthouse and Bryan Douglas as Lancastrian 'heroes', incarnating what were perceived to be the special qualities of Lancashire men, their localness defined by playing for clubs within their county of birth.¹⁸ Richard Holt included Dixie Dean, Tommy Lawton, Stanley Matthews, Nat Lofthouse, Tom Finney, Wilf Mannion, Raich Carter and Jackie Milburn within his 'Heroes of the North' in his 1996 essay.¹⁹ For Holt, the 'fictive' idea of the North constitutes a 'moveable feast' geographically, extending from the Scottish border as far as the Midlands on occasions, as it is often defined in contrast to the South.²⁰ In his separate study of Jackie Milburn, Holt characterised the Ashington-born (a north-east mining village) 'Wor Jackie' as a Geordie hero, representing the 'shared' version of the 1950s' North East created by the ship-building and mining industries.²¹ Fred Keenor, the uncompromising defender who played for Cardiff City

between the wars, was portrayed, as revealed in Martin Johnes's excellent study, as representing not only his home city of Cardiff, but also the South Wales valleys from which his club drew its support and the Welsh nation.²² The lives of Herbert Moorhouse's Scottish 'shooting stars' articulate certain 'tensions, themes and myths' about Scottish identity and masculinity.²³ Holt's study of Denis Law's place 'in the mythology of Scottish sport', emphasises how he became an emblem of a crude anti-English Scots nationalism.²⁴

Being born or bred in the area which he was deemed to represent, whether it be the town, county, region or country, is, according to these studies, a key aspect for which heroic status is conferred. There have been few studies of players who were not 'local' in terms of their geographical origins or upbringing, which has the unconscious effect of focusing on a very specific group of professionals, omitting representations of non-local born players who perhaps also functioned as 'heroes', but in a different fashion. This naturally applies particularly to the large number of Scottish players who made the trip over the border. There is also a tendency to overstate the 'localness' of players. Gavin Mellor's contention that 'even very good players were celebrated much more in their local regions during their playing careers than they ever were nationally', is certainly not the case for Tom Finney, who (as Chapter Four of this thesis argues) was a major national star from the early days of his post-war career.²⁵

Proximity of birth is, however, obviously not the only criterion. The above studies also argue that to be a local or regional hero required other qualities, some arising from the conditions of a player's employment and also his economic and social status, others arising from the character of

the individual concerned. Graham Kelly's introduction to his collection of biographical studies of ten players from the 1930s, *Terrace Heroes*, singles out an 'identifiable category of "terrace heroes" who achieved their status by demonstrating a sustained commitment to one club'.²⁶ Mason's local heroes Bloomer and Fleming exhibit loyalty through their attachment to one club for a long period of time. They are also largely represented as respectable, decent and steady individuals.²⁷ Stanley Matthews similarly remained, despite his eminence, a modest, retiring individual, 'the epitome of the ordinary bloke who became a star'.²⁸ Holt's 'heroes of the North' incarnate an 'archetypal' Northern masculinity, 'gritty, unadorned and indomitable' but tempered by their personae as 'big, open-hearted ordinary men' who comport themselves modestly, without bombast.²⁹

Nicholas Phelps, basing his conclusions on a study of the successful post-war Portsmouth teams, has argued against too close an identification of a gritty physical style of play and player with the North, warning that 'regional contrasts between the north and south, in terms of the qualities of football teams and individual players admired by supporters, may be exaggerated'.³⁰ Though this is does not negate the importance of what seems to have been a widespread popular belief in the north that northern teams and players could be more physical, competitive but also more honest, it is an important reminder that not only northern-born players could be represented as possessing these masculine attributes. Stressing the importance of decency, steadiness and reliability also fails to allow for the discussion of what Martin Johnes calls 'a different kind of hero to the best remembered players of the inter-war years'.³¹ Richard Holt, in his analysis of Northern heroes, terms Frank Barson, 'a hero of sorts'. The fearsome ex-blacksmith who had broken his nose four times in his career, was one of a number of hard

men who 'were never heroes in the sense of commanding wide admiration as athletes, but there was a side of Northern masculinity that admired anyone who "could do the business"'.³² In celebrating the 'local/regional hero' as the possessor of acceptable, consensual masculine qualities, those 'heroes' or 'anti-heroes', admired because of their oppositional attributes are in danger of being forgotten.

Others have argued that, even if 'local heroes' received substantial financial rewards from their football career, and, like Fred Keenor, lived in a large house in one of the better parts of Cardiff, there was a perception that to be a 'local hero' a player should have remained in some way part of the same community as their supporters, what Mellor refers to as a 'lack of perceived social difference'.³³ This 'lack of social difference' harks back to a very influential concept which underpins some discussions of the representation of the professional footballer. This sociological discourse aims to find evidence of embourgeoisification and thus, the social control of the working-class, in the rise and growth of professional football. Richard Holt has described this as a neo-Marxist hegemonic project where sport was part of a wider cultural process by which bourgeois values were disseminated.³⁴ Chas Critcher's theoretical model concerning the cultural representation of the professional footballer exemplifies this discourse, partly explaining the post-war transition of the professional in terms of embourgeoisification. The pre-war footballer who 'came from, and only moved marginally out of, the same economic and cultural background as those who paid to watch him', was characterised by the traditional/located type who represents and draws on the values of traditional, respectable working-class culture.³⁵ By the 1970s, he has been replaced by the superstar/dislocated type, as a consequence of 'the fracturing of the set of social and cultural

relationships by which the player's identity had previously been structured' which followed the New Deal.³⁶ Isolated from his working-class social and cultural milieu, the 'superstar' had lost both his identity and authenticity.

Critcher's model of transition functions as a morality tale. The professional's on-field behaviour and (in the case of George Best) his off-the field life degenerate as his cultural identity becomes more uncertain. Critcher's representation of the 'working-class hero' is redolent with the discourse of authenticity, whereas the dislocated superstar is a confused and wayward mercenary celebrity. The concern is to demonstrate that at some point a gap in the identification between player and spectator, based on their similar economic and social status, developed. Thus the player is not a 'star' but a repository and signifier of an authentic working-class cultural capital. Once he becomes a celebrity, that authenticity is lost. Critcher's typology was created in 1979 when professional football was deemed to be in a crisis which threatened its existence, beset by hooliganism, falling attendances and, in the perception of some commentators, stereotypical and negative play.

Stephen Wagg's *The Football World* (1984) presented a similar, though anti-Thatcherite, criticism of the personae of modern professional footballers who had espoused 'the values of advertising and public relations, and of a business world less constrained than in the early part of this century by notions of fairness and probity.'³⁷ Wagg's symbol of 'a football world saturated by commercialism' was Kevin Keegan, 'in cultural terms...English football's first clone - a persona consciously fashioned with a huge audience of consumers in mind.'³⁸ The preference for studies of 'local heroes', who can represent respectable working-class

communities in a 'golden age' of football is in part an echo of this tendency.

Critcher's identification of the 'New Deal', the ending of the maximum wage and the retain and transfer system which was achieved between 1961- 63, is also highly significant, as it provided an economic explanation as well as a chronology for the perceived change from local hero to national star/superstar. Tony Mason broadly agreed with the 1963 watershed and concluded his 'Our Stephen and Our Harold' article with the observation that his Edwardian heroes were part of a 'local, largely working-class football subculture' which was ended by 'the abolition of the maximum wage, the dramatic expansion of international football and the diffusion of television'.³⁹ Mellor, following Mason, adds other causal factors to the New Deal - increased television ownership, 'changes in national newspapers and, most importantly of all, the decline in local and regional identities'.⁴⁰ Richard Holt places the crucial shift in the 'heroic image of the Northern footballer' earlier in the late 1950s. The spread of television by this point brought the 'Busby Babes', Matt Busby's young Manchester United side, into the 'living rooms of the nation' and made them the first Northern team to have a following in the South. Duncan Edwards, according to Holt, 'already a national rather than a Northern Hero', had his status confirmed by his death in the 1958 air crash at Munich airport; Matt Busby and Bobby Charlton were 'sanctified in the public imagination' by their survival and struggle to rebuild their lives and careers.⁴¹

Though the spread of television and changes in the national newspapers undoubtedly brought the professional footballer into greater prominence and made national figures of far more professional footballers than

previously, I would argue that Mason and Mellor's estimation of the ways in which representations of professional footballers would be circulated prior to these two developments omits some important means by which football supporters at least could gain knowledge of certain professional footballers before the early sixties. Two new national football magazines were launched after the Second World War, *Soccer Star* and *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly* which achieved large circulations. Earlier, by 1939, 71% of all households possessed a radio and as early as 1931 the BBC was broadcasting over 100 games a season. Though coverage was restricted between 1931-1946 when the Football League banned broadcasts of its games because it feared that it was affecting attendances, international games and the showcase matches of the F. A. Cup were a major part of the BBC's schedule. The Pathé cinema newsreels appeared twice weekly and regularly featured F. A. Cup and international games. Cinema attendances peaked at in 1946, having risen sharply through the war, but, throughout the 1930s, cinema going has been described, in A. J. P. Taylor's famous phrase, 'as the essential social habit of the age', and it remained so into the 1950s.⁴²

Indeed, there is a counter argument which does not make such a clear division between the professional footballer as 'hero' and 'star', whether national or local. Vamplew, Wagg and Fishwick have all discussed how, from the late nineteenth century onwards, some prominent footballers were able to exploit their fame to raise extra income by promotional activities, endorsing goods and making personal appearances.⁴³ Dave Russell describes the professional footballer in the 1930s as plying his trade 'under a much brighter media spotlight' and contends that 'the game's leading performers adorned with the trappings of stardom that, while restrained when compared with developments in the late twentieth

century, were certainly on a different scale from what had gone before...regular exposure made a small number of individuals into "household names".⁴⁴ Developing these arguments, I will argue in this thesis for a less linear trajectory for the development of football stardom and propose a chronology for the emergence of national stars. Although recognising the importance of the representation of the local hero, and the role of local and regional characteristics in forming individual representations of particular footballers, I will also argue that representations of footballers are best understood as cultural types which can encompass issues of locality, regionality and nationality.

(iib) Representations of Professional Footballers as Cultural Types

Some aspects of Chas Critcher's typology of cultural identity for the professional footballer have already been discussed above. Critcher was not only the first to discuss the representation of professional footballers, but his typology has been one of only a few attempts at providing a coherent, overarching methodological framework by which changes and continuities in that representation can be understood. Critcher's typology is rooted in the underlying assumption that, professional football can be used as one index of tradition and change in working-class culture. Critcher begins with the traditional/located footballer, 'traditionally a kind of working-class folk hero', who represents and draws on the values of respectable working-class culture.⁴⁵ Stanley Matthews was the 'apotheosis' of this type, but it also included Lofthouse, Finney and Lawton. Duncan Edwards, though largely a player of the traditional style also incarnated 'elements of transition'.⁴⁶

This type can continue to exist after the 1961 New Deal, Critcher argues,

but with difficulty. The traditional/located type was largely replaced by the transitional/mobile type of footballer who benefited from the greater economic rewards available in early 1960s and explored the possibilities of his new freedom.⁴⁷ Bobby Charlton was 'the central figure of the transitional style'.⁴⁸ As the chosen few became wealthier and football found new respectability, players would seek to adopt a more middle-class lifestyle and become 'incorporated/embourgeoised', becoming like small businessmen.⁴⁹ This style is 'hardly laden with heroic qualities' and is 'truly anonymous'.⁵⁰ Alan Ball was the 'symptomatic' example.⁵¹ These players dominated football in the 1960s. Finally, some would be raised to the status of 'superstars' in the late 1960s and early 1970s, who, cut loose from the moorings of their working-class social and cultural group would lose their identities and authenticity, becoming the final type, superstars/dislocated. The central figure in the development of this style is George Best.⁵²

Critcher himself declared this model outmoded in 1991, and many of its problems have been discussed above.⁵³ However, the cultural type is, I would argue, essential to understanding the nature and function of the cultural representation of the professional footballer, but it must be seen as a more fluid and more complex formation than Critcher's neo-Marxist methodology could allow. More recently, Garry Whannel proposed his own range of types for British and American post-war sports stars, in which he included some British professional footballers.⁵⁴ Whannel's chief concern is to examine the functions of male sports stars as moral exemplars and how their representations in the media have become sites for the convergence of social anxieties about a perceived 'crisis in masculinity'.⁵⁵ His types, 'Good Boys', 'Pretty Boys' and 'Bad Boys' are historically specific, linked to the dominant themes in the media

representation of sports stars in particular decades, the 1950s, the 1960s and the 1970s and 1980s, but, I would argue that even though prominent footballers are used as exemplars, the categories are too broad as they are drawn to apply to all sports stars, and lack the necessary close contextualisation within professional football. Moreover, there is also, because of the concentration on moralities and 'crisis', a lack of consideration of continuities in these types, that representations of 'good boys', for example, might persist beyond the 1950s.

(iii) Methodology

This thesis will argue that the concept of cultural types is central to understanding the changes and continuities in the cultural representation of professional footballers, though it will offer a different model from those proposed by Critcher and Whannel. It will also contend that it is necessary to draw upon the methodologies developed in Film and Cultural Studies for the understanding of the development of football stars and stardom and its functions. However, any theoretical model must be underpinned by a detailed empirical examination of the actual prevalence of the local, more rooted, one club player and placed securely in the historical context of both the institutional development of professional football and wider social and cultural change. The approach will attempt to unite two often contradictory philosophies about the writing of football history, what Richard Holt dubbed the 'Grimsby' and 'Gramsci' tendencies.⁵⁶

(iiia) Cultural Types

Andrew Spicer's study of masculinity and male stars in post-war British

cinema provides a model for the understanding of star images through cultural types which, with certain modifications, can be applied to representations of the professional footballer.⁵⁷ Spicer's cultural types are more fluid and more complex formations than Critcher's socio-economic categories and Whannel's 'moral' types. Spicer employs Richard Dyer's distinction between stereotypes which are rigid and limited, and types, which are more fluid and open in their meaning, to identify a range of cultural types which male stars both embody and modify.⁵⁸ Some may be ancient archetypes with 'deep cultural roots' - the triad of the 'hero', the 'villain' and the 'fool' - or more recent types which have shallower roots. There are realistic types which point to social phenomena, like the 'maladjusted veteran', whose emergence excited much anxiety and social comment in the immediate post-war period,⁵⁹ or the 'angry young man' of the late 1950s which Spicer sees as 'highly contemporary figures who represented a specifically post-war generation'.⁶⁰ Other types may be closer to myth, such as the Byronic male, a powerfully subversive 'image of the forbidden' which enjoyed a revival in the Hammer vampire films of the 1950s onwards.⁶¹

I suggest that Spicer's model of cultural types be can used to understand and explain the representations of professional footballers, though his wide range of filmic types cannot be transposed wholesale. This thesis will argue that there are three main types that are specific to football players: the 'model professional', the 'hard man' and the 'maverick'. These have become part of the common parlance of the football journalist, as well as the supporter, and are used both to construct the star persona of the professional footballer, and allow supporters to identify with a particular player in a particular way. While the 'hard man' is particular to football, both the model professional and the maverick draw upon two

types which Spicer identifies as powerful cultural representations that emerged in the British films of the post-war period: the 'democratised gentleman' and the 'rebel male'. The 'model professional' emerges in the immediate post-war period as football's version of Spicer's working-class hero of the 'People's War' discourse, the 'ordinary man as hero'.⁶² The emergence of the football 'maverick' in the 1960s and early 1970s coincides with the appearance of similar rebellious or iconoclastic figures in British films (and elsewhere) 'whose dress, behaviour, conduct, attitudes and values...undermine masculine norms'.⁶³

Spicer has noted that there is a complex relationship between the individual film star's own personality and the role he plays, each modifying and shaping the other. This is a particularly important concept for the understanding of the function of footballing types as footballers are 'themselves' in the sense that they do not play fictional characters as film actors do. Where the characteristics of a type are matched by perceived aspects of the player's own personality this is a very powerful concurrence and these attributes will become particularly important. Where aspects of the player's behaviour or character diverge from the type and are 'submerged' or 'ignored', this is also highly significant. Stars' images can also straddle the types which is very important in understanding how an essentially oppositional type like the 'hard man' can embody certain masculine qualities such as patriotism and determination which give him an ambivalent status.

This concept of cultural types is important because it enables discussion of the ways in which the representations of footballers reflect historically specific changes and continuities in ideas of masculinity. Spicer applies the Gramscian notion of hegemony to the various versions of masculinity

that are in circulation at certain points in history. Spicer stresses that types function as '*competing* constructions', struggling for cultural hegemony.⁶⁴ The dominant type embodies the qualities of acceptable masculine behaviour and character, challenged and modified by alternative, less officially sanctioned versions. Using Raymond Williams' discussion of hegemony as an active and adjusting process, Spicer identifies the masculine types portrayed by film stars as 'alternative', 'residual', 'pre-emergent' or 'emergent'.⁶⁵ The football 'model professional' can be identified as a consensual model of masculinity. Others, the 'hard man' and the 'maverick' are oppositional and allow for alternative and competing versions of masculinity to be rehearsed and the recognition that there are 'different kinds of heroes'. The moment when a type emerges and challenges dominant versions is highly significant in suggesting a wider social and cultural shift, that attitudes towards masculinity are changing, just as the persistence of a type points to important continuities. Though the antecedents of all the types will be discussed, and the analysis of the model professional will cover the entire period between 1945-1985, the 'hard man' and 'maverick' types will be chiefly considered around the moments of their emergence.

(iiib) Stars and Stardom

'Star' and 'superstar' are words which are used frequently in football history, and their meanings, as I have argued above, are often variable and carry pejorative associations. I would argue that formal and abstract definitions are problematic, and also unproductive, as the meanings of these terms are historically conditioned, their significance shifting in relation to the development of professional football and the changing wider social and cultural context.

Again, stars and stardom have received the most significant analysis and debate within Film Studies, which offers a model that can be employed, with modifications, to provide basic criteria for the identification of football stars. According to this model, stars can be chiefly defined in two ways: economically, in terms of their labour, and culturally, in terms of their image - to put it more succinctly, by their value and recognition. Applying both concepts to the professional footballer presents significant difficulties. A star's labour, his footballing skill and style of play, means that he can 'add to the gate', bringing spectators to live matches, but also attracting attention from those who follow football without attending a game. That labour also gives a football star an elite status, affording him greater power and privileges which mark him out from the ordinary professional. However, quantifying how players 'add to the gate' as individuals is not easy, as it is often not possible to separate an individual's popularity from that of a successful or particularly attractive team. The maximum wage and the restrictions of the player's contract and the retain and transfer system also meant that, between 1901 and 1961, the star player's greater powers and privileges were covertly rather than overtly exercised.

Recognition offers a complementary means of distinguishing the star footballer from the ordinary professional. A footballer earns star status partly because of his fame, because he is known and recognised in a special way, and possesses a particular image. Image, of course, does not refer to recognition alone, but the various ways in which a star's persona is constructed and consumed. Richard Dyer sees film performance as the key vehicle for the formation of movie star image, but also emphasises that it is enhanced or modified by subsidiary circulation.⁶⁶ This includes

critical reviewing and commentary and a wide variety of other sources of 'information' for audiences about the star. Dyer's concept offers, I suggest, the key to defining and measuring the special recognition that affords star status to individual footballers, because the relatively brief moment of the football star's performance on the pitch is dissected, modified, celebrated and recorded at greater length, in front of a larger audience, in newspapers, football magazines and elsewhere. Audiences also desire other types of knowledge about stars beyond performance. In Dyer's famous phrase, 'stardom is an image of the way stars live'.⁶⁷ Stars are both 'extraordinary', because of their talent, but also 'ordinary' figures, no different from their fans. The consumption of the football star through knowledge of his personal life is a key element in establishing the existence of a more developed and wider stardom, one which potentially invited and enabled a closer and deeper identification between player and spectator.

The term 'superstar' has been increasingly used (very loosely) to distinguish the stardom of certain players from others. Populist (though well-researched) autobiographies of the Edwardian professionals, Billy Meredith and Steve Bloomer, have both carried the tagline on their covers, 'Football's First Superstar'.⁶⁸ In this sense it is used approvingly to denote the exceptional fame of those two professionals. In contrast, in his 1979 typology, as discussed above, Chas Critcher used 'superstar' as a pejorative term to denote stars like George Best, adrift in the seas of celebrity.⁶⁹ 'Superstar' is a necessary term for the academic analysis of football stardom. Like 'star' it should be defined in terms of audience recognition, rather than being a value judgement. It also needs to be described comparatively in relation to 'star'. Thus 'stars' should be defined as those players who were known in special ways locally,

regionally and some times nationally, to followers of football. 'Superstars' can be defined as those players whose fame extends beyond that, being recognised and 'known' to people who are not necessarily followers of the game.

(iiic) Sources

Following the philosophy of the 'new historicism', this thesis will also employ strategies drawn from other academic disciplines for the academic use and evaluation of certain under used types of primary source material, and sources of evidence which are usually seen as 'problematic' because of difficulties associated with their use. Richard Holt, in his 1996 overview of the state of sports history, identified one of the problems as discerning how the wealth of material generated by professional sport could be better drawn upon by historians.⁷⁰ He was disparaging about sporting autobiographies, bemoaning their lack of quality, that, 'getting sportsmen to talk seriously about "what it was really like" in the way that Eamon Dunphy did for his time at Millwall offers a challenge to all those who care deeply about sports writing'.⁷¹ I would argue that rather than trying to generate the type of evidence that one would prefer, the concern of the historian should be to develop methodologies for using the evidence which exists. Within Literary Studies there is an abundance of critical writing about the autobiography as a literary form which can be applied to broaden the use of the much denigrated 'ghost-written' autobiography. This thesis suggests strategies for reading these footballers' autobiographies and employing them as the chief source of evidence for how the professional wished to promote his own image. Methodologies drawn from Visual Culture are also used to analyse the importance of football photographs in the formation and

promotion of representations of players, whether in football magazines or as collections within autobiographies. Football magazines are employed extensively as another major means for the promotion of star image. These formed part of a fast developing football fan culture post-1946. Written commentaries by journalists have been drawn upon heavily. Andrew Spicer has commented that film reviews 'often give important clues as to what might have been the currency of the type, or what was causing interest, alarm or offence about a new or radically altered version'.⁷² In similar ways the football press were highly influential in promoting certain types and denigrating others.

Oral testimony has been used very little, chiefly because what is available has been collected retrospectively and offers more insight into what Garry Whannel calls the 'reinscription' of player's images in the present, rather than their contemporary reception.⁷³ The problem of gauging the popularity of footballing types, especially the 'subterranean' oppositional figures will be returned to in Chapter Three. Neither, regrettably, is there space for the consideration of all types of football sources, football fiction in book and comic form and football programmes being two major omissions. Nor does the thesis, being concerned with cultural representations, look at the changing economic status of the player, though I have argued earlier that it does have an important potential for the quantitative measurement of his drawing power, as well as his social standing.

(iv) Structure

The first two chapters of the thesis are concerned with investigating the prevalence of the locally born, less mobile, more rooted player through

the analysis and interpretation of the results of two major statistical surveys into the geographical origins and employment of players by football clubs, as well as the career patterns of professionals in the English League between 1945 - 1985. They argue that, in both pre and post-war periods there was no 'golden age' of the local player, and that the recruitment and employment of the locally born player varied widely, both on a regional and national basis. The status of the local player was also subject to fluctuation as a result of institutional changes within football, but also as a result of wider social change. This analysis provides a context for the subsequent discussions of the cultural representation of the professional. Chapter Three widens the discussion of cultural representations of the professional beyond the local player, to consider the nature of football stardom in 1946, with a particular focus on the impact of the Second World War. It argues for a revised view of that period as one that brought lasting changes for the image of the professional and his star status. Chapter Three employs methodologies for the use of key sources of evidence for the subsequent analysis of the main three footballing cultural types, the model professional, the hard man and the maverick. The types provide a framework through which the construction of the images of professional footballers can be understood. Chapter Four deals with the model professional, the hegemonic consensual representation of the professional from 1946 - 1985 and what the changes and continuities in this type can reveal about wider changes in attitudes towards acceptable masculinity. The analysis continues with a discussion of the oppositional types, the hard man and maverick, in Chapter Five. The conclusion provides an overview which brings together the changing patterns of recruitment and employment of local players with the shifts in football types to argue against a linear model for the changes in cultural representations of the professional footballer from

local hero to national star.

CHAPTER ONE

Playing at Home? The Geographical Origins and Movements of Professional Footballers 1900 - 1985

As the introduction pointed out, there has been very little academic research into the geographical origins of professional footballers playing in the English League. Tony Gavin looked at First Division footballers in the 1970 - 71 season.¹ Wray Vamplew discussed the initial results of unpublished research for 1910.² John Bale compared the counties of origin for two cohorts of players from 1950 and 1980.³ Apart from these relatively small-scale analyses, there has been no other attempt to trace chronologically where professional footballers were born and where they went to play football. This chapter will attempt to begin the process of examining from where League clubs recruited their players, and changes and continuities in recruitment patterns during the period 1900 - 1985, through the analysis of the results of an original statistical survey. The main focus of the research is the question of how far clubs recruited players born in the locality and if there were any significant changes in patterns of recruitment, particularly whether the local player was more prevalent in the pre-war period. Along with Chapter Two, this will establish the context and significance of the local player in professional football in the late nineteenth and for most of the twentieth century, and whether the 'local hero' to 'national star' trajectory has a basis in fact.

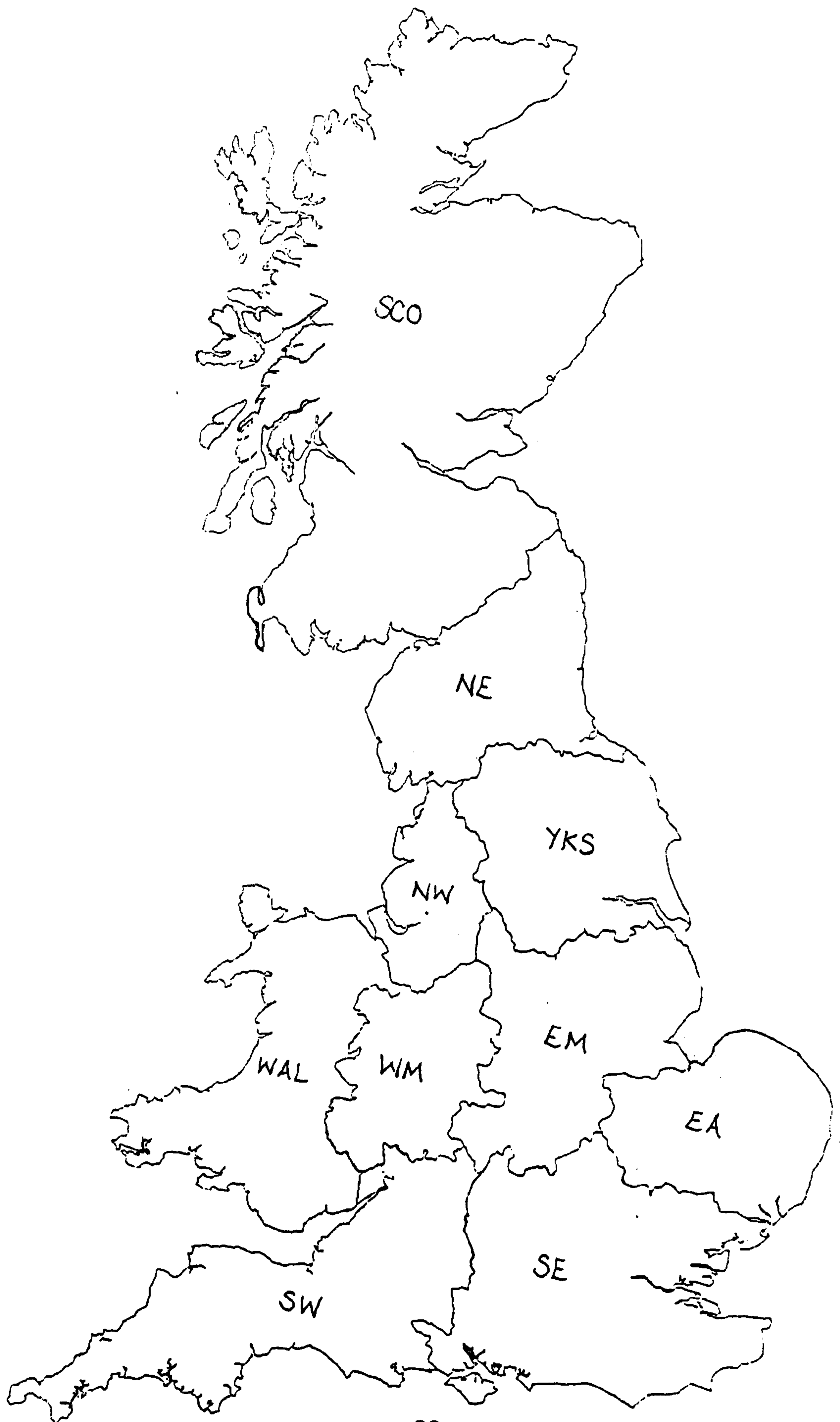
Academic analyses, where they comment at all about the recruitment of local players, tend to make unsupported generalisations about his importance. Bale, for example, follows Wagg in claiming that in the 1950s all clubs depended to a large extent on the availability of local talent.⁴

My own research suggests that the picture was more complex than this impressionistic summary claims. This chapter will attempt to answer some important questions about the local player. Did local players form a significant part of first team squads in the selection of clubs sampled and at which periods was this the case? Were there significant regional variations in the employment of local players? Did the status of clubs influence their use of local players? What factors contributed to the composition of first team squads over the period? Is there a point which can be identified as marking the decline of the local player? It will also offer explanations for any major shifts which are revealed in the recruitment and employment of the local player.

1.1 The Statistical Survey - Methods

Fifteen Football League clubs were selected as a sample for the analysis. The clubs were chosen on the basis of two different sets of criteria. Firstly, the United Kingdom was divided into the ten broad regions shown in Map 1: Scotland (Sco), the North East (NE), Yorkshire (Yks), the North West (NW), Wales (Wal), the West Midlands (WM), the East Midlands (EM), East Anglia (EA), the South East (SE) and the South West (SW). It was intended to select two clubs from each of the English regions (excluding therefore Scotland and Wales, which along with Northern Ireland (NIre), Ireland (Ire) and Foreign (For), were to be used as additional areas of origin, denoting players' birthplaces). Secondly, the two clubs from each region should (if possible) be of differing status for at least part of their histories: a 'big' and 'small' club. The clubs' first-team players' birthplaces were to be analysed at five yearly census points from 1900 to 1985 (the exceptions being the war years, because the results

Map 1: The Standard Regions of Britain



would be so unrepresentative). Thus 1900 in the data charts refers to the season 1900 - 1901. The 1914 - 15 season was substituted for 1915 - 16 and 1946 - 47 for 1945 - 46. 1940 was omitted. The clubs chosen for analysis were: NE, Newcastle United and Hartlepool United; Yks, Leeds United and Barnsley; NW, Manchester United and Oldham Athletic; WM, Aston Villa and Birmingham City; EM, Nottingham Forest and Northampton Town; EA, Norwich City; SE, Arsenal and Luton Town; SW, Bristol City and Exeter City. A locally born player was defined as one born within seven miles of the ground. The data obtained from the analysis was compiled into a series of tables for individual clubs which are presented in Appendix 1: Data Tables for Individual Clubs, pp. 398-412.

1.1.2 Rationale

The 'Regions'

The division of England into these particular regions was decided upon to avoid the complexities of an analysis by counties, particularly since the redrawing of county boundaries in 1974. The focus of my analysis is, unlike Bale's - which sought to discern changing patterns of recruitment of an occupational group, professional footballers, between 1950 and 1980 - to look at the locations from which particular football clubs drew their players at specific times. The regional boundaries I have used were also chosen as they reflect some of the traditional inter-regional rivalries of football as a spectator sport. Thus the regions used in the unpublished research on the geographical origins of professional footballers in 1910 by Professor John Osborne (drawn upon by Vamplew) were rejected, although they are also standard geographical divisions.⁵ These were Southern England, London, South Central England, North Central

England, North-East England, North-West England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Overseas. The areas of South Central England and North Central England were considered to be problematic for describing football support as the traditional line dividing the Midlands tends to split them East-West rather than North-South. The category of North West England (which presumably included Yorkshire) was also rejected as being too large. This would ignore many intra-Northern rivalries, such as the Roses' rivalry between Lancashire and Yorkshire. Middlesbrough was included in the North East rather than Yorkshire, even though some geographers would argue that it belongs more properly to the latter for a large part of the research period. This was done in order to be consistent with other decisions made about the regions so that they could apply to the whole period of the investigation.

Geographical Measurement of the 'Local' Player

Osborne's analysis also described local players as those born within 10-12 miles of a club.⁶ This criterion was rejected for the purposes of my analysis because it is distorting, reflecting neither the close proximity of some football clubs (particularly in the North of England) nor the strength of civic identity. If it were applied, for example, to Manchester, then it would include Bolton born players as 'local' men for Manchester United and City, a description which would be acceptable to neither Manchester nor Bolton supporters and inhabitants. Instead, local players were deemed to be players born within seven miles of their clubs. The seven miles criterion was waived for clubs which were based in large metropolitan centres. Players born in London particularly, are likely (post 1970 at least) not to specify the part of London in which they were born. In fact this is a feature generally of the players' own descriptions of

their place of birth, which become less specific as to exact placement as the century progresses.

Arriving at a geographical measurement of 'localness' was not an easy matter. This is chiefly because the concept is what postmodern geographers refer to as an 'imaginative geography', part of a socially constructed and sometimes contested space which is 'imagined', rather than drawn on a map. This does not make the concept of localness less important, as these spatialities which make up the perceptual world are more 'real' to those who live them than the divisions recorded by cartographers. It is a discourse undoubtedly to which football clubs make a considerable contribution. Moreover, localness is a shifting and imprecise idea which is subject to temporal change, as well as individual definition. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to carry out a micro-analysis of what might be described as local at various chronological points for each of the sample of fifteen clubs. A relatively 'generous' radius of seven miles was chosen to try to avoid some of the problems of the changing personal delineation of birthplace, as well as what I perceive as the tendency for the people who would support local clubs to imagine the geography of localness in larger units in the second half of the twentieth century.

The Choice of Clubs

Selecting two clubs within a region which represented 'big' and 'small' clubs for a significant part of their history was not always easy. The chief problem was the time period over which the analysis extended. In 1900, when the survey begins, there were only sixteen clubs in the Football League. Where possible, clubs have been selected which have a

continuous history from the early period of League history, but in some cases teams which joined the League in the 1920s have been included, and there is no data for the first four census points. It was not possible to provide data from a second League club in East Anglia. Ipswich Town only reached the Football League in 1938 and without any pre-war statistics the analysis would have been of limited use. The availability of birthplace statistics was another factor in the choice of clubs. The two West Midlands clubs are both 'big' clubs, because of problems with obtaining birthplace data for 'smaller' West Midlands clubs such as Walsall and Port Vale. These two clubs were not included in the 'Complete Records' series published by Breedon books, and later club histories contain very little biographical information about players. Even some of the Breedon histories only include selective player biographies, and other supplementary sources were used, including information from the Association of Football Statisticians.⁷ *The PFA Premier and Football League Players' Records 1946 - 1998*, edited by Barry Hugman, was invaluable for the post-war professionals, particularly now that it has been supplemented by the Association of Football Statisticians' volume of player records for 1888 - 1939.⁸

To ensure comparability, each club's first team squad was reduced to twenty players; players omitted were those with the smallest number of full appearances in the season. Where first team squads were smaller than twenty, this total remained unchanged.

Identifying Birthplaces

Not all birthplaces could be identified or allocated to a particular region with confidence. Some players' birthplaces are simply not known, and are

marked as such in the data tables. Others could not be located using standard atlases and the online Gazetteer of British Place Names.⁹ In a few cases the region could not be identified as there were other places with the same name, and no clues were forthcoming from players' career details to site their birthplaces in a particular region. Again, these are marked as not known (indicated in the tables by a question mark). The geographical place of birth was adhered to, even though this might create a misleading impression, particularly true of players born to Armed Service parents, who may have been born, for example, like Manchester United's Charlie Mitten, in Rangoon, though raised in Scotland and Manchester.

1.2 The Findings of the Analysis

1.2.1 General Observations - the Overall Picture

It was decided that a club deemed to have a major input from local players should have a first team squad made up of 50% or more local players - that is, ten locally born men. Clubs which fielded five or over (25%) locally born players were deemed to have a moderate recruitment. Clubs which fielded less than five locally born players were categorised as recruiting small numbers of local players.

Generally, the analysis of the data revealed a complex picture both as far as the employment of local players was concerned and also the recruitment patterns of players from 'other' regions. The data on local players for all the clubs is summarised in Table 1: Locally Born First Team Players 1900 - 1985 on page 34. There are some very general patterns which can be discerned. Prior to 1946, the highest percentage of

Key:
* Incomplete Data

Table 1
Numbers of Locally Born First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Newcastle	Hartlepool	Man Utd	Oldham	Leeds	Barnsley	Birmingham	Villa	Forest	Northants	Arsenal	Luton	Norwich	Bristol City	Exeter
1900	2	X	3	X	X	2	5	9	0	3*	0	5*	X	1	X
1905	6	X	1	X	1	4	2	6	3	6*	3	X	X	4	X
1910	7	X	1	1	0	5	3	1	4	3*	4	X	X	2	1
1914	4	X	1	2	1	3	6	2	6	5*	6	X	X	2	0
1920	4	7	4	1	1	5	3	5	2	10	2	3	3	6	1
1925	2	1	3	3	0	4	3	8	1	3	1	1	0	3	3
1930	1	1	5	2	1	3	1	4	2	2	2	2	0	2	0
1935	4	4	1	4	0	4	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	4	4
1946	3	6	4	10	3	4	4	8	2	1	2	3	3	13	1
1950	4	5	7	8	1	7	3	5	1	0	2	1	1	9	2
1955	4	7	7	3	2	8	5	3	4	3	3	3	2	7	2
1960	3	7	5	6	1	9	7	3	2	1	6	3	2	4	2
1965	0	0	4	3	3	6	1	5	4	1	0	1	1	3	2
1970	1	3	4	5	2	7	5	1	3	3	1	2	3	10	0
1975	1	1	2	8	2	5	2	1	3	2	4	3	2	7	3
1980	3	5	1	8	2	4	0	1	2	6	5	3	1	8	1
1985	8	6	1	5	1	4	1	5	0	1	7	3	0	5	1

local players which appeared in a club's first team squad in the sampled seasons, where complete data was available, was 50%, and the figure was usually much lower. Certain clubs, notably Leeds City and United, Exeter City and Norwich City, employed very small numbers of locally born players. The Southern clubs, Arsenal and Luton Town, also fielded squads which contained small numbers of local players. There does appear to be a geographical divide in the pre-1946 recruitment and employment of local players, which is made even more pronounced if the figures are adjusted (as in Table 2: Regionally Born First Team Players 1900 - 1985 on page 36) to add players born in the region where the club is situated to the locally born players' totals. It becomes apparent that the Northern and Midlands clubs in the sample often had squads where there were moderate numbers of local and regional players. It was also common for clubs to maintain first team squads where up to 50% were regionally born (and more in the case of Hartlepool United, which between 1920 and 1935 fielded a first team drawn mainly from the North East with Scottish players making up the rest). Leeds City and United remains a conspicuous exception to this moderate regional element in Northern teams before the Second World War.

The statistics offer no support for the contention that before 1961 and the supposed concomitant commodification of football, teams were largely composed of local players and that after this period the local character of teams altered drastically. Indeed, some clubs in the sample - Birmingham City, Bristol City, Hartlepool United, Manchester United, Oldham Athletic, Barnsley, Leeds United and Arsenal - showed a marked increase in the numbers of local players in their squads following the Second World War and beyond. Furthermore, the investigation revealed that there was, over the chosen period, no particular point at which the

Key:
* Incomplete Data

Table 2
Numbers of Regionally Born First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Newcastle	Hartlepool	Man Utd	Oldham	Leeds	Barnsley	Birmingham	Villa	Forest	Northants	Arsenal	Luton	Norwich	Bristol City	Exeter
1900	6	X	9	X	X	6	11	12	5	3*	2	5*	X	1	X
1905	7	X	5	X	1	9	8	12	7	8*	5	X	X	4	X
1910	8	X	5	5	1	8	5	10	5	4*	6	X	X	11	2
1914	6	X	4	9	2	5	7	6	6	6*	7	X	X	4	1
1920	10	17	8	7	5	9	5	7	11	11	4	3	3	9	2
1925	10	14	6	12	2	7	5	11	9	4	4	2	4	3	6
1930	5	17	11	13	3	6	4	11	5	5	4	4	1	2	1
1935	7	15	5	6	1	7	6	5	4	4	4	2	1	6	5
1946	11	16	9	15	7	7	9	11	9	2	5	9	4	14	6
1950	8	14	10	11	4	12	3	7	3	1	2	4	4	10	7
1955	6	16	11	3	7	13	10	6	5	3	5	3	4	11	2
1960	6	19	9	9	4	15	9	7	6	2	6	4	5	8	3
1965	7	5	8	4	6	13	7	9	6	3	3	6	2	4	5
1970	8	4	6	8	8	9	7	3	7	4	2	10	6	12	5
1975	3	11	3	13	5	10	3	3	7	5	8	7	4	7	7
1980	10	15	3	11	4	8	2	1	7	8	9	8	2	9	7
1985	8	14	4	11	5	8	5	9	3	5	12	11	3	6	6

local player disappeared. Indeed in the 1980s, at the end of the period, there was a sudden increase in the numbers of local and regional players employed at some clubs.

These are very broad generalisations and within the sampled seasons the data for individual clubs can reveal sudden and wide fluctuations. Some of these can be explained by particular circumstances which relate to those clubs. Other changes and continuities relate to wider developments within football itself, both as a commercial concern and a profession. However, there are points at which the data appears to reflect the impact of wider political, social and economic developments. The rest of this chapter will attempt to interpret the data to identify which factors influenced the employment of the local player.

1.2.2 Factors Which Affected the Recruitment and Employment of Locally born Players

The Status of the Local Player

Although little has actually been written of any substance about the local player, it is often assumed that being born locally would automatically garner a player approval, if not a special place in the hearts of supporters. However, a close examination of the appearance figures for first team squads demonstrates that the locally born player was often a peripheral figure, making up the numbers in squads and acting as understudy for first team regulars and that a dependence upon local and regional players could be a source of complaint from managers and supporters alike.

The reasons for the peripheral nature of the local player are closely

connected to how clubs found and recruited their players. From the earliest days of professional football, there has been a vigorous and thriving transfer trade. Until the 1930s, the sampled clubs bought players who had demonstrated their abilities elsewhere, and where 'Colts' teams existed it was rare for players to progress through the ranks. The development of youth policies and their impact on the recruitment of both local and regional players will be discussed in more detail later, but although some pioneering clubs, chiefly Wolverhampton Wanderers under Major Frank Buckley, had a relatively substantial scouting system for spotting promising youths and a well-established youth 'system', and Manchester United had founded the MUJAC (Manchester United Junior Athletic Club) similarly to develop young players, these were rare exceptions. Even after the Second World War, when there was a strong ideological current within football for young players to be brought on by clubs through their own youth schemes, these were hardly universal.

The choice for most clubs before 1939 was to buy more expensive 'names' and established players from other professional clubs, or to scout players from the amateur ranks. The latter could either be from local teams or from the rich sources of the North-Eastern and Yorkshire colliery teams. The local player, if acquired thus, was a cheap and easily available option. He usually came without the added burden for clubs of finding suitable local accommodation, and could be kept on amateur terms for a trial period. But the local player was also very vulnerable. Whoever was responsible for player recruitment could and did jettison local players at points of high ambition in the club's history or in periods of crisis.

Newcastle United is one of the sampled teams which had a significant number of players born in the region in its first team squad pre-1939, and

an examination of its usage of these players is very instructive. Newcastle benefited from being in a region which produced a very high percentage of professional footballers and in close proximity to the Scots border. Indeed, Newcastle's recourse to Scotland as a source of talent was so frequent pre-1939 that its official history talks of its directors leading a 'regular raiding party' over the border from 1892 onwards when it was elected to the Second Division of the Football League.¹⁰ The Scottish contingent was balanced out by local and regional players, but the two groups had very differing fortunes. The first League hero of the terraces according to Paul Joannou was a Scot, the Glaswegian Jock Peddie.¹¹ Of the two local men who appeared in the 1902 first team squad, Jack Carr was a regular, but the debutant Colin Veitch (who later did become a huge Newcastle star) made only one appearance. In contrast to the Scots, the squad's regional men, brought in from colliery and other amateur teams, made only a small number of appearances between them.

Similarly, though in 1905 and 1910 the squads included six and seven local players respectively, as opposed to eight Scots, the Caledonians were more likely to be regular first team members. In 1905, only two of the six locally born men made regular appearances, though these were stars, Jock Rutherford, 'the Newcastle Flier' and Veitch, both of whom had been discovered by Newcastle scouts playing in local amateur football. By 1910, three local men, Veitch, Rutherford and Jimmy Stewart, a new signing who had established himself at Sheffield Wednesday, made regular appearances, whereas the four other local men, and the North Eastern born players, were minor squad members.

Newcastle's wealth and the wage cap made it possible for the club to accommodate a maximum playing strength of forty-four, using thirty of

them in the first team in 1905 and twenty-seven in 1910, hence the reason that so many local and regional players could be used occasionally. Despite being situated in a 'soccer rich' area of its own with a wealth of local talent, hotly pursued by clubs from other regions, Newcastle's directors' continual ambitions to make the club the premier side in England led to a very active transfer policy before 1939; it was not unusual for ten new signings to be made in a season, especially if the team's on field performances disappointed, and Scots stars and professionals were their preferred purchases.¹²

Ambition was not the sole province of the wealthy club in the top division. The adoption of professionalism and the drive to rise up through provincial leagues to enter the Football League could also signal the end of a reliance on local players. Although the data on player origins for Northampton Town's first three census points - 1900, 1905 and 1910 - is incomplete as most of the players were not registered with the F. A. (Northampton did not gain entry to the Football League until 1921), its ambitions to progress from the Midland League to the Southern League left their mark on its squad. In 1900, Northampton was largely an amateur side, occupying a modest position in the Midland League, but there were already three 'other' professionals from the North West and Scotland. By 1910, at least eleven players were born outside the East Midlands region. The club's centenary history describes how a number of experienced professionals were signed to bolster its squad of amateurs and improve performances when the club progressed from the Midland to the Southern League in 1901.¹³

The threat of relegation could also see the local and regional player ditched in favour of 'better' replacements. Before 1939, Aston Villa was a

team which recruited heavily from the West Midlands region and for some seasons its regional players were not makeweights. The 1905 FA Cup winning side was virtually a vernacular West Midlands team. Villa was a very special case among the sampled teams where there was a very early specific commitment to the local player - and the reasons for this commitment will be discussed later in this chapter. However, in the 1935 - 36 season, the club fielded a team with only two local and three regional players. This was still a quarter of the team, but it was a noticeably smaller number than the rest of the pre-1939 period. The change happened because of the directors' response to the threat of Villa dropping into the Second Division. £35,000 was spent on transfers and six players were purchased, all from outside the West Midlands region, though these measures failed to prevent Villa's relegation.¹⁴ Similarly, Villa's 1970 - 71 squad had the lowest number of local and West Midlands born players from those sampled seasons in the twentieth century. This can be explained as another attempt to escape the Second Division under two managers, Vic Cummings and Tommy Docherty, who both adopted a policy of buying players from Scotland and the North West. Ron Saunders, who followed the caretaker manager Vic Crowe, eventually showed that a high spending policy could achieve results by remodelling the Villa team three times in the late 1970s and early 1980s, bringing Villa promotion and the First Division Championship with only one locally born player in the side and a team composed predominantly of players drawn from the North West, Yorkshire and Scotland.¹⁵

Bristol City's squads in the 1960 - 61 and 1965 - 66 seasons contained less than four regional players, in contrast to the norm since 1946, of at least 50% local and regional players. The change was the result of a concerted attempt to push the club back into Division Two under the high profile

manager Peter Doherty and his successor Fred Ford, who were able to spend heavily on transfers because new Chairman Harry Dolman wiped out the club's debts which had restricted the previous manager's expenditure.¹⁶

Financial considerations were a major factor governing the employment of local players and financial crisis could often signal an upsurge in the numbers both of local and regional players in a squad. After the 1914 - 1918 war Aston Villa found itself deep in debt, which increased because the club sank money into ground improvements. There was a rise in the number of Villa's local and regional players in the 1920s partly because of this. Following their relegation from Division One in the 1930 - 31 season, Manchester United faced a bleak outlook in Division Two, and would have been wound up without a financial guarantee provided by local businessman William Gibson. Walter Crickmer had taken over the dual role of Secretary and Team Manager, in the wake of the previous manager's Herbert Bamlett's resignation. Eight players were transfer listed in May 1931 to save money and raise funds. During the season, no fewer than thirty-one amateurs were recruited, none more local than Harold Dean, recruited from the Old Trafford amateur club, Old Trafford FC. Dean's experience was typical of the amateurs thus signed, only playing for three months as a deputy for the regular Scots centre-forward, Tommy Reid.¹⁷

The 1980 - 81 season's team saw an unusually large number of local players for Northampton (six) in the first team, and this was probably a reaction to the depths of Northampton's financial problems at a time when football generally was in severe crisis. Local and home-grown players had not been the preferred route of the Northampton board and

managers before 1980 but lack of money by the end of the 1970s led to a temporary stop on transfers in 1977. There is an interesting shrinkage in the size of the first team squads in many of the sampled clubs in 1975 - 76 and/or 1980 - 81 which was again probably because of financial pressures, though Northampton is notable for the relatively small numbers in its first team squad from 1970 - 81 onwards. The forced recourse to local players did not persist.

Charles Korr has described how West Ham United, which is still a club that enjoys a particular reputation for developing and utilising local talent, in fact never had a preponderance of local players, nor took any active steps to recruit them, until the 1950s.¹⁸ He traces the deliberate propagation of a myth of 'localness' by a variety of agencies within and outside the club. In 1922 - 23, West Ham United had its first taste of major League success, winning promotion to the First Division and making a Cup Final appearance at the new Wembley in 1923.¹⁹ The then manager, Syd King, gave a large number of interviews in which comments were made which the local press accepted at face value and eagerly disseminated, a particularly powerful process given the wider notice that being Cup finalists commanded. King's purpose was to ensure that 'West Ham's inability, or unwillingness, to attract good players via the transfer route was transformed into the 'West Ham way' of building from within and depending upon local players'.²⁰ The young, local player stood as a counter to previous claims that West Ham's policy had been characterised by two decades of parsimony and lack of ambition. The directors' main preoccupation in this period was the rebuilding of the Boleyn ground. By the end of the decade, according to Korr, this belief had become a 'tradition', one which was 'a comfortable belief for both the club and supporters'.²¹ Korr quotes Peter Lorenzo, the sportswriter 'who was born

about 200 yards from the ground' and saw his first West Ham match in 1936: 'It always mattered that the majority of the playing staff was local. It gave you an affinity and you liked to think it wasn't a chequebook club'.²² Lorenzo's comments are retrospective and must be used with caution, though they do demonstrate the power of the myth of the local player in the 1980s. One contemporary source suggests that even pretending to rely on local talent was not always popular with supporters. The *East Ham Echo*, commenting upon West Ham's declared policy, suggested that an allegiance to 'local players' could be challenged if it was deemed to be contrary to the success of the club. 'Depending almost entirely upon "local talent" and upon the cheese-paring methods of the directors is worse than useless - it is suicidal.'²³

The Role of the Manager - Recruiters, New Brooms and 'Star' Managers

Another major influence in the recruitment of the local player at some clubs in the sample was the policy of particular managers. How this influence was wielded depends much upon their changing role and powers over the period investigated. Stephen Wagg, in his recent survey of managers in English professional football, argues, 'in the years before the First World War, it appears that, while still clutching tightly to the reins of team policy, club directors were leaving more and more of the assessment and recruitment of players to their secretaries - or secretary/managers as they were now called'.²⁴ His overview omits one of the most important types of managers before the First World War, what could be termed a 'recruiter'. An excellent example of this type from the teams in the sample is Sam Hollis, appointed as manager of Bristol City while the club was still playing in the First Division of the Southern

League. The composition of the 1900 - 01 Bristol City squad was significantly shaped by Hollis, who had been appointed specifically because he could induce established professional players to sign for the club for very little money. He enticed Scots and players born outside the region from Woolwich Arsenal, where he had been trainer, as well as players he knew from Leicester Fosse, Loughborough, Grimsby Town and Bury. His successor, the Scot Robert Campbell, previously general secretary and manager of Sunderland, brought in more Scots and Midlands born players.²⁵ The lack of local players in the early twentieth century Bristol City squads is precisely a function of the appointment of managers who had no experience of the local area and were expected to recruit from other regions.

Although Hollis was a trainer, it was more usual for 'recruiters' to be footballers recently retired or still playing, so that they would have fresh contacts among the professional ranks. For example, once Exeter City turned professional in 1908, joining the Southern League, Arthur Chadwick was made player-manager. As an ex-international and Lancastrian who numbered Newton Heath among his previous employers, Chadwick proved adept at persuading Northerners to make the trip south to St. James Park. He signed fifteen players, all but three recruited from Northern clubs, and these three players were born in the North. Two local players completed his squad.²⁶ Northern players thus predominated in the 1910 squad. These recruits were to provide the basis for Exeter's first team until the 1912 - 13 season when a new batch of Northern players were brought in by Chadwick, who remained manager until 1922.

Similarly, Northampton Town appointed the much travelled ex-England international Syd Puddefoot, who had played for West Ham, Falkirk and

Blackburn as manager in 1935, and he was given £1,000 to buy James Bartram from Falkirk. Puddefoot used his contacts mainly to bring in players from the North-East, so that in the 1935 - 36 squad they numbered seven.

The work of recruiting managers emphasises the informality of the recruitment of players before 1939 and the importance of personal contacts and friendships. Post-1939, the 'new broom' manager, who was expected to transform a club's fortunes by changing its playing staff, could have a hugely detrimental effect on the numbers of local and regional players who seemed to be easily sacrificed in the search for improvement. Hartlepool United is the club in the sample which has the highest dependence on local/regionally born players. Until the 1960s the club fielded virtually an entirely North-Eastern born first team. In 1965, for the first time ever in the sampled seasons, Hartlepool had less than 70% of North Easterners in the team - indeed the proportion of such players plummeted to 23%. The change began with the appointment as manager of Alvan Williams, who ran the team from 1964 - 65.²⁷ However, the team's composition was radically altered by a new managerial partnership anxious to make its mark in football. The neophyte manager Brian Clough, whose playing career had been ended prematurely by injury, arrived eager to establish his managerial credentials and hungry for publicity. Clough later summarised the club's financial health in his usual understated style: 'Money was in such short supply that if we'd needed a new shit-house door I'd have been expected to provide it and fit it'. Clough went on to describe his own work at the club as, 'I cut the playing staff down. I got rid of the players who were crap and brought in one or two who were just a bit better.'²⁸ Unlike the pre-war 'recruiters', Clough did not only use his personal contacts, but with the help of Peter

Taylor who also joined the club as his assistant, he built up a scouting 'system' to cover the Midlands and Yorkshire at first, intending to extend it countrywide. The effects can be seen in the 1965 - 66 and 1970 - 71 squads where there were two and five Yorkshire born players respectively. Clough's successor continued to use the players Clough had recruited, but, following the 1970 - 71 season, the club returned to its previous policy of employing players born in the NE region, unable to cope financially with the extra expenses of promotion.²⁹

The Impact of the First World War

The historical debates concerning the impact of the First World War warn against the glib assumption that it marks a watershed in British history. This has not been a problem in academic football writing, where there is a counter-tendency to regard it as time when the professional game stood still, surviving the vicissitudes imposed on it until the game went back to normal. The focus of academic analyses has largely been the negative responses of some vocal contemporaries to the Football League's decision to carry on with the usual competitions for the 1914 - 15 season, and how this may have contributed to the post-war schism between the amateur and professional game.³⁰

However, though professional competition was suspended, other regional competitions were organised by the Football League or local football associations. Most professional football clubs continued to function in some way and to take part in the League's regional competitions which occupied the six winter months, as well as the concluding two months subsidiary competition. Registered professionals could continue to play as amateurs for expenses, for their own clubs, for other clubs as guests,

for the Army and in the various amateur competitions. Indeed, John Bailey's excellent monograph *Not Just on Christmas Day* makes the point that football showed a remarkable resilience during the war and that it continued to be played at all levels.³¹ The London Combination had a forty match programme, even more than the Scottish Leagues which were not suspended. Some professional clubs managed to field reserve sides in local leagues. Many amateur teams survived and their numbers were swelled by the works teams which sprang up, particularly from munitions factories. There were, according to Bailey, at least a hundred clubs in the Birmingham area, where Villa and West Bromwich Albion players turned out as guests for works teams.³² Professionals also popped up in other unlikely settings - the Ince Junior League in the Wigan area contained many senior and professional players.³³ The vitality of the amateur leagues during the war is a key factor in explaining why the First World War had several important consequences for the recruitment of players in the short and long term. These consequences did not necessarily hold true for all the clubs in the sample. As I shall explain below much depended upon how individual clubs decided to cope with wartime conditions, particularly the loss of gate money.

Table 3 below summarises the effect upon the numbers of local and regional players in the squad for the four census points which frame the First World War. For every team of the eight listed here, except for Arsenal (almost half the clubs sampled overall in the research), the numbers of local and regional players saw a marked increase by 1920, and, in the case of five of the teams (Villa, Barnsley, Manchester United, Newcastle United and Nottingham Forest), this increase persisted to some extent until the 1925 - 26 season. In Arsenal's case, the numbers dropped noticeably.

In fact, it appears that club football was remarkably resilient during the war, and that the picture of all clubs having to pick up the pieces and

Table 3: Clubs whose Recruitment of Local and Regional Players Changed Significantly after the First World War

	1910	1914	1920	1925
Arsenal	6 (4)	7 (6)	4 (2)	4 (1)
Aston Villa	10 (1)	6 (2)	7 (5)	11 (8)
Barnsley	8 (5)	5 (3)	9 (5)	7 (1)
Bristol City	3 (2)	4 (2)	9 (6)	3 (0)
Manchester Utd.	5 (1)	4 (1)	9 (5)	6 (3)
Newcastle Utd.	8 (7)	6 (4)	10 (5)	12 (4)
Northampton T.	4 (3)	6 (5)	11 (10)	4 (1)
Nottingham F.	5 (1)	6 (2)	11 (4)	9 (3)

* Numbers in the columns are the total figures when local and regional players are added together. The number in brackets is the number of local players.

start again in 1918 is not accurate. Although there was undoubtedly an average drop in gate receipts of 50% on the previous seasons before the war and every professional team made a loss in the 1914 - 15 season, this global average disguises that for this season at least some clubs did not suffer as much as others.³⁴ Arsenal, in its new stadium, increased its gate. Manchester United, on the other hand, had a dismal season financially, its

1913 - 14 average gate of 25,515 dropped to 11,590, a loss which probably owed much not to the obvious disruption caused by the first year of the war (the initial enlistment, depression and apathy) but to United's woeful performance in this season which saw them escape relegation (it is generally agreed) by the expedient of some players fixing a match with Liverpool at Easter 1915. Manchester City, United's neighbour, in order to illustrate this point, attracted a respectable average gate of 20,205.³⁵

It is very difficult to gain a clear picture of gate receipts during hostilities. As in the Second World War, certain games could have high attendances, and, if friendlies are included, clubs could play a large number of games, though the profits from some of these matches went to charities. Players' wages were not a concern, as only expenses were supposed to be paid. Transfers also did not eat up any receipts. Without transfers, which were banned for the duration, clubs turned to other means of recruitment which were to have an impact on the numbers of local and regional players.

Manchester United's wartime teams were kept afloat by the sterling efforts of their manager John Robson, who had joined United from Bolton during the 1914 - 15 season. United played firstly in the Lancashire League Southern section, then in the Northern League. Attendances could be low - *Athletic News* has a report of a Southern Section match on 13 March 1916 between Oldham and United, 'On Saturday there were not 500 spectators to welcome them to Boundary Park'. However, this match is probably atypical, as the writer 'Harricus' explained, the weather was bitterly cold and the game was played in a blizzard.³⁶ But what is probably more interesting is the composition of the team United put out. The club had lost players because of the 1915 scandal, but also seemed to

have decided to recruit large numbers of local amateurs. Consequently United did very poorly in the wartime competitions. 'Harricus' recognised only two of United's team, Halligan, who was presumably a guest from Hull City and Woodcock, who was a pre-war United player born in Lancashire. 'Certainly a better stamp of men will be required when the League competition is resumed', he remarked.³⁷ However, to a certain extent, the club was to keep faith with some of these locally recruited players once the war was over.

Only a few players were mentioned in the report by name, but United had recruited some men from the local amateur club Eccles Borough, which played in the Lancashire Combination. By contrast, Oldham's team was largely made up of pre-war players. United drew heavily upon local amateur football for its players during the war. Stephen Kelly describes John Robson during this period as 'grooming a brood of young players' for the much altered team which represented United when professional League soccer resumed on 30 August 1919.³⁸

United were in part in a special position in 1919 as many of their pre-war first team squad had been 'casualties' - 'Knocker' West had been suspended *sine die* for his part in the April 1915 match rigging scandal and Sandy Turnbull was killed at Arras later the same year. George Anderson ruled himself out of the reckoning by trying to make a living by going to Ireland to play for Belfast United in February 1916, a move which was blocked by the League, and two years later was accused of fraud when betting on football matches, a charge which saw him serve a prison sentence that effectively ended his career. Walter Spratt never recovered from an injury received while playing in wartime football. Billy Meredith was in dispute with the United Board because he wanted a move

to the far more successful Manchester City as player/coach and 'Cocky' Hunter, the argumentative pre-war captain, had been suspended *sine die* by United - quite a novel circumstance - for breaches of training regulations. Of those who had joined the Army, George Wall, Joseph Norton and Arthur Potts were all transferred in 1919. Other players were swiftly transferred or placed on the list in 1919 - John Hodge, George Stacey, Patrick O'Connell, Samuel Cookson, Joseph Haywood, Edward Hudson and Arthur Allman were all deemed superfluous.

Why did United get rid of so many of the pre-war team in 1919? It would be hard to argue that they were all surplus to requirements and they were certainly not too old to play. The treatment of Wilfrid Woodcock, who proved one of the mainstays of United's First World War team as their leading goalscorer, and who was also born in Lancashire, probably demonstrates the main reason for its turn to the local player. Woodcock's reward for his sterling service was that United refused him a benefit on the grounds that the wartime seasons did not count as League football. Following a dispute United transfer listed him and sold him to rivals Manchester City for £1,000.

United sold off its stars to raise funds. George Wall was transferred to Oldham, O'Connell was sold to Dumbarton, Hunter to Portsmouth, Beale to Gillingham. Of the fringe players, Potts went to Wolves, Norton to Leicester City and Hudson to Stockport County. United's team for the 1920 - 21 season was partly composed of the players whom they had acquired as amateurs during the days of wartime regional football. Some of these were local or regionally born men. Full back John Silcock had been signed by Atherton, the Lancashire Combination club during the war and was spotted there by Robson - United acquired him as an

amateur in April 1916 and a professional in 1917. Meehan, the half-back, was born locally and was brought in from Rochdale in 1917, though United demonstrated how much they needed cash by selling him to Chelsea in 1920 for £3,300. United's only player-manager in their history, Clarence 'Lal' Hilditch, born in the region in Cheshire, was playing for local side Altrincham when he was discovered and played regularly for United throughout the war, becoming a long-serving United man. George Sapsford, a Mancunian, was signed from local team Clarendon FC which played in the Cheetham and District League, in April 1919 as an amateur, then on professional terms in May 1920. Cyril Barlow, born in the locality in Newton Heath, also in the 1920 - 21 squad, had signed as an amateur from the famous amateur club Northern Nomads pre-war, so this was not an unknown practice, but war and the experience of dealing with the 1914 - 15 squad had made it much more appealing for the United Board. Thomas Forster, Cheshire born, came from Northwich Victoria in January 1916 and joined United on his return from the Forces.

It can be seen that the increased number of local/regional players were a result of a war-driven policy - but set in the context of United's parlous financial position, which even bumper post-war gates could not remedy. War had stimulated United to scout local amateur teams and to use these players as the core of their new team, as did the post-war problems like the September 1919 rail strike and petrol shortages, as well as the slowness of demobilisation. However, when United's band of non-League football recruits faltered, three players were bought at considerable expense during the 1920 - 21 season. This did not stop the club being relegated in 1922, and immediately placing twelve players on the transfer list.³⁹

Much depended upon the decisions taken by individual clubs about how they would proceed during the wartime period. Manchester United's decision was largely taken for them by their circumstances in 1914 - 15 as we have seen. They opted to take a cautious, cost-cutting route through the war, playing competitive football with teams often drawn from local amateur clubs. Other teams were more interested in playing success in wartime. Leeds City paid illegal inducements to professionals and prospered in the various competitions, drawing good gates by doing so. As A. J. Arnold's article, 'Not Playing the Game?': Leeds City in the Great War', reveals, the club paid the price by being expelled from the League as an example in 1919.⁴⁰ It is perhaps not a coincidence that Manchester United's professionals were frequent guests in Leeds City's wartime teams - presumably Leeds' efforts were not going into scouting local amateurs and certainly there was little reliance on the local and regional players at Leeds before the war, unusual in such a 'soccer rich' area as Yorkshire.

Aston Villa enjoyed a modest rise in the number of local players, even though the club had, on moral grounds, not participated in regional football during the war. The modest rise can be explained both by the reappearance of ten of Villa's 1914 - 15 squad in the 1920 - 21 season, but also Villa had begun playing friendlies against other Midlands clubs towards the end of the war with the specific purpose of finding players to make up any shortfall once competitive football resumed.⁴¹ Furthermore, the Villa directors brought in a requirement that Villa players must live locally, a stricture that led their star defender Frank Barson to leave for Manchester United in 1922 because he would not move from Sheffield.⁴²

Northampton Town had little choice in whether it took the field with local players or not for a brief time post-war. The one season in the whole

of Northampton Town's League history when the proportion of regionally born players topped 50% was in 1920, the first season when the team joined Division Three. During the First World War, Northampton had continued as an amateur side with guesting ex-professionals who had previously turned out for the Cobblers. The club's official history remarks that in 1919 - 1920 Northampton struggled to put together a team and fielded eleven amateurs, making up the rest from veteran professionals.⁴³

Beyond the particular conditions resulting from temporary organisational changes in the game, there are intimations that the war had had an important psychological effect upon professional football and what role football clubs should play in society. There is much written about the psychological effect of the war upon high and middlebrow culture - especially the debate about the growth of modernism in the arts - but virtually nothing has been written about how popular culture was affected.⁴⁴ There is no doubt that, for the working class, football remained a very important leisure activity during the war, whether playing or spectating. Once hostilities had ended, many amateur teams formed under the auspices of the 'Comrades of the Great War' Movement or added the phrases to their existing titles, and Cup Final crowds made a pilgrimage to the Cenotaph from 1922 onwards. It could be argued that in the 1920s one of the markers of this importance is the feeling that football clubs should be part of the commemorative process.⁴⁵

In terms of the local player, more significant is the evidence that the Boards of some professional football clubs felt that they should make at least some sort of statement that they would foster the careers of young men from the locality. To be seen as doing their bit for post-war reconstruction (as well as, presumably, to counter their more straitened

circumstances) the previously free-spending Newcastle directors were proud to announce that they had adopted 'a definite policy of developing purely local players', and there were a number of young local or regional players drafted into the 1919 - 20 side, with no big transfer signings.⁴⁶ However, as the data shows, this was an exceedingly brief phenomenon, and the club broke its previous record transfer fee in 1920 when they bought Scottish centre-forward Neil Harris for £3,300, also spending £2,500 to bring North Easterner Stan Seymour back from Scottish football. Secretary manager Frank Watt remarked, forgetting the previous sentiments, 'New forwards have come - you'll find us more like the Newcastle of old'.⁴⁷ The boom in post-war attendances saw Newcastle's receipts rocket to an all time high of £61,526,19s 4d in 1920. Pious parsimony gave way to a spending spree. Even though the phenomenon was short-lived, the local and North Eastern contingent in Newcastle's 1920 - 21 and 1925 - 26 squads was made up of more than just fringe players, as they tended to be at earlier sample points. In both these seasons, of the sixteen 'core' players six and eight respectively were Scots, but were joined by eight regional players.

Henry Norris, MP and Chairman of Arsenal, who had moved them across London to a more commercially viable site and built the luxurious Arsenal Stadium, also understood the temper of the times. In June 1919, he instructed Arsenal's new manager, Leslie Knighton not to spend more than £1,000 on any player, and that he was also expected, 'to sign and create a team of purely local players'.⁴⁸ Norris was obviously trying to save money - he had spent £125,000 so far on the move and the builder of the main grandstand had agreed to take a percentage of the weekly gate to pay for its construction. However, additionally, he could have been trying to tap into the *zeitgeist* by creating a team of locally born men who

would 'belong' to the crowd at a time when there was an increase in interest in community and locality. Ironically, by appointing a manager who was not familiar with the local area and insisting he sacked the Arsenal scouts as a cost-cutting measure, Norris ensured that Knighton augmented the seven players of the pre-war team who returned to the club with a collection of players born outside the region. In April 1925, when Knighton was dismissed, Norris replaced him with Herbert Chapman, who as he had done at Leeds City and Huddersfield Town, bought a highly successful team, again with very few local or regional players.

Arthur Marwick suggested (contentiously) that the First World War created a climate where there was a greater sympathy and concern for youth, to replace the 'lost generation' that had never returned from the Front.⁴⁹ Even more pertinent is Alison Light's argument in her examination of women's writing of the inter-war years that the 1920s and 1930s saw a move away from the 'formerly heroic and officially masculine public rhetorics of national destiny and from a dynamic and missionary view of the Victorian and Edwardian middle-class...to an Englishness at once less imperial and more inward-looking, more domestic and more private'.⁵⁰ Light was discussing the middle-class, and it is something of a leap to transpose her arguments down the social scale. Even so, her insistence upon the power of conservatism in British cultural life is highly suggestive. There is a tendency, as she points out, to see ideas of community as progressive, in terms of working-class radicalism.

However, the discourse of the local player seems to develop a brief, but noticeable significance in the 1920s, something which I would argue is the result of the dislocation and losses of the Great War, and the powerful post-war sense that reconstruction should not just entail progressive

social change, but a nostalgia for, and clinging to what was in danger of being lost. The proliferation of amateur, local teams during the Great War may have contributed to the link between some professional football clubs and the locality. The First World War was thus a period when football continued to develop but in a very particular way - mostly outside professional clubs but having a noticeable effect upon them.

The Impact of the Second World War

Following the Second World War, some clubs in the sample saw a major jump in the numbers of local and regional players which endured at least up to the 1960 - 61 season and in some cases beyond. Not as many clubs appeared to be affected, but this could be caused by the small size of the sample and the selection of clubs.

Table 4: Clubs Whose Recruitment of Local and Regional Players Rose after 1945

	1930	1935	1946	1950	1955
Aston V.	11 (4)	5 (2)	11 (8)	7 (5)	6 (3)
Barnsley	6 (3)	7 (4)	7 (4)	12 (7)	13 (8)
Bristol C.	2 (2)	4 (4)	13 (13)	9 (9)	7 (7)
Man. Utd.	11 (5)	5 (1)	9 (5)	10 (7)	11 (7)
Oldham A.	13 (2)	6 (4)	16 (11)	11 (8)	3 (3)

* Numbers in the columns are the total figures when local and regional players are added together. The number in brackets is the number of local players.

The thirteen local players in Bristol City's team in 1946 - 47 can be explained partly by the success of the reserves in the various wartime competitions. They were drawn on heavily when the team began to reconstruct. Throughout the war years, Bristol City operated two teams, the first team and a second eleven which was named the Colts for the first four seasons of the war. The Colts had considerable success in the Western League, but shone in the Bristol and Suburban League.⁵¹ Although the club did have guesting players, it was able to maintain a regular nucleus of Bristol based players in the first team for the duration. Along with four locally born players recruited in the war period from local amateur soccer teams, seven of the fourteen Bristolians in the 1946 - 47 teams (calculated from the complete first team squad of twenty four) had turned out for Bristol City during the war.

An analysis of the locally born component of the 1946 - 47 squad reveals how the Second World War altered Bristol City's recruitment and employment of local players. Cliff Morgan (who made 203 appearances for City in the war) was acquired as a youth from the Bristol Boys XI and had been a first team player from 1932. D. F. Clark and S. F. Williams were fringe players who played a few games for the first team in the two pre-war seasons. Clark had joined City from North Bristol Old Boys, S. F. Williams, scouted locally in 1937, had been included in the 1939 - 40 squad. E. G. Jones joined the club in 1936 from Victoria Athletic and debuted in the 1939 - 40 season. These were players who could have broken through if the war had not happened, but because they were Bristol based and younger, it could be argued with some justification that the number of them who made first team appearances after the war was the result of a pre-war local scouting and youth policy and the

opportunity that the disruption of war gave to those who were in Bristol and able to play.

Of the three Bristol born players who joined the club in the war, two owed their recruitment to being spotted playing against the Bristol City Colts in the Western League; Guy was brought in from local amateur team Hambrook Villa, Bailey from Bristol Aeroplane Company in 1944. The third, Collins, was acquired locally. A further player, Edolls, who also came from the Western League club Peasedown Miners Welfare in 1945, was brought in for the new season. Cousins had played for the Colts in the war and was also recruited locally in 1940, though he only made three first team appearances in 1946 - 47. A. S. White was brought in from local amateur club Soundwell. The other Bristol born players who joined Bristol City in 1946 were bought from other clubs and presumably were attractive signings partly because they were returning to their home city, while three others also bought in this season were born in the South West.

Manchester United's increased recruitment and employment of the local player following the Second World War, also owes as much to pre-war circumstances as to wartime factors. Manchester United's financial position in the 1930s has been commented on earlier in this chapter. In contrast to the club's response to their problems after the Great War, there was not a wholesale clear out of dressing room malcontents nor a sale of stars to raise money. United had responded to their ongoing financial difficulties by embracing a youth policy which will be dealt with below in more detail. Freed from the obligation of having to pay a weekly wage to players, clubs felt able to take large numbers onto their books. By 1944, United had sixty-four players registered, rising to

seventy-six in 1942 and a peak of eighty-two in 1944.⁵²

United's 1946 team was built around players who had either been regulars in the 1938 - 39 season or young prospects who were on United's books that season. Eleven fell into that category - three of them were local players and three from Lancashire and Cheshire. Charlie Mitten (born in Rangoon but brought up in Scotland and Manchester, so usually claimed as a 'local' man), John Aston and Johnny Morris made their debuts in the 1946 season and were products of the club's youth set up. United still scouted the local area and two of the three local and regional players who were signed during the Second World War had come through Gosling FC, seen as a United nursery club. The other, Lancashire born Henry Cockburn, had been spotted when playing as a wartime guest for Accrington Stanley.

Garth Dykes argues that Oldham Athletic had found it more difficult to recover from the deleterious effects of both World Wars than many other clubs. He describes the 1946 - 47 season as 'Latics' lowest point yet'.⁵³ Oldham had perhaps the greatest transformation in personnel of its first team squad of the clubs listed in Table 4. Only five players remained from the 1938 - 39 squad, and two of these, Ferrier (NE) and Ormandy (NW) had a minor part to play when normal League football resumed. Six players were signed during the war (five locally and one regionally born). The bulk of the squad was recruited post-war and were either local men, or men born in the NE but playing for North West clubs before the war and therefore living close to Oldham, and Dudley born William Harris, signed from West Bromwich Albion in 1945, who had been posted to Lancashire at the end of the war. The decision had obviously been taken to rely on men born and based in Oldham to overcome financial, transport and

housing difficulties, a decision which might explain why Oldham was so slow to recover. Luton Town's Chairman, Jeyes, on the eve of the 1946 - 47 season, saw housing as a particular problem. 'Players are reluctant to leave their clubs unless accommodation is provided and this is not easy.'⁵⁴

The turn to local recruitment was a deliberate policy in other clubs outside the sample. Stoke City had made a virtue of turning to players born in the locality during the war. Stoke's manager announced in 1940 that in three years the club would have a team drawn from a seven mile radius of the club. In 1942 - 43, forty-four of their retained list of forty-eight professionals met his criterion.⁵⁵

The Development of Youth Policies

Bringing young players 'through the system' was a policy which was implemented by a few clubs in the 1930s and was also adopted in earnest by several managers in the late 1940s and 1950s. The 'turn to youth' could result in an increased number of local and regional players, though this was not always the case as promising young players could be recruited from farther afield, and there was no automatic route for these young recruits to the first team. For the bulk of clubs before the post-war period there were 'Colts' teams established at certain points, though these had a precarious existence and were readily jettisoned at times of financial crisis. In the 1930s, there was certainly a debate within the game about the viability of 'youth' policies. There was a moral dimension to the argument, but much of the force of the debate centred on the cost of nurturing young players which was an uncertain process, which is discussed below. Chapter Two deals with the other aspects of the debate within the game, and the development of youth policies in general in

more detail.

Three *Picture Post* articles from 1938 - 39 which featured Charlton Athletic, Wolverhampton Wanderers and Chelsea, devoted much space to their policy of promoting young players who had been acquired cheaply as young men and brought into the first team at a relatively young age. Wolves's manager, Major Frank Buckley, had established what must have been the most organised and far-ranging youth 'system', and as the author of one of the *Picture Post* articles enthused, 'Molineux is virtually a football nursery. Boy footballers are here, there and everywhere.'⁵⁶ Often quoted in contemporary football sources was the figure of £130,000 that Buckley's youth policy had earned for Wolves; Buckley's youth policy was also deliberately aimed at selling players, and the profits earned by Buckley were credited with providing the basis for Wolves' post-war success.⁵⁷

Jimmy Seed, Charlton's manager, was pictured watching a small boy playing football in the street, under the headline, 'Will He Be the Man We Want in 1953?' and captioned, 'Seed has spotted stars not so very much older than that'.⁵⁸ In his autobiography, Seed argued that his youth policy, which was dictated by the lack of money for transfers, had made a profit of £115,000 for Charlton, though he had not turned to Charlton's locality to recruit players but his native North East.⁵⁹ It was estimated that in 1938 to groom a player as a young man through to the first team could cost between £1,000 to £4,000, with no guarantee that these players would make the grade and return the investment.⁶⁰ For most clubs before the Second World War the possible returns were not worth the outlay.

Barnsley's numbers of locally and regionally born players increased

noticeably in the 1950s. In the 1950 - 51 squad there were seven local born and five regionally born players, and even greater numbers in the 1955 - 56 and 1960 - 61 squads. There is ample evidence to explain this change as the result of the adoption of a youth policy of sorts by Barnsley's two managers in the 1950s, Angus Seed and Tim Ward, along with the Board of Directors. Seed had a reputation for spotting young talent, but also, according to Barnsley winger Johnny Steele, 'The idea was to develop and groom young stars and try to put an end to the big transfer deals that were happening at the time'.⁶¹ Seed had spotted Danny Blanchflower as a young player in Ireland, but had taken his own shortcut to a youth policy by signing up the whole of the local boys' side, Barnsley Boys, apart from one player, in 1949. From then on the club tried to sign up the most promising boys from the Barnsley Boys' team, which had no direct links with the club, though they frequently lost out to Sheffield United, or the more seductive lure of the Wolves' scouting system.⁶²

Once the immediate post Second World war boom was over, Barnsley's precarious finances led to the sale of its stars Jim Baxter, George Robledo and Blanchflower by 1951. In 1953, shortly after the unexpected death of Seed, the player who he proudly claimed as his first 'youth' product, Tommy Taylor, whom he had picked up from local miners' side Smithies United, was sold to Manchester United. Seed had started the Northern Intermediate League where the youngest of the five Barnsley sides played, and following a poor start to the 1952 - 53 season, he brought in eight players from the youth team. Seed's successor, Tim Ward inherited thirty-eight players signed to the club, twenty-five of whom were from the Barnsley area, along with five Scots and four North Eastern born players. No player was born south of Chester and the other two players were Lancastrians, though one of these, Joe Thomas, had been raised locally

and played for Yorkshire Boys. Of the 1955 - 56 side, six were born in Barnsley and came through the juniors, another was born in Barnsley and signed from a local side. There were another five Yorkshiremen, two of whom had gone to Wolves as young players and returned to the area.

The Barnsley Board took a decision in 1955 which ensured that Seed's policy continued after his death. In that year, Barnsley had been promoted to the Second Division and announced a £7,000 loss. The Board took a look at the years ahead and decided that promotion to the First Division seemed a possibility with a settled team so they agreed not to sell important young players during the next five years. This meant that there would be no money to buy established players, but there were plenty of youngsters coming through which they believed would compensate.⁶³ Luton Town's commitment to a youth policy from 1955 onwards matches that of Barnsley very closely. Directors refused to pay inflated transfer fees and 'put the onus on creation of talent from within'. Luton had been promoted to the First Division, but the club could not deal with the increased costs of promotion, which it seems could be disastrous financially. Those youth players who were thrust prematurely into the first team failed to cope.⁶⁴

The 1980s' rise in the number of local players also came at a time of retrenchment for football, but can also be linked to the impact of the Youth Training Scheme which will be discussed in Chapter Two, though the rise began before the scheme could have made a significant impact.

Moral Regeneration and the Local Player

The turn to local players could also function as a symbol of what might

be termed moral regeneration. At the turn of the century, one club from my sample, Aston Villa, had decided to employ local players deliberately on moral grounds. By 1900, when there were nine locally born players and a further three West Midlands born men in the team, the club had undergone a remarkable transformation from its early Scots composition. McColl explains this change as the result of Villa's poor showing in the 1892 Cup Final.⁶⁵ As the certain favourites, Villa lost to a vastly inferior West Bromwich Albion side, and there were allegations of the goalkeeper Warner taking a bribe to throw the match, as well as excessive drinking among the players. There was pressure from vocal supporters in public meetings and the running of the West Midlands giant was taken over by a new committee, pledged to remove the problems of the club which were laid at the door of mercenary 'foreign' professionals. The new committee elected in 1892 took a much more cautious approach to transfers and was encouraging local talent, though this could be the purchase of locally born men from other West Midlands teams. Thus the local player could assume some of the virtues of the amateur, by comparison with mercenary outsiders, playing for local pride as well as money. Villa's lead does not appear to have been followed elsewhere in football.

Conclusion

My analysis of the data has suggested that there was no one period which could be termed the heyday of the local player, and that the local player was certainly not less prevalent in professional football after the 'New Deal' of 1961 - 63. The survey revealed a complex and uneven picture as far as the employment of local players was concerned, and also in the recruitment of players born in other regions. The majority of the clubs sampled had, for most of the pre-war period, five or less locally born

players in a twenty man squad, and those local players had a shifting and often peripheral, role in many of the clubs in the sample. Small clubs such as Luton and Exeter City had small numbers of local players, as well as a large club like Arsenal. Overall, the recourse to the local (and regional) player was often a response to extreme circumstances, from financial crisis to wartime disruption. However, there were powerful ideological currents within football, and in society at large, which led to the promotion of the local player as a positive force for regeneration. The evidence seems to suggest that it was in the 1920s that there was a conscious effort to promote the figure of the local player, perhaps, short-term, in the desire to create a stronger sense of a football community and be part of peacetime reconstruction. However, this was a short-lived phenomenon. Local players were not necessarily popular if their employment seemed to be a cost-cutting measure.

The early 1960s did not mark a watershed in the employment of the local player. In some of the clubs sampled there was a marked increase in the number of local players after the Second World War, as a consequence of the 'turn to youth' which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two, which contains an analysis of the second major statistical survey of the career patterns of the professional footballer in England between 1890 and 1985.

CHAPTER TWO

A New Breed? Changes and Continuities in the Careers of Professional Footballers 1946 - 1985

The previous chapter discussed the results of an investigation which considered one aspect of the context of the cultural representation of the footballing 'local hero', that he was born in the locality of the club he represented. An analysis of a sample of first team squads of fifteen clubs between 1900 - 1985 revealed that in actuality the locally born player was often a rare figure and significantly that the numbers of local born players tended to increase rather than decrease after the Second World War. This chapter will examine the results of a second major statistical survey of professional footballers between 1890 - 1985. This survey looks at the profession as a whole, analysing data collected from two samples of professional players between 1890 - 1939 and 1946 - 1985. This survey includes the geographical origins of players, but also other features of professional English League footballers' playing careers, to determine whether there was indeed a new breed of post-war footballer, raised outside the old footballing heartlands, less-rooted and more mobile than the 'local hero' he replaced. A key aim of this second survey was to discover when any changes identified may have taken place.

2.1 The Databases: Methods

Two databases were compiled, Database 1: Professional Players in the English League 1890 - 1939 and Database 2: Professional Players in the English League 1946 - 1985. The players included were drawn randomly from the compilations edited by Michael Joyce and Barry Hugman

respectively.¹ Database 1 contains entries for 1,600 players, Database 2 for 2,000, each constituting a 10% sample. Table 5 (see page 70) is a sample page of the databases (which can be viewed in full in Appendices 2 and 3). To avoid overlap, Database 1 includes players with surnames which begin with the letters D-G, Database 2, A-C. The raw data from Joyce and Hugman was used to produce information on the date of birth, region of birth, the seasons a player's professional League career began and ended, the length of a player's career, the age of debut and the number of clubs. The five yearly census points, identified in the databases under the headings P1, P2 and so on, signalled whether a player was active (i.e. playing in the first team in League football) in the seasons from 1890 at five yearly intervals. A number of issues arose about the compilation of the data which are dealt with in the detailed description of the databases' various categories below.

Region

As this is a complementary study to the club-based analysis of players' origins, the same regional divisions were employed. Players whose place of birth could not be securely identified were omitted.

Length of Career

In their entries, both Joyce and Hugman employ the convention of using only the year in which a season begins - hence if a player's career is described as running from 1953 - 1954, this means that he has made at least one first team appearance in the season 1953 - 1954 and one in the season 1954 - 1955, during which his League career ended. I have adopted this practice in the Season Beginning and Season End columns, though

Table 5: Sample Page of Database 1

Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
Dabbs BE	17041909	WM	1933	1939	24	7	1935					2
Dackers W	20101874	Sco	1898	1899	23	2						1
Dadley BJ	01061898	SE	1921	1921	23	1						1
Daft HB	05041866	EM	1888	1894	22	7	1890					2
Dainty HC	02061879	EM	1899	1913	20	15	1900	1905	1910			4
Dale RA	21031896	NE	1922	1931	26	10	1925	1930				3
Dale W	17021905	NW	1928	1939	23	12	1930	1935				3
Dalrymple RR	02011880	Sco	1907	1910	27	4	1910					2
Dalton BL	09011917	SE	1935	1937	18	3	1935					3
Daly J	28121899	NW	1920	1920	20	11	1920					4
Dando M	**071905	SW	1928	1937	23	10	1930	1935				4
Dann RW	06061916	SE	1935	1939	19	5	1935					2
Danskin R	28051908	NE	1930	1947	22	18	1930	1935				2
Danson H	21061883	NW	1902	1911	19	10	1905	1910				1
Dark AJ	21081893	SW	1922	1928	29	7						4
Darling BS	23031916	NE	1938	1938	22	1						1
Darling HL	09081911	SE	1932	1947	21	16	1935					2
Darnell J	28031884	SE	1908	1914	24	7	1910	1914				1
Darnell L	14091905	EM	1925	1934	19	10	1925	1930				3
Dart E	12031880	EM	1909	1909	29	1						1
Darvill HA	07041896	SE	1921	1924	25	4						1
Davenport JK	23031862	NW	1888	1892	26	5						1
Davey HH	14061896	Nire	1923	1927	27	5	1925					3
Davidson CA	10101904	NW	1928	1931	23	4	1930					2
Davidson DL	04061905	Sco	1928	1937	23	10	1930	1935				4
Davidson J	14031901	NE	1930	1931	29	2	1930					1
Davidson RT	27041913	Sco	1934	1947	21	14	1935					2
Davidson S	01061889	Sco	1913	1922	24	10	1914	1920				1
Davie J	19021913	Sco	1936	1946	23	11						2
Davies AS	01031894	SW	1914	1927	20	14	1920	1925				3
Davies AL	03011905	Wal	1926	1938	21	13	1930	1935				4
Davies CJ	26031918	Wal	1938	1948	19	11						2

the Career Length total recognises that this player in fact made his first team appearances over two seasons and thus his career length would be recorded as two years. The end date refers to the end of the season during which a player made his last appearance for an English League club, and does not include his future playing career if he moved to another league, whether professional or semi-professional, in this or another country. Although both Joyce and Hugman give the dates a player was signed to a particular club, only seasons when a player was active, making a first team League appearance, were counted. The rationale for this was that both the statistical surveys have been concerned with investigating active League players, thus avoiding the distortion of, for example, counting a player's three seasons at a club for which he never made a first team League appearance.

Debut Age

Neither Joyce nor Hugman record the actual date of a player's debut, only the season in which it occurred. Tracing the day and month of a League debut for 3,600 footballers would have been impractically time-consuming, and therefore the age of debut figure is a compromise, an approximation calculated as the age of the player on 1 September in the season in which his League debut took place. As the starting date of the football season has varied considerably since 1890, 1 September was selected as a mid-point. If a player's age of debut was under sixteen by this calculation, it was rounded up. Calculating debut age in this way brought the bonus that many more players from the early years of professional football could be included, as in many cases only the month and year of birth is known for these players. Asterisks are used to indicate incomplete dates of birth in the databases. Before the Second World War

there was at least one debut under 16, in 1929, but this did not represent the norm. Until 1960, if a player made his debut before age 17, because of F. A. regulations he would not have signed full professional forms, but I have included them even though they are not strictly professionals until their seventeenth birthday, for purposes of comparison with the period after 1960 when the regulation was removed. Debut refers to English League debut, so that, for example, the debut age for some Scottish players will not refer to their actual debut age if they began playing professionally for a Scottish club.

Number of Clubs

Number of clubs refers to the number of English League clubs for which a player made a first team appearance. It does not include clubs to which a player may have been contracted but never made an appearance in the English League, nor for non-league or foreign clubs. Also, where a player had two (or more) spells at an English club, the club is only counted once because it would distort the picture to say that a player turned out for five clubs, when it was four clubs with two spells at one of them. The number of players in the databases affected by this was very small.

Census Points and Sample Size

The databases were drawn up to allow the data to be subjected to a global comparison between the two periods 1890 - 1939 and 1946 - 1985 so that major trends could be identified. However, using the columns headed P1, P2, P3 and so on, players' data could also be included in a more detailed analysis at five yearly census points. Thus if a player made a first-team League appearance in the season beginning 1955 this would be entered in

the appropriate census point. When the data was sorted using these census points, it provided a snapshot of all the players from the sample who were playing in that season. To avoid distortion from the unusual conditions of wartime football, in line with the club-based analysis of Chapter One, 1914 - 15 was substituted for 1915 - 16 and 1940 omitted. As each database contains a 10 per cent sample, there might be concerns about how secure are conclusions based on samples of this size.

Fortunately, the validity of the data can be indicated by a comparison with some of John Bale's figures about the geographical origins of players based on far larger samples for 1950 and 1980 (see Table 6 below, page 74).² The comparison shows that there is a general agreement between Bale's figures and my own.

For all but two of the eleven comparable regions there is a one per cent difference or less. In the case of the percentage change between 1950 and 1980 for the South, my figures underestimate the extent of the changes by three per cent, though the general nature of the change is accurately reflected. However, in order to acknowledge that my investigation is based on a sample, for the most part the data will be used comparatively to identify broad changes and continuities, rather than discussing small fluctuations which may be explained possibly as a result of the distortions caused by the size of the sample.

The earliest census points up to 1905 sample from numbers of players under 100. The findings for these points are included in the tables and graphs for comparison but I have judged them too small for secure conclusions to be drawn from them in the analysis.

Table 6: Comparison Between Bale's and Woolridge's Figures for the % Change Between 1950 and 1980 in the Geographical Region of Origin for English League Professionals

Region	1950	1980	% Change	
			Woolridge	Bale
EA	2.1	1.4	-0.7	0.8
EM	5.9	7.3	1.4	1.5
For	1.5	4.5	3	.*
Ire	1.5	1.7	11.9	.*
NE	14.1	11.9	-2.2	-3.2
NIre	3.5	2.1	-1.4	-0.7
NW	14.4	15.7	1.3	0.4
Sco	15.3	11.5	-3.8	-4.5
SE	12.6	19.2	6.6	9.2
SW	4.1	3.5	-0.6	0.2
Wal	3.8	2.4	-1.4	-1.2
WM	8.8	8.7	-0.1	0.1
Yks	12.4	9.8	-2.6	-1.4

* - indicates where Bale has not supplied figures for a region.

2.2 The Findings

The findings of this survey revealed some very significant changes in the playing careers of professionals in the English League over the period as a whole. The picture which emerged confirmed the conclusions of the previous chapter that the 'local hero', the locally born, one club, long-serving player could not be found to predominate in any particular

'golden age' of football, and certainly not in the period 1890 - 1939.

2.2.1 Further Aspects of the Geographical Origins of Professional Footballers: The Emergence of the Southern Born Player

One of the most striking results of a comparison between the two databases' entries for Geographical Origins is the considerable increase in the numbers of Southern born players. The results of this comparison are presented below in Table 7 on page 76, and also expressed as a column graph, Graph 1: Geographical Origins of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890 - 1985, p. 77. Over the period as a whole, from 1890 - 1985, the percentage of professionals born in the South East nearly doubles. The rise of the Southern player is a phenomenon which was first described by John Bale in 1983.³ Bale's analysis concerned two cohorts of League players, in 1950 and 1980.

My figures mirror Bale's discovery that between 1950 and 1980 the South East region went from being the fifth largest producer of players to the largest.⁴ However, the statistics both illuminate and extend Bale's findings as the five yearly census figures allow for a closer identification of when this phenomenon occurred (see Table 8: Five Yearly Analysis of the Geographical Origins of Professionals in the English League 1890 - 1985, p. 78, for the full breakdown of the five yearly figures). If the five yearly percentage totals for the South East between 1890 - 1985 are extracted and summarised in a separate table (Table 9, p. 79) and graphical presentation, then a very clear picture emerges of the chronology of the change. (See also Graph 2: Changing % of SE Born Professionals in the English League 1890 - 1985, p. 80.)

Table 7: Geographical Origins of Professionals Playing in the English League, 1890-1985

Region	1890 - 1939		1946 - 1985	
	Total	% Total	Total	% Total
EA	23	1.4	36	1.8
EM	144	9	146	7.3
For	11	0.7	35	1.8
Ire	11	0.7	23	1.2
NE	257	16.1	224	11.2
NIre	15	0.9	44	2.2
NW	262	16.4	315	15.8
Sco	241	15.1	282	14.1
SE	153	9.6	349	17.5
SW	39	2.4	85	4.3
Wal	124	7.8	63	3.2
WM	180	11.3	160	8
Yks	140	8.8	238	11.9
Total	1,600		2,000	

Implicit in Bale's analysis of his findings is the assumption that the rise in the numbers of professionals born in the South-East would have taken place over the thirty years between the two seasons of his survey.

However, if looked at from the additional perspective of a longer period for comparison, it is clear that between 1935 and 1946 a significant increase in their numbers occurred. Furthermore, the five yearly analysis reveals that the percentage of Southern professionals peaked in 1955, and was maintained at a similar level between 1955 and 1985.

Graph 1: Geographical Origins of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985

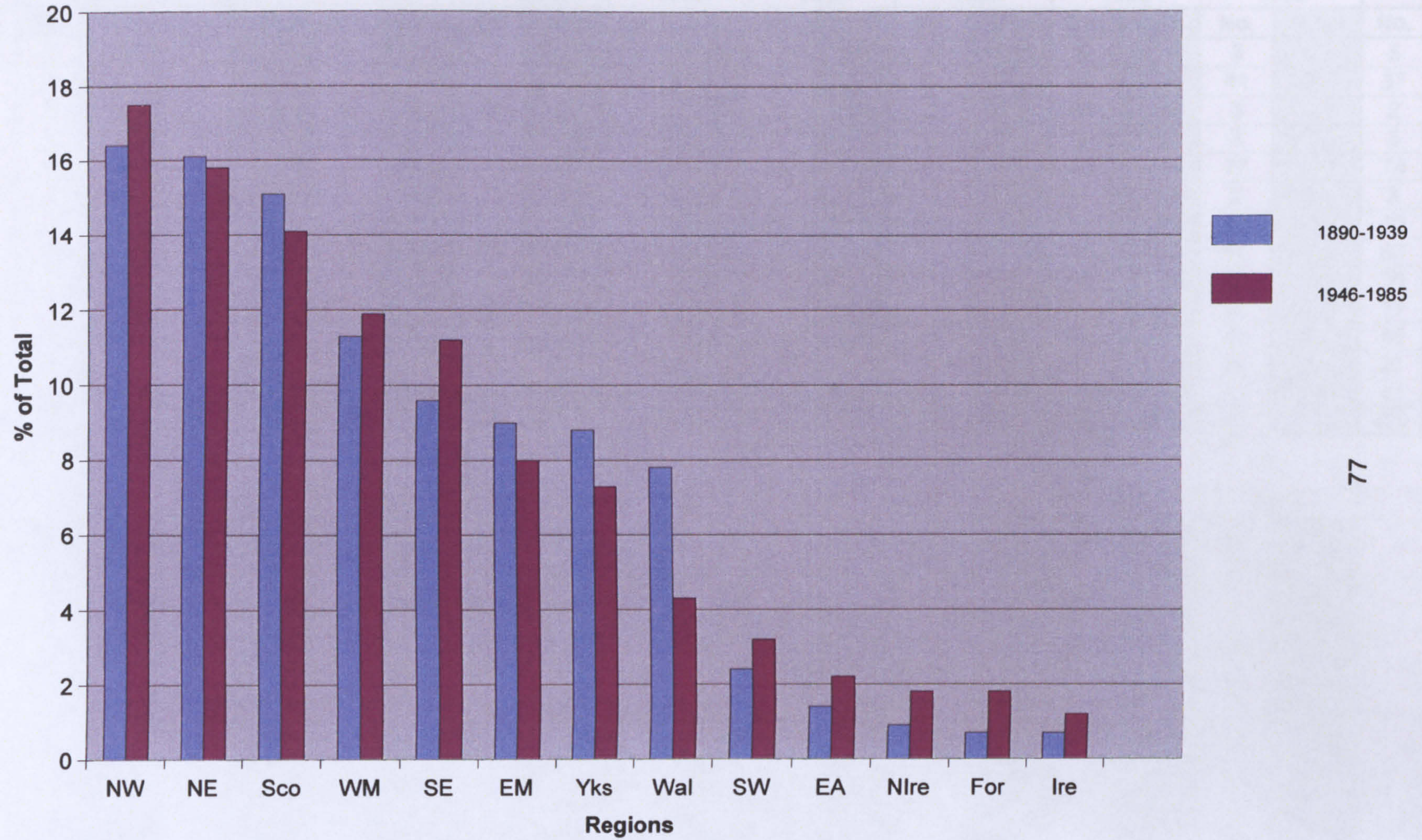


Table 8: Five Yearly Analysis of Geographical Origins of Professionals in the English League 1890 - 1985

Region	1890		1895		1900		1905		1910		1914		1920		1925		1930		1935	
	No.	% Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot
EA	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1.6	1	0.7	4	1.4	6	1.4	3	0.7	5	1.2
EM	4	12.5	3	5.2	3	5.5	9	9.4	13	10.8	18	12.5	35	12.1	40	9.5	41	9.7	37	8.8
For	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	1	0.7	2	0.7	0.7	0.5	3	0.7	2	0.5
Ire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	1	0.7	2	0.7	3	0.7	3	0.7	5	1.2
NE	0	0	4	6.9	5	9.1	13	13.5	18	15	24	16.7	54	18.7	75	17.8	77	18.3	74	17.6
Nlre	2	6.3	2	3.4	1	1.8	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	4	1.4	4	0.9	2	0.5	3	0.7
NW	5	15.6	4	6.9	4	7.3	15	15.6	18	15	24	16.7	56	19.4	76	18	69	16.4	70	16.7
Sco	10	31.3	17	29.3	15	27.3	13	13.5	18	15	18	12.5	27	9.3	51	12.1	68	16.2	62	14.8
SE	1	3.1	4	6.9	4	7.3	7	7.3	15	12.5	16	11.1	26	9	39	9.2	30	7.1	38	9
SW	0	0	1	1.7	1	1.8	3	3.1	3	2.5	3	2.1	7	2.4	11	2.6	10	2.4	11	2.6
Wal	1	3.1	1	1.7	3	5.5	6	6.3	6	5	6	4.2	17	5.9	35	8.3	41	9.7	45	10.7
WM	9	28.1	20	34.5	16	29.1	22	22.9	19	15.8	22	15.2	30	10.4	42	10	32	7.6	27	6.4
Yks	0	0	2	3.4	3	5.5	7	7.3	6	5	9	6.3	25	8.7	38	9	42	10	41	9.8
Total	32		58		55		96		120		144		289		422		421		420	
Region	1946		1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985			
	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot		
EA	4	1.2	7	2.1	5	1.6	8	2.6	6	2	7	2.7	7	2.6	4	1.4	3	1.4		
EM	25	7.7	20	5.9	18	5.7	16	5.1	17	5.6	21	8	23	8.6	21	7.3	11	3.2		
For	1	0.3	5	1.5	2	0.6	4	1.3	3	1	3	1.1	7	2.6	13	4.5	7	3.2		
Ire	3	0.9	5	1.5	2	0.6	4	1.3	3	1	2	0.8	2	0.7	5	1.7	4	1.8		
NE	51	15.7	48	14.1	41	13	33	10.5	27	9	23	1.5	27	10.1	34	11.9	21	9.6		
Nlre	8	2.5	12	3.5	8	2.5	5	1.6	5	1.7	4	1.5	6	2.2	6	2.1	4	1.8		
NW	57	17.6	49	14.4	47	14.9	57	18.2	51	16.9	42	16.1	45	16.9	45	15.7	43	19.7		
Sco	35	10.8	52	15.3	50	15.9	43	13.7	43	14.3	33	12.6	35	13.1	33	11.5	18	8.3		
SE	46	14.2	43	12.6	63	20	59	18.8	55	18.3	50	19.2	51	19.1	55	19.2	43	19.7		
SW	17	5.2	14	4.1	11	3.5	14	4.8	12	4	15	5.7	12	4.5	10	3.5	6	2.8		
Wal	12	3.7	13	3.8	12	3.8	11	3.5	10	3.3	7	2.7	7	2.6	7	2.4	7	3.2		
WM	18	5.6	30	8.8	27	8.6	28	8.9	31	10.3	22	8.4	20	7.4	25	8.7	23	10.6		
Yks	47	14.5	42	12.4	29	9.2	30	9.6	38	12.6	32	12.3	25	9.4	28	9.8	26	11.9		
Total	324		340		315		313		301		261		267		286		218			

Table 9: Changing % of SE Born Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985

Year	Total
1890	3.1
1895	6.9
1900	7.3
1905	7.3
1910	12.5
1914	11.1
1920	9
1925	9.2
1930	7.1
1935	9
1946	14.2
1950	12.6
1955	20
1960	18.8
1965	18.3
1970	19.2
1975	19.1
1980	19.2
1985	19.7

This relatively sudden post-war increase has major implications for the numbers of local and regionally born players in Southern clubs in the English League, as well as the possible explanations for the phenomenon. My club-based analysis revealed that Southern born players rarely migrated North between 1900 - 1985 (see Table 10: Northern and Southern born First Team Players 1900 - 1985, p. 81). Tony Gavin's small survey of the squads of First Division League clubs for the 1970 - 71 season concluded likewise. 'Flows of Northerners and Scots into areas of the South with insufficient footballer resources are common but the

Graph 2: Changing % of SE born Professionals in the English League 1890 - 1985

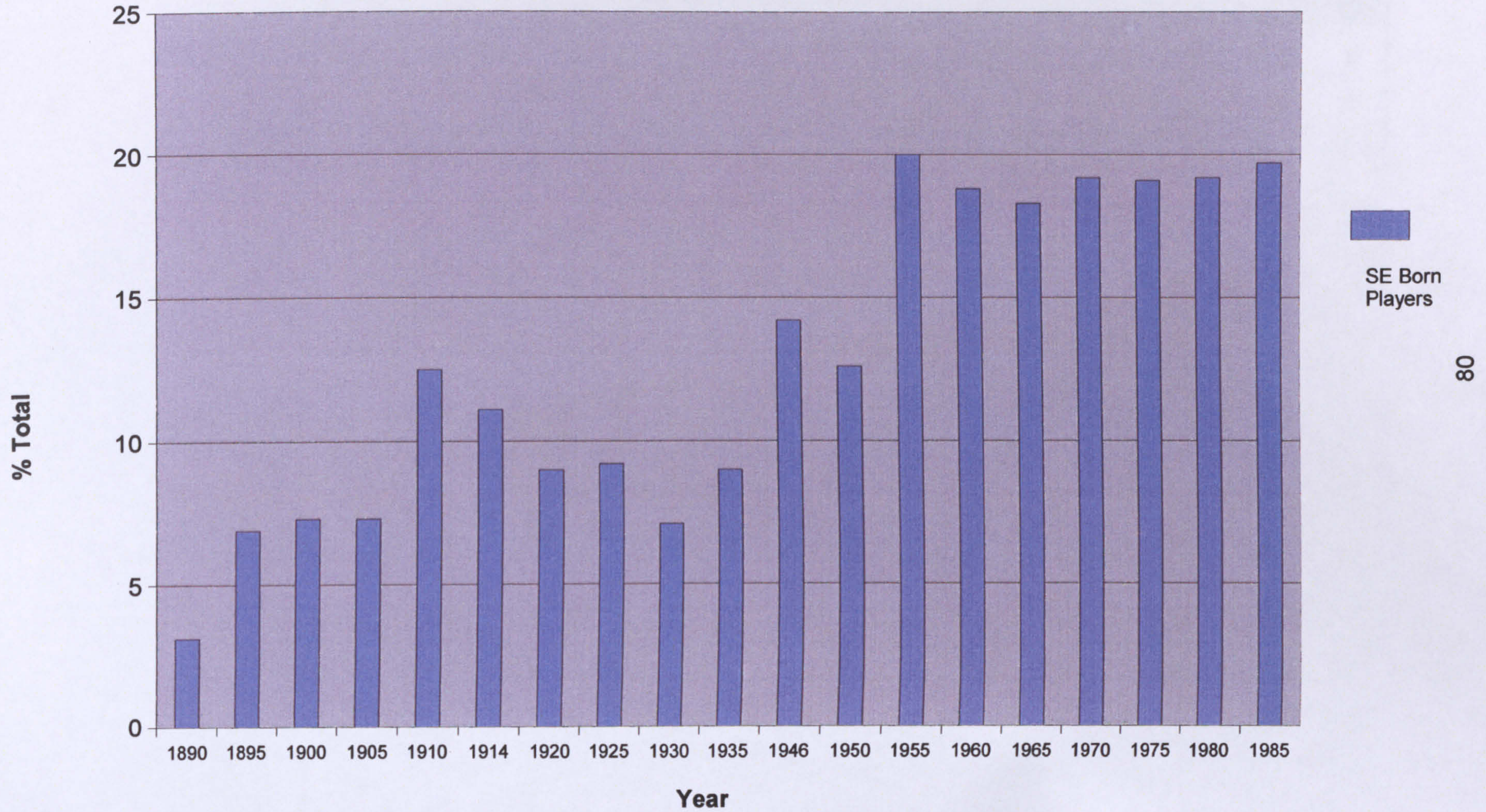


Table 10
Northern and Southern Born First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Newcastle	Hartlepool	Man Utd	Oldham	Leeds	Barnsley	Birmingham	Villa	Forest	Northants	Arsenal	Luton	Norwich	Bristol City	Exeter
1900	18 0	X	13 0	X	X	15 0	5 2	6 1	7 0	3 0*	13 4	8 5*	X	9 2	X
1905	16 2	X	13 1	X	12 0	17 0	4 6	6 0	8 1	2 0*	9 5	X	X	7 5	X
1910	16 1	X	14 3	13 2	7 1	12 1	8 1	5 2	6 4	7 1*	12 6	X	X	12 5	13 2
1914	18 0	X	10 1	13 1	15 2	15 0	7 1	9 2	4 2	4 1*	10 7	X	X	11 4	14 2
1920	19 0	X	15 0	16 1	16 1	10 1	8 3	9 2	5 0	6 2	10 4	8 5	6 3	7 9	16 6
1925	19 1	19 1	14 0	14 2	14 0	14 0	9 1	3 3	6 2	9 5	9 5	14 2	10 8	15 3	9 6
1930	16 0	18 0	15 0	18 1	13 0	17 1	10 0	3 2	12 0	9 2	7 7	13 4	13 1	8 3	14 6
1935	18 0	17 0	13 0	12 0	13 1	13 1	7 1	4 4	16 0	12 2	8 9	12 2	9 4	5 7	11 8
1946	18 2	18 0	14 2	18 1	13 0	13 0	4 0	4 2	9 0	7 2	8 6	5 8	4 11	4 14	9 9
1950	17 0	20 0	14 1	19 0	10 2	19 0	6 4	6 1	8 1	12 1	7 7	9 4	7 9	3 10	10 7
1955	17 0	19 0	13 1	15 0	15 0	20 0	7 2	8 0	8 2	7 1	5 9	5 3	3 9	4 13	12 3
1960	13 2	20 0	13 0	15 1	15 0	20 0	4 3	10 1	9 3	5 6	7 7	9 6	3 8	7 10	8 5
1965	17 1	14 0	13 1	16 0	15 1	20 0	8 0	8 1	7 3	5 7	9 6	10 6	5 5	3 9	8 7
1970	14 0	13 2	14 2	17 0	13 1	17 2	5 2	10 5	7 2	6 4	8 4	7 10	8 9	4 12	8 8
1975	15 1	18 1	12 2	17 0	15 1	15 3	10 4	13 2	9 1	4 7	3 9	11 8	9 9	8 7	6 10
1980	16 2	18 1	9 2	17 0	11 1	16 3	11 3	10 2	8 2	0 8	4 10	3 9	8 11	6 9	1 15
1985	14 1	20 0	10 4	17 1	15 1	13 2	9 3	4 5	9 0	4 8	4 13	2 11	5 10	7 7	8 9

Key: * Incomplete Data
 Black Numbers Northern Born (Sco, NE, NW, Yks) Players
 Grey Numbers Southern (SE, SW, EA) Born Players

reverse is rarely so. Of the large volume of London produced footballers very few venture into the Northern region, North West, or even to the Midlands.⁵ An obvious conclusion to draw from this is that the increased numbers of South East born footballers were being employed by clubs in the South. Hence there was a far greater chance immediately after the war, and certainly by the end of the 1950s, that supporters of Southern clubs might see men born in the South East in the first team.

Taken in conjunction with the low numbers of Southern players who turned out for Northern clubs for most of the period (a phenomenon which will be discussed later), the figures for the number of regional players who were recruited by clubs demonstrate that there was a substantial presence of players born in the North in most of the Northern clubs, and players born in the North and Midlands in Midlands clubs covered in the sample. The exception to this was Leeds City and United. Of the 'Southern' clubs, Norwich and Exeter City never had large numbers of regional players in the sampled seasons. The two South East teams, Luton Town and Arsenal, began to recruit greater numbers of regional players in 1970 and 1975. A picture also emerges of a North-South divide in football recruiting practices: Northern players (including Scots) travelled to play for Southern teams, while Southern players (where they featured at all) were a very minor presence in Northern and Midlands sides. The exception to this in the sample is Bristol City. Southern teams were thus more 'cosmopolitan' in nature, whereas Northern and Midlands teams had more 'vernacular' squads.

One possible explanation for the North-South divide in recruitment, might be found in what John Bale has termed the 'geography of production' of professional players in England.⁶ Wray Vamplew drew

upon unpublished and incomplete research by John Osborne to examine the birthplaces of professional footballers playing in the Football League and the Southern League in 1910. From the figures quoted in Vamplew, of the 1,255 players whose origins could be traced, 847 (67.5%) were born in the North, including Scotland. Southern England (though Osborne uses different regions from the ones employed by Bale and myself) and London together produced fewer professional footballers than Scotland, 16.4% of all professional footballers in England. If South Central England is also included, then less than a third of all professional footballers in 1910 were born south of the Trent.⁷ Bale's concern was to demonstrate in which parts of the country professional footballers were born in 1950 and how this had changed by 1980. He surveyed the profession as a whole, not, as I have done, on a club basis. After adjusting the figures per capita of population, the main conclusions he drew were that certain areas were 'soccer rich', providing more footballers than others. The North was the main area of production in the 1950s and it maintained this position in 1980, though it was not as dominant. He describes the changes in the pattern of production as 'regional convergence' - that football's essentially Northern character had been eroded by 1980. Though 'the area North of the Trent still remains the major area of per capita production...a dramatic increase in production has taken place from several of the counties in South-central England, notably Greater London'.⁸ Thus, the regionality of Northern teams could be explained simply by arguing that there were more footballers coming from the North in both periods. When the South began to produce more professional footballers, then one might expect Southern footballers to be found more widely across the country.

Although this had an impact on the recruitment practices of clubs, to

apply Bale's research findings in this way, as my club based analysis has shown, is over-simplistic. My own research reveals that some areas were heavily drawn upon for the recruitment of players. I have cited earlier examples of directors and managers making regular trips to Scotland in the 'recruiting season' prior to 1946. The steel working and colliery teams of the North East and Yorkshire also were seen as rich sources of talent. In Aston Villa's 1914 and 1920 squads there was a rise in the number of North Easterners which was a direct result of a deliberate decision to pick up young players there. A letter dated 19 January, 1919, from Frank Waters, Chairman of Newcastle United to local club Prudhoe Castle FC, apologies for an approach Newcastle had made to one of Castle's promising youngsters, Jeremiah West. Waters claims that their aim was to 'prevent him from being taken away by some club in another part of the country, there being so many agents of southern clubs round this district'.⁹ There was, for example, a preponderance of North East born players in Nottingham Forest's 1930s' sides. In the 1935 - 36 squad, three young North Eastern born players had been bought in between 1927 - 29 from works teams as future prospects.¹⁰

However, as I have argued above, clubs' individual recruiting practices were not only based upon the easy availability of local players, and there were other reasons for them searching for talent elsewhere. Colm Kerrigan has described how, between 1885 - 1915, most of the London clubs had a woeful record in recruiting London born talent, and concluded that the likely explanation was that managers of London clubs had no confidence in London players.¹¹ Although Exeter City and Norwich City were two clubs based in what Bale might term a 'soccer poor' area, both clubs followed policies in recruitment which ensured their squads would have few local players. Exeter City is an example of a

small club which employed consistently small numbers of local players throughout the period. Post-1960, it has used more players born in the south-west, though without drawing on local players to any great degree. Consistently, despite modest gates and many serious financial crises, it has acquired the bulk of its squads through transfer activity, though not necessarily through the expenditure of large sums of money.

Bale explained the increase in Southern born professionals as a consequence of two developments. He discerned a second trend in the production of professional footballers, namely that, by 1980, they came increasingly from metropolitan backgrounds. He explained this by arguing that the 'catchment area' for 'initiate professionals', had widened in those thirty years, and he quotes Stephen Wagg's contention that scouting networks from the mid-sixties onwards had become more sophisticated so that clubs were looking for young players all over the country. Boys became more willing to take up the 'precarious occupation' of professional football in areas of unemployment once the maximum wage had been removed. He also advanced a more speculative thesis that football became more socially acceptable in regions which have not had a strong cultural attachment to the sport and cites this as a geographical evidence of the embourgeoisement thesis.¹²

John Connell, reflecting upon Bale's paper, advances other explanations, namely 'wider changes in the economic geography of Britain'.¹³ The 'drift South' which saw a decline in population in peripheral Northern areas, as well the economic and demographic growth in the South Central areas of England, explained why there were less Northern born players and more Southern born professionals.¹⁴

Although my data does not directly illuminate the debate between Bale and Connell about the causes of this change, I would argue that supply and demand in football recruitment is also an important factor that explains the shift. If football clubs decide, or are forced, to recruit locally, as they have had to do in times of financial crisis or other upheaval (as Chapter One demonstrated), this provides a powerful stimulus to the production of local or 'home-grown' professional footballers, whether it be recruiting them from amateur teams in the region, or eventually through youth policies. During the financial crisis in soccer of the 1970s and 1980s, it is not surprising to see the numbers of Southern born players increase as some Southern clubs began to look to recruit more locally.

Gavin's much smaller survey of the 1970 - 1971 season led him to link closely the production of footballers to areas of high unemployment and other indices of socio-economic deprivation. He also suggested that the areas with a high immigrant population in major cities, particularly East London, were producing a top class flow of coloured footballers.¹⁵ As my statistics do not consider ethnic origin, they do not add any further support to what seems a persuasive suggestion.

However, if the chronology of the increase in the numbers of South-East born footballers is shifted earlier, then these explanations could be advanced to explain why the increase was maintained in the decades between 1960 and 1985, but not necessarily why it should have begun in 1946 and peaked in the mid fifties. Although clubs may have been recruiting more widely, this would only apply to Southern clubs, because Northern clubs (as we have seen) had a dearth of Southern players.

The North-South divide in recruitment of players persisted throughout the sampled period. It is not really possible to say whether this is because of a reluctance among Southern players to travel North, or that Northern clubs were reluctant to recruit in the South, though it is probably a combination of both. Though one history of Exeter City claimed, 'Another problem that existed until comparatively recently was the difficulty in persuading players to move this far west'.¹⁶ The club, especially in the pre-1939 period was dependent upon players who were born in the North West and the North East. The 1920 - 21 side had seventeen players from the North West, Yorkshire, the North East and Scotland - 85% of the team, which suggests that this statement might refer more to the quality of the players who were prepared to move, as Exeter appeared to have little problem persuading players from the Northern regions to travel down to the South West, though few players born in the SE made the trip to St. James' Park. The relatively small numbers of Southern players at Northern clubs persisted beyond 1985. Manchester United, up to 1994, had used only twenty-nine players born in the South in its first team during its League history. Between 1946 - 1992 only 4% of Liverpool's players were born in London or the Home Counties, whereas 14% of Chelsea and 23% of Arsenal's players were born in the north.¹⁷ Dave Russell argues persuasively that the low recruitment of Southern players may owe as much to Northern chauvinism and Southern mistrust of the North as to other factors.¹⁸

It is clear that there is no single overriding explanation for the rising numbers of Southern born players in the professional game from 1946 onwards. The previous chapter argued that there was a greater commitment to the local, or at least the home-grown player after the Second World War. The mechanisms for spotting and signing

home-grown players (some of whom would have been local or regionally born players) were in place before the war. Some of this was a reaction to the aggressive recruitment policies of other clubs, particularly Wolverhampton Wanderers, whose predatory scouting of young football talent was a great source of irritation to rivals. Manchester United's youth policy was also well-established, the Manchester United Junior Athletic Club (MUJAC) had been set up in 1937. But there are less high-profile examples. Prior to 1939, under managers Mather and Bob McGrory, Stoke City had pursued a policy of routinely signing up large numbers of local amateurs purely to stop other clubs creaming talent from under their nose.¹⁹ Few of these, however, made the transition into the professional ranks. McGrory appears to have been a genuine believer in developing his own players, and expressed his conviction that, 'If this war lasts three years we'll be fielding a team drawn from within a seven mile radius of Stoke'.²⁰ The policy, as I have argued in Chapter One, was partly a wartime necessity, but also partly a deliberate choice, as McGrory announced that Stoke would not use the guest system. Thomas Taw argued that by 1946, 'The special circumstances of postwar Britain brought local talent into a new and powerful limelight'.²¹ Essential Work Orders tied men to their own localities. Temporarily, the transfer market became associated with the corruption of the black market and contrasted with the innocence of a club developing its own players. Sheffield United claimed that it wanted to field a local side and 32 of the 37 professionals on its books in 1946 were local lads.²² Grimsby Town brought in 478 youngsters for local trials.

This ambition was not only confined to North of the Trent. Spurs' secretary Arthur Turner made a similar point which is particularly pertinent: 'The South should never need to buy from the North. We

should train our own young players down here, there are plenty of them.¹²³ If Southern clubs had been recruiting Southern players during the war through necessity, and if they continued to do so after the war, then they were turning to an under used resource. They would face less competition from scouts from Northern clubs on their own doorsteps than they might do if they scouted in the football heartlands of the North and Scotland. The statistics show that there is no major decline in the number of Northern players, but an increase in Southern players. Until the 1960s and the lifting of the maximum wage there were relatively large squads, particularly in 1946, and this will be commented on later in another section.

2.2.2 Changing Debut Age: The Rise of the Teenager in Professional Football

Another very striking trend revealed by a comparison between the two databases is that from 1955 onwards many players were making their debuts at a younger age. Not only does it seem that the profession was becoming more Southern, but it was also experiencing a turn to youth, and the two phenomena were often closely intertwined. The results of the global comparison between the two databases clearly demonstrates the shift downwards in age (see Table 13: Debut Age for Professionals in the English League, 1890 - 1985, p. 90) and also Graph 3: Overall Comparison of Debut Age for Professionals in the English League 1890-1985 p. 91). Between 1890 - 1939, just under a quarter of players had made their debut between the ages of 16 and 19, compared with nearly half the players in the sample taken from 1946 - 1985. In effect, the numbers of teenage debutants had doubled in the later period.

Table 13: Debut Age for Professionals in the English League, 1890 - 1985

Debut Age	1890 - 1939		1946 - 1985	
	No.	%Total	No.	%Total
16	15	0.9	107	5.4
17	51	3.2	233	11.7
18	108	6.8	325	16.3
19	189	11.8	260	13
20	216	13.5	226	11.3
21	210	13.1	190	9.5
22	223	13.9	177	8.9
23	189	11.8	126	6.3
24	138	8.6	105	5.3
25	89	5.6	82	4.1
26	66	4.1	76	3.8
27	41	2.6	38	1.9
28	24	1.5	24	1.2
29	21	1.3	15	0.8
30 - 34	20	1.3	16	0.9

By contrast, the usual time for debut in the period 1890 - 1939 was between the ages of 19 and 23. Even if the distortion caused by Scottish players debuting in the English League at an older age is taken into consideration (and Scottish imports were by no means all brought to England as older players, and later age of debut for Scots players has an effect on both samples) the difference is still very significant.

The five yearly census points enable an identification of when debut ages began to drop (see Table 11: Five Yearly Analysis of the Debut Age of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890 - 1939 and Table 12: 1946 - 1985, below pp. 92-93). The implications can best be understood if

Graph 3: Overall Comparison of Debut Age for Professionals in the English League 1890-1985

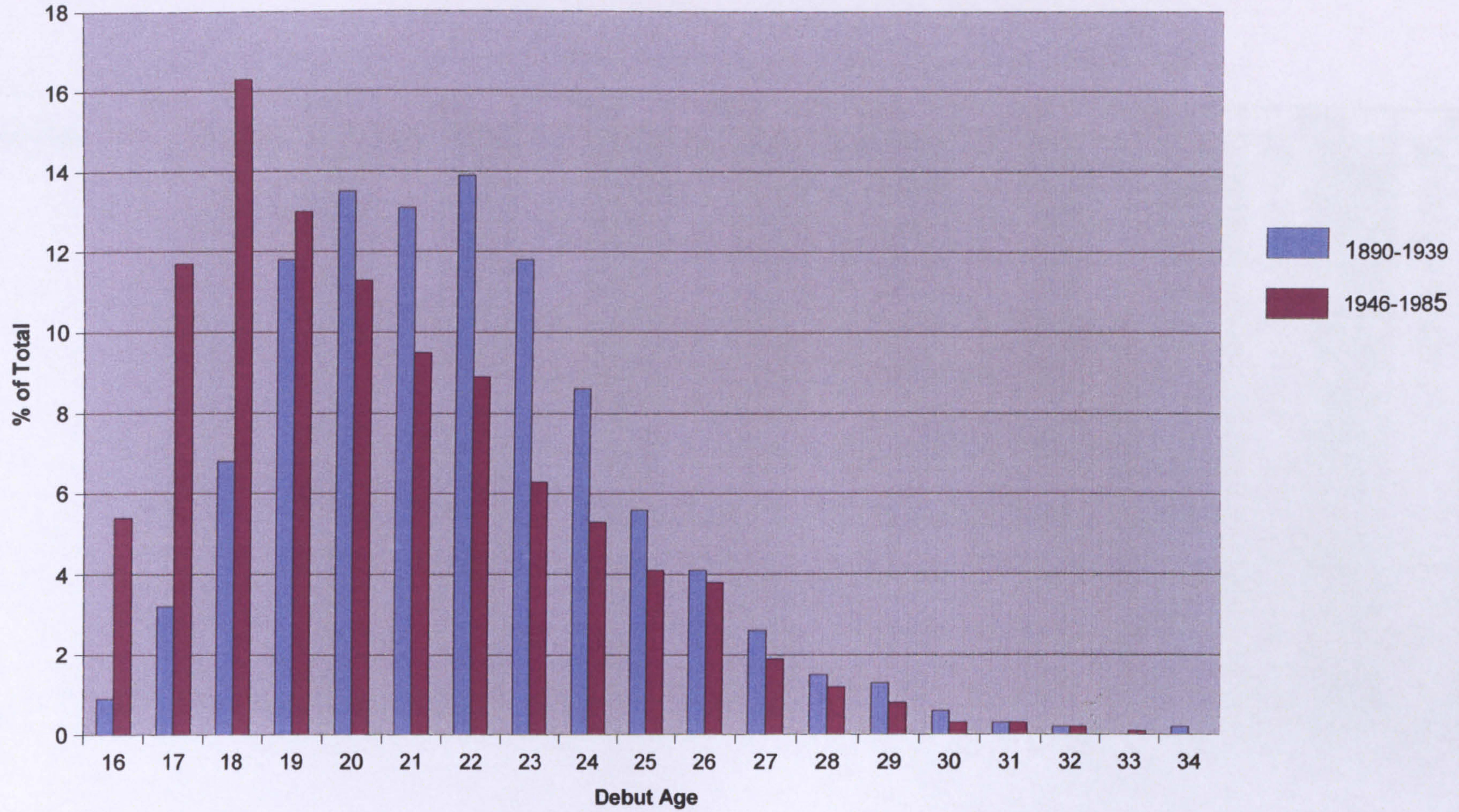


Table 11: Five Yearly Analysis of the Debut Age of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985

Debut Age	1890		1895		1900		1905		1910		1914		1920		1925		1930		1935	
	No.	% Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	3.3	4	2.8	4	1.4	2	0.5	6	1.4	9	2.1
17	0	0	0	0	1	1.8	4	4.2	3	2.5	3	2.1	5	1.7	9	2.1	13	3.1	22	5.2
18	1	3.1	2	3.4	5	9.1	8	8.3	14	11.7	18	12.5	19	6.5	26	6.2	29	6.9	41	9.8
19	2	6.2	8	13.8	8	14.5	23	24	19	15.8	23	16	32	11.1	43	10.2	53	12.6	60	14.3
20	4	12.5	7	12.1	9	16.3	17	17.7	25	20.8	26	18.1	42	14.5	47	11.1	59	14	72	17.1
21	3	9.3	5	8.6	12	21.8	15	15.6	20	16.7	23	16	31	10.7	62	14.7	61	14.5	59	14
22	5	15.6	10	17.2	5	9.1	6	6.2	6	5	14	9.7	37	12.8	65	15.4	75	17.8	58	13.8
23	4	12.5	11	19	4	7.3	12	12.5	13	10.8	11	7.6	27	9.3	46	10.9	49	11.6	45	10.7
24	7	21.9	7	12.1	7	12.7	5	5.2	8	6.7	7	4.9	27	9.3	45	10.7	24	5.7	22	5.2
25	2	6.2	3	5.2	2	3.6	5	5.2	4	3.3	8	5.6	21	7.3	28	6.6	17	4	11	2.6
26	1	3.1	3	5.2	2	3.6	0	0	1	0.8	3	2.1	13	4.5	20	4.7	15	3.6	5	1.2
27	0	0	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	2	1.7	0	0	10	3.5	12	2.8	11	2.6	6	1.4
28	1	3.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	9	3.1	6	1.4	4	1	5	1.2
29	1	3.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	2	1.4	4	1.4	5	1.2	3	0.7	3	0.7
30	1	3.1	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	0.5	1	0.2	2	0.5
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.7	3	0.7	0	0	0	0
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	2	0.7	1	0.2	0	0	0	0
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	1	0.2	0	0
Total	32		58		55		96		120		144		289		422		421		420	

Table 12: Five Yearly Analysis of the Debut Age of Professionals Playing in the English League 1946-1985

Debut Age	1946		1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985	
	No.	% Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot
16	5	1.5	5	1.5	11	3.5	26	8.3	27	9	28	10.7	29	10.9	25	8.7	20	9.2
17	14	4.3	17	5	24	7.6	34	10.9	52	17.3	60	23	64	24	60	21	43	19.7
18	25	7.7	17	5	32	10.2	42	13.4	75	25	67	25.7	75	28	83	29	58	26.6
19	39	12	34	10	37	11.7	39	12.5	42	14	39	14.9	40	15	47	16.4	39	17.9
20	26	8	35	10.3	47	14.9	55	17.6	38	12.6	25	9.6	24	9	27	9.4	20	9.2
21	35	10.8	34	10	46	14.6	42	13.4	23	7.6	18	6.9	15	5.6	14	4.9	6	2.8
22	34	10.5	40	11.8	34	10.8	32	10.2	21	7	12	4.6	8	3	8	2.8	8	3.7
23	23	7.1	39	11.5	37	11.7	18	5.8	7	2.3	5	1.9	3	1.1	6	2.1	8	3.7
24	30	9.3	37	10.9	18	5.7	9	2.9	8	2.7	2	0.8	4	1.5	4	1.4	7	3.2
25	22	6.8	28	8.2	13	4.1	9	2.9	3	1	3	1.1	3	1.1	3	1	2	0.9
26	30	9.3	24	7.1	7	2.2	1	0.3	4	1.3	1	0.4	1	0.4	5	1.7	5	2.3
27	15	4.6	11	3.2	6	1.9	4	1.3	1	0.3	1	0.4	0	0	1	0.3	1	0.5
28	10	3.1	12	3.5	2	0.6	2	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	6	1.9	5	1.5	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.7	1	0.5
30	3	0.9	2	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	2	0.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.3	0	0
32	4	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	324		340		315		313		301		261		267		286		218	

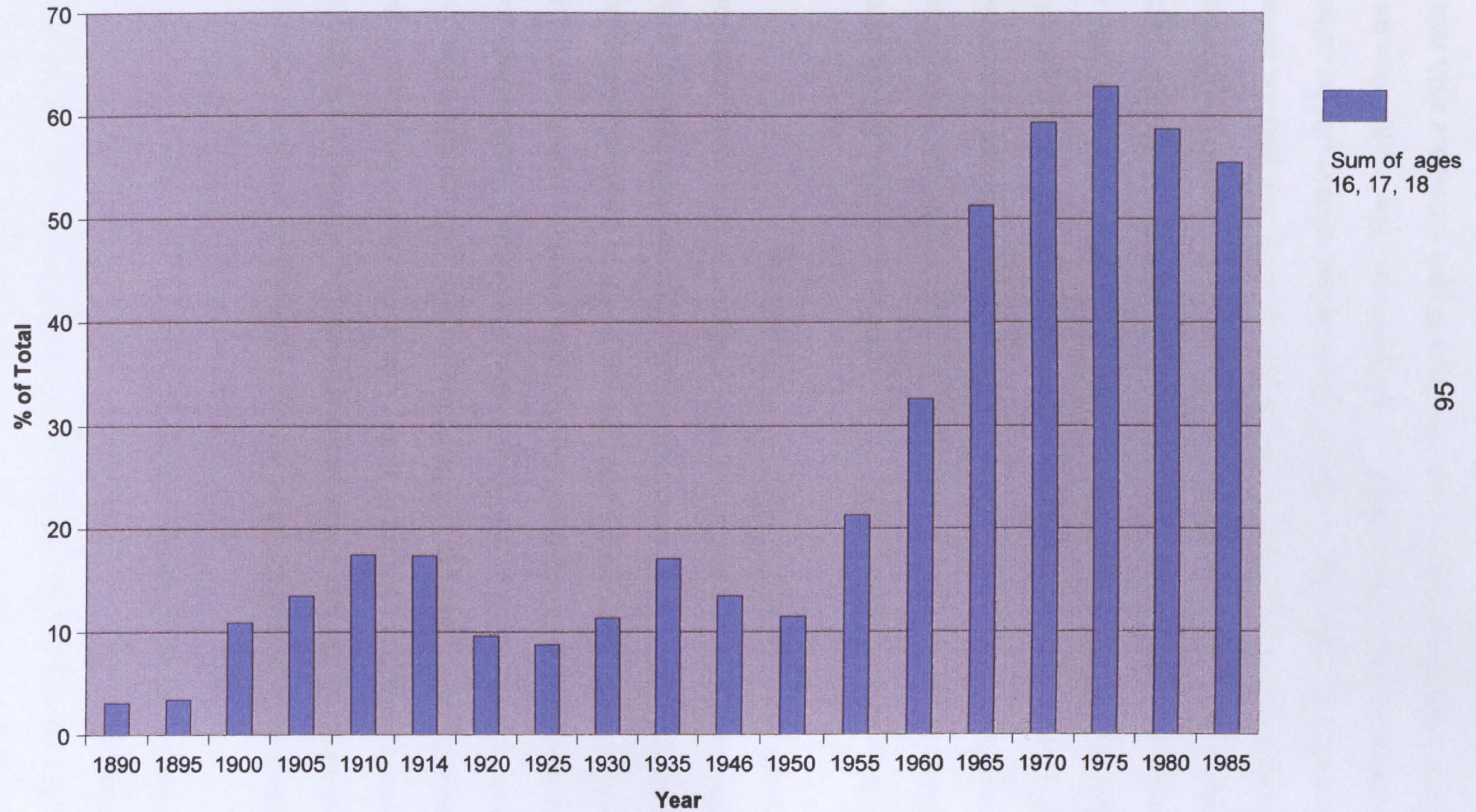
an aggregate is made for the totals for ages 16, 17 and 18 and this is summarised below in Table 14 (also expressed as Graph 4: Changing Debut Ages for Professionals Playing in the English League 1890 - 1985, p. 95).

Table 14: Percentages of Professionals Making Their Debut Aged 16 - 18 in the English League 1890 - 1985.

Year	No.	% Total
1890	1	3.1
1895	2	3.4
1900	6	10.9
1905	13	13.5
1910	21	17.5
1914	25	17.4
1920	28	9.6
1925	37	8.8
1930	48	11.4
1935	72	17.1
1946	44	13.5
1950	39	11.5
1955	67	21.3
1960	102	32.6
1965	154	51.3
1970	155	59.4
1975	168	62.9
1980	168	58.7
1985	121	55.5

If we ignore the results until 1905 because of the small size of the sample, a clear pattern emerges. Age of debut clearly rises, as one might expect, after both World Wars, because players who made their debuts in wartime football would make their proper League debut when the official league competitions restarted. After the 1914 - 18 war, debut ages only fell to

Graph 4: Changing Debut Ages for Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985



pre-war levels by 1935. There is a much quicker return to pre-war levels after the Second World War, but by 1955 there is a significant fall which continues, until by 1970 nearly two-thirds of professional footballers have made their debut by the age of 18.

Despite the relatively large volume of literature about the rise of the teenager in the late 1950s, there are very few studies of the history of youth, which according to Harry Hendrick, are not confined to boy scouts, club members, public schoolboys or delinquents.²⁴ The 'turn to youth' in the football profession after the Second World offers an untapped area of investigation which can make a significant contribution to the social history of working-class youth in England. However, the paucity of studies of youth extends also into football history, which, with the exception of a few pioneering studies, has paid scant attention to the youth 'policies' and 'systems' of English clubs.

Those social histories of British youth which do exist warn against the tendency to see 1945 as a watershed. David Fowler has argued that economic changes which led to the rise of the teenager as a consumer in the late 1950s were largely under way in the 1930s.²⁵ The same might well be argued for the rise of the teenager in English football. I have already argued in the previous chapter that in the second half of the 1930s there was an ideological current in the game which began to espouse the notion that clubs ought to be developing their own players. Some clubs (notably Manchester United and Wolves) had what could be called a system for the development of young players. The MUJAC was set up by Chairman James Gibson and Secretary Walter Crickmer with reference to the formation of a junior athletic club for cultivating young players after they leave school.²⁶ Major Frank Buckley's football nursery at Wolves, as

Chapter One pointed out, was the most famous example. Chapter One largely dealt with the financial motives behind youth policies, chiefly the avoidance of transfer fees, but also a strong moral dimension to the developing of home grown players. As Harold Lewis, in a 1938 *Picture Post* article 'How to Become a Football Star', put it, 'These are the days of the young player. Time was when clubs relied to a large extent upon tried players who went on until they simply could not stand the pace any longer. That day has gone. Never before has the young footballer been offered such golden opportunities for swift advancement in the game'.²⁷

Other clubs without such systems could take advantage of a long established series of informal networks. Organised schools' football took shape in the 1890s and the English Schools Football Association was founded in 1904. By 1928, its membership stood at 6,000 schools, rising to 8,000 by 1949. A pyramid system existed by which an outstanding schoolboy could play for school, town and county and ultimately England boys.²⁸ However, not only the elite few who made it to England schoolboys were of interest to professional clubs, other mechanisms existed by which other promising boys were drawn to the attention of clubs. Headmasters and schoolteachers were assiduously courted by club scouts and would contact clubs to recommend prospects. The role of works, church and village teams as a showcase for young talent seems also to have been very important.²⁹

If the mechanisms for finding young footballers existed pre-war, it was not easy for the young player to break through to the first team until he had proven himself in what was effectively a pecking order of five (or sometimes six, as at Manchester United) teams maintained by some clubs. According to Percy Young, the MUJAC system which Busby inherited in

1945 had four youth teams, the B team (15 - 16 year olds), an A team (16 to 17 year olds), the Colts team (17-18 year olds) and the Official A team (18 to 20 year olds).³⁰ There were some high profile young debutants before the Second World War, Cliff 'Boy' Bastin at Arsenal, and Buckley's Jimmy Mullen and Alan Steen, who made their Wolves' debuts aged 16 in March 1939. Stan Cullis was still a teenager (19) when he captained the Wolves' first team. However, as Matt Busby pointed out in his 1973 autobiography *Soccer At the Top*, to make such an early first team debut was exceptionally rare, and my statistics bear him out. Busby attributed the dearth of young footballers appearing for First Division teams before the Second World War to the lack of any coherent youth policy in football as a whole. The usual method by which a young player broke through into the first team was that the manager or directors would wait until there was a vacancy or weakness and look to remedy it by buying a player or finding an outstanding one from junior football.³¹

The Second World War had provided the young player with particular opportunities not present under ordinary circumstances. Employing young players became a necessity for the survival of club football during the war. Two different types of new opportunity presented themselves to the younger player, depending on his age and circumstances at the outbreak of war. The first opportunity benefited young players who may have been picked up by clubs but were finding it hard to make a breakthrough. Stanley Matthews tells us that Stanley Mortensen, his future post-war partner in the forward line at Blackpool, had been spotted by the seaside club while playing for South Shields schoolboys at Blackpool pre-war and had been signed as an amateur. However, he was not seen as first team, nor international material, until he began playing as a 'guest' with Bath City, the non-league club, early in the war, an

opportunity for regular football which would have been denied him under normal conditions. Mortensen's continued rise to notice came under very unusual circumstances when, some weeks later, he was picked for a Scottish selected eleven against the British Army at Aberdeen and scored all four of Scotland's goals in their 4 - 5 defeat. Mortensen remains the only Englishman to play for the Scots. Later he made another full international debut, for Wales against England. Mortensen had been chosen as the English reserve but, when an early injury to Ivor Powell threatened to spoil the spectacle for the 80,000 crowd, Mortensen pulled on the red jersey of Wales and came on as a substitute, even though these were not permitted.

The second category of young players was those who came into the professional game in wartime. As Bolton Wanderers' players had enlisted as a group at the commencement of hostilities, Bolton's new team had space for young players such as Nat Lofthouse, Malcolm Barrass and Willie Moir. The fifteen year old Lofthouse's services were worth initially a twelfth of the 30 shillings match fee given to established professionals and indicate another reason why young players were so attractive to wartime managers; he received expenses of 2s 6d a week, which rose to 3s 6d, then 7s 6d, until he signed professional forms aged seventeen and received the full fee. Another Wolves ground staff boy, Billy Wright, dismissed in September 1939, was in no doubt that the war gave him a start in football he might otherwise not have had. Major Buckley had nearly dismissed him once before aged fourteen, considering that he would not make the grade. As detailed below, the immediate call up of older players led to Wright's senior debut. Though he was given the sack a month later when Wolves decided, like some other clubs, that they would not be able to continue in the 'phoney war' period, he then won his

first trophy as a guest player for Leicester City in the final of the Midland War Cup and returned to play for Wolves when they re-entered the League competition. By the end of the war, Wright had been transformed from a Wolves ground staff boy, sacked twice, to a reserve to travel in the F. A. team sent to Ireland for a Victory International in September 1945, accompanying Stanley Matthews, Raich Carter, Frank Swift, Tommy Lawton and Joe Mercer.

Those clubs not near Army and RAF bases (as were Blackpool and Aldershot, which benefited enormously from the large amount of guest players available to them) had to find a means of providing a nucleus of players for home, but particularly away matches, when older players were called up. Billy Wright described how the ill-wind blew him some good at Molineux,

With so many of our players of military age, and in the Territorials, it didn't take long for our playing staff to be thinned out. Early in October 1939, Major Buckley took a careful look at the footballers who were available, and before I quite realised what had happened, I was aboard the coach carrying the Wolves senior side to play Notts County.³²

Obviously veteran players could also be given a new lease of life because of these circumstances. Some clubs, however, turned to young players who would be available when older men were unable to obtain leave or might be playing for more conveniently placed teams. (These young players also did not require what could be the prohibitively expensive insurance that their home clubs demanded as protection for their stars loaned out as guests.) Chief among these were Preston North End, Manchester United, Port Vale, Bolton Wanderers and Stoke City. Aldershot established a junior side in 1940 - 41 which played at the Recreation Ground on alternate Saturdays with the first team.

Interestingly, Stoke and Wolves were able to field young teams which largely remained unchanged during the war, even when their young men passed the age for conscription, because their young players were employed in reserved occupations. Many of Wolves' young players worked in the pits; at Stoke City, McGrory's team of local youngsters also worked in mining and the steelworks.

Port Vale and Charlton were actually kept in existence at certain points in the war period by their junior teams.³³ Punished by air raids, in 1940 Charlton's gates dropped below a thousand and the first team gave up the struggle for survival. Before this, at the start of the war, Jimmy Seed had set up a training scheme for sixteen to nineteen year olds and from the most promising a junior team, Charlton Rovers, was formed to play friendlies. Seed continued with this team in 1940 when the first team temporarily shut down until the 1941 - 42 season.³⁴ Freed from the obligation of having to pay a weekly wage to players by the match fee system, clubs felt able to take large numbers of players onto their books. By 1941, Manchester United had sixty-four players registered, rising to seventy-six in 1942 and a peak of eighty-two in 1944.³⁵ It can be assumed that many of these were young players. Jackie Milburn and friends had had to form their own team in the Ashington Midget League in order to gain competitive match experience. Milburn recalled a further way in which the war provided young players the opportunity to join teams of their peers. '1939 saw many youngsters such as myself joining the A. T. C., and four nights a week we trained like commandos on the Ashington Recreation Ground after first putting in a hectic spell in the gymnasium...in the A. T. C. side I also made progress on the football field.'³⁶ His breakthrough into the Newcastle wartime side came as a result of being invited to the annual trial, after answering an

advertisement in the *North Mail*.³⁷

There was thus enthusiastic local scouting of youth players by some clubs, and these were, often, of necessity, given a debut during the war. It is tempting to speculate that the post-war turn to youth was given a further stimulus by the way in which young players had proven themselves during the period of hostilities. Certainly, the war made football youngsters a highly visible group. What is clear is that in the post-war period managers and or boards of directors who picked the teams had to be prepared to put young players into their first teams systematically, rather than as a short term stop gap as Busby had claimed was the pre-war practice.

A few were undoubtedly encouraged by the revived moral imperative to promote youth. Although, this had existed before the war, as I have already argued, it was given enormous impetus by the discourse of the People's War. Much academic attention has been given to fears that the war might have created a disturbed generation which would find the outlet for the expression of the traumas and disruption of wartime in juvenile delinquency. However, as Bill Osgerby argues, there has been, since the late nineteenth century, a 'duality of response' towards youth 'as a national resource deserving encouragement and respect', and as a threat to established mores and social cohesion.³⁸ During the Second World War, one of the aims of the People's War discourse was to create a better future for the nation's youth. Matt Busby's eloquent retrospective description of his 'own, my very own, nursery or creche' to nurture young players and mould them into the Busby way, was very much in tune with the emphasis upon education and inculcation of moral values in the citizens of tomorrow which was promoted by the government and other

interested parties as part of the planned Welfare State.³⁹ However, managers like Busby who espoused the promotion of youth were also responding to immediate difficulties within football. When Busby became United's manager, he promised Chairman James Gibson that he would not be spending any large sums of money on transfers. What Busby did at United was not to introduce a youth policy but to help popularise the idea that such policies did not just make financial sense but were the only way forward for football as a profession after the war.

Other social factors outside football may have made it easier to recruit and promote young players. The numbers of young men were increased by the temporary, yet significant baby boom at the end of the war, which swelled the British teenage population in the 1950s and 1960s. Scientific evidence also suggested that with higher living standards children were maturing at a much younger age, so that young footballers may have been more capable of holding their own in the professional game.⁴⁰ The image of Duncan Edwards, built like a man at the age of 16, as contemporaries marvelled, and able to play 95 games for United and the Army in a single season when he was 18, is hardly proof of this contention, but was certainly powerful testament to the efficacy of National Dried Milk and free orange juice.

Post-war, prompted by necessity, but validated by the prevailing spirit of social reconstruction and renewal, Manchester United became an active recruiter of young talent. In 1945, Jimmy Murphy was made assistant manager with responsibility for the reserves and the assessment of schoolboys. Tony Whelan, in his study of United's youth policy between 1950 - 57, describes how the club employed a small number of scouts, eight at the maximum, led by Joe Armstrong, who were instructed to

concentrate on boys and youths.⁴¹ United, according to some of the products of this system, was successful in signing some of the best prospects because the club had the reputation of being prepared to give lads their chance in the first team. Bobby Charlton, in an interview in April 1973, claimed that he had joined partly because 'United were just starting to put youngsters into the first team, which was unheard of'.⁴² Jeff Whitefoot became the youngest player ever to appear in United's first team making his League debut against Portsmouth on 15 April 1950.

The press made their contribution to the turn to youth by feting those managers who developed youth systems. 'Busby's Babes', 'Mercer's Minors' (Aston Villa), 'Drake's Ducklings' (Chelsea) and 'Cullis's Cubs' (Wolves) garnered approbatory headlines. By the mid 1950s, which is when the rise in numbers of young players becomes significant, Joe Mercer began to associate himself with the drive to youth. At Sheffield United, a club struggling in terms of its League position and financially, he sold older established players and placed a heavy reliance on younger reserve players. Mercer's first season at Aston Villa saw the club relegated but he told the Villa chairman that the £25,000 available for new players was better spent on a new training ground. Villa already (like United, Chelsea and particularly Wolves) had a well-developed system for its youth players but Mercer publicly criticised the quality of the players in the youth and reserve teams, claiming it was necessary to start from scratch. His youth policy attracted enormous attention and led for calls for him to become England manager.⁴³

Elsewhere, by the Fifties, the straitened circumstances which beset many clubs following the boom seasons immediately after the war, as well as the popularity of youth policies, at least in the media, led less high profile

clubs to follow. As Chapter One described, Angus Seed and Tim Ward, managers of Barnsley, along with the board of directors, began their own drive towards youth. In 1953, shortly after the unexpected death of Seed, the first product of the youth system, Tommy Taylor, was sold to Manchester United. Seed had started the Northern Intermediate league where the youngest of the five Barnsley sides played and following a poor start to the 1952 - 53 season, he brought in eight players from the youth team. In 1955, as Chapter One explains in more detail, the Barnsley board agreed not to sell important young players during the next five years.⁴⁴

West Ham United, according to Malcolm Allison, had no youth policy until the mid 1950s, but were driven to adopt one by the temper of the times. 'They never had anything - youth team or anything else until 1956. Even then they were copying Manchester United and Chelsea.'⁴⁵ Charles Korr points out that, as I have argued with regard to other clubs, the management of West Ham United, once they began a concerted effort to scout, sign and develop young players in the mid 1950s, was able to take advantage of the excellent schoolboy football that had been a hallmark of the East End and Essex for decades.⁴⁶

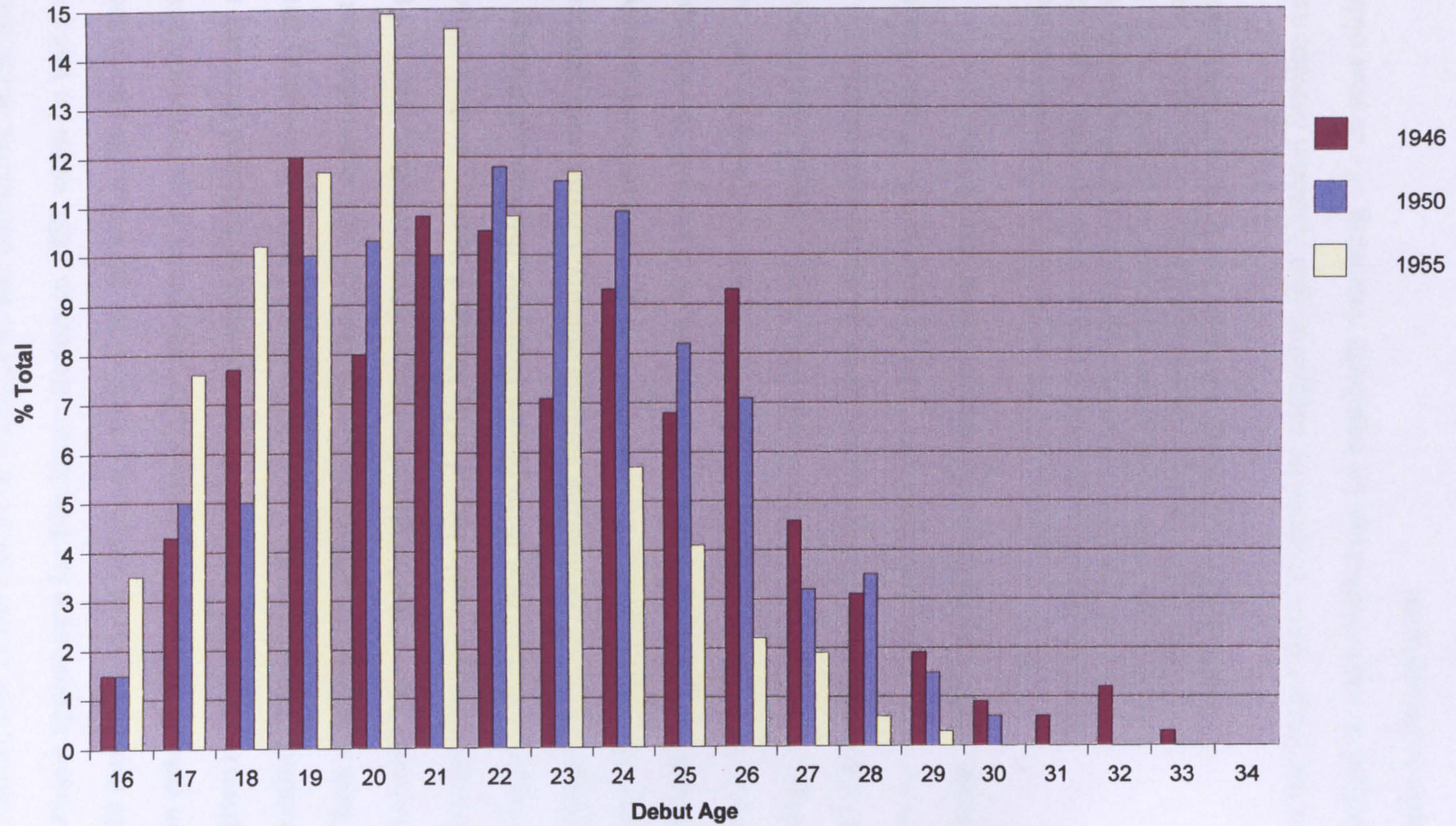
There was an additional factor after the Second World War which may explain why 1950 shows a further increase in the age of debut, the introduction of National Service. Though National Service is today touted as a remedy for delinquency by some on the Right, it was seen in the 1950s as contributing to the problem.⁴⁷ Introduced by the National Service Act of 1948 in order to create armed reserves, and lasting until 1960, according to contemporaries it left young men between the ages of 15 and 17 in limbo. They could not be conscripted until 18, but left school at 15, and employers were understandably reluctant to take them

on for training in the skilled and semi-skilled occupations, even though those in apprenticeships could delay their National Service while they completed them.

Football clubs were not dissuaded by the prospect of National Service in the competition to sign up young talent, indeed they could look forward to the Army paying players' wages for two years. However, it is clear that they often found it an irritation and it may have made young players between 18 and 20 difficult to accommodate. Interestingly, my statistics suggest that 1950, which is the post-war year in which significantly fewer 16-18 year olds were being given a debut, lower even than in 1946, experienced the biggest fall in debuts for eighteen and nineteen year olds, precisely the years when young men would be doing their National Service. (See Graph 5: Age of League Debut for Professionals in 1946 - 1955, below, p. 107.) This may be a result of the sample size, but it could suggest that, at least in 1950, before clubs had adjusted to the impact of National Service, it did contribute to a raising of debut age of that year.

The impact of National Service upon professional football is a largely untouched topic, but there is some evidence of the ways that clubs reacted to the conscription of their young talent. One contemporary account is given by Ronnie Clayton in his 1960 autobiography, *A Slave - To Soccer*.

Graph 5: Age of League Debut for Professionals in 1946-1955



Clayton, one of the cohort of young post-war debutants, made his first League appearance for Blackburn Rovers in 1950, when he was sixteen. He was called up in 1952 and posted to North Wales. The book includes an extract from a newspaper article (the source is unfortunately not given) which offers one highly critical view of National Service's effect on football. The author discusses the impact of being in the Army for Clayton and Birmingham City's John Newman and concludes that what had been two of the brightest prospects of a year before had had their development seriously impeded by National Service, as they could no longer command first team places. However, this was a difficulty which did not affect all footballing soldiers equally. Clayton and Newman's problems had arisen as they were stationed at a considerable travelling distance away from their clubs.⁴⁸ Clayton, at odds with the elsewhere conformist tenor of his autobiography (he was in favour of the maximum wage), strongly suggested that National Service might have played into Blackburn Rovers' hands in some respects, as the club could save money by not asking the Army to release him to play in one of their reserve teams, when they did not need him as a first team player.

For only if I played for the Rovers could I command my weekly £6 match fee from Ewood. And there were times when I got the impression from my commanding officer that the Rovers had not asked for me to be freed at the week-end to play for them. I didn't think that I should command a regular first team place but I thought that Blackburn should play me in one of their teams.⁴⁹

In the longer term, it could be suggested that National Service may have helped to lower debut age by regularly removing 18 - 20 year olds who have to be replaced.

John Gillis has described the precocity of youth which had emerged as a social trend in the 1950s and 1960s, and the visibility and larger

percentage of teenage footballers in the game in this period appear to follow wider social patterns. Between 1900 - 1950, according to Gillis, protective legislation had recognised the middle-class concept of adolescence, that boys were not ready to do men's work. There was always a tension in this period between the aims of this legislation and the growing demand for working-class young people's labour, as well as family pressures which meant that working-class children were still expected to leave school and go to work at a younger age.⁵⁰

Working-class youths were thus more precocious, laying claim to the rights and duties of adulthood previously withheld from them, a precocity adopted by the middle class in the 1960s.⁵¹ Football's regulations for the protection and training of young players in the twentieth century broadly followed this cycle. Cultural perceptions of youth also underwent considerable adjustment. The affluent teenager became, according to Osgerby, an identifiable social category in the 1950s.⁵² The Second World War was a watershed in terms of the visibility of the young and convinced many contemporary commentators that post-war youth was palpably different from previous generations of young people.⁵³ The 'Busby Babes' were one example of this new visibility of youth, and were followed by a new generation of precocious young talent ready to take on both the roles and rewards of their more adult colleagues. However, the attention given to youth by football commentators was a recognition of a significant change in the professional ranks which saw considerable numbers of teenagers given a younger League debut.

In 1960, there was a change to the guidelines laid down by the Football Association that boys could not become full-time professionals until they were 17.⁵⁴ Harding describes how before this point, highly prized

youngsters were signed on to the ground staff and were allowed to attend the club for training on two evenings a week, signing amateur forms. In 1960, this was replaced by a formal apprenticeship scheme which meant that clubs could recruit up to fifteen boys. Harding claims that, 'In the years following the introduction of the scheme, the ratio of apprentices to full-time professionals increased significantly'.⁵⁵ It is impossible to prove that this scheme was responsible for the continuing rise in the number of younger debutants from 1960 onwards, or whether it was just a recognition that the younger player now formed a much more significant presence in professional football. But my statistics do indicate that there was a doubling in the (albeit small) numbers of sixteen year olds making their debut in 1960.

The statistics show that the largest rise in the number of 16 - 18 years making their debut came between 1960 and 1965 (see Graph 4: Changing Debut Ages for Professionals Playing in the English League, 1890 - 1985, above p. 95), indicating that the New Deal may have speeded up the turn to youth. The ending of the maximum wage meant that some clubs could not maintain the large reserve squads, packed with internationals, that had existed at some of the more affluent clubs since the 1930s, encouraging them to use younger players. The links between young players and clubs were extended in the 1970s when the Schoolboy Apprentice system was introduced which enabled boys between 13 and 15 to be attached to a club and to come in and train for three evenings a week, also being allowed to play for a junior club team if their school permitted them. One can speculate that clubs would be more likely to give young players an early debut if they had come through their own system and had had earlier and closer links with the club than had previously been the case. These might also be locally born boys.

Certainly, the Youth Training Scheme could provide a financial support from 1978 onwards for clubs taking on young players, and seems to have been very successful in bringing young players through into the professional ranks, at least after it was wholeheartedly adopted by clubs from 1983 onwards⁵⁶

The Youth Opportunities Programme, initially a twelve month work-based programme of basic vocational training and experience with thirteen weeks off-the job training or further education, began in 1978, and increased to two years in 1986. However, it was only in 1983, when it was replaced by YTS, that professional football saw the potential of the scheme. John Harding argues that its impact was considerable. He describes how, by the early 1980s, the economic recession and falling attendances saw a dramatic drop in the number of apprentices being signed by football clubs, particularly at the lower end. In 1983, the twenty-four clubs comprising the old Fourth Division had only thirty-three apprentices between them.⁵⁷ Clubs received money for taking players on to the scheme.

How great an effect YTS had by 1985, the final year of my survey, is unclear. Harding quotes statistics for 1989, by when most professional clubs had between ten and fifteen boys attached as apprentices and claims that the tendency for clubs to produce their own rather than buying or recruiting the ready-made article elsewhere has continued apace. 'Today the chances of a young man becoming a professional increase substantially if he is part of a club's youth scheme. In the season 1995 - 96, of 2,289 professional players in English League clubs, 1,559 had graduated from youth training schemes.'⁵⁸ My statistics, as they end in 1985, do not reveal whether the proportion of two-thirds of the profession making

their League debut by age 18 increased in the 1990s under the influence of youth training, or whether the tailing off in the 1980s is a distortion caused by the size of sample, a function of the economic depression and the moral crisis affecting football in the 1980s, or a natural plateau which indicates that some professionals come into the game later through routes other than youth schemes (not least as older foreign imports), and that mental as well as physical maturity is an important prerequisite of the game.

2.2.3 A More 'Transitional/Mobile' Profession?: Career Length of Professionals and the Numbers of Clubs for which They Played

The phrase 'transitional/mobile' is that of Chas Critcher, and is used by him to describe the cultural situation of most (though not all) professional footballers following the New Deal. Critcher meant it to apply to the social and economic status of the former 'working-class folk hero', but I employ it here to question whether the professional footballer became more mobile in terms of his employment.⁵⁹ Two other aspects of my statistical survey attempted to identify whether the post Second World War player changed clubs more often and whether he had a less secure, shorter career. Was he thus in reality rather than just in terms of cultural perception, more of a mercenary figure, less rooted in the community?

The results of the global comparison of career length between the two databases are summarised in Table 15 below on page 113. Apart from one to two years, where there is a marked change between the two periods, the data on career lengths in the table is listed in five yearly blocks (six in the case of 21 to 28 years). This is also presented as single year totals in Graph 6: Comparison of Career Lengths of Professionals Playing in the

English League 1890 - 1985, p. 114.

Table 15: Comparison of Career Length of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985

Career Length (Years)	1890 - 1939		1946 - 1985	
	No.	%Total	No.	%Total
1 - 2	256	16	593	29.6
3 - 7	511	32	546	27.4
8 - 12	472	29.5	448	22.6
13 - 17	293	18.3	338	17
18 - 22	62	3.8	70	3.5
23 - 28	6	0.5	5	0.4

The statistics appear to show a striking change in the numbers of players whose career lasted between one and two years, the percentage of the total nearly doubling in the period following the Second World War. Otherwise there would appear to be little change in the longevity of players' careers between 1890 - 1985. However, if the five yearly census figures (shown in Tables 16 & 17: Five Yearly Analysis of Career Lengths of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890 - 1939 and 1946 - 1985 see pp. 115-116) are considered to identify when this change took place, the picture changes dramatically. Table 18: Comparison of Percentage of Professionals in the English League Whose Careers Lasted for One Season 1890 - 1985, below, page 117, demonstrates that the exceptional circumstances of 1946 led to a large rise in the numbers for a

Graph 6: Comparison of Career Length of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985

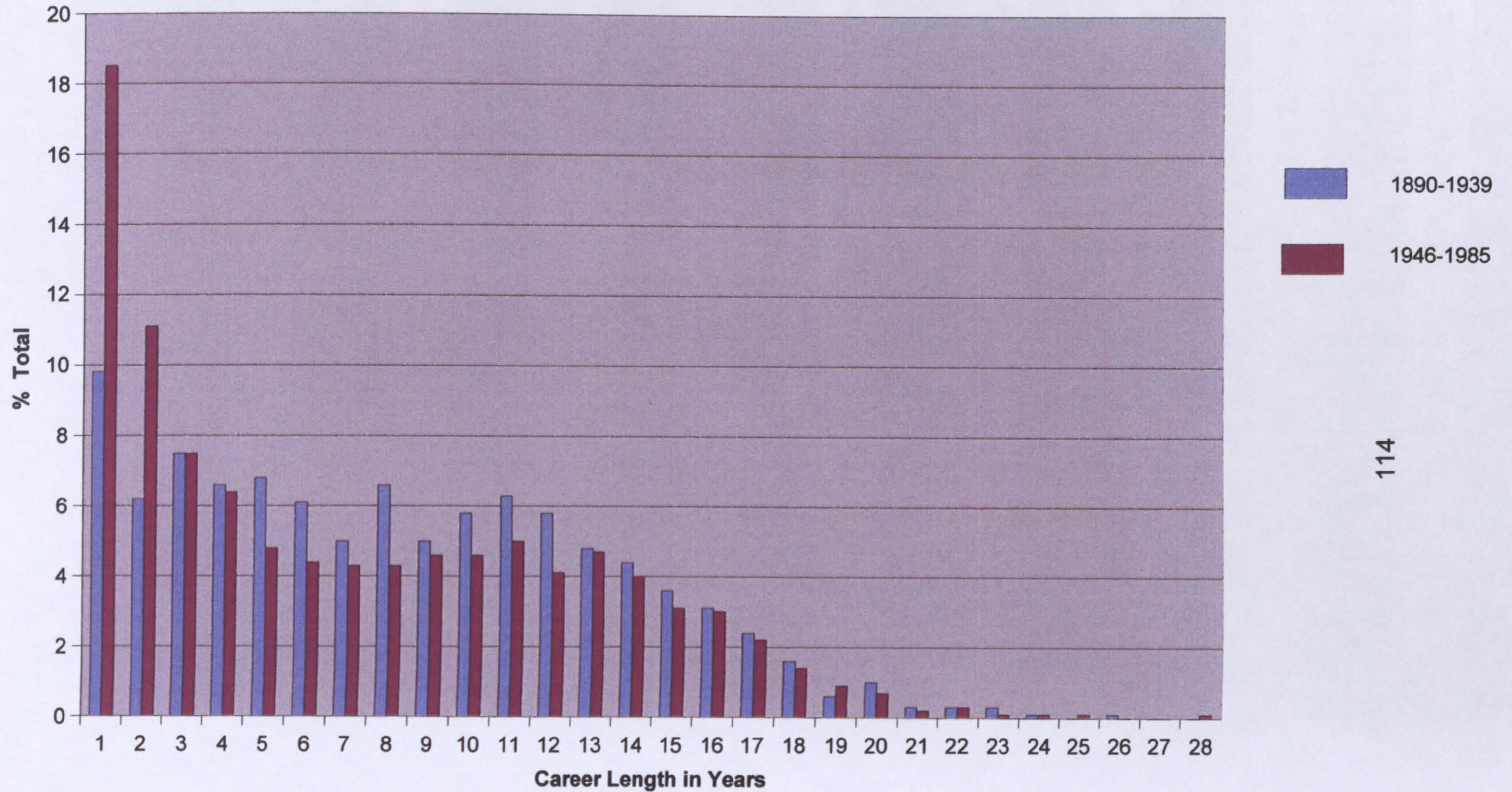


Table 16: Five Yearly Analysis of Career Length of Professionals in the English League 1890-1939

Career Length	1890		1895		1900		1905		1910		1914		1920		1925		1930		1935	
	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot
1	1	3.1	2	3.4	1	1.8	4	4.2	1	0.8	3	2.1	8	2.8	5	1.2	5	1.2	6	1.4
2	0	0	2	3.4	1	1.8	3	3.1	0	0	1	0.7	13	4.5	10	2.4	10	2.4	8	1.9
3	3	9.4	6	10.3	0	0	2	2.1	5	4.2	4	2.8	12	4.2	13	3.1	10	2.4	21	5
4	3	9.4	4	6.9	4	7.3	7	7.3	4	3.3	0	0	10	3.5	19	4.5	16	3.8	19	4.5
5	4	12.5	4	6.9	1	1.8	5	5.2	2	1.7	0	0	13	4.5	34	8.1	20	4.8	23	5.5
6	3	9.4	3	5.2	9	16.4	6	6.3	5	4.2	1	0.7	12	4.2	30	7.1	20	4.8	28	6.7
7	2	6.3	1	1.7	1	1.8	6	6.3	4	3.3	2	1.4	10	3.5	29	6.9	19	4.5	28	6.7
8	3	9.4	12	20.7	5	9.1	8	8.3	5	4.2	4	2.8	21	7.3	40	9.5	34	8.1	32	7.6
9	4	12.5	6	10.3	5	9.1	4	4.2	4	3.3	8	5.6	14	4.8	29	6.9	31	7.4	18	4.3
10	2	6.3	4	6.9	3	5.5	8	8.3	7	5.8	10	6.9	22	7.6	34	8.1	51	12.1	33	7.9
11	3	9.4	4	6.9	3	5.5	8	8.3	9	7.5	13	9	22	7.6	36	8.5	49	11.6	20	4.8
12	1	3.1	2	3.4	5	9.1	7	7.3	8	6.7	8	5.6	16	5.5	30	7.1	44	10.5	32	7.6
13	0	0	1	1.7	3	5.5	5	5.2	10	8.3	16	11.1	22	7.6	24	5.7	27	6.4	25	6
14	0	0	1	1.7	4	7.3	5	5.2	12	10	17	11.8	27	9.3	24	5.7	22	5.2	24	5.7
15	1	3.1	3	5.2	5	9.1	6	6.3	12	10	13	9	18	6.2	23	5.5	21	5	22	5.2
16	0	0	0	0	1	1.8	1	1	4	3.3	8	5.6	10	3.5	12	2.8	9	2.1	29	6.9
17	1	3.1	1	1.7	1	1.8	2	2.1	10	8.3	13	9	17	5.9	13	3.1	12	2.9	22	5.2
18	0	0	1	1.7	1	1.8	4	4.2	7	5.8	9	6.2	9	3.1	6	1.4	6	1.4	10	2.4
19	1	3.1	1	1.7	1	1.8	2	2.1	2	1.7	3	2.1	3	1	2	0.5	2	0.5	4	1
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1.7	2	1.4	2	0.7	1	0.2	7	1.7	11	2.6
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	2	1.4	2	0.7	2	0.5	2	0.5	1	0.2
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2.5	3	2.1	3	1	3	0.7	2	0.5	3	0.7
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1.7	3	2.1	3	1	2	0.5	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.5	1	0.2
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	1	1.8	1	1	1	0.8	1	0.7	0	0	1	0.2	0	0	0	0
Total	32		58		55		96		120		144		289		422		421		420	

Table 17: Five Yearly Analysis of Career Length of Professionals Playing in the English League 1946-1985

Career Length	1946		1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985	
	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot
1	41	12.6	15	4.4	13	4.1	10	3.2	5	1.7	4	1.5	7	2.6	6	2.1	6	2.8
2	28	8.6	19	5.6	13	4.1	14	4.8	16	5.3	2	0.8	6	2.2	9	3.2	6	2.8
3	20	6.2	11	3.2	8	2.5	10	3.2	11	3.7	4	1.5	10	3.7	11	3.8	10	4.6
4	12	3.7	22	6.5	15	4.8	19	6.1	12	4	9	3.4	5	1.9	10	3.5	4	1.8
5	8	2.5	23	6.8	13	4.1	14	4.8	13	4.3	9	3.4	9	3.4	12	4.2	4	1.8
6	10	3.1	23	6.8	17	5.4	14	4.8	9	3	11	4.2	7	2.6	13	4.5	7	3.2
7	13	4	27	7.9	19	6	18	5.8	8	2.7	12	4.6	7	2.6	7	2.4	9	4.1
8	13	4	30	8.8	29	9.2	21	6.7	11	3.7	6	2.3	9	3.4	8	2.8	9	4.1
9	14	4.3	23	6.8	22	7	24	7.7	25	8.3	15	5.7	11	4.1	15	5.2	12	5.5
10	17	5.3	18	5.3	25	7.9	21	6.7	25	8.3	22	8.4	20	7.5	21	7.3	15	6.9
11	16	4.9	23	6.8	35	11.1	29	9.3	27	9	20	7.7	19	7.1	22	7.7	17	7.8
12	14	4.3	15	4.4	26	8.3	19	6.1	22	7.3	24	9.2	24	9	18	6.3	16	7.3
13	20	6.2	14	4.1	22	7	31	9.9	28	9.3	24	9.2	15	5.6	20	7	23	10.6
14	23	7.1	14	4.1	14	4.5	18	5.8	24	8	26	10	26	9.7	20	7	13	6
15	12	3.7	13	3.8	12	3.8	17	5.4	18	6	21	8	24	9	22	7.7	16	7.3
16	11	3.4	13	3.8	11	3.5	17	5.4	19	6.3	20	7.7	23	8.6	24	8.4	19	8.7
17	17	5.3	6	1.8	6	1.9	8	2.6	12	4	14	5.4	14	5.2	19	6.6	10	4.6
18	13	4	6	1.8	5	1.6	1	0.3	6	2	7	2.7	9	3.4	11	3.8	8	3.7
19	8	2.5	6	1.8	5	1.6	4	1.3	5	1.7	2	0.8	8	3	7	2.4	6	2.8
20	8	2.5	3	0.9	2	0.6	2	0.6	2	0.6	4	1.5	5	1.9	4	1.4	2	0.9
21	3	0.9	2	0.6	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.5
22	2	0.6	0	0	2	0.6	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	4	1.5	4	1.4	4	1.8
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.6	3	1	2	0.8	2	0.7	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4	0	0
25	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4	2	0.9
Total	324		340		315		313		301		261		267		286		218	

short period.

Table 18: Comparison of Percentage of Professionals in the English League Whose Careers Lasted for One Season 1890-1985

Year	%Total
1890	3.1
1895	3.4
1900	1.8
1905	4.2
1910	0.8
1914	2.1
1920	2.8
1925	1.2
1930	1.2
1935	1.4
1946	12.6
1950	4.4
1955	4.1
1960	3.2
1965	1.7
1970	1.5
1975	2.6
1980	2.1
1985	2.8

There is a similar rise for 1946 in the percentage of players whose careers lasted two and three years only. Indeed, just over a quarter of players in the sample had a professional league career which lasted between one to

three years. The reasons for this wastage can be seen in the response of clubs to the 1946 season. Thomas Taw has produced some figures for the inflated sizes of squads at many clubs, where in general these were the largest in the Football League since its formation 58 years previously.⁶⁰ According to Taw, over the course of the 1946 - 47 season two clubs used over 40 players in league matches, and First, Second and Third Division (South) clubs averaged 26 to 27, the Third Division (North) 30. Of the 567 different first division players, only six outfield men and five goalkeepers played in every match.⁶¹ Huddersfield Town had the largest playing staff, numbering 60 professionals and 30 amateurs.⁶² For a very brief period the clubs kept on their books the large numbers of local amateurs some had recruited to fill the gaps left by the call up of experienced professionals, though these would not have appeared in my statistics as they only included professionals, suggesting an even greater turnover. The enormous profits of 1946 made it easy for them to pay a wage to the increased numbers of professionals on their books as well. In part these large numbers were a response to the uncertain position of professional football in 1946 - 47, but at least one contemporary explained them as cheap insurance, 'If you are in the running for promotion your players are kicked up in the air and you must have capable reserves'.⁶³

The same picture emerges about the very particular circumstances of the 1946 - 47 season in the analysis of the data about the number of League clubs professionals played for. Table 19 on page 120 summarises the results of the global comparison between the figures drawn from the two databases (which is also presented below in Graph 7, p. 119).

Graph 7: Comparison of No. of Clubs of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985

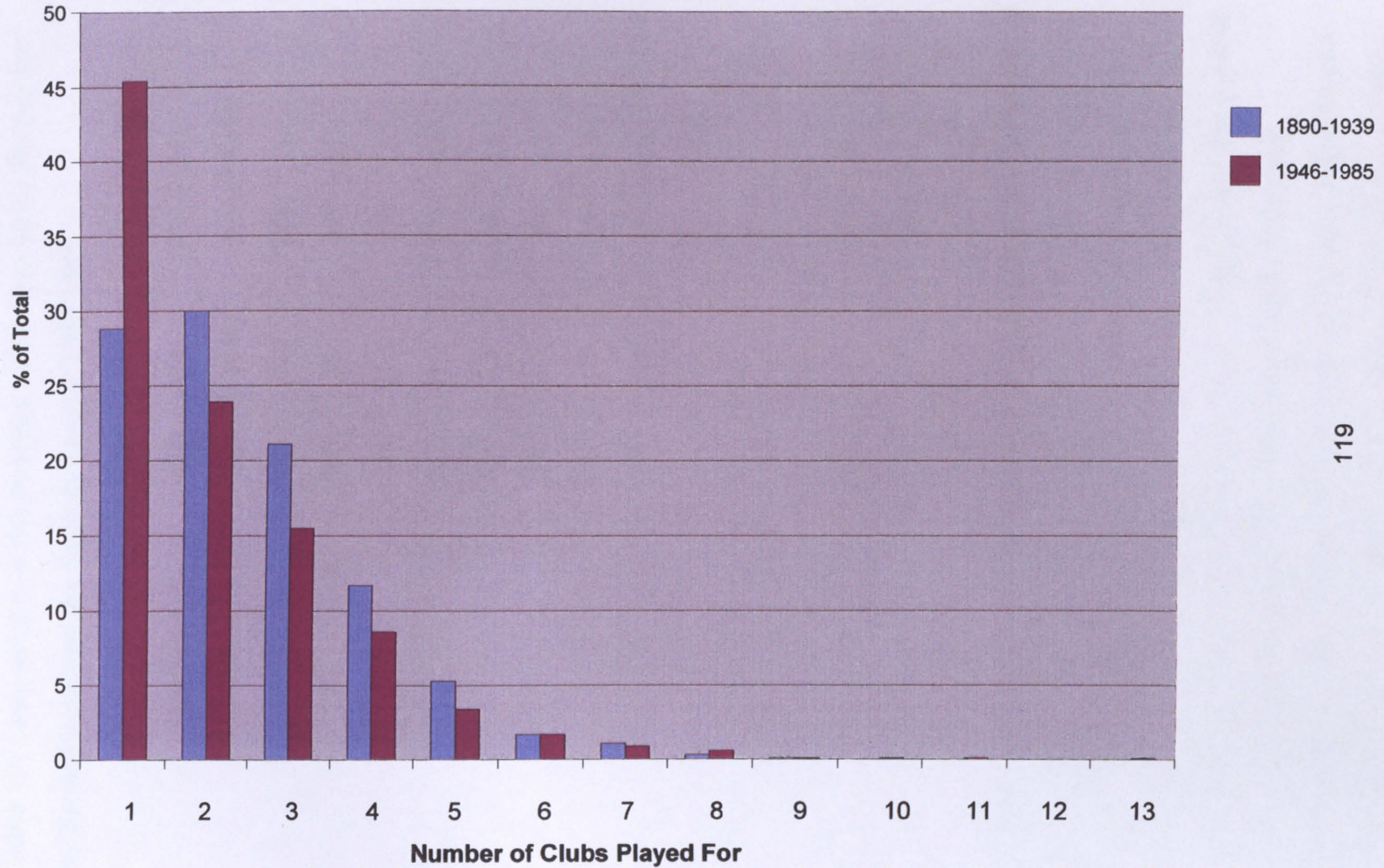


Table 19: Comparison of the Number of League Clubs Played for by Professionals in the English League 1890-1985

No. of Clubs	1890 - 1939		1946 - 1985	
	No.	% Total	No.	% Total
1	460	28.8	908	45.4
2	480	30	478	23.9
3	338	21.1	310	15.5
4	187	11.7	171	8.6
5	85	5.3	67	3.4
6	27	1.7	33	1.7
7	17	1.1	17	0.9
8	5	0.3	12	0.6
9	1	0.1	1	0.1
10	0	0	1	0.1
11	0	0	1	0.1
12	0	0	0	0
13	0	0	1	0.1

The statistics might seem to suggest that the one club player was far more in evidence during the period following the Second World War, and that, like the increase in the numbers of local and regional players at some clubs after the Second World War, it could suggest that footballers were becoming less mobile, not more. However, it is highly likely that most of the large number of players in the 1946 figures who only played professionally for one season had only one club. The percentage figures for one club players for 1946 and 1950 are virtually the same (see Table 20: Five Yearly Analysis of No. Of Clubs of Professionals Playing in the English league 1890-1985), but this suggests a misleading level of stability

Table 20: Five Yearly Analysis of No. of Clubs of Professionals Playing in the English League 1890 - 1985

No. of Clubs	1890		1895		1900		1905		1910		1914		1920		1925		1930		1935	
	No.	% Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot
1	13	40.6	18	31	6	10.9	18	8.8	23	19.2	30	20.8	53	18.3	69	16.4	61	14.5	79	16.7
2	11	34.4	15	25.9	19	34.5	27	28.1	37	30.8	35	24.3	80	27.7	111	26.3	105	24.9	132	31.4
3	5	15.6	14	24.1	16	29.1	36	37.5	37	30.8	44	30.6	70	24.2	106	25.1	108	25.7	93	22.1
4	2	6.3	7	12.1	10	18.2	11	11.5	18	15	21	14.6	48	16.6	66	15.6	70	16.6	57	13.6
5	1	3.1	3	5.2	4	7.3	4	4.2	4	3.3	11	7.6	27	9.3	44	10.4	41	9.7	28	6.7
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	2	1.4	3	1	11	2.6	18	4.3	20	4.8
7	0	0	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	4	1.4	10	2.4	12	2.9	9	2.1
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	0.9	5	1.2	2	0.5
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.2	1	0.2	0	0
Total	32		58		55		96		120		144		289		422		421		420	
No. of Clubs	1946		1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985			
	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot	No.	%Tot
1	121	37.3	124	36.5	115	36.8	86	27.5	67	22.3	44	16.9	39	14.6	40	14	29	13.3		
2	98	30.2	104	30.6	99	31.4	91	29	89	30	61	23.4	59	22.1	47	16.4	30	13.8		
3	63	19.4	64	18.9	49	15.6	71	22.7	68	22.6	71	27.2	75	28.1	81	28.3	57	26.4		
4	30	9.3	35	10.3	36	11.4	40	12.8	44	14.6	45	17.2	42	15.7	46	16.1	41	19		
5	9	2.8	10	2.9	8	2.4	14	4.5	15	5	21	8	21	7.9	31	10.8	28	13		
6	2	0.6	2	0.6	3	1	4	1.3	7	2.3	11	4.2	17	6.4	21	7.3	15	6.9		
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1.6	8	2.7	5	1.9	9	3.4	8	2.8	7	3.2		
8	1	0.3	1	0.3	1	0.3	1	0.3	2	0.7	2	0.8	4	1.5	9	3.2	8	3.7		
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.5		
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.5		
Total	324		340		315		313		301		261		267		286		218			

in 1946. In 1950 there were far fewer one club players who played for one season only. However, if the one club figures for the census points are extracted, and 1946 discounted as an exceptional year, the results do seem to suggest that the 1950s (and perhaps even the early 60s) was a period when there was relatively less transfer activity and a roughly a third of all professionals played for one League club only.

Table 21: Changing Percentage of One Club Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985

Year	% Total
1890	40.6
1895	31
1900	10.9
1905	8.8
1910	19.2
1914	20.8
1920	18.3
1925	16.4
1930	14.5
1935	16.7
1946	37.3
1950	36.5
1955	36.8
1960	27.5
1965	22.3
1970	16.9
1975	14.6
1980	14
1985	13.3

Graph 8: Changing % of One Club Professionals in the English League 1890 - 1985

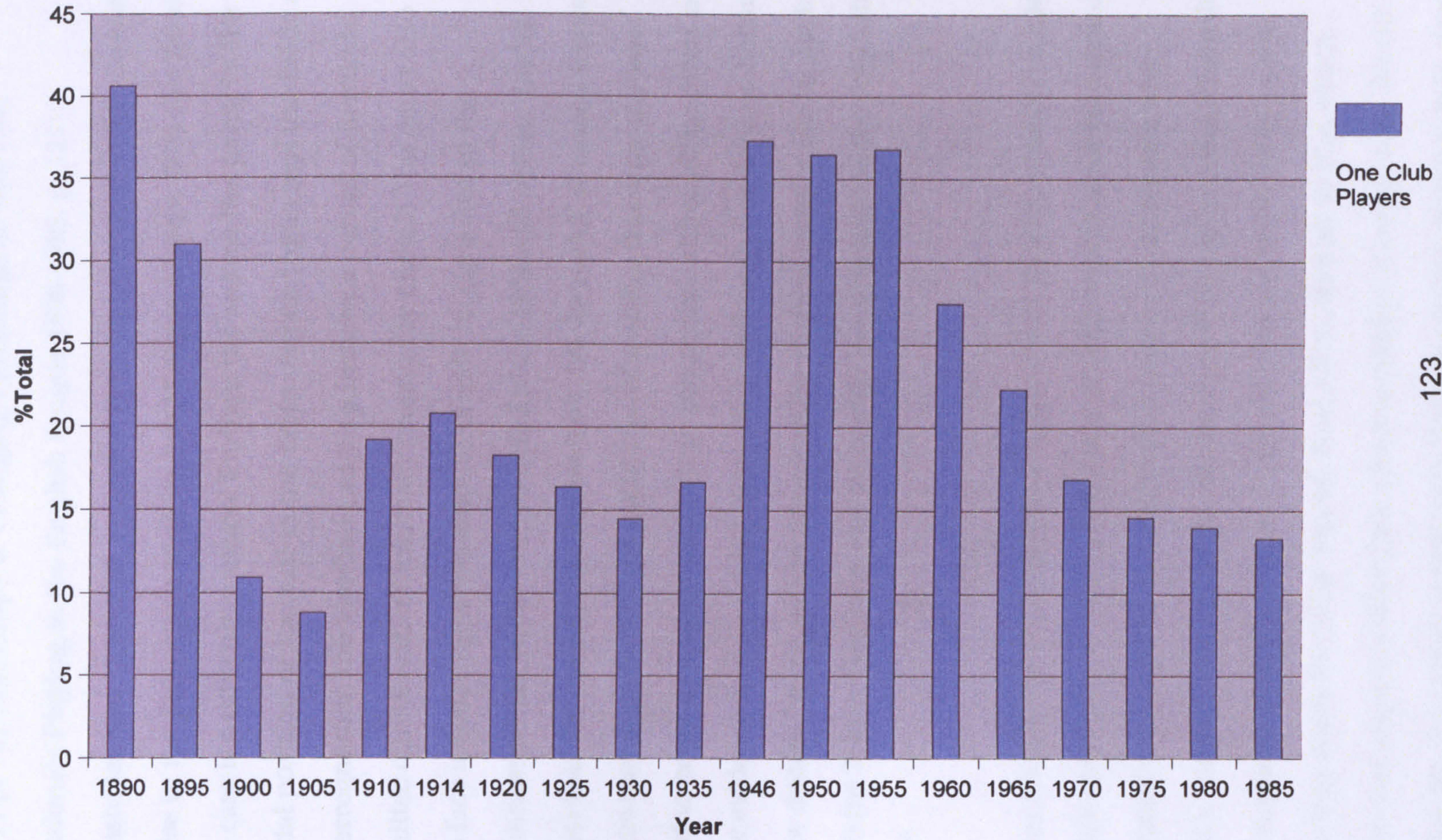


Table 21 p. 122 (and Graph 8: Changing Percentage of One Club Professionals Playing in the English League 1890-1985, p. 123) demonstrates how this trend outlasted 1946, and cannot only be explained by a rise in the percentage of short-lived League careers. Why this should be the case is a difficult question. Perhaps the answer lies partly in the financial position of football in the 1950s. Simon Inglis sees the 1950s as an interregnum in the Football League's history; a period of inertia in Committee circles and complacency among the clubs.⁶⁴ The game also had to face a doubling of the amount of gate receipts lost to the Entertainment Tax, which rose to 21% for the 1952 - 53 season. Inglis suggests that the extra strain imposed by this increased financial burden on clubs may explain why the rapid rise of transfer fees after the war seemed to come to a temporary halt in the period, although he offers no further evidence to support his contention. Although Sunderland began the new decade by more than doubling the highest transfer fee by paying £30,000 for Trevor Ford, the rise was much less dramatic in the following years.⁶⁵

Whether a small rise in large transfer fees meant that the transfer market saw little activity is not clear. Certainly, as high profile cases like that of Wilf Mannion exemplify, if clubs wished to hold on to players who wanted a transfer, they could do. Another possible explanation might lie in an increased feeling of 'loyalty' to a club among both directors and players that stems from the Second World War, similar to that which Chapter One argued endured for a shorter period after the First World War, though this is very speculative. Perhaps players' reluctance to move might be affected by the value of their benefit, which players' autobiographies reveal bulked large in their considerations. Between 1960-1965 there seems to be a return to the previous level of movement by

players between clubs.

Conclusion

Although the New Deal of 1961- 63 is conventionally thought to be the catalyst for the creation of the modern player, the statistical survey that forms the basis of this chapter provides overwhelming evidence that the period between 1946-1960 saw profound changes within the ranks of professional footballers. Between 1935 and 1946, the numbers of players born in the South East rose significantly. By 1955 the proportion of South East born professional League players had doubled. The vast majority of these new South East professionals were playing for clubs in the South of England. It appears that the main reasons for this change was that, inspired by the revival of emphasis on community and a climate which applauded the development of the home-grown player in opposition to the venality of the transfer system, Southern clubs were recruiting more actively in their environs.

From 1955 onwards, significant numbers of players were making their League debuts as teenagers. Between 1955 - 1970, the percentage of teenage debutants doubled, so that by 1970, two-thirds of players had made their debut by the age of 18. The profession was experiencing a distinct turn to youth, a policy which was promoted before the Second World War, but gained a new momentum during peacetime reconstruction. Players had, by necessity, been introduced at a younger age in wartime football, and the new managers of the late 1940s and 1950s espoused it enthusiastically. The turn to youth also meshed with the prevailing trend in favour of home grown players. Though National Service made it difficult to promote young players in the early years of

the 1950s, this had only a temporary effect.

After the Second World War there was little change in the length of a professional footballer's career, apart from the exceptional season of 1946 - 47, which saw larger numbers of footballers recruited for one year.

However, there does seem to have been a period between 1946 -1960 when there were more 'one club' players. This may have been the result of a general financial conservatism within the game, though its causes are difficult to discern. The percentage of one club players begins to drop by 1960, before the New Deal.

The central aim of this chapter was to discover whether there was a new breed of post-war footballer, the 'transitional/mobile' player, less 'rooted' and more mobile in terms of his employment. The post-war profession was, by 1960, younger and more Southern, but the professional was not necessarily more mobile, and was, at certain points, more likely to have been born at least in the same region as the club for which he played. Although some professionals came from outside the old footballing heartlands of the pre-war period, these regions still provided the majority of players for the first team squads of clubs in the North and Midlands.

CHAPTER THREE

Football Stardom and Sources for the Cultural Representation of the Professional Footballer

Chapters One and Two examined the prevalence of the locally born player in the English League between 1890 and 1985. They concluded that rarely did the numbers of locally (or indeed) regionally born players exceed 50% of the playing squad and that the percentage was often far less. They also found that the locally born player was more common in the period 1946 - 1985, rather than pre-war. Although the local player did not give way to a 'new breed' of post-war footballer, 'less-rooted and more mobile' than in the pre-war period in actuality, as a concept, the local player did have a cultural importance and at certain times took on a particular significance.

After the First World War, the recourse to the local player was not merely a cost-cutting exercise, but a reflection of a desire to reassert the importance of community and an investment in youth. Following the Second World War, youth 'policies' gained enormous publicity and kudos, even though not all professional clubs adopted them wholeheartedly, and not all players brought through a youth system were locally born. In this way football could be seen to be part of the post-war reconstruction. However, local players were not always popular with supporters, who could see the recourse to local players as a sign of parsimony or lack of ambition by the Board. Indeed, local players could often be peripheral figures. Although being a local hero was an important part of the persona of individual stars, like Stanley Matthews and Tom Finney, it was not a prerequisite that heroes be locally born. In fact, some teams had no

locally born 'star' players, and most others had 'heroes' who were not born either locally nor regionally.

The first aim of this chapter will be to argue for what Richard Giulianotti has identified as a 'quantitative rather than qualitative' view of the changes in players' economic and social fortunes. Football heroes could be stars who were not necessarily just 'one of us' and from the early years of professionalism were considered as entertainers.¹ It will contend that there were national stars (stars defined as those players who were given special recognition by followers of football) before 1960 and that there were also national superstars (players whose fame extends beyond that of stars so that they are recognised and known to people who are not necessarily followers of the game). The chapter argues for a revised view of the importance of the Second World War in the creation of the first cohort of 'superstars'.

The second aim of the chapter is to develop methodologies for the use of certain, very important, kinds of evidence for the creation and circulation of cultural representations of the professional footballer. There has, as the introduction to this thesis discussed, been little systematic use of the enormous and varied material generated by professional football as historical evidence. The use of much of this material is problematic; there exist no detailed analyses or methodologies that can be easily applied to inform an understanding of what it can contribute to knowledge in anything but a marginal way. The second part of this chapter suggests a dual approach to the academic use of two under used types of sources for the post-war periods as vehicles for the creation and promotion of star image: visual images and autobiographies. Firstly, it employs methodologies developed in other disciplines for the interpretation of

these types of evidence. Secondly, it attempts a chronological consideration of the shifts and continuities in these types of material, which it argues point to the power of dominant consensual ideals of masculinity, but also signal the emergence of oppositional masculine forms.

3.1 Football Stardom - a Revised Chronology

The current implicitly (implicit because it has not been defined in any detail, nor subject to coherent analysis) accepted chronology of the development of football stardom is linear. Initially, this version would have it, footballers were workers, not stars. One of the dominant academic discourses has attempted to situate the late Victorian/Edwardian professional footballer within the manual working class and to define him as a member of the labour aristocracy, as a skilled artisan who could command higher wages because of his special skills: 'Before the war, professional footballers had formed part of the aristocracy of labour, a part with particular cultural significance and working people had been their main reference group'.² As the introduction to the thesis discussed, these players were deemed to be local figures, known to their working-class spectators and little different from them. Later (at a date which has not been fixed) some stars might gain a regional fame, as representatives of regional traits, virtues and pride, but this was also limited to the working classes. By the beginning of the Second World War, a relatively small number of star professionals had progressed to national fame. Ross McKibbin compiled a list of these few national stars between the 1930s and 1951: 'Tommy Lawton, Stanley Matthews, Dixie Dean, Alex James, Nat Lofthouse and perhaps one or two others'.³ It is a surprise to see the inclusion of Lofthouse, who made his England debut

in November 1951 and not Tom Finney, an international and, I shall argue, a national star since 1946. According to this argument, the mid-1950s saw the initial emergence of a transitional figure, a football star who had more in common with entertainment stars, though it took the 1958 Munich Crash, and the New Deal of 1961 - 63 to enable the football star to take on the trappings of national celebrity.

This chapter argues for a less linear trajectory for the emergence of football stars, and also that professional footballers should be considered also as entertainers rather than just workers far earlier than is argued in the version above. It is possible to identify a number of significant stars from the Edwardian period onwards, and to argue that the degree of recognition afforded to football stars fluctuated at certain points. The crucial period of transition in football stardom came not in the 1960s, but during the Second World War, as I shall demonstrate later. This period did not mark the transformation of the professional footballer from local hero to celebrity, but rather the emergence of a dominant group of stars and of a select group of superstars.

3.1.2 Early Professional Football: The First Football Stars

Identifying at what point in the professional game certain players were first afforded star status is central to an understanding of the cultural representation of the professional footballer as an object of identification. Dave Russell suggests that a small number of star players can be identified because of the greater financial rewards they could command in the 1880s and 1890s, and mentions Nick Ross of Preston's 'Invincibles'.⁴ However, as Russell also points out, there is no single body of data that provides definitive information on wage rates in the 1880s and 1890s.

However, there are very early examples of the subsidiary circulation of information about some professional footballers which I have argued in the introduction is one of the more fruitful markers of star status.

Cigarette cards have endured as a highly popular medium for representing footballers since the turn of the century. Tobacco was a major item of working-class male expenditure and it increased in popularity in the inter-war years, particularly in the form of cigarettes. Tobacco companies were large, national concerns and did not produce for local markets. Cigarette cards were thus in national circulation among smokers and card collectors.

The first known cigarette card featuring a footballer has been dated at 1892.⁵ Between 1892 and 1905 there are fourteen known sets of cards which featured footballers, a total of 558 individual cards which showed recognisable players, rather than just figures in club strips. This total is artificially low because, where sets are unnumbered, it is impossible to calculate how many have not survived. A further eleven sets included footballers within either miscellaneous general interest sets, or as Heroes of Sport. One, suggestively, bracketed them with Actresses and Jockeys. In total there are 753 individual cards which were duplicated in their thousands, though some brands would have a wider national circulation than others. Some of these cards had captions on the reverse, and some went beyond vital statistics to ascribe particular football skills and attributes to individuals featured. We could thus argue for some kind of national familiarity, among the smoking working classes, of certain players. When the subjects of these cards can be recognised, it is possible to identify which footballers appeared more frequently than others. These are listed in Table 22 below (page 132).

G. O. Smith and R. S. McColl were leading amateurs, the first the famous Corinthians Centre and England International, the latter a leading Scots International. But the others in the list were professionals: John (Ned) Doig was goalkeeper for the Sunderland team of all the talents which won the League Championship in 1894 - 95, John Devey captained the all-conquering Aston Villa team which won the Championship three times between 1894 and 1897, in which Athersmith also played. Ernest Needham was Sheffield United's captain.

Table 22: Players Most Frequently Appearing on Cigarette Cards between 1892 and 1905

W. C. Athersmith	12
G. O. Smith	11
E. Needham	8
S. Bloomer	7
R. S. McColl	7
J. Crabtree	6
John Devey	6
J. Doig	6
J. Drummond	6
W. Foulke	6
A. C. Raisbeck	6
J. Sharp	6

Source: D. Thompson, *Football and the Cigarette Card, 1890-1940* (London: Murray Cards International, 1987).

The significance of the frequent appearance of these player images is also given credence by the focus on these players which can be discerned in other media used to circulate information about professional football. Seven out of the twelve names above were also featured in the Famous Footballers of 1895 series of plates. Polls in newspapers, like the 1904

competition run by the nationally circulated but Manchester printed Sunday newspaper, the *Umpire*, listed players in order of popularity.⁶ Though some high totals were undoubtedly cast for men who played for local teams and were also Rugby League Northern Union players - J. Lomas of Salford and R. Wilson of Broughton, for example - and all but two of the top twelve ranked were from the north, two were Yorkshiremen, 'Nudger' Needham and 'Fatty' Foulke' from the highly successful Sheffield United team (featured prominently on cigarette cards), and two from the Midlands. Steve Bloomer from Derby was placed second and Tom Baddeley of Wolves was fifth. Therefore, by 1904 we can argue that at least Bloomer and Baddeley had a larger than regional fame among football supporters. This was partly because the Football League, though not yet a fully national competition, was cross-regional.

Most of the names in the cigarette card list were also given prominence in the early issues of the nationally distributed weekly sporting paper, *Athletic News*. There was an important change in the focus of *Athletic News*'s football reporting which happened between 1896 and 1900. In 1896, its match reports mentioned the names of individuals, but were largely accounts of play, though occasionally one of its pseudonymous correspondents, 'Tityrus' or 'Harricus', would recall previous great teams and their players. In a report on a second round cup-tie between Sheffield United and Sunderland, Tityrus recalled the players of Sunderland's team of all the talents from five years before, referring to them as 'the Stars of the North'.⁷ There were some players who attracted special mention notably Steve Bloomer, 'the Champion scorer'. However, for a footballer to receive front page coverage, he would have to be injured seriously or be involved in scandal. There were only four occasions in the whole of 1896 that *Athletic News* accompanied its articles with likenesses of players.

This is in marked contrast to their reporting of cricket in 1896 which was emphatically star-based. W. G. Grace's likeness appeared frequently and illustrated written profiles of other major players like Ranjitsinhji were not unusual.

By 1900, there is a marked change, football stars are being treated similarly to those of cricket. The full page report on the England versus Scotland international exemplifies this new approach.⁸ More than a whole column is devoted to a detailed discussion of the respective merits of G. O. Smith and R. S. McColl, their characters and styles of play. The match coverage was also enlivened by head and shoulders line drawings of A. Smith, G. O. Smith, W. C. Athersmith, A. Chadwick and J. Robinson. It is significant that the two men selected for the honour of being profiled were amateurs. Also it was international status that marked out some players as stars, as well as belonging to a famous team, as noted earlier. There are professionals who also receive special notice by 1900. A portrait of John Devey dominated the front page of 17 September's edition which was followed on 22 October by Ernest Needham. Articles also are punctuated by sub-headings which mention the names of individual players, another innovation. It is clear from a careful reading of the paper between 1895 and 1905 that certain players were stars, nationally known to football supporters, and that there were more than a few. By 1905, discussion of players dominates the reporting. *Athletic News* always had a topical poem on its front page and by 1904 some poems had footballers as their subjects, such as No. 15, in honour of Arthur Brown of Sheffield United.⁹ Photographs of players had replaced the line drawings and were commonplace, liberally scattered throughout the reports.

By 1905, football players could, however, also be found in general, rather

than specialist sports national newspapers, though only in the new illustrated newspapers aimed at the working-class readership. In 1904, the *Daily Mirror* rarely, if ever, carried the photograph of a named football individual. However, at the start of the new season in 1905 it declared a change of policy in its coverage. A cartoon declared that football had now replaced cricket as the national sport, and on page 14 the paper announced that, 'Photographs of players and snapshots of important matches will also find a prominent place in the columns of the *Daily Mirror*'.¹⁰ The paper was as good as its word. On 4 September 1905, football made its first appearance on the *Mirror*'s front cover as part of a montage of photographs, naming Sugden, the Ilford amateur who scored a hat trick.¹¹ After this, footballers were regularly featured, though most usually in the two page photo spread which made up pages 8 and 9. The public interest in football players that the *Mirror* had discerned (complementing the dominance of stars in *Athletic News*'s coverage in the same year) and was also promoting (by this point the paper claimed that its circulation was over 350,000) was confirmed by its 30 September 1905 photo story 'A Day in the Life of a Footballer', made up of eight numbered shots of 'Mr. Tait, captain of the Spurs' (Spurs were, at this point, a Southern league team). A picture of the Scot Alexander Tait in his suit, was followed by him relaxing 'the Scots way' by playing golf, then shots of Tait training. The final photograph, captioned, 'After the day's training, pleasure at the billiard table', is a further sign that there was an interest in players' activities off the football pitch.

Examples of this focus on the player as more than just a skilled performer on the pitch - a marker of the development of football stardom - can be traced from around 1908 onwards. Famous players became writers for sports papers like *Thomson's Weekly News*, a national paper with a 300,000

circulation. An advertisement from November 1908 lists Colin Veitch (a Newcastle player and luminary of the Players Union), Billy Meredith, James Lawrence, Billy Hogg, Jack Rutherford, Chris Duffy and Tom Niblo as writers for the paper, indicating again that these names would be known nationally, at least among football fans. By 1919, *Topical Times*, another national, but not a sports paper, had picture features like that entitled, 'Famous Footballers at Home' (8 October 1919) showing a montage of family groups, dressed up for the cameras.¹² Wives and children are also sometimes shown in more intimate poses. This series also included 'Famous Footballers at Work'. But it is not until after the First World War that the private lives of players became a major concern of reporting.

3.1.3 Meredith, Bloomer and Foulke - Edwardian Superstars?

Billy Meredith is perhaps the player who can lay the highest claim to being the first nationally recognised star who might have achieved some fame among people who were not football enthusiasts. Early in his career Meredith quickly caught the attention of fans, not only for his skills but also his physical idiosyncrasies and certain mannerisms. His bowed legs earned him the epithet 'Merrylegs' and the toothpick which he held in the corner of his mouth while playing as an aid to concentration, gave him a trademark which could be exploited by cartoonists and artists. He wrote various columns for newspapers and magazines which allowed him to project his persona further.

Meredith's wider national recognition appeared to come partly as a result of his status as a Welsh international, and for his appearance in Cup Finals for Manchester United and Manchester City. The *Daily Sketch* of 28

April 1909 had a full page photo spread of the F. A. cup-winning Manchester United team's parade through Manchester.¹³ Cup finals were given special prominence in the newsreels which were shown daily in the burgeoning number of cinemas. However, Meredith also became known in different ways, particularly as a result of the high profile scandal in which he was accused of offering a bribe to Aston Villa's Alec Leake to secure a vital League victory in 1905. Suggestively, his popularity appeared undimmed by his subsequent one year ban, either demonstrating the extent of that popularity, or that football fans of the period considered this form of corruption less serious than the game's administrators. A reputation for probity was not a prerequisite of stardom.

Harding argues that Meredith became a celebrity on a par with the music-hall greats of the day and describes the early close links between entertainment and football. The music hall comic Fred Karno's catchphrase from the 'Bailiff' sketch, 'Meredith, we're in!' was reputedly shouted by fans on the terraces when Meredith got the ball. Karno's 'Stiffy the Goalkeeper' sketch was enlivened by guest appearances from famous footballers such as Meredith, who stuck their heads through holes in the scenery to represent the crowd.¹⁴ Andrew Horrall has provided the most detailed study of the way in which music hall frequently exploited the topical celebrity of footballers from circa 1895 onwards to draw audiences.¹⁵ However, it is unclear whether Meredith's high profile and the plethora of ways in which his image was circulated amounted to superstardom. His picture was used by the manufacturers of Oxo to endorse their product in newspaper advertisements and also on posters for the Great Central Railway Company. In terms of subsidiary circulation, advertising is perhaps one of the most important signs of a

player's status. It is difficult to argue against some kind of wider recognition if a player's name and image can be used to promote products nationally in this way, even if some products were sports goods. Meredith's wider fame was also, according to Harding, exploited by an appearance in the film *Ball of Fortune* (1926). Although this appearance occurred after the end of his playing career, it suggests that his stardom endured. The film was a six reeler, and was therefore a substantial production, and the presence of film stars Harry Wheldon and Mabel Poulton in its leading roles would have guaranteed a national release. However, there is no way of knowing if those people who came to see Wheldon and Poulton also knew who Billy Meredith was.

Tony Mason tends to under play the extent of Steve Bloomer's stardom in his essay on Bloomer and Harold Fleming, although he does admit that, 'Perhaps Bloomer with his international records and well-known name, was a national figure by 1914'.¹⁶ Bloomer's most recent biographer points out that he earned a comfortable middle-class standard of living from his football and appeared in advertisements, endorsing the tonic Phosferine and various makes of football boots.¹⁷ Neither was he called 'Our Stephen', as Mason's title suggests, a northern expression signifying that he 'belonged' to the club and community, rather than Bloomer's native East Midlands idiom. He was known simply as Steve.

Furthermore, Bloomer saw himself as a showman. As a young striker, he turned a cartwheel when he had scored a goal; Bloomer also said in the newspaper column that he penned in the 1920s that as a young player he leapt into the air and hollered, an 1890s goal celebration. In his second spell at Derby Bloomer also entered the field of play holding the ball in the palm of his hand and punted it high into the air to mark his entrance.

Wagg considers this type of showmanship a 1960s conceit, a sign of commercialism and a signifier of the end of solid working-class values, but it appears to have had a far longer pedigree as a sign that professionals saw themselves as entertainers.¹⁸ *Athletic News's* reports in 1896 show that there was then a vogue for turning cartwheels after scoring.¹⁹ Bloomer probably had more national recognition than any previous player, even Meredith, earned by his goal scoring record for England. However, though there is much evidence of the subsidiary circulation of his image, it has so far proved impossible to establish if he was known to people who did not follow football.

William 'Fatty' Foulke was perhaps physically the most recognisable of the trio of possible 'superstars'. Weighing twenty-two stones at his peak, and over six foot in height, he was described in 1906 in *Association Football and the Men Who Made It* as 'perhaps the most talked-of player in the world. A leviathan with the agility of a bantam'.²⁰ Foulke was an remarkably agile goalkeeper, with a dashing style, frequently rushing out of his goal to kick the ball clear. He delighted the crowd with his 'party pieces', pulling down the crossbar to give it less height, pushing aside forwards who barged him and picking up the ball with one hand. His most recent biographer describes how the rotund goalkeeper was popular both on Merseyside, where he was applauded and cheered by opposition fans, and in London, receiving, according to a Sheffield newspaper, an 'excellent reception' from Arsenal supporters when he arrived at Plumstead for a 1903 F. A. Cup tie between Arsenal and Sheffield United, his then club.²¹ In the 1905 *Book of Football*, J. T. Robertson, Chelsea's manager, called him, 'one of the most popular players in London', only two months after he signed for the club.²² Unlike Meredith and Bloomer, Foulke played for Northern sides and a Southern club, though he only

made one international appearance. However, though his biographer calls him, a 'national institution', it is not possible to say whether Foulke was a 'superstar'.

3.1.4 Football During the Second World War: The Emergence of the Wartime Superstars

The conditions of football stardom appear to have remained largely unchanged in the 1920s, but the increased attention that football received from sections of the national media in the 1930s, including the new Sunday papers and greater radio coverage, offered more opportunities for the promotion of the football star to a wider audience. In January 1927, the BBC made its first radio broadcast commentary on a professional match, that between Arsenal and Sheffield United, and by 1931 the BBC was broadcasting over 100 games per season. By 1939, official figures put radio ownership at 71 per cent of households.²³ Although commentary on League matches was forbidden in 1931, because of fears it would affect attendances, F. A. Cup games and internationals remained an important part of the sporting schedule.²⁴

The Cup Final was televised for the first time in 1937, although far more people would have seen coverage of the Final in cinema newsreels. Football was a popular subject in newsreels, which were produced by several companies and were a standard part of the cinema programme, two editions being produced a week.²⁵ Mike Huggins and Jack Williams estimated that about a fifth of all surviving newsreels for the inter-war period included sport and suggest that football was the sport covered most in the winter.²⁶ As Huggins and Williams point out, 'Newsreels increased knowledge of sports and sports players. Those with little

interest in sport could always ignore the sports pages but at the cinema they could not avoid newsreel sport.¹²⁷ Russell noted that by the late 1930s local Northern papers were including human interest stories about players and their families, continuing the trend noted above.²⁸ Dixie Dean's record goal scoring exploits made him a national football star, though again, his latest biographer's hyperbolic claim that Dean was a global celebrity are not substantiated, and press coverage of Dean, though extensive, was confined to the sports pages of newspapers and specialist football magazines.²⁹ However, Dean did appear regularly in Pathé newsreel features.³⁰ Arsenal's youthful striker, Cliff Bastin, must have been something of a household name if he was used to advertise porridge oats in 1938; the others who promoted the breakfast cereal in *Picture Post* in 1938 were Tommy Lawton, but also very revealingly one of the biggest female British stage and screen stars, Jessie Matthews. *Picture Post* claimed to have a huge cross-class circulation on the eve of the war.³¹ Lawton mentions in his autobiography that he was earning considerable sums of money from his pre-war promotional activities and that he was asked to endorse a wide range of products.³² The glamorous Arsenal team of the 1930s appeared as themselves in Thorold Dickinson's *Arsenal Stadium Mystery* (1939), a glossily produced feature film which was distributed nationally, and like Lawton the team was in demand for numerous commercial ventures. The team was heavily promoted by its publicity conscious manager, George Allison. Brian Tabner's aggregate attendances demonstrate that Arsenal was by far the most attractive visiting team between 1929 and 1939.³³

However, superstardom was probably a phenomenon that emerged during the Second World War. It is my contention that one of the more enduring effects of the special conditions of wartime soccer was a

demonstrable widening of the gap in status between the ordinary player and the star professional. Dave Russell has suggested that, 'The more egalitarian social and political climate of the war and the immediate post-war years may have helped speed the process of change, making the, football world...perhaps a slightly less deferential place, where ex-players who became managers could impose their authority in competition with directors and others who tended to dominate team affairs pre-war'.³⁴

Although agreeing with the latter point, I would argue with a different emphasis that wartime soccer was a not a democratising experience for the football profession. Rather, it created, for a time at least, a super-elite of star players, some of whom were indeed able to emerge as leading figures in the post-war game because of their artificially enhanced national profile, but also because of the dire economic position of certain clubs in the immediate post-war years.

A new professional elite was able to achieve both a greater stardom and also what I have defined as superstardom, a recognition among those who did not closely follow football, because of the peculiar conditions of the reorganised professional game in wartime, especially at national level. The Army and RAF chiefly had need of the services of skilled soccer players, as fund-raisers and entertainers, but also because of the keen inter-service rivalry. There is evidence that the guest player system served to enhance further the star status of those who had been established stars before the war. One spectator claimed that the effect of the uncertainties of team selection was to weaken fans' interest in their local team, 'You can't follow the matches now. You don't know who was who'.³⁵ It would be unwise to draw too much from a single comment, but a survey of football coverage during the war years in the *Bristol Evening Post* does seem to show that audiences did respond to and recognise the star names

who guested for their teams, or that 'The Traveller' who penned the 'From the Sports Front' page, considered that their appearance would draw the crowds.

As early as October 1939, after friendly matches in the area had been producing such woeful receipts that already cash-strapped Bristol Rovers was considering suspending their activities for the duration, 'Traveller' was trying to entice spectators to the new Regional League games with the attraction of seeing top-flight stars in action as guests. 'Britton Inspires Rovers: First Division Skill That Pleased the Crowd' headlined the report on the City versus Rovers Derby match of Saturday 7 October.³⁶ The performances of Cliff Britton of Everton and Jack Milsom of Manchester City were the main thrust of his report. Similarly appetites for a clash with old rivals Cardiff City were whetted by the banner, 'Arsenal Stars to Play for Cardiff at Ashton Gate'. The world's most expensive footballer, Welsh international Bryn Jones, and his Arsenal and Wales colleague Cumner, would be displaying their skills, 'a real attraction for Bristol soccer fans'.³⁷ In an area which had relatively few home grown stars and where the teams which constituted the South Western League had been in lower divisions in the 1938 - 39 season, the 2,000 or so spectators and the wartime sports report reading public in Bristol were being exposed to stars whose performances and reputations were being advertised and eulogised by at least one local pressman.

In Bristol, League match attendances, even for local derbies, rarely reached 2,000. Across the country in regions which were less of a football backwater and had more inspiring regional leagues ('Traveller' railed against the short-sightedness of the authorities for not combining the Midlands and South West teams in a super league) attendances for League

matches were lower than pre-war, though the cup competitions' later rounds could draw bumper crowds.³⁸ But wartime soccer demonstrated that it had huge drawing power not in the domestic game, but in the wartime Home Internationals, Internationals and representative games with and between Forces Elevens which were such a feature of the period because of their fund-raising power. It was in these games that the elite professionals maintained and boosted their national star status. Thirty internationals (players did not receive caps) were played between 1939 and 1945 and another ten Victory Internationals took place in Britain in the 1945 - 46 season. Tommy Lawton estimated that he had appeared in hundreds of charity matches for England and the Army, both Command and unit sides.³⁹ In the 1941 - 42 season it was rare for a week to go past without a representative game and according to Lawton these games became even more numerous as the war went on.⁴⁰ The English team particularly had an excellent international record - including against Scotland - sixteen games played, eleven victories, two draws and only three defeats, thereby enhancing the glamour and fame of its players.

The attendances at the international matches, though modest at first, were still far above those of League games. Later in the war they were attracting large crowds (see Table 23 below, page 145). More than half of the 41 games had attendances of over 60, 000. 'Internationals' were also held at various venues across the country. The English team consisted of a tight nucleus of high profile players who thus received enhanced, country wide attention. These players were also turning out in representative matches which further boosted their fame.

Table 23: Attendances and Venues for Internationals and Victory Internationals 1939 - 1946

Attendances	No of Games	Hampden Pk	Wembley & London	Ninian Pk & Wales	Midlands Venues	Northern Venues	Windsor Pk
150,000 - 100,000	5	5					
99,000 - 90,000	1		1				
89,000 - 80,000	4	1	3				
79,000 - 70,000	5	3	2				
69,000 - 60,000	7		3		1	1	
59,000 - 50,000	3			1	1		1
49,000 - 40,000	4	1	1	1	1		1
39,000 - 30,000	2			1	1	1	
29,000 - 20,000	7			4	2	1	
19,000 - 10,000	3			1	1	1	
Total	40*	10	11	8	5	4	2

* attendance for one match unknown

Figures for attendances taken from Jack Rollin, *Soccer At War 1939-45* (London: Willow Books, 1985).

The *Bristol Evening Post* frequently covered international and also representative matches from 1939 onwards and made much of their all star casts. Its enthusiastic reports on the first wartime international raising £1,200 for the Red Cross Fund and the charity match between the

Football League and an All British XI with twenty-two players on view, twenty of whom were internationals, on Monday 6 November, contrast meaningfully with the dismal tone of its verdict on the local matches, 'Bad Day For Bristol Clubs'.⁴¹

The continued appearance of such reports throughout the war in a regional newspaper suggests that these games generated considerable interest and that the constantly reiterated names of the star players kept them continually in the public eye. *Picture Post* had rarely featured football matches in its first year of publication before the war, except for the Cup Final, but it did highlight the Allied Forces versus British Army game at Stamford Bridge in March 1941, again demonstrating the importance and publicity that these games, and their stars were afforded. The match was also broadcast on the BBC.⁴²

Though England used thirty-one players in its first three international games (games were organised on a regional basis and players selected accordingly) its team soon stabilised to a nucleus of regulars who received exposure beyond the football world for their contribution to the war effort (their appearances are summarised in Table 24, page 147, below). Moreover, their efforts and their exposure were, as I have argued above, not just confined to the 'internationals'. A campaign by the Beaverbrook press which took up Sir Stafford Cripps's call to tighten belts to aid the war effort in 1942 by cutting out personal extravagance through an attack on large sporting events was unsuccessful. The ex-player turned broadcaster and journalist, Charles Buchan, expressed the more common sentiment in his revealingly entitled report on the Allied Forces versus British Army game at Stamford Bridge mentioned above, 'An Afternoon Off From War' which appeared in *Picture Post*.

Buchan celebrated the match as a vital boost to morale and something which would never have been allowed under a totalitarian regime.

Table 24: English Players Appearing most Frequently in Wartime & Victory Internationals 1939-1946

Name	No. of Appearances
Matthews, S.	27
Mercer, J.	27
Lawton, T.	22
Cullis, S.	19
Hardwick, G.	16
Carter, R.	15
Hagan, J.	15
Scott, L.	15
Swift, F.	14
Bacuzzi, J.	12
Britton, C.	11
Hapgood, E.	11

Players included are those with over 10 appearances. Figures compiled from match line-ups given in Jack Rollin, *Soccer At War 1939-45* (London: Willow Books, 1985).

Paradoxically, this superstardom was achieved when these players' labour power as stars was at its weakest as match fees were capped. The national team became like a superstar club side. Of these players, Carter, Cullis, Hapgood and Lawton produced autobiographies. The first ever full-length professional footballer's autobiography published in book form was Eddie Hapgood's *Football Ambassador* (1945), a phenomenon

which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter and in Chapter Four.⁴³ Matthews and Lawton lent their names to boys' football annuals in 1949 and 1950 respectively, and *Raich Carter's Soccer Star* was launched as a national weekly football magazine in 1951.⁴⁴

A close study of the Wolverhampton *Express and Star's* coverage of the prominent players of the professional game reveals several highly suggestive indications about the nature of footballing stardom after 1946. This title was selected as a representative example of a provincial newspaper to gauge how widespread knowledge of these 'wartime superstars' had become after 1946. Previews of forthcoming games were usually illustrated by a photograph and a brief description of the box-office star of the visiting team, a shift from the team-based reporting before the war. Joe Mercer was Arsenal's pictured player, Stanley Matthews and Tom Finney unsurprisingly represented their clubs, Tommy Lawton's visit for a cup-tie between Brentford and Port Vale in 1947 was expected to result in a ticket scramble and extra measures were in force to control the 18,000 bumper gate.⁴⁵ Wilf Mannion and Raich Carter were two other names given particular attention. Most of these players were members of the superstar wartime international team. Finney and Mannion (the latter made four 'international' appearances) had served in the armed forces. Finney's special place in the construction of the representation of the 'model professional' immediately after the war will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.

The dominance of these players continued from the end of the 1940s to the first few years of the 1950s. Tabner attributes the rise in home gates of Notts County and Hull City between 1947 and 1951 to Lawton and Carter's respective appearances for these clubs.⁴⁶ The previously modest drawing

power of Stoke City and Blackpool as visiting teams was transformed by Stanley Matthews's enhanced post-war fame. In the later autobiographies of the 1950s, a theme emerges of the missing superstars, those players who have more than just footballing skill as they have a character and personality which lifts them above the ordinary star. Both Billy Wright and Stan Cullis refer to this factor and suggest reasons why there are few up and coming stars to replace the giants who drew the crowds in wartime soccer.⁴⁷ This can be dismissed as nostalgia, but it might be taken as further evidence of how the wartime group of players had monopolised the media spotlight and established themselves in the minds of the public. A new group of superstars took time to establish themselves in the public mind, particularly so in the conditions of the post-war fall in attendances. However, there were 'more than a handful' of players who were national stars, known all over the country to football supporters at least.

3.2 Approaches to Analysing the Image of the Professional Footballer

The post-war period offered greater opportunities for the subsidiary circulation of 'information' about the star professional. Cinema audiences for newsreels boomed. In 1935, cinema admissions had totalled 907 million; by 1945 they had reached 1,585 million, and though they fell slightly in 1950, by 1955 admissions still totalled 1,395 million.⁴⁸ Tom Finney was mentioned by name in the commentary to 46 of the Pathé newsreels between 1946 - 1960, and this was only one of several companies producing newsreels, though it was by far the most popular.⁴⁹ Figures for television licences also showed that it was a rapidly emerging medium by which those who watched its sports programmes and football

coverage could get to 'know' the personalities of the game. The numbers of licences sold increased from 4,503,766 in 1955 to 10,469,753 by 1960.⁵⁰

However, for football supporters, the main post-war sources of information about professional footballers, including, importantly, stories about their lives off the pitch, were the newspapers, and also the football magazines. Since 1923, the circulation of the national dailies had overtaken that of the provincial morning and evening papers. By 1945, national dailies were selling twice as many copies as provincial papers. In 1945, the aggregate national newspaper circulation was 12.35 million and national Sunday titles achieved sales of 19.76 million. Figures for the national dailies peaked in 1957, with 16.71 million aggregate daily sales and 26.84 million sales for Sunday titles.⁵¹ However, provincial newspapers were still important despite their declining sales and 'national' newspapers sometimes printed two separate editions one for the north and one for the south in order to achieve their national circulations.⁵²

The next two chapters draw upon the national press, but the focus is particularly on two additional sources, which, as the introduction discussed, have been deemed problematic and/or peripheral. The first, professional footballers' autobiographies, as I have said above, appeared at the end of the war. I consider these to be especially important because they offer the star professional a means for promoting his own star image. Two new national football magazines, the weekly *Raich Carter's Soccer Star* and *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly*, also promoted a particular ideal of the player to a mass football audience, relying heavily on visual images. The audiences for the magazines that Chapters Four and Five draw heavily upon have not been discussed in anything but the

most general terms. It seems clear from even a cursory reading that *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly* was aimed at a wide readership. It had a boys' club for its younger readers, and advertisements which targeted the older male.⁵³

The image of the model professional was promulgated in the 1960s by *Goal* magazine, one of the two new weekly magazines which were launched at the end of the 1960s. *Shoot!*, another weekly, was launched a year later than *Goal*, in 1969. It is generally assumed that *Goal* and *Shoot!* were aimed largely at boys of secondary school age and above. *Goal*, according to Peter Seddon, had a slightly older readership which had passed puberty,⁵⁴ A survey carried out in 1971 by the Schools Council project 'Children's Reading Habits 10-15', partly supports this impression. Among boys aged between the ages of 10-12, 12-14 and 14 plus *Shoot!* was the most popular football title, peaking in the 12-14 bracket with 17.3 % of the sample reading it. Boys in all these age groups also read *Goal*, but in the youngest sample it had half the readership of *Shoot!* In contrast, in the 14 plus age group there was only a small percentage difference between the readership of *Shoot!* and *Goal*.⁵⁵ Peter Seddon's description of *Shoot!* readers as mainly eleven year olds, who graduated to *Goal* when their voices broke is thus exaggerated. Although *Shoot!* billed itself as the 'terrific new football paper for boys', and it was obviously aimed at a younger readership than *Goal*, *Shoot!*'s content seems to suggest that it was also aimed at older teenagers.⁵⁶ It carried recruiting advertisements for the Royal Navy (entry ages 15-17 and 17-23) and the Army, the ubiquitous Charles Atlas bodybuilding course, and World Cup commemorative tankards, alongside those for Lyons Maid lollies and boys' replica football kits. After 1974, boys could not 'graduate' to *Goal* as it was amalgamated with *Shoot!* The tenor of *Goal*'s articles, the vocabulary used, and the

employment of authoritative 'name' pundits like Ken Jones who had his own column, suggest that it was also sought an adult readership. Bobby Charlton, its regular star columnist, differentiated between these older readers and 'youngsters', and had a 'tip for young players' every week.

The Second World War not only created the conditions which made certain players superstars in terms of public recognition, but it is my contention that it also allowed professional footballers to be national heroes, cross-class models of admirable masculinity, for the first time, a phenomenon which will be discussed at length in Chapter Four. This analysis, as well as that of Chapter Five, which discusses the representation of the professional as cultural types, rather than 'local heroes' or 'national stars', draws heavily upon popular football magazines which were launched in the 1950s and the 1960s, and the football autobiographies produced throughout the period covered by this thesis. The magazines are used as written sources of evidence, but stress is also laid upon the importance of the visual material included within them. Methodologies developed to understand and interpret the significance of this material in the creation and circulation of star image through cultural types are discussed below. The approach taken is both cross-disciplinary and comparative, employing concepts from the Visual Arts and Literary Theory, as well as situating both types of sources within a chronological framework, which identifies moments of change as well as significant continuities.

3.2.1. Still Lives: Visual Images and Football

Artist's drawings and photographs have, since the beginnings of the professional game, been two of the major media for the creation,

dissemination and consumption of images of professional footballers. Post-war, the photographic footballer portrait was an important part of the new mass circulation football magazines, as well as the players' autobiographies. As yet academic discussion of photographic images of footballers has been rudimentary. Although it has been recognised that player portraits are constructs of their subjects rather than mimetic representations, the analysis of the photographic image as a text with cultural and historical significances has been limited, fragmentary and unsystematic. The reproduction of photographs in academic studies of sport still serves a peripheral, illustrative function, rather than privileging them as central factors in the formation of discourses about the professional. Jeffrey Hill has recognised the importance of how Denis Compton was known, through a series of carefully constructed images, visual, linguistic and oral, and analyses the photographic portrayal of Compton's groomed, dark handsomeness in his Brylcreem boy incarnation, yet the focus of most analyses of the representation of professional footballers is, understandably, on language rather than visual image.⁵⁷

Although language, in the form of the newspaper football column, the match report on radio or television and the autobiography is paramount, the visual image with sometimes accompanies the written or spoken word is also very important. The concentrated power of the photographic representation in particular, what Victor Burgin calls its immediacy and authority to present the viewer with what is, elevates it above the printed or spoken word as a means of freezing and defining the essence of an individual player's image for the widest possible audience.⁵⁸ Although it is retrospective, Eamon Dunphy's description of the visit to Dublin of Manchester United on 25th September, 1957 suggests the importance of

this function of photographic images:

We have [sic] seen other English teams: Stan Matthews, Tom Finney, Wilf Mannion and Len Shackleton, the Clown Prince of contemporary legend. Before television these men were faces on the little black and white cards we collected from sweet-cigarettes. The *Charles Buchan Football Monthly* magazines would feature stunning photographs of Nat Lofthouse and Tommy Taylor leaping to impossible heights to head goals which we could only imagine and wonder at.⁵⁹

Such visual material, widely reproduced in newspapers and magazines, has thus been the chief means of fixing and interpreting what the player was, how his audience should see him and the kind of masculine traits he embodied. John Tagg emphasised how each image produced photographically owes its qualities of particular conditions of production and its meaning to conventions and institutions which we may no longer readily understand.⁶⁰ These conventions and their contemporary readings provide the key to unlocking the representational and creative functions of visual material for the footballer's star image. It is the intention to begin to provide a framework for the reading of post-war portraits of soccer players, a framework that will start to identify changes in style and pose chronologically, as well as discussing their social and cultural implications.

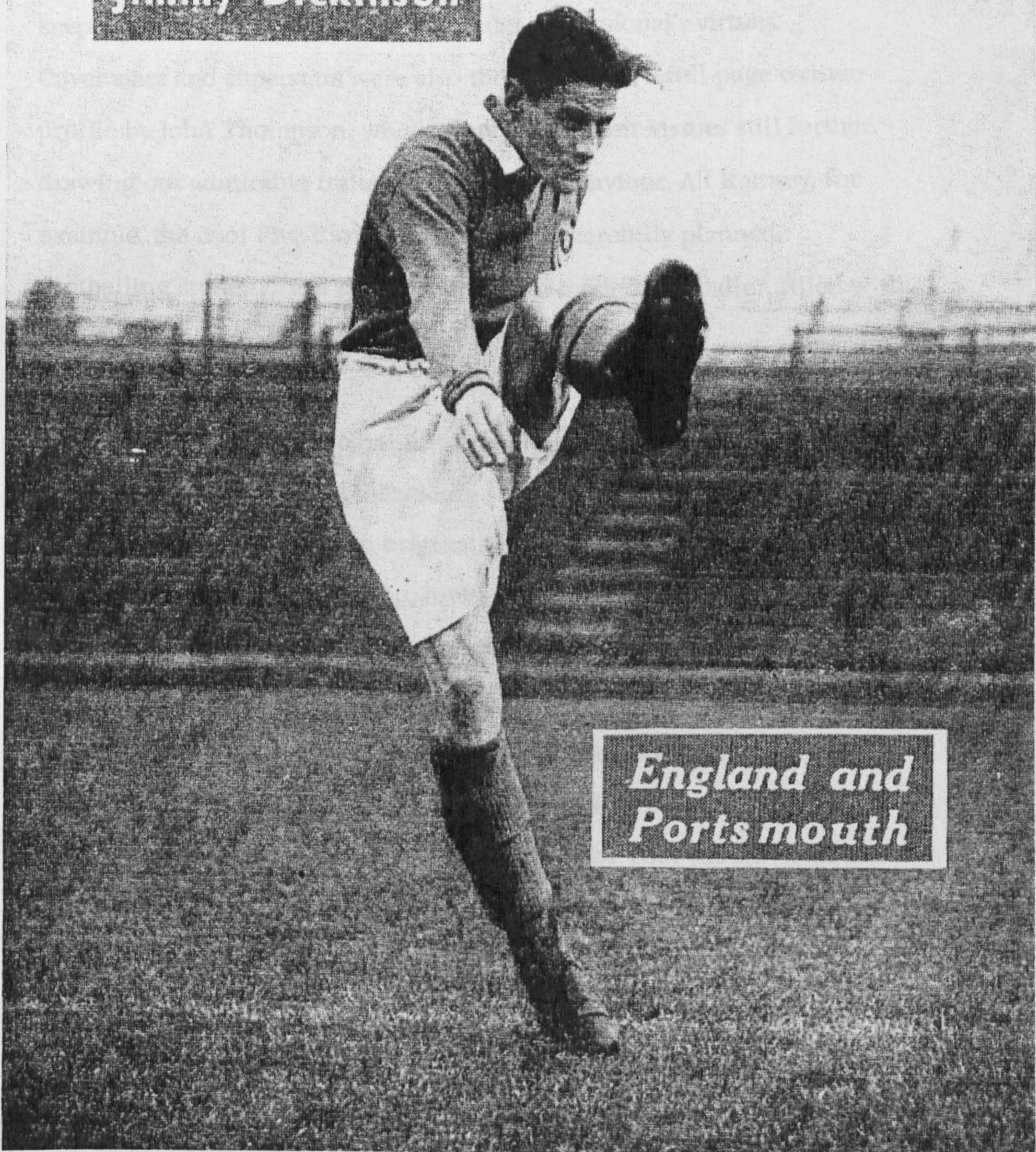
The Post-war Player Portrait: The 'Posed' Action Shot

In 1951, the first year of *Football Monthly*, the cover was a full-page photograph of a footballer, hand tinted in colour on to black and white. The choice of personnel for the covers was in itself highly significant, and will be discussed further below. The first cover featured Stanley Matthews, and is an action shot which demonstrates his dribbling ability.

However, the other covers, and the seven or eight full-page black and white photographs of individual professionals which book-ended each issue, show their subjects in a type of pose which became a staple of *Football Monthly* in the early years of the 1950s, which I shall term the 'posed action shot'. This may seem oxymoronic, but describes a photograph which is not part of match action, but where the footballer is asked to assume a 'playing posture'. However, that posture is exaggerated. Thus the September 1951 edition inside cover features Henry Cockburn of England and Manchester United, outside on the training pitch, but dressed in pristine kit with smartly groomed hair. Cockburn is 'shooting', with his right leg lifted to an exaggerated height and his arms extended in an almost balletic pose. Similarly, Portsmouth's Jimmy Dickinson (Plate 1, p. 156) and Arsenal's Joe Mercer on the following pages raise their kicking legs even higher. Their expressions are sombre, denoting intense concentration.

This type of pose has the effect of emphasising the extraordinary athleticism and grace of the player, who is shown unmuddied and dishevelled, an ideal for admiration and emulation. Kenneth Dutton's influential study of the western ideal of male physical development, *The Perfectible Body*, argues that its form 'cannot be understood without an appreciation of certain value-systems originally derived from the Greek culture of the fifth century', transmitted to Western Europe during the Italian Renaissance.⁶¹ During the fifth century, according to Dutton's analysis, the previous rendition of the 'typical athlete', heavily muscled strong men such boxers and wrestlers, was replaced by the 'athletic youth, not merely strong but also beautiful and graceful'.⁶² It is to this tradition that this type of pose belongs. Even the 'action shot' Matthews' cover, touched up and coloured, gives him a spotless kit and not a hair out of

Jimmy Dickinson



*England and
Portsmouth*

Plate 1: The 'posed action shot': Jimmy Dickinson in *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly*, No. 1, September 1951.

place. The photographs are taken from below, which serves to make the subjects appear bigger and distance the viewer, again enhancing their status. These images are reverential, inviting respect, and are entirely in keeping with the projection of the model professional's virtues.

Cover stars and superstars were also the subjects of a full-page written profile by John Thompson, which emphasised their virtues still further, drawing out admirable traits as exemplary behaviour. Alf Ramsey, for example, the cool Five Elms 'General' with a carefully planned footballing strategy, 'is a conscientious and modest footballer, filled with the conviction...that there is always more to learn'.⁶³

By 1958, this type of photograph was beginning to be replaced by an altogether less formal and distancing style. George Eastham's cover picture of January 1958 is an original colour photograph, not hand-tinted, which views him from close-up, inviting the viewer into the picture. Eastham kneels down, holding a football boot, supposedly caught in the act of dressing for a game. He smiles engagingly (Plate 2, p. 158). The overall effect is one of approachability. The statuesque full-page inside pictures of the early Fifties have given way to tight close-up full face head shots of grinning footballers, four to a page, 'For Your Album'. These faces all stare straight back at the camera, a 'direct' gaze which, according to Burgin, signifies a 'naive' subject, again inviting closer identification and in line with the more youthful profile of football in the late 1950s.⁶⁴ Gone also is the lengthy, approbatory appreciation of the cover star, and the emphasis on sportsmanship and gentlemanliness in the articles 'penned' by players. This suggests that by 1958 there was no need to argue for the national hero status of professional footballers, and that the self-educative, aspirational aspects of the model professional type in the 1950s traced below no longer struck as powerful a chord with the

Charles Buchan's
FOOTBALL
MONTHLY

1/6

Overseas Price 2/-
Forces Overseas 1/6

★
CONTENTS:
Colour pictures
of stars
of Manchester
United, Wolves,
Portsmouth,
Ipswich and
many exciting
articles
★

GEORGE EASTHAM
Newcastle United

Plate 2: The 'approachable' star: George Eastham, cover of *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly*, January 1958.

magazine's male readership.

The late 1960s and the Reverential '**Goal Tondo**'

The visual style of *Goal* magazine played an important role in disseminating the image of the model professional in the 1960s. *Goal*'s style can be best understood if it is compared with the different style of visual presentation of *Shoot!* *Goal* preferred the single subject front cover, enclosed in a circular frame which was placed on a red background. From a sample of 89 issues taken from the seasons 1968 - 69 and 1969 - 70 (from a possible total of 104), 84% of all covers featured a single player in this circular frame. This particular style, enclosing the subject in a circular disc is one that I shall term the '*Goal tondo*'. Sometimes *Goal* placed an 'action shot' in the *tondo* (22% of the sample), but the majority of the covers featured a full face only shot of a player (56%) or a 'posed' full body shot (18%). The significance of the type of photograph and its framing for the image of its subject can best be understood by drawing upon theories of composition and framing from Fine Art. As Charles Bouleau argued, 'A painting acquires its unity...as soon as it is separated from its surroundings by a frame...it imposes its stamp on the contents and gives them a form.'⁶⁵ The circle is traditionally recognised in art theory as a 'cosmic' space, denoting the heavenly, often used as a religious image of perfection.⁶⁶ Although an ancient frame form, it was given a new life in Renaissance Italy as the *tondo*. Though the bulk of *tondi* feature the Madonna and Child, they could also encompass circular secular portraits. It has been suggested that the trend was encouraged by the laity's need for a privatised devotional image where a sacred contemplative space could be created in the home.⁶⁷

Without wishing to over stress the link between the religious elements of the historical cultural function of the traditional *tondo* by suggesting that the bedroom walls these images found themselves 'hung' on approximated to a private devotional shrine, some of these conventions can help to analyse the impact of *Goal's* chosen mode for its cover photographs of football stars. Firstly, the circular shape with its connotations of perfection and divinity serve to distance and elevate the subject. Though many of the subjects smile, they are shot from below and thus either look down or given the impression of towering above the viewer. An excellent example of the dignity and poise afforded a subject by this treatment is the cover of 22 February 1969, which features Leeds United's Terry Cooper (Plate 3, page 161).⁶⁸ Cooper's head is in semi-profile, half-turned to the viewer's right. The background of the *tondo* is a blue sky, and Cooper's face, shot from below, seems to be rising into the sky. An atmosphere of calm perfection pervades the photograph, particularly as he has light, piercingly blue eyes and his Leeds' shirt is white. The left is the side which art theory links with the point of departure, where we begin, so Cooper's orientation to the right looks towards the future, where we are going.⁶⁹

Shoot! preferred a square frame for its photographs and in an analysis of all covers between its first issue 16 August 1969 to 24 October 1970 (62 covers in total), 65% were grouped actions shot and 35% single individuals; the frequency of these solo subjects declined after the first eleven issues. In fact it appears that often the *Shoot!* cover image was chosen for its exciting action qualities rather than purely for the individuals concerned. The square/rectangular frames used do not, according to art theory, provide the same separation between viewer and image, because it 'confines' the image

GOAL

THE WORLD'S GREATEST SOCCER WEEKLY

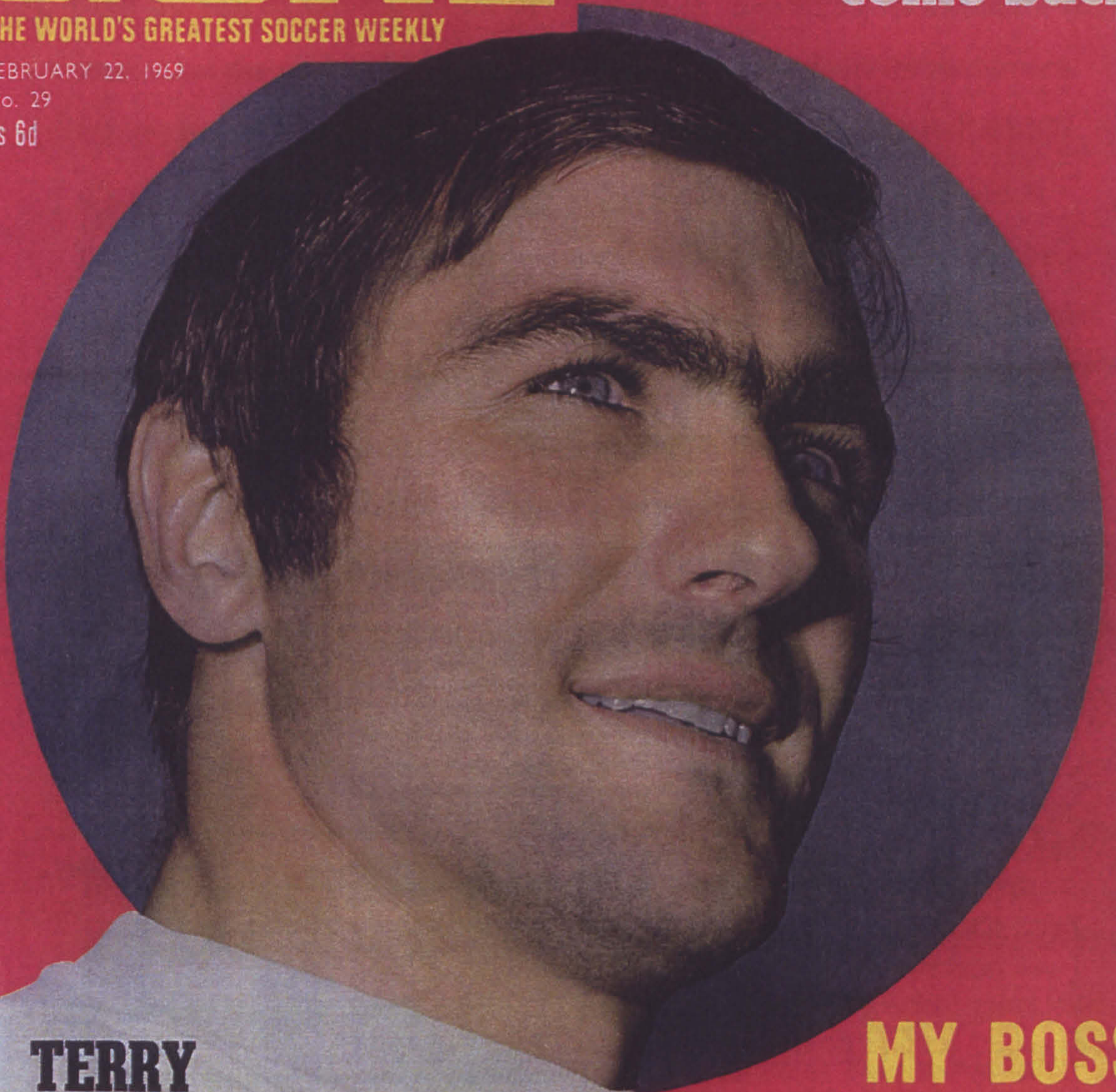
FEBRUARY 22, 1969

No. 29

1s 6d

JIM BAXTER

... now for
the big
come-back



**TERRY
COOPER**

Leeds United

MY BOSS

by Yeats, McLintock
Bremner and
Labone

Plate 3: The 'Goal Tondo': Terry Cooper, cover of *Goal*, No. 29, 22

February 1969.

and 'conforms to the gravitational framework of physical space'¹⁷⁰ The viewer is invited into the image rather than distanced from it, drawn into the action, rather than separated from it at a respectful distance. *Shoot!* was the magazine which survived, annexing *Goal* at the beginning of the 1974 - 75 season, suggesting that its less reverential approach towards the model professional, the approachability of its player pictures, coupled with the less didactic and moralising tone of its articles, appealed more to readers in the mid 1970s. Why *Goal* adopted the *tondo* as its trademark cover and an elevatory tone for its coverage of the professional, which distanced it from the greater approachability of the late 1950s which *Football Monthly* had adopted can possibly be partly explained by the impact of the 1966 World Cup victory, which had been such a successful display of English sporting prowess and sportsmanship and has been judged to have elevated a particular cohort of players to a level of superstardom previously not enjoyed by professional footballers.

3.2.2 These Sporting Lives: The Function of Autobiographies in the Cultural Representation of the Professional Footballer

The professional footballer's autobiography is a post Second World War phenomenon. As noted above, the first published footballer's life in full-length book form was Eddie Hapgood's *Football Ambassador* (1945), produced despite severe wartime paper restrictions. It quickly went into a second edition and was followed by a trickle of other lives in the late Forties. Since then, the number has steadily increased, with the exception of the 1970s (See Table 25 below, page 165.) The autobiography is one of the chief written vehicles for the professional footballer to present himself to the public. Thus, if the academic history of football is ever to become Hamlet with the Prince, then the autobiographies of its main

protagonists should be key sources of evidence. However, the autobiography in general is a highly problematic source.

There exists a considerable body of critical analysis of the autobiographical genre in Literary Studies which can be drawn upon to understand how football autobiographies functioned as means to promote the image of the 'model professional' (and also the other main footballing cultural types), but also to help trace continuities and shifts in the types which are highly significant as markers for wider social and cultural changes. Philippe Lejeune, in his highly influential study, *On Autobiography* argued that the study of the autobiography should focus on the history of the discourses within it.⁷¹ It is possible to analyse footballers' autobiographies as representations of a particular masculine group at specific points in time to reveal these discourses, as, for example, David Vincent and John Burnett have done in their studies of nineteenth and early twentieth century working men's autobiographies, and Lejeune in his analyses of the autobiographies of artisans and businessmen in nineteenth century France.⁷²

The two intertwined discourses which dominate the football autobiography are what I shall term the internal and the external discourses. David Vincent discerned two 'narratives' in his working men's autobiographies: one that he terms the 'subjective' narrative, the second an 'objective' narrative.⁷³ These correspond to what other critics have described as the 'concept of self' and the 'consciousness that the protagonist is part of the material world'.⁷⁴ In line with discourse theory, the concept of self employed here will be constructionist, that is, that the self is historically conditioned, 'derived from models supplied by the ambient culture'.⁷⁵ The internal discourse of the footballer as an

individual presented in footballing autobiographies, what constitutes his 'masculine footballing self' and the synchronic shifts and continuities in the construction of that self, as well as the tensions, elisions and evasions that are part of its presentation, have much to reveal about conformist and oppositional aspects of masculinity. The footballer can also be seen as part of an identifiable socio-economic group that understands the autobiographical act as providing it with the opportunity of taking part in the making of a history, the 'external' discourse. As such, to paraphrase Lejeune, it offers the possibility of knowing the institution of football in the second half of the twentieth century in the way that its professional participants saw it. Again, the institution of football is not a fixed entity; like the 'self', it is constructed in particular ways at particular times.

The football autobiography has a distinct literary inheritance which shaped its content and form. The conventions and constraints of the autobiographical genre from the sixteenth century onwards exert a tenacious influence upon it. The most potent of these is the dominant theme of the seventeenth and eighteenth century autobiography, the spiritual narrative of lost souls and their redemption. This model has been secularised and submerged, but nonetheless persists as a narrative of education and betterment. Autobiographies since then have mainly been examples of the 'exemplary life', optimistic narratives of apprenticeship, triumph over adversity and stability and growth. Football autobiographies have rarely departed from this model.

Between 1945 and 1953, when the wartime restrictions on paper had ended, twenty-two autobiographies of professional footballers were produced. The working-class footballer now had the confidence to assert his right to present his life and career as a model to the reading public.

Table 25: The Growth of the Football Autobiography as a Sub-genre

Years	No. of Autobiographies
1930 - 1939	4*
1940 - 1949	8
1950 - 1959	40
1960 - 1969	66
1970 - 1979	39
1980 - 1989	99
1990 - 1998	109

* 1 gentleman-amateur cricketer/footballer, 1 professional cricketer/footballer & 2 manager/trainers.

Based on entries in Peter Seddon, *A Football Compendium*, 2nd edit. (Boston Spa: the British Library, 1999).

Before the publication of *Football Ambassador*, the sporting autobiography concentrated on the middle-class or upper-class protagonist. As Table 25 above demonstrates, the only association footballers to have their lives published in full length book form before that date were primarily cricketers. One was the gentleman-amateur C. B. Fry (*Life Worth Living: Some Phases of an Englishman*, 1939), the other was a working-class professional cricketer, Elias 'Patsy' Hendren (*Big Cricket*, 1934), but his volume has nothing to say about football other than to mention that he played it. Working-class professional footballers had previously only seen their lives in print in local newspapers - Archie Hunter's football career as captain of the highly successful Aston Villa

team of the 1880s was detailed in a series of articles in the *Birmingham Weekly Mercury* in 1890; Steve Bloomer's local paper ran a series of autobiographical articles in the 1920s. These accounts concentrated on their playing careers, with only a brief outline of their origins.⁷⁶

The post-war shift which saw the emergence of interest in the book-length lives of working-class professionals as subjects of interest for the commercial reading public was of great significance. It was not uncommon from the nineteenth century for a working man to write his autobiography, but very few of these were full-length, discrete books, or were published nationally. Those which were belonged to political luminaries, what Lejeune terms the 'militants', such as Samuel Bamford and Thomas Cooper.

Significantly, the other grouping of working-class autobiographies which had a national circulation was soldiers' memoirs. Vincent argues that these functioned primarily as a reassurance for a middle-class readership that social order would be restored after a conflict. As I shall argue below, the working-class professional footballer's exemplary life served as a reassurance that the new heroes of the 'People's War', the 'ordinary' blokes, were also gentlemen who could take their place in an ordered post-war society. However, it was also a powerful marker of the upward social shift that had catapulted some footballers into 'superstardom', recognition as national figures by those outside football. Lejeune argued that one of the powerful motivating forces for the secular autobiography is social mobility and aspiration, and this is certainly part of the 'internal discourse' of the new post-war model professional.

One of the major difficulties in using the autobiography as a source of

evidence is the question of authorship. Very few of the football autobiographies are penned by their subjects and the ghost writers (usually football journalists) are sometimes credited alongside the footballer. Historians of football have mainly been concerned with questions of referentiality - whether these autobiographies reflect the genuine thoughts of the protagonist, or what has flowed from the pen of the ghost writer. Sometimes it is very easy to discern the hand of the ghost writer in the text. Other disciplines that have analysed and debated the autobiography have reached the consensus that the autobiography should be considered partly as a fictive production. To embrace this conclusion does not invalidate the use of the autobiography as a major historical source. What it offers is a greater potential for this material. Instead of weighing problems of referentiality, if we apply Lejeune's thesis about focusing on the history of the discourses within it, the interventions of the ghost writer then become not distortions which need to be identified and ignored or stripped away, but an organic part of the autobiographical production. Both 'ghost' and footballer work to produce a representation of the footballer's image to be presented to the public.

The date of the emergence of the football autobiography at the end of the Second World War is revealing because it is also at this point that other entertainment professionals began to publish their lives. Ruth Amossy has examined the female film star autobiography in the context of a cultural milieu which she describes as increasingly concerned with the presentation of self. Stars who present their selves through the recounting of a life story must, she argues, conform to the general norms and preconceived opinions of a potential receiver. The twentieth century audience, according to Amossy, increasingly demands authenticity, by which she means a display of the intimate self, the flesh and blood

character under the professional, familial, and other stereotyped parts. But the expectation of the authentic self which the audience desires is also a stereotype, a combination of the glamorous star life and the reality, the extraordinary talents of the individual and the ordinariness of the real self.⁷⁷

The analysis of some of the individual autobiographies in the two following chapters will reveal how they adopt and adapt, as well as disrupt, old narrative codes within the autobiographical genre, and the significance of these processes. If autobiographies are also considered as part of chronological groupings, shifts in their form and preoccupations, as well as continuities, can be discerned.

Chronological Shifts in the Nature of the Football Autobiography

If a decade by decade analysis is made of the football autobiography, it is possible to discern certain patterns. An analysis of the autobiographical titles produced by players reveals that there are three main categories of football autobiography which I shall term the exemplary life, the confessional life and the exposé. These categories are a modification of what Lejeune calls three attitudes: exemplary, apologetic and critical.⁷⁸ The dominant form, as I have already argued, is the exemplary life, and this has remained so through to the present day. Its dominance mirrors that of the hegemony of the model professional type. The conventions and constraints of the exemplary life inherited by the football autobiography have a powerful, formative role in shaping the two main discourses which the football autobiography offers its readers. The two emergent forms are the confessional and the exposé. The confessional life is a cautionary tale, yet one which shares with the exemplary life an

optimistic message. The exposé promises to lift the lid and tell the protagonist's life against the background of the unacceptable, seamy side of the professional game. Despite the increasing media appetite for sensational coverage of football since the 1950s, the confessional and the exposé have been rare, and this rejection in itself is highly significant for both acceptable models of masculinity, and the perception of the professional game and the status of players that the autobiographers wish to promulgate, for what I have labelled the internal and external discourses earlier. The growing post-war demand for controversy to stimulate sales has been met by the inclusion within what are largely exemplary lives of more controversial passages criticising fellow professionals, managers or the game's organisers and administrators.

The Professional's Progress: The late 1940s and early 1950s Autobiography (1945 - 1953)

Most of the players featured in the first flush of proletarian football lives were wartime internationals.⁷⁹ If Denis Compton's *Playing For England* (1948) is also included, though he primarily owes his prominence to his reputation as a cricketer, rather than a footballer, seven of the eight football autobiographies published up to and including 1949 were those of wartime international stars. The one exception is Jimmy Seed's *Soccer From the Inside* (1947). Seed was neither an ex-international, nor a wartime player, but he had caught the public's eye through his promotion of youth as a wartime manager.

If eight autobiographies appears to be a rather small number as the basis on which to argue for national interest in the wartime superstars in particular and the professional footballer as a whole, the total becomes

more substantial once the somewhat artificial division by decade is removed. If the line is drawn at 1953, a point where the wartime and postwar restrictions on paper had ended, yet new stars would not have had time to emerge, six more of these wartime internationals went into print.⁸⁰

All of the twenty-two autobiographies produced between 1945 and 1953 are exemplary lives. This is not accidental. As this thesis argues in Chapter Four, the effect of the Second World War was to create a discourse of aspiration and improvement through education among professional players. The working-class professional footballer now had the confidence to assert his right to present his life and career as a model to the reading public. Another aspect of the burgeoning pride in professionalism manifested in the Forties' football autobiography (and a persistent theme in later lives) is the clear sense that the individual is part of a history, the most tangible expression of the external narrative. Lawton is the heir of Dixie Dean. Lawton's autobiography features his choice of the greatest ever 'eleven'. Matthews, Finney and others also contribute to this Hall of Fame, historicising the game not in terms of its great amateur roots, as previous histories had done, but placing professional players securely within their own pantheon.

The assertion of the merit and honour of professionalism is another major trope of these early lives. Tommy Lawton's working-class professional life, *Football Is My Business* proudly declares its economic and social difference in the title. Lawton's football skill is as natural as C. B. Fry's, as is his all-round ability, whether it is bowling Learie Constantine in a Lancashire League cricket match or winning sprints in athletic competitions. However, natural athleticism is honed by hard

graft, labour which is described with fierce pride.

Dissident Voices: The mid 1950s to early 1960s Autobiography (1954 - 1967)

All the autobiographers writing between 1945 - 1953 attempted to produce exemplary lives in which the selves offered to their public conform to the characteristics of this dominant form of acceptable working-class masculinity. To be a working-class hero as a professional footballer, the protagonist must adopt the attitudes and attributes of this heroic ideal. Most of the 64 autobiographies in this later period still cast their protagonists as model professionals, but in the latter half of the 1950s there are some lives which are noticeably different in their tone, language and attitudes.

Len Shackleton proclaimed himself the 'Clown Prince of Soccer' in his 'bolshie' eponymous 1955 autobiography which famously included the blank page headed: 'The Average Director's Knowledge of Football'.⁸¹ Trevor Ford, the shoulder-charging Welsh centre-forward who plied his trade for Swansea, Aston Villa, Sunderland and Cardiff City, similarly revels in his maverick persona in his aptly named 1957 autobiography, *I Lead the Attack!* Whereas before this date, the protagonists of football autobiographies have felt able to complain only by refuting charges made against them, or have to justify acts of rebellion such as asking for a transfer by citing various misunderstandings, Ford proudly recounts episodes of rebellion.⁸² Throughout *I Lead the Attack!* Ford figuratively shoulder charges the football authorities, standing up to their injustices, asserting his right to make his own decisions, and expressing his contempt and dissatisfaction at the way he is treated.

Ford's autobiography is something of an exposé, with a new aggressive and critical tone. Its first chapter, 'Under the Counter' roundly denounces the hypocrisies of professional football. The voice of the autobiographies of the two Welsh internationals, Ford and (to a lesser extent) Roy Paul, in *A Red Dragon of Wales* (1956), is less deferential, more brashly self-confident, that of a more assertive and aggressive working-class masculinity.⁸³

This change in tone can be explained as the result of several factors. The approach of the Sunday newspapers which demanded sensational exposés of the underbelly of soccer was certainly an influence. This brasher, more confident working-class masculinity prefigures the emergence of such figures in the provincial novels produced by John Braine and others, and the emergence of the 'Angry Young Man' as a literary and social phenomenon which excited much attention.⁸⁴ But there were still few footballing autobiographies which challenged the conventions both in terms of the internal and external discourses. The internal discourse of the model professional still dominated and the exemplary life continued as the external model for the autobiographies of this period. For example, Jackie Milburn's *Golden Goals* (1955) is unsurpassed for its modesty and self-deprecation and its insistence on the ordinariness of its protagonist.⁸⁵ However, though there is the same aspirational portrait of the decent homes of the mining village, supported by hard graft and sacrifice, Milburn's life does provide a more detailed insight into a typical week, satisfying the need identified by Amossy for the intimate, which by this point has impacted upon the football autobiography.⁸⁶ Although there has obviously been an interest in the private, family lives of footballers before, such information has been offered to the reader as an

incidental.

Changing Times: 1968 to 1980

This period saw more marked changes in the form and preoccupations of the football autobiography. The first 'realistic' football autobiography is generally deemed to be Eamon Dunphy's *Only a Game? The Diary of a Professional Footballer* (1976), which was the first account of a lower division journeyman's season.⁸⁷ Academics have discerned in it signs that it is a genuine, crafted, self-penned and thus more honest and authentic work, which has a concomitant greater worth as a historical source. Whether or not *Only A Game?* does mark such a watershed, it is the case that it does usher in the new, subordinate form for the football autobiography of the confessional life. However, the discourse of the model professional and the influence of the exemplary life were still powerful; the largely conservative nature of the heroic football star image is the most remarkable feature of a period of relatively accelerated change for the football autobiography.

Only a Game? departs from the literary format of the exemplary life because it is in diary form. In the acknowledgments, Dunphy claims that the inspiration was the diary of an American baseball star Jim Bouton, *Ball Four*. Diaries are often omitted from the autobiographical canon by theorists because they do not conform to the classic structure presenting not a whole life but a fragment. However, rather than offering a radical alternative to the exemplary life, the format of the diary is also one with a long literary history. Dunphy's *Only A Game?* is the heir to the confessional diaries in which, from the sixteenth century onwards, protagonists subjected their actions and consciences to searching

spiritual examination, though without the optimism and the moments of epiphany. Indeed, Dunphy himself makes this identification by his punning chapter heading with its reference to Bunyan's great confessional, 'Passing through the Slough of Despond.'⁸⁸

Dunphy is described as the first autobiographer to discuss defeat and disillusionment in a raw and unvarnished, honest mode. However, Brian Glanville in the original preface showed a greater scepticism about how far Dunphy's celtic angst was the truth, believing it to be one way of looking at football, and more the product of Dunphy's own pessimism rather than reflecting a greater veracity, a narrative of his disillusionment.⁸⁹ *Only A Game?* is undoubtedly a highly self-conscious literary production but the scale of its unremitting pessimism and disillusionment would offer a very different experience of professional football to the reader.

The exposé which created the greatest fracture in the footballer's star image was not an autobiography but a biography, Michael Parkinson's *Best: An Intimate Biography* (1975).⁹⁰ Some scholars do not recognise a distinction between the two literary forms of the autobiography and biography, but this analysis would argue for a clear distinction: those reading the book are reminded even by the title that it is by Michael Parkinson and about George Best. However, the book contains lengthy passages which purport to be transcripts of interviews with Best which are quasi autobiographical fragments held together by Parkinson's commentary. It is included here because Parkinson's book had a huge impact upon the context within which future football autobiographies would be read. Best repeatedly refuted the impression it gave of him in his subsequent autobiographies until the 1990s when it became culturally acceptable and financially profitable for him to embrace a lad behaving

badly persona.⁹¹ Parkinson's narrative repeats the populist trope of local hero to national star. Best is a fallen idol, brought down by celebrity and the corruption and cynicism of the modern game. There are no modern heroes.

Best's language in these interviews is littered with expletives and crudities of expression. The tone is aggressive and bitter. There is a famous personal attack on Bobby Charlton. The material is also sexually explicit in a manner previously not seen in football autobiographies. Parkinson's success in promoting a discourse of the destruction of the moral and psychological fibre of the working-class as its traditional communities collapsed can be seen in the way that his study of the Irishman's superstar anomie informs Chas Critcher's identification of Best as the supreme example of his superstar/dislocated cultural type, discussed in the introduction to the thesis.⁹²

The bulk of late 1960s and 1970s autobiographies were still dominated by the discourse of the model professional, though there were shifts which meant that space had emerged in which money, sex and disillusionment could be discussed and were attractive to audiences which could accept and enjoy alternatives to the cobbled idylls of Ashington and dressing rooms populated by grand fellows who were always pals. The 1970s were, in several respects, a turning point for the football autobiography, and marked a challenge to the dominance of the cultural representation of the player as a model professional, as the next chapters will explore in detail.

Conclusion

The chapter has argued against a linear development for football stardom, moving away from the trope that players were 'local heroes' who became 'national stars', and that footballers should be seen as entertainers from the early days of professionalism, and looked at how the subsidiary promotion of their images is a marker of stardom. It also proposed that the Second World War created, if temporarily, a group of players whose enhanced national status and familiarity elevated their fame beyond the confines of the football world thus giving them what I have defined as superstar status. It has also argued that the cultural history of football should employ a cross-disciplinary approach to the analysis of the significance of the football star. It has indicated how the cultural history of the professional footballer should employ a wider range of source material for the analysis of the construction and promotion of representations of the image of the professional, and beyond that, ideas of masculinity and social identity, by suggesting methodologies for the interpretation of visual images and autobiographies. The next two chapters develop the contention of this thesis that the star image of professional footballers is best understood through the concept of cultural types, which are more inclusive than the concept of the 'local hero' and allow for a historically specific analysis of changing attitudes towards masculinity.

CHAPTER FOUR

The 'Model Professional'

Chapter Three proposed an alternative, non-linear model for the development of football stardom and suggested methodologies for the use of particular source material which helped to construct and promote the cultural representation of the professional footballer. Chapter Four will discuss the nature and functions of footballing cultural types, constructions which the thesis argues provide the best means of understanding representations of professional footballers. The chapter will delineate the three major post-war types, the 'model professional', the 'hard man' and the 'maverick'. It will examine the antecedents and development of the dominant hegemonic model of footballing masculinity from 1945 - 1985, the 'model professional', analysing how shifts in the nature of the type help to illuminate changes in consensual versions of respectable working-class masculinity. The two oppositional types, the 'hard man' and 'maverick' will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.1 Cultural Types: Their Nature and Functions

The thesis has argued that existing models for the understanding of the changing cultural representations of the professional footballer are valuable, but limited. Chas Critcher's model identified certain cultural types, that were in effect socio-economic categories.¹ His model seeks to explain the transition between the various types, but it cannot explain the persistence of types after the period in which they dominated. Garry Whannel's types based on moral categories, 'good boys', 'bad boys' and 'pretty boys', are too broad and not specific to football.² In contrast to

these models, the introduction to the thesis argued for the importance of Andrew Spicer's interpretation of cultural types, which he develops in his cultural history of the changing images of men in British cinema from the Second World War onwards.³ Spicer's notion of types has three particular strengths which I will develop at length below. Firstly, his cultural types are richer and more complex than other models, drawing upon a wide variety of different influences, literary, social and cultural. Secondly, they are historically specific, so that it is possible to explain why and when a type emerges or re-emerges, suggesting a significant 'moment' of cultural anxiety or interest. Finally, his interpretation of cultural types emphasises the competition between types, which struggle for hegemony, 'the version of masculinity that is most desirable or acceptable', constantly readjusting to maintain their dominance.⁴

Spicer sees cultural types as 'the staple representation of gender in popular fiction because they are easily recognisable' and serve to 'condense a range of important attitudes and values'.⁵ As the introduction to the thesis discussed, his concept of these types employs Richard Dyer's distinction between stereotypes, which are rigid and limited and are used to label and stigmatise those groups to which they refer, and types which are 'much more fluid, flexible and open, and can perform a range of narrative functions'.⁶ Some of the features of these types may be 'archetypes', with a long cultural history. Other types may have shallower cultural roots. According to Spicer, in realistic narrative modes in films, 'the type points outwards to social phenomena', rather than the 'fantasised archetypes' of melodramatic narratives.⁷ Types are thus inclusive categories which allow for a wide degree of variation within particular constructions.

Both these aspects, the realistic and the archetypal, can be found in three types which I identify as embodying the cultural representation of the professional footballer between 1946 - 1985. The 'model professional', for example, as this chapter explains in detail below, has its antecedents in the nineteenth century ideal of the perfect gentleman, which Spicer describes as uniting 'an idealised medieval chivalry, the delicacy and sensitivity of the cultivated Man of Feeling, the athletic vigorous manliness of "muscular Christianity" and the Protestant success drive'.⁸ In sporting terms, the perfect gentleman was the gentleman-amateur, the nineteenth century British version of the ancient archetype of the athlete-hero, which Kenneth Dutton argues was central to western ideals of masculinity from the time of the Ancient Greeks, who portrayed their athletes as heroes, and their heroes as athletes.⁹ Like the 'hard man' and the 'maverick', the 'model professional' is not an artificial category, created retrospectively, but is a figure that would have been familiar to contemporaries and was and is part of common football parlance.

The discussion of types in this thesis, is, like Andrew Spicer's, organised around specific stars. According to Spicer, individual stars' personae 'both embody and extend or refine cultural types'.¹⁰ The interaction between a particular star's persona and the type is discussed in detail in the next two chapters. This interplay serves to animate and particularise a type for contemporary audiences, giving the representation an individuality and interest that keeps it fresh and current. Where there is a wide divergence between the individual star's behaviour and reception and the type, this is also highly significant, demonstrating the pressure to conform to acceptable models of masculinity.

Spicer's analysis employs the Gramscian notion of hegemony, proposing

that at any particular historical moment, one version of masculinity will be dominant and that this dominant form is whichever type is both most desirable and widely acceptable. My discussion of the cultural representations of the professional footballer adopts this model, arguing that the hegemonic form of footballing masculinity throughout the period 1945 - 1985 is the 'model professional'. Spicer also uses Raymond Williams' development of Gramsci's idea that these hegemonic forms are not fixed but are 'continually active and adjusting'. The hegemonic form can always be challenged by oppositional forms which offer alternative versions of masculinity. Some forms can be 'residual', based on a previous cultural formation that persists into a new period, others are emergent, symbolising genuinely new attitudes and meanings. Others can be 'pre-emergent', which Williams describes as 'active and pressing but not yet fully articulated'.¹¹ These terms are also used in my analysis to describe the ways in which the 'model professional' type constantly adjusted to changing social conditions, and came under challenge at specific historical moments, from the 'hard man' and the 'maverick'.

Chapters Four and Five will discuss how types were constructed by the press, the football authorities and professional footballers themselves. The press, whether through newspapers, critical articles or journalists acting as ghost writers of autobiographies, plays a complex role in the circulation and recirculation of cultural representations of the professional footballer. In its role as historiciser of the game, the press constantly compared players to previous stars, thereby deepening the complexity of a type. For example, one of Tom Finney's contemporary appellations in the press, the 'peerless plumber', refers not just to his 'ordinariness', but was also a clever pun on one of the nicknames of the turn of the century amateur star G. O. Smith, 'the peerless pivot'. Thus

Finney is marked out as the working-class heir of the gentleman-athlete. As critics, the reports and articles of newspaper and magazine reporters rehearsed what was causing interest or controversy around a particular star. The football authorities promoted an official discourse of what was acceptable masculine behaviour through their disciplinary actions and in publications like the *F.A. Book for Boys*.

As stars, professional players were engaged in active promotion of their own image, in interviews and through their autobiographies, as well as through their off-the-pitch activities. In addition, the football supporter must have played an important role in constructing these representations, but the evidence for the supporters' viewpoint is scanty and highly problematic. Opportunities for the written expression of supporters' opinions were few. Letters' pages of football magazines are one potential source, but again how far the views expressed were held by other football fans is impossible to determine. Most of the evidence for popularity of a type with supporters is indirect and anecdotal, and the concluding two chapters of this thesis acknowledge this.

Retrospective oral testimony often can reflect more about current than past attitudes, and post-hoc claims about the popularity of certain players are very difficult to substantiate and quantify. For example, Charlie George, according to contemporaries, and later commentators, was supposed to have added 'thousands to the gate' when he played for Derby County in the early 1970s because of his maverick showmanship and rebellious attitude. Tabner's aggregate attendances show that Derby's average gate did rise by approximately a thousand for one of the seasons that George appeared at the Baseball Ground, but that was also a season when Derby were playing in Europe and were relatively more successful

in the League.

Spicer argues that around 1943 a 'crucial moment of change' occurred in male representations in British feature films whereby the previously hegemonic form of the debonair 'upper and upper-middle-class' gentleman was challenged by a new hero of the 'People's War', the 'ordinary bloke as hero'.¹² This chapter will demonstrate how this moment of change in the filmic representation of masculinity can also be discerned as a shift in the cultural representation of the professional footballer with the emergence of the 'model professional' who took on some of the virtues of the gentleman-amateur athlete-hero. The chapter will also go on to show how the model professional's incarnation of a 'natural gentlemanliness' from the immediate post-war period to the early 1960, was modulated by a less deferential, less apologetic, though still socially conformist stance, from the mid 1960s onwards.

4.2 Antecedents of the Model Professional Type: G. O. Smith, Corinthian Gentleman-Amateur and the 'Respectable' Professional

C. B. Fry, the all-rounder, embodied the dominant cultural type of admirable sporting masculinity at the turn of the century, a model which continued to hold sway until the end of the Second World War. The athlete-hero, possessor of a natural uncoached ability, was a gentleman-amateur, playing for the sake of playing, exuding the spirit of fair play. Fry's autobiography, *Life Worth Living* (1939), went into several editions, and provided its audience with the definitive account of a sporting amateur, even if he had to omit details of the coaching he had talked about in a 1912 biographical sketch, in order to conform completely to the ideal.¹³ Andrew Spicer has described how the perfect

gentleman, embodied the male ideal of the British ruling classes, and was 'the product of a nineteenth century synthesis of aristocratic style and bourgeois values', combining an emotional, chivalric, delicacy and sensitivity with a vigorous, robust manliness.¹⁴ This ideal was fostered by the public schools which aimed to produce a 'gifted amateur, trained for nothing, but ready for anything.'¹⁵

The concept of the gentleman-amateur was widely disseminated beyond the public schools, through boys' and adult fiction, but also, as Spicer has shown, in British feature films until the mid 1940s. Actors Leslie Howard and Robert Donat usually played sensitive, chivalrous and urbane 'debonair gentlemen', who served Britain in war and peace, at home and in the empire. The early British films of the Second World War, such as *Pimpernel Smith* (May 1941), *The 49th Parallel* (October 1941) and *The First of the Few* (August 1942) 'offered the debonair gentleman as a consensual ideal with which all classes could and should identify: "the unsullied Englishman, complete and typical, polished, natural and easy-going, the Englishman's ideal of an Englishman"'.¹⁶ Norman Baker describes the power and persistence of this ideal in English sport in the twentieth century which reached its footballing apogee with the victory of the combined Oxford and Cambridge team Pegasus in the F. A. Amateur Cup in 1953 before a crowd of 100,000.¹⁷ Norman Ackland was typical of many contemporary commentators who welcomed the 'manner' of the victory as a sign that the 'old Corinthian style...courage and determination could be revived.'¹⁸

The star football player who represented the gentleman-amateur par excellence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was G. O. Smith, the ex-Charterhouse public schoolboy, who played centre-forward

for Corinthians and England, as well as being an accomplished Varsity batsman.¹⁹ In *Athletic News*' report of the England v Scotland international of April 1906, 'W. H. L.' observed that 'the strongest argument that can be advanced against the reckless accusations hurled from time to time by the uninitiated against the noble game of football, is the personality of G. O. Smith'.²⁰ Smith was judged to unite a nobleness of character: scrupulous fairness and teamwork, sensitivity and unselfishness, with natural uncoached athleticism. As 'W. H. L.' put it:

The Charterhouse scholar's nature is depicted upon his face. There is a touch of sweetness in his appearance, which is admirably blended with the 'childish' and boyish style of face, almost feminine in its contour. It is a face which beams innocence and sportsmanship combined...He passes, without an effort, quietly, but withal beautifully. There is no ostentation, no blaze of trumpets, to proclaim the coming proceeding...It is debatable whether "G. O." is not too fair a player for serious football. He eschews rough play, and relies solely on skill, while his weight is scarcely eleven stone, and his height no more than 5ft. 8in.²¹

Such was his delicacy of feeling, that in the 1906 international which was the subject of the report, his performance was severely hampered by his personal distress at an injury to his Corinthian team mate Oakley. 'G. O. Smith apparently took very much to heart the unfortunate accident which had befallen his bosom friend.'²²

Gibson and Pickford also emphasised Smith's combination of thoughtful sensitivity with athletic excellence, and his incarnation of admirable British national virtues, in their depiction of the 'peerless pivot'.

Slightly over middle height, with a winsome face that bore traces of the pale cast of thought, this man with the most common of names typified the finest characteristic of his people, unassuming and composed until aroused to action...To see him walk quietly on to the field with his hands in his pockets and watch the fine lines

of an intellectual face, one wondered why the student ventured into the arena of football. But watch him on the ball with opposing professionals - maybe the best in the land - in full cry after him, and you saw a veritable king among athletes.²³

Smith's habit of walking on with hands in his pockets was meant to signify nonchalance, one of the attributes of a gentleman who was supposed to meet any challenge with confident, but not conceited, insouciance. Smith was also the epitome of sporting fairness. He would never shoulder-charge an opponent, deeming it 'unsporting', nor would he head the ball as he considered it poor play to use anything but the foot to control the ball. Above all, he stood for the importance of team work. As Smith wrote, 'Individualism must be sacrificed to combination, and any tendency towards selfish play must be suppressed'.²⁴

The professional footballer, on the other hand, could aspire to some of the attributes of the gentleman-amateur, but because of his social class and because football was his paid employment, and he trained rather than relied on his natural abilities and fitness, he could never, in the pre-war period, enjoy the national renown and cultural hegemony of the gentleman-amateur athlete-hero. Moreover, professional footballers struggled against the poor image often afforded them by their critics. Matthew Taylor has identified that the 'need to assert the respectability and good character of footballers - and by extension to be recognised as 'professionals' in the broadest sense - was evident throughout the first half of the twentieth century'.²⁵ Much of what was written at the beginning of the twentieth century by, or on behalf of the professional, was, according to Taylor, defensive, defending him against 'accusations of improvidence, immorality and insobriety'. He quotes the words of H. Reason of Clapton Orient who, during the strike of 1909, wrote of his fellows, 'They are just as well-educated, just as cultured as their neighbours, and sometimes

more gentlemanly than those whose birth and wealth gives them, it would seem, a better claim to the title'.²⁶ One recent study has argued that from the 1890s, 'the enduring portrayal of the drinking habits of players as excessive, probably owes as much to middle-class preoccupations with the evils of drink as with fact', mirroring wider concerns about drunkenness in society.²⁷ Nonetheless, even if it was inaccurate, it appears to have been the prevailing image at the turn of the century, and for several years beyond.

As Chapter Three of this thesis argues, the cultural image of the professional footballer, at least until the 1930s, and probably until the first football autobiographies began to appear at the end of the Second World War, was formed chiefly by the press and those who were allowed a mouthpiece in it. Although a few players wrote columns for some sporting papers, in which they could argue for the respectability and worthiness of the professional if they chose to do so, more often the authors of articles about the professional could have vested interests and ingrained social attitudes which made them less than sympathetic. John Harding, in his history of the PFA, argued that for nearly forty years, after he became one of the most powerful figures in the Football League in 1893, Charles Sutcliffe's highly influential pronouncements about the professional player in popular magazines did much to give the professional's public image a pejorative slant.²⁸ Sutcliffe's jaundiced view of the professional was based upon his defence of the maximum wage and transfer restraints, as well his middle-class religious and moral convictions. Furthermore, League regulations placed severe restrictions on what a player could say when talking to the press. Even as late as 1936, the F. A. passed a resolution drawing members' attention to the 'growing practice' of players contributing signed articles and giving interviews in

the press, ordering clubs to stop it, though Jimmy Fay, chair of the Players' Union, successfully challenged the ruling.²⁹

However, to counter this, the popular media, according to Dave Russell, increasingly promoted a 'generally highly respectable image' for the professional footballer. The 'respectable professional' was modest, temperate, with a settled home life. Russell argues that this coverage, which showed the professional as 'respectable, amiable, fun-loving in a fairly innocent way, and hard-working', was both probably a genuine reflection of the lifestyles and attitudes of most professionals, but also important in 'cementing the game [and by implication the professional] ever more deeply into the national culture'.³⁰

Although the 'respectable professional' could, by the 1930s, function as a model of respectability for working-class males, he could not serve as cross-class ideal before the Second World War, unlike a few professional cricketers. Holt argues that Jack Hobbs had achieved national, cross-class hero status before the war by virtue of embodying a democratised version of the gentleman-amateur, modest, unassuming, one of 'nature's gentlemen', though not from a privileged background.³¹ Hobbs, and a few other professionals, were 'endorsed by the amateur establishment of the game and the wider public' and allowed to take on some of the virtues of the gentleman-amateur, by a process of social osmosis. Holt's subtle analysis describes how Hobbs combined 'the efficiency of the professional with the appearance of the amateur'.³² Changes during the war would hasten the professional footballer's elevation so that he could become a national hero, but on a very different basis from the recognition and approbation afforded to Hobbs. Stanley Matthews, by the 1930s, had come to embody the pre-emergent figure of the working-class gentleman, but

as a professional footballer his working-class origins could not be disguised by any such legerdemain. Matthews's long career spanned the pre- and post-war periods, and, although contemporaries could recognise and applaud his status as 'one of nature's gentlemen' before the war, it was not until during and after the war that he could attain the status of a cross-class national hero.

4.3 Post-War Football: The "Professional's Progress" - the Gentleman-Amateur becomes the Democratised Gentleman: Stanley Matthews, Tom Finney and Jackie Milburn

By 1946 there had been a key shift whereby professional footballers could assume the mantle of national, cross-class heroes and act as models of ideal masculinity beyond the working-class. Andrew Spicer, as mentioned above, argues that around 1942 - 43, the figure of the 'debonair gentleman' hero which had dominated British films in the 1930s (along with the populist figure of the 'cheery working-class buffoon') was challenged by 'an emergent oppositional form of unexceptional, sober ordinariness, the 'common man', the hero of the social democratic discourse of the People's War'.³³ He describes how this discourse was promoted by a number of agencies and 'influential voices', including the government, through the Ministry of Information.³⁴ In the war films which were made from 1943 onwards, Leslie Howard and Robert Donat's debonairs, gave way to more 'ordinary' heroes, lower down the social scale, exemplified by John Mills' ex-secondary school teacher, Peter Penrose, 'prosaic, ordinary and lower-middle-class' in *The Way to the Stars* (1945). Penrose survives the war and inherits the peace, while the upper-class debonair 'knights of the air' are shot down and killed in the Battle of Britain.³⁵ *Picture Post* devoted its entire first issue of 1943 to

'Changing Britain' with the common man as the representative of the new world which was emerging.³⁶ As we shall see, below, *Picture Post* found one of its examples of this new man in the ranks of professional football.

The new 'model professional' who similarly inherited the peace was, I shall argue, a democratised gentleman who united modesty and sportsmanship and an undemonstrative acceptance of whatever befell them on a football pitch, with superlative natural talent. This 'gentlemanliness' was an assumption of some of the virtues normally associated with those higher up the social scale, and could be held up as an example to all classes of society. Unlike the gentleman-amateur, the model professional, without any of the advantages conferred by a privileged position in society, allied his gifts with hard graft and dedication, and thus better fitted the demands of wartime and immediate post-war consensualism. I shall argue that there was what could be termed an 'elevatory project' which aimed at raising the status of the professional both as an admirable figure as well as a national hero. This 'project' was relatively short lived, roughly from the end of the war until the mid 1950s, mirroring the equally short duration of the post-war consensus which historians have discerned. One crucial aspect was that it was driven by professionals and ex-professionals. Wider social changes made it possible, but these coalesced with pressures for change within professional football. In the 1930s, what Russell describes as more 'technocratic' themes, began to emerge within professional football. There was an argument that professionals should take over more aspects of the running of the game at the expense of 'civilians' such as club directors.³⁷ Chapter Three of this thesis argued that a select group of professional football stars became 'superstars' (players whose fame made them nationally known and recognisable to people who were not

necessarily followers of the game) because of the peculiar conditions of wartime football, and its role in fund-raising and morale-boosting.

However, some players who were to become future managers, like Matt Busby, gained confidence and enhanced status as sergeant PT instructors, which they expressed post-war as part of this 'technocratic' discourse.

The two professionals of the post-war period who best exemplified the change which led to working-class footballers being presented as examples of gentlemanliness for all classes, were Stanley Matthews and Tom Finney. Both achieved superstardom during the Second World War, though Matthews was already an established star before the outbreak of hostilities, unlike Finney who emerged in the special conditions of the wartime game. Before the war, Matthews had reached a different level of regard from that of 'respectable' professionals like Dixie Dean, who like Matthews (and Tom Finney) was never booked or sent off, but whose physicality and resolutely working-class persona precluded 'gentlemanliness'. However, neither Matthews nor Finney have to 'lose' their working-class origins which are proudly (though briefly) described in their autobiographies. George Male, who was a pre-war playing contemporary of Matthews, later commented that Matthews was 'a professional playing as an amateur', a highly significant remark which reflects the change which had occurred.³⁸

Stanley Matthews's *Feet First* (1948) clearly introduces itself as an exemplary life, and its subject as a democratised gentleman. Matthews claims that he has thought about writing his autobiography earlier in his career, but had been dissuaded by his father, who always has a portentous piece of wisdom to impart whenever the young Stanley is about to do something which does not accord with modest, thrifty, solid

working-class values. 'No, Stan. Wait a year or two. What folk will bother to sit down and read the comings and goings of a lad of twenty-three? When you have really lived, and have a story worth telling that may benefit the community, then by all means get down to the task of writing your story.'³⁹ Although there is little information about his childhood (in common with the other football autobiographies of this period), Matthews stresses the decency of his upbringing, emphasising how his father taught him thrift and prudence, opening a savings account for his first professional wage packets and refusing to allow him bus fare to the ground. Matthews is anxious to show that what might be considered unnecessarily harsh treatment by his father - who woke him up from the age of nine at six o'clock in the morning to take part in conditioning exercises (the 'dawn torture') and made him walk several miles to Stoke's ground for training, should be understood as necessary moral discipline. It also laid the basis for the punishing training regime he followed throughout his life: 'I was not allowed to develop a swollen head. My father saw to that...Today I take my training as seriously as when I was an up-an-coming player'.⁴⁰

Like G. O. Smith, Matthews's physical appearance, often commented on by contemporaries, is the outward manifestation of his refinement and sensitivity. Journalists frequently remarked on Matthews's (and also Finney's) pallor. Archie Leadbrooke memorably called Matthews the 'white wizard', and Arthur Hopcraft's famous portrait in *The Football Man* captured his apparent frailty for the rigours of the professional game.⁴¹ 'We were always afraid for Matthews, the non-athlete; the sadly impassive face, with its high cheekbones, pale lips and hooded eyes, had a lot of pain in it.'⁴² Recalling G. O. Smith, Matthews had a marked aversion to heading the ball, admittedly not because he did not consider it 'proper

play'.

The assertion of the merit and honour of professionalism is another major trope of the early exemplary footballing lives, and a key feature of the 'elevatory project'. Natural athleticism is honed by hard graft, in a proudly working-class setting, a labour which is often described in detail. As Matthews explained, 'Whatever football ability I have came almost naturally to me', but it is perfected by hours of endeavour. 'I would amuse myself for hours kicking a rubber ball against our garden wall...I am certain my ball control can be traced back to a small rubber ball and a garden wall.'¹⁴³

The ways in which the democratising discourse of the 'People's War' was to bring about a downward shift of some gentlemanly qualities in the social scale, so that the admirable 'ordinary bloke' could share something of the heroic, are apparent throughout *Feet First*. Matthews' sportsmanship, his abhorrence of excessive physicality, his refusal to contest decisions, is emphasised throughout his autobiography. Frank Butler, the *Daily Express*'s sports columnist who wrote the Foreword for *Feet First*, claimed, 'I have not seen Matthews commit the mildest foul, and I know I never shall, because Stanley Matthews doesn't know how to foul. Just as he has never a bad word to say for an opponent.'¹⁴⁴ Matthews himself replies to the charge that he does not get 'stuck in' sufficiently, that 'if my career had depended on just how well I could get "stuck in", I would have retired from football many years ago. The science of football is to beat your opponent by superior skill, speed or tactics.'¹⁴⁵ He has only praise for the Football Association 'who have [sic] kept the sport they govern cleaner than any other sport in the world' and which will not select players who resort to over-vigorous play. 'So whatever my young

readers may be learning about Soccer, don't allow anybody to persuade you to play the rough stuff. It does not pay in the long run'.⁴⁶ Matthews made a point of not shaking hands at the end of a game with a player who had deliberately fouled him.⁴⁷

So important is the adherence to this ideal of masculinity, that there is suppression and distortion of the character traits of the protagonists and the aspects of professional football that will not fit. Matthews is concerned to answer the criticisms which are levelled against him and might chip away at his heroic image. He was anxious to set the record straight over any 'misunderstanding' which may have arisen over his transfer from Stoke. 'Contrary to some stories at the time, when I declined the suggestion [to play for Stoke reserves] I was not defying either the Stoke manager or the directors...I was in a perilous position. Football is my livelihood, and once I began slipping I intend getting out of the game, but I had no reason to believe that I had already started to slip...I hope I shall not be accused of being swollen-headed. But I do consider myself worthy of a place in league football.'⁴⁸

Just as Matthews responded vehemently to accusations that he was not adhering to the required standards of modesty and might be greedy, he was particularly careful to defend himself over the charges that he was not a team player. He twice refutes the charge that he 'starved' Willie Hall of the ball in a 1938 Football League game against the Scottish League. He rebuts as untrue other suggestions that he sometimes plays for himself. 'Eddie Hapgood once said that I dribble for the sake of dribbling, and am not content to beat a man once. Eddie thinks I like to beat the same opponent several times to demonstrate my skill to the crowd'.⁴⁹ Matthews explained that his aim in dribbling at defenders in this way was

to get on top of the defence by breaking the confidence of the full-backs.

Matthews's natural gentlemanliness was frequently stressed, and not just in the final period of his career when he had become a 'national institution'.⁵⁰ In 1946, the chairman of Matthews's testimonial fund commented, 'He is one of the most gentlemanly, unaffected of men'.⁵¹ Stoke's President at the time of Matthews's 1947 transfer to Blackpool opined, 'We shall always have in mind the great services he has rendered to Stoke City by his football genius, his modesty and his gentlemanly conduct'.⁵²

Although Matthews was awarded the first 'Footballer of the Year' trophy by the Football Writer's Association in 1948 (another manifestation of the 'elevatory project'), formal non-football recognition of Matthews's 'gentlemanly' status had to wait until the end of the 1950s, when he was awarded the CBE in the New Year's Honours List of 1957. Mason records that there were calls for a knighthood, particularly in the *Daily Mirror*.⁵³ When Harold Wilson brushed aside caveats about honouring an active professional footballer (Matthews, nearly 50, was still playing for Stoke) to award him a knighthood in 1965, as Mason puts it, 'Even *The Times* did not object'.⁵⁴

The newly emergent national hero of English football in 1946 was one of the young players who were able to make a rapid rise to prominence because of the fracturing of normal patterns of selection in wartime and the shortage of older players. Tom Finney was given his first chance in League football aged eighteen against Liverpool at Anfield in 1940, the year which saw Preston North End win the League Cup and the wartime Northern championship. He came to national notice when he deputised

for the injured Stanley Matthews in September 1945 in the England eleven which played Ireland at Belfast. Finney was given the rare accolade of an individual feature in *Picture Post* as 'The Footballer Who Stops the Game'.⁵⁵ This honour was only given to one other between 1938 and 1946, Chelsea's George Barber.⁵⁶ 'The Weekday Plumber Who is Preston's Weekend Pride' had seen active service for three years driving tanks around Egypt and all through the Italian campaign. *Picture Post's* considerable role in promoting the more democratic, egalitarian society it hoped would emerge after the war has been discussed earlier, and Finney is football's representative of the 'common man' who would be at the heart of the transformation. Finney's apparent ordinariness is the constant theme of their tribute: 'Tom Finney is a pleasant-faced, rather slight youngster who doesn't look anything special either on the football field or off it. Until the ball comes his way, that is.' His extraordinary footballing gifts are contrasted constantly with his retiring demeanour.

It was part of the *Picture Post* documentary realist photoshoot style to depict their subjects at home.⁵⁷ Among a sequence of action shots attempting to give readers an impression, however unsatisfactory, of Finney's elusive grace and sinuous body swerve from a hapless defender's viewpoint, is a photograph of him with his wife Elsie, but also one which depicts a serious Finney, in boiler suit, atop a ladder conferring with a flat-capped mate sitting above him on a roof. He is, we are told, 'modest and unassuming, of quiet and undistinguished tastes...Not an aggressively ambitious young man, nor has his wildfire success turned his head', he incarnates for the magazine a discourse about the ideal post-war attributes of a working-class 'public hero'. A local player, 'born almost on the Preston North End doorstep', married to a local girl, and like many of his non-footballing compatriots, 'he has a housing worry'. His concerns

are those of his family and prudent provision for the future. These were attributes which had also contributed to Stanley Matthews' hero status, as Mason puts it, never 'too big for his football boots', neither colourful, nor flamboyant.⁵⁸

Although more robust than the ascetic Matthews (an asceticism which was increasingly appearing eccentric), Finney's 'slight build' and 'unimposing height and weight' are still emphasised. The new 'democratised gentleman' could share some of the refinement of G. O. Smith. A key passage underlines Finney's difference from Matthews. 'If he is the natural successor to "the greatest player in the world" he is his very opposite in style. He is a more graceful mover than the thirty-two year old Matthews, but less spectacular, less of an individualist, less of a one-man circus. Perhaps his greatest asset is that highly developed feeling for collective play that some critics miss in Matthews.'⁵⁹ More youthful than Matthews, Finney was also a more demotic figure.

In the book written in 1958 at the end of Finney's career, *Finney on Football*, which serves partly as an autobiographical update, Finney distances himself from the autobiographies of Len Shackleton and Trevor Ford which have attacked the profession of football from which they have become relatively rich men. However, it also takes an outspoken line on the maximum wage, as well as a variety of other then controversial football topics. 'I accuse soccer's rule makers of violating every basic principle of economics with their archaic maximum wage restriction. In what other job is an employee forbidden to earn the salary his employer wishes to pay him? That is the present state of affairs in League football, and I am quite certain the only reason it persists is a selfish one.'⁶⁰ As an individual, Finney was a more gritty and assertive character than his

model professional image suggested. Finney was, like Matthews, willing to assert the right to earn a wage commensurate with his superstar drawing power and to criticise aspects of how the professional game was run.

'Simplicity', a modest demeanour unaffected by fame and adulation, is at the centre of cultural representations of the model professional in this period. Jackie Milburn's *Golden Goals* (1955) is unsurpassed for its modesty and self-deprecation and its insistence on the ordinariness of its protagonist. Milburn was sometimes accused of being too nice and lacking the 'devil' which would make him a more effective player.⁶¹

Milburn put it much more disarmingly. 'In my heart I know I've always possessed an inferiority complex. To some I may appear to be a shy and retiring chap.'⁶² There are many examples of this in his 'life'. When there has been a mix-up with hotel bookings in 1946 before Newcastle's first proper post-war League game against Millwall, three players find they have only one double bed between them: 'So Jackie Milburn, never one to make a fuss about anything, agreed to share the double bed with Brennan and Bentley.'⁶³

Milburn is concerned to show that he has always remained one of the miners of Ashington. Richard Holt describes how the later 'Milburn legend' has him joining the back of the bus queue from his own colliery to travel to Newcastle home games in which he was a star player.⁶⁴

Milburn compares everywhere he travels unfavourably with the terraced Arcadia of Ashington, 'birthplace of a thousand footballers and me, with its pits, rows of drab little houses, and big-hearted and honest folk, the finest place in the world.'⁶⁵ There are pages of minutiae about his private life, his preferred meal (plain food, 'like all miners, steak and kidney

pudding'), the ages of his children, his hatred of gardening but his ability as a handyman. In bed by 10.45 at the latest, he occasionally ventures to the pictures, or wagers the odd two shillings on the dogs, painting a picture of blissful if humdrum domesticity.¹⁶⁶ Contemporary articles underlined his lack of affectation. 'He is a mild and rather shy young man...It is certainly not in Milburn's nature to seek attention for himself, and the sporting glory which has come his way as a Newcastle United and England player has not changed him. It has, indeed, been received with a pleasantly old-fashioned diffidence.'¹⁶⁷

Another of the qualities of the upper-class gentleman-amateur that the democratised gentleman of professional football assumed, was the right to lead and represent the 'nation' at home and abroad. The title of Eddie Hapgood's autobiography, *Football Ambassador* (1945), is profoundly indicative of this. Hapgood explains that he took the title from a front page article in 'one of Bucharest's leading papers', welcoming the English team which he captained on its summer tour to Europe on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities. "Ambassadors from the land of the birth of the football game, they arrive today in our capital town, bringing a token of the true friendship between the countries with a common ideal...We all consider their visit as an opportunity to show to our players, as well as our spectators, the concretion of a sportive ideal, which we try hard to reach."¹⁶⁸

The montage of photographs which adorns the dustjacket functions as a 'mini-album' and includes Hapgood introducing the English team to George V and Winston Churchill, Hapgood himself in his RAF uniform, a Zeppelin flying over Highbury and Hapgood in his kit in a publicity shot with the 'great' Alex James, while Hapgood's son Eddie Junior attempts to

kick a leather football. Football has not only helped to win the war, but it also can help build the peace, with professionals able to represent the nation. As Stanley Rous declared in his foreword to Hapgood's volume: 'I feel sure that his many admirers will agree that his outstanding football career fully entitles him to be styled a "Football Ambassador"'.⁶⁹

The metaphorical function of sport as war, and the perfect preparation that public school sport was deemed to give the officer class, has been much discussed in academic works. However, Stanley Matthews gives his own version - although not cast in the same 'high idiom' as Henry Newbolt's 1898 poem *Vitai Lampada* which has been identified as the beginning of the conflation of war with sport in English writing - which puts forward the notion that the professional footballer can also 'play up and play' the greater game. Britain's victory in the Second World War has been prepared not only in the 'breathless hush' of Clifton College close, but in the forty-a-side urchin kickabouts on the top fields of Ashington and Preston, as well as the street games of Hanley.⁷⁰ In the chapter entitled, 'We Slam the Nazis', he ends his account of the 6-3 defeat of the German team in Berlin in May 1938 with the observation: 'The Germans took a licking from us in the spring of 1939, but that was nothing compared with the hammering that was to follow. Britain-at-war, like Britain-at play, is quite a team to beat.'⁷¹

The profile of Stanley Matthews in the first issue of *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly* opined that the type of gentlemanliness exhibited by Matthews was peculiarly British. Recalling his performance in the defeat of the Belgians in Brussels in 1947, the writer remarked, with a hyperbole worthy of Newbolt, 'I glanced round the vast stadium and among all the gay flags there was a solitary Union Jack. And the curious proud fancy I

had then was that it was fluttering out more defiantly than the rest. For Stanley Matthews had set the seal on another English victory. And I knew that no other country could have produced a man like him.¹⁷² F. Howarth, Secretary of the Football League, writing the Foreword to Finney's *Football Around the World* remarked, 'Tom is a most modest young man, a complete sportsman and gentleman and typical of the best characteristics of a Britisher'.⁷³

This chapter discussed earlier the difficulties of discerning and evaluating the response of football fans to these football types, as well as their part in their formation. Certainly Matthews and Finney were considerable attractions whose impact 'on the gate' could be measured, particularly towards the end of their careers. The *Lancashire Evening Post* in 1954 carried an article about the large numbers of football fans who arrived on special coaches from outside Preston (and mentioned that similar excursions were available to see Stanley Matthews at Blackpool) and the disappointment of these travellers if Finney was not fit enough to play. 'Are they really supporters of the football club or football lovers, drawn by a box office magnet, namely Finney?'¹⁷⁴ We can speculate strongly that Matthews (and Finney's) gentlemanliness was an important part of his popularity, but without contemporary evidence to support it directly. Certainly football supporters were invited by the type of coverage afforded to Matthews in *Football Monthly*, as the next section below argues, to admire and value and emulate these qualities.

Autobiographies were not the only vehicle for the elevatory project, and Matthews, Finney and Milburn (along with Alf Ramsey and Billy Wright) all had a cover and accompanying feature in the first twelve issues of *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly*. Weekly and monthly magazines which

focused exclusively on football also developed and promoted the image of the model professional. *Charles Buchan's Football Monthly* and the weekly *Soccer Star* were both launched in 1951, and the former openly declared in its first issue that its intentions were to enhance the reputation and status of the footballer, both professional and amateur. 'Our object is to provide a publication that will be worthy of our National game and the grand sportsmen who play and watch it.'⁷⁵ Buchan was an ex-Sunderland and Arsenal star turned journalist for the *Daily News* and the *News Chronicle*, who co-founded the Football Writers' Association and was also a BBC broadcaster. Buchan was therefore a highly influential figure whose pronouncements did much to shape the public image of the professional footballer, this time in a positive manner. An excellent statement of Buchan's credo can be found in the article he wrote for the *Football Association Book for Boys* in 1949, discussing 'the sportsman's attitude to all games'. 'Whenever I see Manchester United play I am greatly impressed by their behaviour. They play the game in the proper spirit, never stopping to question the referee's decisions, never reprimanding a colleague for making a mistake, never retaliating if they have been unceremoniously treated. They are a team in every sense of the word.'⁷⁶ *The F.A. Book for Boys* was a post-war creation, in whose didactic articles about playing the game in a proper spirit, the football authorities contributed to the 'elevatory project'.⁷⁷

The articles which *Football Monthly* carried for its first year (September 1951- August 1952) relentlessly promoted the image of the 'model professional' as an example for its readers, both men and boys. It did this both through its written articles, and the visual representations of professional players that it featured, which, as Chapter Three argued, portrayed the professional through its 'posed action shots', as a dignified,

skilled practitioner and a specimen of graceful athleticism and physical perfection. As it came out monthly and was not under the same constraints as a weekly magazine to report immediate events, *Football Monthly* had the space to carry lengthy profiles of professional footballers. The profiles in these first twelve issues present the professional as a chivalrous and dedicated figure. Newcastle United's captain Joe Harvey celebrated his side's F. A. Cup victory the previous May in 'Reaching the Moon', in a self-deprecating, modest manner of which G. O. Smith would have been proud.⁷⁸ 'Looking back', he began, 'I recall how strongly our happiness was touched with sympathy for Blackpool's gallant lads.'⁷⁹ Even before the game begins, Harvey meets his opponent Harry Johnston in the 'dreaded Wembley tunnel' and 'has the pleasure of congratulating him' on being selected as Footballer of the Year. 'My good wishes were from the heart. I knew what a grand fellow he was'.⁸⁰ 'Blackpool', Harvey declares, 'Played magnificently, and though on the losing team, Harry Johnston's handshake was firm and sincere as he congratulated me'. Harvey is almost apologetic that Newcastle deprived the 'grand' Stanley Matthews of 'the medal he deserves'. An inset box at the bottom of the article told readers that Harvey's account was typical of the articles by famous players that would be appearing in future issues of the magazine, 'But they will not all be by First Division players. The Second and Third Divisions have many fine and intelligent players of their own. Next month you will meet one who would be a credit to the game in whatever League he played - Reg Foulkes, captain and centre-half of Norwich City.'⁸¹

The early 1950s' approbatory, reverential style of the 'elevatory project' must have been popular with readers as *Football Monthly's* circulation reached 60,000 in the first year, rising to 120,000 by 1959, and peaking in

1960 - 61 at 130,000. The first edition also gave notice of the intention to launch a boys' club, which by 1968 had 100,000 registered members, the membership qualification, besides a 1 shilling postal order, being 'that you play the game as it is meant to be played, that you are cheerful in defeat and not boastful in success.'¹⁸²

'Captain Courageous of England': Billy Wright

The player of the immediate post-war period who was the most deliberate promoter of the new model professional was Billy Wright. Through his position as England captain and as captain of Wolves, Wright came to exemplify how completely the democratised gentlemen that was the model professional could take on the mantle of the gentleman as a leader of his country. Wright wrote four autobiographies as well as a book in collaboration with the England manager Walter Winterbottom, all of which promoted him as the model professional par excellence. Unlike Matthews, Finney and Milburn, Wright was a conscious agent of the 'elevatory project'. Wright, along with his fellow 'self-educator', Alf Ramsey, sought respect and recognition in a different language and on different terms from those articulated by professionals and their representatives before the war. Charlie Roberts, when Chair of the Players' Union in the 1920s, had couched his appeal to the authorities in terms of the footballer as an employee who should be able to make a living from the game and to earn the skilled artisan's salary that his special 'shortage' skills deserved. His language was that of the working-class trade unionist. Billy Meredith saw the footballer as an entertainer drawing a paying gate of thousands who should receive a share of the takings commensurate with his contribution, and this is a theme which persists. Billy Wright and Alf Ramsey believed that

professional footballers could and should receive respect precisely because they were professional footballers. I have shown earlier how football historians have pointed out that in general the early Fifties saw increased emphasis on ex-players and other professionals taking over more aspects of the running of the game, and Wright and Ramsey both did this later in their careers, Wright through his association with F. A. Youth coaching and as manager of Arsenal, Ramsey as manager of Ipswich and England.⁸³

Moreover, Wright and Ramsey were not attempting to 'pass', to conceal their working-class roots in the manner that the social chameleon Denis Compton achieved.⁸⁴ Alf Ramsey has been the butt of much derision for his attempts at self-improvement. His elocution lessons, prompted by his desire to speak properly, have been painted in very unsympathetic terms. George Robb, a playing colleague of Ramsey, however, drew a more fine, contemporary distinction between what non-contemporaries interpreted as embourgeoisement with its attendant shedding and denial of working-class roots, and social aspiration and self-improvement, that humble social origins and lack of formal education need not be a bar to advancement. 'He came from a working-class background, and I think that all the way through he was thinking to himself, "I can do better than this, I could do better"'.⁸⁵ In order to do better, Ramsey claims to have set himself on a course of self-improvement. He was proud of this, and did not expect his efforts to appear risible. '[In the evening] I usually have a long read for, like Billy Wright, I have found that serious reading has helped me to develop a command of words so essential when you suddenly find yourself being called upon to make a speech.'⁸⁶ Ramsey, despite later accusations of class betrayal, was proud of his working-class roots and made much of his fondness for jellied eels and a pint. He

received a large measure of respect from contemporary players as a thinking footballer, the handsome 'General'. 'For all round accomplishment I think Alfred Ramsey of Tottenham Hotspur and England deserves to rank as among the most remarkable of them all...a man who both on and off the field has tried his hardest to further interest in the academic side of the game.'¹⁸⁷

The role which defined Billy Wright's public persona and pushed him into the forefront as the model professional was that of England captain. The striking artist's drawing which adorned the cover of the cheap Arrow paperback edition of the third of those four volumes which chronicled his career shows him leading out the team at Wembley (see Plate 4, page 206). Pictured from a low angle, the five foot nine inch Wright has become a monumental figure, dominating the Wembley turf, the double of the famous tower which rises above the stand in the background, topped by a fluttering Union flag. The perspective ensures that Wright matches the landmark in size and is thus identified with it completely. Both are presented as icons of British football and the nation, 'twin towers' of the game. The illustration is based upon a photograph that appears in *Billy Wright's Football Scrapbook*, but many similar images of Wright leading out the national team would make this pose highly familiar to contemporaries. The illustration emphasises particular aspects of Wright's demeanour and appearance and their wider significance. The hand which cradles the ball against his body is disproportionately large, the exaggerated size and proprietary gesture underlining his ownership of the England captaincy. His irregular, asymmetrical face has been reordered into a more conventional handsome cast. His usually unruly coarse shock of blond hair, which earned him the nickname 'Snowy', is here smoothed and lightened. His long jaw has been shortened which

The inside story of England's soccer team
and its fortunes at home and abroad

ARROW
BOOKS
W

BILLY WRIGHT



THE
WORLD'S MY
FOOTBALL
PITCH

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ILLUSTRATED
ARROW
EDITION

Plate 4: One of England's 'twin towers': Billy Wright on the cover of *The World's My Football Pitch* (1956).

allows his chin to jut out, signifying his determination. His narrowed eyes add to this concentrated strength of purpose. The azure blue sky and white shirt and stocking tops enhance his clean cut mien.

Here is Wright cast as 'captain courageous'. The artist depicts him in a style very close to that used by Soviet Socialist realist artists to portray their heroic farmers and workers.⁸⁸ *The World's My Football Pitch* was typical of paperbacks that were produced and priced for the mass market which mushroomed following the lifting of paper restrictions in 1950 and the hand drawn covers persisted until they were replaced by photographic covers in the late 1960s.⁸⁹ Inside the front cover, a list and brief description of titles also available in the 'Illustrated Arrow Books' range further establish the context in which readers were to set Wright's achievements; for example, *Zarak Khan* by A. J. Bevan: 'Into the select ranks of the bravest men of all time marches Zarak Khan from the Indian-Afghan frontier. After capture by the Japanese in the Burmese jungles he elected to be flayed alive to save his former enemies'.⁹⁰ The subjects of these books are exceptional leaders of men engaged in heroic acts. Other titles listed in the back identify that the series was aimed at a predominantly male audience: tales of adventure and crime (for example *Cutlass Empire* and novels by Edgar Wallace). Wright is the heir of the Imperial heroes, but given the demotic cast by the realist style of his portrait, both visual and textual, and thus the democratised gentleman takes on the functions of the 1930s' upper-class gentlemanly soldier/heroes.

The heroic footballer which strides across the pitch ready to face the nation's opponents, handsome, assured, steely-eyed, embodies all the qualities of a natural leader and an exemplary model. Wright himself was

very conscious of this part of his image and claimed that he adjusted his behaviour to fulfil his responsibilities as a role model. 'Now I find myself on a pedestal, watched over carefully by youth everywhere.'⁹¹

Wright's style of captaincy in practice was formed on democratic and consensual lines. He was the 'people's captain'. Oft-repeated in his autobiographies is the story of how he learnt of his elevation to soccer's greatest honour from a clippie on the bus back to his digs at Tettenhall. This does not appear to be an invention. Wright never learned to drive, and the local paper, the *Wolverhampton Express and Star*, printed it at the time.⁹² Wright liked the story and what it demonstrated about his approachability and how the honour he was accorded was unsought, and he played a large part in its wide dissemination. Wright's approach to leading the national side was that of 'the democrat, not the dictator', a phrase which recurs throughout his autobiographies and which would be particularly resonant in the period of post-war consensualism, a period which social historians have argued was relatively short-lived, being on the wane by 1951.⁹³ His captaincy was drawn on modern, forward thinking lines for the late Forties and Fifties. Wright was typically undemonstrative on the pitch, preferring, he said, to lead by personal example, rather than bombast. 'I feel the best way a skipper can inspire his team is to roll up his sleeves and by personal effort set an example the rest of the side can follow'. Wright's approach was very popular with his England team mates, but it had its detractors. Nat Lofthouse described how, 'Among the England players there are no cliques. We are a team in the fullest expression, and for this I think skipper Billy Wright deserves every praise'. Although Wright repeats a dissenting comment made by an unnamed colleague: 'The trouble with you, Billy, is you're too nice to everyone'.⁹⁴ However, as the fortunes of the national side faltered once the

war-time team which, like the Hungarians, had trained and played together frequently more in the manner of a club than a national side, began to age and be broken up, Wright's liberal, egalitarian style of leadership was not spared. 'There has been considerable criticism of my captaincy because I do not make a habit of shouting at players on the field.'⁹⁵ For Wright public chastisement was 'ungentlemanly' and demotivating.

The visual images included within these autobiographies are also highly significant. They are best read as collections, in a sense 'albums' of autobiography. Footballing autobiographies always contain collections of photographs, collections that it could be argued are the heirs to the photographic albums of the aristocracy in which the Victorians first collected and displayed both public and private images, as carefully constructed presentations of their lives. These Victorian albums have been subjected to detailed academic analysis and scrutiny in terms of how they are conscious productions that can reveal specific discourses about the status and role of those portrayed.⁹⁶ The 'album of autobiography', the collection of photographs which appears in *One Hundred Caps and All That*, Billy Wright's final volume of autobiography, written shortly after his retirement in 1961, could provide example evidence for Critcher and Wagg's thesis that professional footballers by the 1960s were becoming embourgeoised, separated from their proper working-class milieu by their increased earnings and greater celebrity.⁹⁷ These images are a parade of Wright's achievements over his glittering career and his elevated status within football and in wider society. The plates are distributed at regular intervals in the text and occasionally as double sided single pages, instead of a single collection in the centre or as two or three separate groupings. They thus serve as punctuation points in the

narrative.

One of the first photographs is a rare shot of Wright's biological working-class family from Ironbridge. His adoptive, lower-middle-class family, the Colleys, with whom he boarded at Tettenhall from the age of 14 when he first joined Wolves, feature far more prominently. Wright and his mother are shown on the sidelines of a photograph of the Coalbrookdale Works XI, taken to commemorate their victory in the 1928 Bridgnorth Infirmary Cup. From Billy Wright's football baptism among the proletarian Shropshire ironworkers, we switch abruptly to the heights of his adult social prominence. 'R. A. B. Butler, a charming man of many parts and interests entertains Joy and Billy in the lovely garden of his Essex home. And as they walked and talked the Home Secretary gave England's captain some advice.' The caption patently anchors the intended meaning of this photograph for the viewer. Statesman and sportsman encounter each other, not as social equals, but in a manner that demonstrates that Wright can relax in the company of the eminent, upper-class politician. The picture was widely distributed to the press as a publicity photograph and was obviously a preferred image for Wright. Even the *Wolverhampton Express and Star* led with it on its front page to mark the award of Wright's CBE in the Queen's birthday honours.⁹⁸ On another page, Wright is shown outjumping 'the late Duncan Edwards' as they both challenge for the ball, outstretched arms twinned like the wings of a bird. England's finest are here, the retiring captain and its dead future, plaintively mourned as a young man whose 'promise had no horizon'. Next to this, Wright wins his 100th cap, fulfilling his promise and destiny. Professional distinction is coupled with another image of social advancement over the page, as Wright outperforms another, high kicking alongside Frankie Vaughan, the entertainer, a highly paid and

prominent star in Britain, borrowing his top hat and cane. 'Frankie Vaughan, man of song and Billy Wright, man of soccer, set out together', reads the caption. Below in another image Billy is measured for his Madame Tussaud's waxwork.

These images serve to delineate Wright's claim to an elevated social status, as both entertainer and statesman of the game. Far from reading them in a pejorative sense, they are positive images, not of alienation, but of a self-confident and dynamic aspiration. Parallels can be drawn between Wright and Alf Ramsey, who at the start of their England career became friends and shared a high level of mutual admiration. Rather than, as Critcher and Wagg argued, a narrative of embourgeoisement, these photographs assert Wright's claim to be recognised socially for his talent and achievements. Wright (and Ramsey) belonged to a generation of men who emerged from the war with a strong belief in their own abilities and the power of self-improvement which ran in tandem with the pre-war belief that professionals should be responsible for running the game. I have argued earlier that this was partly a function of how as young men their aptitude for football had afforded some footballers a degree of elevation to positions of authority in the armed forces which they would not have been offered previously. The self-improvement through application and education espoused by Ramsey and Wright echoed the philosophy of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs and its Brains Trust and compulsory classes.⁹⁹ But it was also part of a much older tradition of education and betterment which was espoused by the respectable working-class. *Picture Post's* huge wartime and immediate post-war circulation among the working-class indicates that there was a working-class audience for its consciously didactic articles.

Contemporary commentators tended to use the phrase 'nature's

gentleman' to describe Wright, making the distinction between him and a gentleman by birth. When Wright won his 100th cap in 1959 the local newspaper celebrated it with a major feature, 'He's Capped the Lot!' 'HE IS A GENTLEMAN OF SPORT. HE IS A GENTLEMAN OF LIFE. Never let it be said that he has let success overcome his sense of proportion. He is still as disarmingly modest as when he first set foot on the dizzy ladder.'¹⁰⁰

Wright's personal popularity as a model professional seems to have been considerable. He alludes to the following that he had among the fairer sex throughout his autobiographies (Tom Finney referred to him as 'soccer's most eligible bachelor' in 1958).¹⁰¹ However, until his unexpected marriage to singing star Joy Beverley, Wright did indeed remain a bachelor, living with Mr and Mrs Colley in the digs he was first allocated when he arrived at Wolves as a youngster. Wright reminded his readers that he has sacrificed the pleasures of hedonism for football: 'I am unmarried and it seems to be common knowledge now that I like the quiet life, do not smoke and go to bed early'. Wright was a 'pin up'; he tells us that he had a dedicated schoolgirl following who, at least in the middle years of his soccer career, made up a large part of the two to three hundred letters he received every week.¹⁰² Although he was not conventionally handsome, he had a contemporary glamour and appeal. The 'schoolgirl' reference is suggestive. Kenneth More, one of the major British film stars of the Fifties, a 'tweedy chap' whom modern commentators have dismissed as too staid to be a 'pin up', had a large female following, but believed from his fan letters that it was amongst younger girls and older women.¹⁰³ Wright's autobiographies, together with his *Billy Wright's Book of Soccer*, which enjoyed the longest run of an annual endorsed by an active footballer and manager (six years from 1958 - 1964), were a demonstration of his selling power. The fourth annual in

this series, when Wright had become Arsenal manager, emphasises sportsmanship and the values of Wright's meritocratic, 'improver' model professional throughout. For example, Spurs are congratulated for doing 'soccer a splendid service by once more making everyone realise that "the game's the thing", even in 1962 - 3!¹⁰⁴

However, as briefly mentioned above, not everyone admired Wright's gentlemanly style. Much space is given over in the text of his second autobiography *The World's My Football Pitch* (1953), to a vehement defence of what appears, at times, as an embattled rather than a secure tenure of office. Nat Lofthouse acknowledged this in *Goals Galore*: 'Blond Billy, much against his own wishes, has become something of a controversial soccer figure.' Wright himself acknowledges, 'At one point it was common talk in football that I was only kept in the England side because I was willing to toe the line.'¹⁰⁵ Although he faced this criticism throughout his captaincy, it intensified as the 1950s progressed, and the virile young Welshman Roy Paul openly criticised Wright's limp gentlemanliness in his autobiography. Significantly, the open discussion and considerable emphasis on self-improvement and education that Wright's earlier autobiographies contain, disappear from the last volume. By 1961 this discourse of working-class education and betterment had been superseded. Danny Blanchflower's sometimes abrasive self-confidence and eloquence provided a more acceptable version of the educated footballer, non-deferential and cocky, sometimes confrontational. However, during the immediate post-war period, the self-improver model professionals, through their words and comportment, asserted their right to respect within the game and in wider society. Joanna Bourke has argued that mass consumption and betterment were compatible with working-class culture and not a destructive force.¹⁰⁶ Wright succeeded so well that it was

even strongly rumoured that he was looking for a political career on retirement from playing, a remarkable social leap, if it had been achieved. Stan Cullis gave contemporary recognition to this aspect of Wright's career, 'I would say that he did more than any other player, past or present, to raise the social status of the professional footballer'.¹⁰⁷

4.4 The 1960s: Bobby Charlton and Bobby Moore: The Perfect Gentleman and The 'Consummate Professional'.

By the beginning of the 1960s, the social standing of the professional footballer had risen to the extent that instead of being one of nature's gentlemen and therefore able to possess the same qualities as gentlemen by birth, Bobby Charlton became one of the models of English gentlemanliness. Contemporaries did not refer to Charlton as 'nature's gentleman', as they had Billy Wright, but as an English gentleman, a nice but crucial distinction. Charlton was no longer a democratised gentleman, assuming the attributes of a social superior, but set the standards for how a sporting Englishman should comport himself, at home and abroad. However, although Charlton could be seen as the apogee of working-class English footballing gentility, his incarnation of the model professional was fast becoming residual, challenged by a new, less deferential version of the type. Bobby Moore's image as a model professional was not, in the eyes of contemporaries, 'gentlemanly' and reveals important shifts in attitudes towards acceptable masculine behaviour.

The launch of two new weekly football magazines within a year of each other at the end of the 1960s, allowed both Bobby Charlton and Bobby Moore an unrivalled opportunity to promote their own images, and thus

themselves as model professionals, to the football reading public. *Goal* (10 August 1968) and *Shoot!* (16th August 1969) made Charlton and Moore respectively their star columnists. Charlton was the sole star footballer columnist throughout the 295 issues of *Goal* until its demise at the beginning of June 1974, and he was given generous space (approximately two and a half pages spread over the first three pages of each issue). In *Shoot!*, Moore enjoyed similar column inches to Charlton's, and also usually appeared at the front of each issue. Moore was joined as a star columnist by Alan Ball at the start of the 1970 season. All these columns were 'ghosted', but probably on the basis of conversations with their subjects, as they generally included information about what the player had been doing that week.

The dominant overall discourse of both these columns is that of the model professional. The subject matter included by both footballers is very similar. Each player previews an important game, discusses the fortunes of a fellow professional or the merits of a manager, and, for much of 1969 - 1970, their experiences in the England World Squad as it prepared for and played in Mexico. *En passant*, the two players reflect upon what it means to be a professional, stressing the necessary dedication and commitment. They are always complimentary to their fellows, praising continence and modesty. Regularly they comment on their social lives outside the game.

Bobby Charlton - 'Always the Perfect Gentleman'

By 1969, both *Goal* and *Shoot!* paid tribute to Bobby Charlton. *Goal*'s fulsome 'O.B.E. For Our Bobby', summarised how completely Charlton incarnated the virtues of the English model professional:

It couldn't have happened to a nicer bloke may be a slightly hackneyed phrase, but it exactly sums up the global reaction to football's latest honour. Charlton has covered most of the world on behalf of Manchester United and England. He has never left one of those places without having enhanced his reputation and won new friends, both for the game and himself.¹⁰⁸

Shoot! commended his modesty, his greatness as a world-class player, but opined that 'his reputation and universal popularity is based even more on his superb sportsmanship'.¹⁰⁹

Bobby Charlton's persona as the model professional and the perfect English gentleman owed much to two defining events in English football, the crashing of the aircraft carrying the Manchester United team at Munich airport in February 1958 and England's World Cup victory of 1966. In his 1966 autobiography, *Forward For England*, Charlton explained how Munich had given him a mythic quality which he did not deserve.

About this time a legend was building up around me in the immediate post-Munich era. I was variously described but the picture was basically the same, the boy who walked out of the crash and grew up overnight. Inspired by the disaster, I am supposed to have grasped the banner of United, revealed myself as a great player, led the patched-up side to Wembley and then become a shining star in the international firmament. It is a story in the true fairy-tale tradition - but frankly, that is all it is.¹¹⁰

Charlton goes on to point out that he was playing well before Munich but that people began to watch him after the crash 'with an odd sort of fascination'. No-one went away from a match without having noticed Bobby Charlton. He found this 'eerie and unhealthy' and never sought this publicity, 'knowing as I did that it was being given credit for qualities which had died in the snow at Munich'.¹¹¹ The *Shoot!* article above

confirms Charlton's perception, discussing how the loss of his friends and the injuries to Sir Matt Busby 'seemed to inspire him with a burning determination to give everything he had in the rebuilding of the shattered United. Munich made a man of him.'¹¹²

Echoing the refinement that the ability to suffer bestowed on G. O. Smith, Charlton's permanently tense, worried expression when playing, though more prosaically attributed by some team mates to the fact that he was by temperament a 'miseryguts', was an outward manifestation of his inward 'pain'. Arthur Hopcraft, whose brilliant description of Stanley Matthew's inner torment was quoted above, wrote of Charlton, 'Responsibility and pain and recurrent physical and mental exhaustion show in the thin face, the nervous eyes, the voice quivering like strummed wire'.¹¹³ Even his comb over hairstyle looked like 'a scar'.¹¹⁴ Charlton's very public tears when England defeated Germany in 1966, and what Hopcraft described as the 'poignant' images of the closing seconds of the European Cup semi-final of 1968 with Charlton 'ashen and lurching, making for the dressing room in tears, a hand brushing at the eyes' were not derided. They were respected as signs of this nobility and sensitivity, of a finer feeling, but also a release of the unbearable sorrow of Munich.¹¹⁵

Charlton's own account of the impact that Munich had on him is far less heroic, but just as courageous. According to his autobiography, he went back home to Ashington, found it impossible to do anything but lie on the floor listening to records, questioning why he had survived when others had died.¹¹⁶ He decided to return to Manchester and professional football only after the intervention of his mother's doctor, who had been in the RAF during the war, and who 'gave me a short and kindly lecture on picking up the threads and knuckling down to the business of living

again'.¹¹⁷ The reference back to the war is significant, because in his autobiography Charlton constantly harks back to past rather than present values.

Forward For England is an exemplary life throughout which Charlton sets out the standards by which he has lived and played football. His first memories of playing football were being taken into the street to kick a ball around by his four uncles who were all professional footballers. This gave him a love for the game which transcends the monetary. 'I can honestly say that I have never been influenced by the financial rewards which football undoubtedly has to offer.'¹¹⁸ The other great influence on his childhood was his grandfather and mentor 'Tanner' Milburn.

Commenting on their close relationship, he says, 'I think it's a great pity that young people today seem to shy away from close relationships with their elders because it's part of a "square conception of life"...I find it difficult to see the point of creating a way of life which disowns the standards set by our parents and grandparents'. Speaking of his National Service in *Forward For England*, Charlton claimed 'I thoroughly enjoyed my time in the Army and I am certain it did me a power of good.'¹¹⁹

However, his most recent biographer says that strings were pulled to stop Charlton being posted to Malaya and that privately Charlton had admitted that he did not enjoy the experience.¹²⁰

Charlton showed a strong sense in his autobiography that he was a servant and representative both of his club and football. 'I have always been playing simply for the reputation and success of Manchester United.'¹²¹ 'I have got to play for much more than just the wages and it's not nearly enough to play for self-glorification which, I'm afraid, can't be said of some.'¹²² Although most of the model professionals discussed so far

in this chapter were either one club players, or were associated closely with one club, they did sometimes, as we have seen, make strenuous attempts to obtain a transfer, with the exception of Bobby Charlton, who never seems to have contemplated leaving Manchester United. Marriage, he felt, had given him a sense of responsibility and had contributed to his respect for the game, 'so much so that when it is brought into disrepute, for whatever reason, I feel very depressed about it all'.¹²³ His star column in *Goal* promoted this concern for the game, with a regular coaching tip for youngsters and anecdotes about his work for the Professional Footballers' Association, his Presidency of the Manchester Association of Boys Clubs, other charitable work and his attendance at functions like a benefit for the Manchester Opera House. While he was still playing he was developing an ambassadorial role, touring the Continent as a representative for the Ford Youth Programme.¹²⁴

Charlton emphasised his personal continence and often described his settled home life. A frequent refrain of his column is how he is happiest at home with Norma and the girls. On the pitch, Charlton's behaviour came to be considered exemplary. Like Smith and Matthews he was a reluctant header of the ball and claimed to have an 'inbred dislike of physical contact', 'I never have and never will charge the goalkeeper'.¹²⁵ Arthur Hopcraft stated that he could not tackle and that he 'simply does not know *how* to foul a man with the ball'.¹²⁶ In December 1966, a poll of the Football League Referees, voted Bobby Charlton the game's model player, and he secured more votes than all the other players put together.

Comments from referees who voted for him included, 'Always the perfect gentleman'. 'He is often provoked but never hits back.' 'A model player'.¹²⁷

Although his effort and team work received high praise in the 1960s and

1970s, as a younger player, even post-Munich, he received considerable criticism which was considerably at odds with his persona as the ultimate team man and conformist. In Wright and Winterbottom's 1960 book *Soccer Partnership*, the authors wrote,

Even against Portugal, when he scored both of England's goals, little was seen of Charlton as a footballer helping his team and being part of the team effort. He did not feature in progressive, linked movements and his defensive play was non-existent. People who watched him closely concluded that he was immature, and by no means of international standards.¹²⁸

He was left out for all the games in the 1958 World Cup, the selectors accusing him of being a slacker. In October 1964 Peter Lorenzo asked in the *Sun*, 'Is this the end of the road for Charlton?' speculating that Alf Ramsey was finally convinced that 'the undisciplined skills of Charlton are luxuries England can no longer afford...Against all his qualities stands an unforgivable soccer sin, the inability to perform or contribute as a member of an England team. As an individualist Charlton is supreme. As a team man he is the Prince of Unpredictables'.¹²⁹ Charlton also moaned at his team mates constantly during a game and sulked.¹³⁰ He was one of the players who went out drinking with Moore and Greaves on the eve of flying to Lisbon for an international against Portugal in May 1964, earning Ramsey's censure.

Leo McKinstry has written of the impact of the World Cup, '1966 was the making of Bobby Charlton. Some 400 million watched the World Cup Finals, by far the largest-ever television audience at the time, and Bobby's performances ensured that he became a household name, not just in Britain but internationally.'¹³¹ In the same year he was voted British and European Footballer of the Year. *Goal* particularly gave extensive

coverage to the heroes of 1966, and Charlton achieved the distinction of being the only player to appear three times on *Goal's* cover in one season, in 1969 - 70. (Charlton's expression, as he gazes down from one of his *tondi*, is pained and anxious, without the serenity usually afforded by this style of portrait.¹³²) Charlton was also included in the 1970 squad and the debate about whether he should be selected because of his age and the physical demands of playing in Mexico again received many column inches.

This enormous popularity, certainly towards the end of his career, seems to have sprung as much from his gentlemanliness as much as his explosive and exciting style of play. Unlike Dean, Matthews and Finney, however, Charlton was booked twice in his career, though the public reaction to one attempted booking is highly suggestive. Nobby Stiles, one of Charlton's greatest admirers, who was tipping him for a knighthood in 1968, says that a 1965 'caution' flared into 'a controversy of national importance'.¹³³ Charlton had intervened when a group of players surrounded the referee, and apparently said to Denis Law, 'Never mind, Denis, come on. Let's get on with the game'.¹³⁴ At which point the referee booked him. Not only did both the United and Newcastle players complain at the booking, but, according to Stiles, the Football Association received 'thousands' of letters of complaint, and the referee withdrew the punishment on a technicality. David Meek cited more examples of Charlton's public esteem in the *Manchester United Football Book No. 3*, 'At one stage last season he stood side by side with the Queen, President Johnson, U Thant and Prince Philip. He was nominated for a place in the top twenty of the most admired people in the country in a national teenage poll - and shared 10th place with Prince Philip!¹³⁵ Meek also quotes at length from the winning letter in a competition in

the *Manchester Evening News* which asked readers to vote for sport's greatest gentleman, which suggested that, for one reader at least, Charlton represented old style values under threat: 'The essential feature of Charlton's integrity is its preservation throughout football's most violent years. Historians may well depict the last decade or so as the era which first felt the impact of big-money pressures, the explosiveness of European competitions, and the rise in hooliganism on our terraces and, sadly, sometimes on the field too. No former player had this combination to contend with and no present player approaches the respect Bobby commands from his fellows or the affection from the fans.'¹³⁶

Chas Critcher considered Bobby Charlton a representative of the 'transitional style' of footballer in his list of footballing cultural types, benefiting from the greater economic rewards made possible by the New Deal, 'exploring the possibilities of his new freedom.'¹³⁷ Charlton was 'a working-class gentleman who could live like one'.¹³⁸ However, though Critcher is right that Charlton was indeed the model of a working-class gentleman whose wealth allowed him to make it, in a phrase he quotes from Arthur Hopcraft, 'to glamour and Nob Hill', his emphasis was upon tracing the effects of embourgeoisement upon the footballer as a cultural type. In contrast, I have argued that the key shift is that Charlton's gentlemanliness could be seen to set a standard for the epitome of acceptable masculine sporting behaviour to which men of all classes should aspire and represented the best qualities of English gentlemanliness abroad. However, this construction of the model professional was essentially residual, looking back to the values of a previous age, of war and post-war austerity, and ennobled by intense private suffering.

Bobby Moore - The 'Consummate' Professional

When Bobby Moore died in 1993, fulsome obituaries in the press frequently referred to him a 'gentleman', but contemporaries rarely used that term in describing Moore, especially when compared with its constant reiteration whenever Bobby Charlton was discussed. The use of the epithet is part of the process that Garry Whannel calls 'reinscription', 'whereby star biographies are constantly rewritten in the "continuous present" - their lives being reinterpreted according to the dominant concerns of the present.'¹³⁹ By the mid-Sixties, the ideal of gentlemanliness was far less important for the model professional type. John Williams and Rogan Taylor have perceptively described Moore as 'a new kind of working-class male cultural hero - part prosperous business executive, part consummate and controlled athlete...and part media celebrity'.¹⁴⁰ Critcher, as part of his analysis of football cultural types alluded to above saw Moore as a 'hybrid' of two of his styles, with the 'detachment' of the 'transitional' style, but also the overtly middle-class life style of the 'incorporated/embourgeoised' type, 'a world away from their predecessors and most of their contemporary supporters'.¹⁴¹

The differences between how Bobby Moore and Charlton presented themselves in their autobiographies is striking. Moore's first autobiography, *My Soccer Story* was written before England's World Cup triumph in 1966 when Moore was still a relatively young player. It is an exemplary life, but Moore is prepared, unlike Charlton who, as discussed above, affects a disdain for money and mentions nothing of his move to 'Nob Hill', to list in detail the material rewards he has gained and expects in future from his career.

At the age of twenty-four I can look round and say to myself that I have my own home in a nice part of Ilford in Essex. I have a Jaguar and my wife has a minicar. I have a sports equipment company with a shop beside the club ground at Upton Park. I can afford to pay thirty-five guineas for a suit. I have a business partner who looks after most of the affairs of Bobby Moore Limited, through which go my earnings from advertising and writing.¹⁴²

Critcher describes his 'incorporated/embourgeoised style' as having 'the image of the small businessman', but though he means it pejoratively to convey the anti-heroic qualities of the style, Moore was proud of his business dealings and expected his readers to admire them.¹⁴³

Arthur Marwick, in his analysis of the developments which he argues characterised the 'cultural revolution' of the Sixties, points out that even the emerging subcultures of the period 'were thoroughly imbued with the entrepreneurial, profit-making ethic', citing Mary Quant, Anita Roddick's Body Shop and Richard Branson's Virgin company as some prominent British examples of the phenomenon.¹⁴⁴ Moore's own brand of entrepreneurialism very much reflected this trend. In his later autobiographical volume, *England! England!*, released shortly before the 1970 World Cup campaign, there is a whole chapter entitled 'Bobby Moore - The Businessman!' which reveals that his off-the-field activities were not entirely approved of. 'My life outside football has attracted speculation, if not criticism, Bobby Moore - footballer is becoming Bobby Moore - businessman...Bobby Moore the tycoon who seems to be turning his back on football, is better stuff for the knockers'.¹⁴⁵ His various enterprises are spelled out in extraordinary detail as in the description of 'Bobby Moore Limited - into which goes all money from the exploitation of my name as a sportsman than from playing football'.¹⁴⁶ Bobby Moore Sportswear was a sports shop outside West Ham's Boleyn ground. But his

greatest hopes lay in the third arm of his business which was a suede clothing business that would build upon his own eye for fashion. As Moore put it, "The song says: "Who wants to be a millionaire" - Well, I do. And don't you too?"¹⁴⁷ He is unapologetic in admitting that he has grown used to a certain standard of living which he is determine to maintain. 'People should be able to establish whatever standard of living they like, providing they can afford it.'¹⁴⁸

Marwick also emphasises the massive improvements in material life for all classes which were a feature of post-war British society, and the photographs in Moore's autobiographies underline the 'luxury' in which Moore and his photogenic wife Tina lived. A photograph in *England! England!* shows Moore, casually but immaculately dressed, lying on the double bed of his then home in Chigwell. The bed has a quilted coverlet and valance with a padded velvet headboard, all signs of slightly decadent Sixties opulence. The curtains are full-length velvet drapes; the wallpaper Regency stripe. Bobby strokes a pedigree Persian cat while chatting on a white telephone. Tina sits adjusting her hair, piled high on her head, in the three mirrors of her white mock-Regency dressing table.

By the time of Moore's 1976 official biography by Jeff Powell, the numerous photographs were arranged in sections throughout the book with pages simulating those of a photo album. The section 'Home and Family', shows the yet more sumptuous, elegant furnishings, even down to a candelabra on the windowsill, of his purpose built Chigwell manor, 'Morlands', with its porch of white classical pillars and a white Jaguar parked beneath it. Ironically, Moore's attempts to become a business tycoon were conspicuous failures. Although he earned large sums promoting products and allowing the exploitation of his name, and his

sportswear shop was profitable until he sold it when he left West Ham for Fulham, the final chapter in his 1976 biography reveals that he had lost considerable amounts of money on his various enterprises.¹⁴⁹

Moore's contemporary image was that of the consummate professional always striving for perfection. 'Everyone agrees on one essential feature of Moore's personality: he was always in control of himself'.¹⁵⁰ Always immaculately dressed (the joke was that he could get out of the bath dry), he exuded an air of detached self-possession and calculation. Even his noted sportsmanship is explained in his autobiographies as a conscious act of *realpolitik*. He points out that many people have forgotten about the time that he was sent off in 1960 and suspended for a week when he retaliated against Manchester City's Dave Wagstaffe. He felt enormously guilty and from then on had made it a 'personal rule' not to become involved in this 'kind of petty niggling'.¹⁵¹ His decision to eschew retaliation and gamesmanship was 'cold-blooded...a player who has complete control over his emotions has a great advantage over a player who may lose his head'.¹⁵² Bobby Charlton's life has much to say about the values he holds dear, but Moore is uninterested in this. Even when discussing gamesmanship in football in his *Shoot!* column, his condemnation is half-hearted and he was prepared to admit that this was 'all part of the game'.¹⁵³

Moore's *Shoot!* star columns promoted the image of the British professional as a modern, efficient, hard-working entertainer. When reflecting on the myriad responsibilities of the modern professional, he rued the fact that they all cut down his private life but 'it's just one of the things a professional footballer must expect as part of his job'.¹⁵⁴ Similarly when discussing Christmas he opines, 'A professional footballer

is glad to snatch what time he can with his family'.¹⁵⁵

As Moore's career progressed, his image as the consummate professional gained a gloss from his perceived loyalty to perennially under-achieving West Ham, as one letter in *Shoot!* suggested.

Fellow countrymen everywhere should give all their praise to England and West Ham skipper Bobby Moore...for the way he has superbly captained both teams over the past seven years. What a player...what a leader. For loyalty Moore has no equal. Devoid of club honours for too long, Bobby has stuck by West Ham through thick and thin.¹⁵⁶

This perception endured even though in his first autobiography, *My Soccer Story*, he directly challenges the public perception that he is a 'goody-goody' who has lacked ambition by accepting the status quo at the club. 'I was one of the first to ask West Ham for more money'.¹⁵⁷ Moore expanded on this in his 1970 life, explaining that he was in dispute with West Ham on the morning when the 1966 World Cup was due to begin with England's 'curtain raiser' against Uruguay, as 'I believed that a move would be beneficial to both parties'. He found himself deprived of the club captaincy and placed on the transfer list and only re-signed for West Ham because of fears that he thus might be ineligible to play in the tournament.¹⁵⁸ In his 1976 biography he reveals that he believed he was on his way to Spurs and that West Ham later in his career stopped him going to Derby under Brian Clough.¹⁵⁹

As West Ham and England captain, Moore's autobiographies and *Shoot!* column portray him taking his place effortlessly alongside the social elite. However, though this is not a new kind of 'media celebrity' as Taylor and Williams claimed, as Bobby Charlton does the same. As he

himself put it, 'A footballer's life doesn't end when he walks off the pitch at the final whistle on Saturday afternoon. For me, as England's skipper, the social side holds many wonderful opportunities.' Moore goes on to recount how he was one of the sporting personalities and others invited by Harold Wilson to No. 10 to meet the astronauts who had landed on the moon. He also mentions his OBE which he received at the Palace.¹⁶⁰

Moore's public incarnation of the consummate professional was achieved by the suppression of knowledge about his heavy drinking, frequently in defiance of Alf Ramsey's rules for the England squad. Moore's 1976 authorised biography, published after his retirement, which he promoted extensively and associated himself with closely, is the first of his lives to admit some of the extent of his drinking. In his two previous autobiographies Moore admitted that he was 'not a monk' and recounted the story of the drinking expedition, instigated by himself and Jimmy Greaves. This was glossed as a 'further little meal and drink among the gay lights of the city' while on England duty in 1964, but it saw Ramsey place the passports of the seven players involved on their beds.¹⁶¹ One of the seven was Bobby Charlton, who quickly learnt from his error. However, Jimmy Greaves later revealed that Moore, the England captain, continued to flout Ramsey's authority in this respect, leading Ramsey to have serious doubts about Moore's inclusion in the 1966 World Cup squad.¹⁶²

The 1976 biography further describes how Ron Greenwood, the church-going, teetotal manager of West Ham, hated Moore's drinking. The 'Blackpool' chapter, which details how shabbily Moore felt he was treated by West Ham when he was made a public example after he had gone out to a nightclub before a cup tie where West Ham were soundly

beaten, has an alternative title 'Or how our hero stopped worrying and learned to love the booze'. It explained that a certain level of what Moore believes is moderate drinking - 'four lagers and two glasses of wine' - was typical of a night out before a match and wouldn't interfere with his play. 'Moore sums up his attitude to drink in a neat phrase of his own: "A car needs petrol"'.¹⁶³ As an insomniac, Moore preferred to take refuge in a long night's 'socialising' rather than exhaust himself trying to sleep. Also concealed was that Moore had been diagnosed with testicular cancer in his twenties, and had undergone an operation and painful radiation therapy.¹⁶⁴ The public image of physical continence and perfection required of the consummate athlete was thus maintained.

Although, he had written of his support for West Ham's cultured football, with its sportsmanship and 'constructive, creative feel for the game' in 1970, in contrast he claims in the 1976 autobiography that he tried to persuade Greenwood to inject some steel into West Ham's play.¹⁶⁵ 'Ron knew in his heart that we needed someone to do some kicking. He knew that I was professional enough to do it, even though I'm not a physical person. I've hammered people on a very few occasions when its been absolutely necessary, but we needed others.'¹⁶⁶

4.5 The Mid 1970s Onwards: Kevin Keegan, the Ultimate Professional

Shoot's retrospective in their double Christmas/New Year issue of 1979 - 1980 surveyed the decade and chose Kevin Keegan - who had also been one of their star columnists - as the player of the 'sizzling' 1970s: 'As far as British fans are concerned, the 1970's just ending could be depicted as the 'Decade of the Keegan'.¹⁶⁷ Keegan began the decade as a forward for

Liverpool, the most successful English club of the 1970s, then moved to the Continent in July 1977, playing for Hamburg for three years. He made his return to England in 1980, appearing for Southampton, then Newcastle, until his retirement in 1984. A *Shoot!* retirement tribute entitled 'King Kev sparkled through the gloom', praised his enormous contribution to English football.

Kevin Keegan's last game for Newcastle United before slipping into a well-earned retirement from a game he has graced with immense distinction is more than just another player farewell... Perhaps Kevin's greatest contribution was to light-up an era in which football passed through a critical period of its history. He became a jewel in a fairly tarnished soccer crown...Kevin Keegan has been as precious to England as Pele was to Brazil.¹⁶⁸

Keegan's first autobiography, *Kevin Keegan: An Autobiography*, published in 1977, develops the themes of the pursuit of personal ambition and wealth which was such a central concern of Bobby Moore's autobiographies. In so doing, Keegan is neither deferential nor modest. 'I believe that I can live with any situation in which I find myself. If I were going into the ring with Muhammed Ali tomorrow, I would honestly believe I deserved to be there. I would not think about being knocked out - though I am sure this would happen - but only of winning.'¹⁶⁹ Keegan's move to Hamburg came about, he claimed, because he felt there were no challenges left for him at Liverpool, but also because he was not earning the money he deserved. After playing against Barcelona in the Nou Camp, he found himself deeply envious of the Spanish team's players. 'This did not lessen when I heard Johan Cruyff was about to sign a new contract worth ten thousand pounds a week.'¹⁷⁰ 'I became conscious that I was not fulfilling myself. I was ambitious, so why shouldn't I aim for the very top, both financially and for my own personal satisfaction.'¹⁷¹

Keegan was even more prepared to discuss his finances than Bobby Moore. Throughout his book he constantly reiterates how British taxation rates prevent him bettering himself and preparing for the future. 'I had reached the point where, because of taxation, there was no incentive for me to go any further in England'.¹⁷² 'At first climbing the ladder is exciting, because we live in a society which thankfully does not feel it is wrong to better oneself - up to a point.'¹⁷³ Initially, the financial rewards of football kept pace with his ambitions until he looked at his tax deductions one day and wondered 'what hope there was in the future'.¹⁷⁴ He even claimed to have turned down a pay rise as 'It was worth nothing to me'.¹⁷⁵ Jeremy Black describes the 1970s as the period in which consumerism began to exert itself as the main motor of social change - arguing that in the political sphere it related to the dominance of the individual and individual preferences in social mores and practices.¹⁷⁶ Keegan (and Moore's) aspirations were demonstrated partly through home ownership which Black argues was seen as 'crucial to social mobility'.¹⁷⁷ Keegan was complaining about higher rates of taxation as a bar to ambition and individual betterment, but his preoccupation may have struck a chord lower down the scale. Until 1979 the standard rate of income tax was kept at 33% and this, allied with rising prosperity and inflationary wage settlements, ensured that 80% of households were paying direct taxation by 1975. 'As a result, taxation levels became more central in public awareness and debate, and the principal factor in the response of many to government policy'.¹⁷⁸

In *An Autobiography* Keegan promotes himself as the ultimate professional. 'If someone said I was the greatest player in England, I would not accept it, because I know that it isn't true. But if they said that in the last five years or even ten years no player in England had played as

consistently well as I had, I would not argue. My off days have been few and far between and my play is never short of effort.'¹⁷⁹ There is a very detailed account of Keegan's childhood; he was a miner's son, and his parents were poor but decent, but the value of his upbringing was what it taught him about hard work. 'My parents taught me to work for things, and I hate getting something for nothing. I never appreciate anything unless it has cost me some effort.'¹⁸⁰ Keegan preaches the importance of discipline, quoting the words of Jack Brownsword, trainer at his first League club Scunthorpe: 'The thing that impresses most people about you is that you are a one hundred per center...you always want to be first. Never lose that, because it's the biggest thing you've got going for you.'¹⁸¹ Keegan was exceptionally proud of this, and saw it an example of his total professionalism, but also of his qualities as a man.

Revealingly, Keegan defined his professionalism in opposition to the 'maverick' type which I discuss in the next chapter, the type which was promoted as the challengers and victims of the gospel of work rate. He draws lessons from George Best. 'I set out to conduct myself differently from Bestie. I tried to learn from his mistakes. If I said I would go somewhere then I went'.¹⁸² 'My game is completely centred on my work rate. I get involved for the full ninety minutes'.¹⁸³ He was not interested in what he terms 'circus tricks', speaking disdainfully of 'keepy-uppy' and its like, and those who argued that a few minutes of genius compensated for graft:

I think it is a sin and a shame that Rodney Marsh and Stan Bowles waste their skills by just drifting in and out of a game as and when they feel like it. A player's true potential can never be realised if he adopts that attitude towards his play. I have heard the argument that a skilful player should not have to do the running and the chasing, which can be left to the less gifted players in a team. But

if a player is prepared to run and work, he will become more involved in the game and get a better response from the people around him.¹⁸⁴

In his *Shoot!* star column, which began in 1976, he expounded his belief that the modern player was superior to those of the past. Stanley Matthews, he thought, would not enjoy such success in the modern game - 'Apart from superior fitness, most of today's players are more skilful and intelligent. They have to be to cope with the faster pace and the more sophisticated tactics'.¹⁸⁵

Keegan's major difference from Moore's representation of the consummate professional was that he was unapologetic about his few, but high profile, disciplinary problems. He explains these as retaliation and refused to apologise for his dismissals. If he had been sent off it was because he has been 'provoked beyond what any normal man would stand'.¹⁸⁶ However, he does not sanction dirty play, condemning Leeds for 'fouling beautifully', though he says of Norman Hunter, 'He has kicked me and I have kicked him...and we would not complain about it'.¹⁸⁷

Keegan was voted Footballer of the Year and European Footballer of the Year twice. His commitment to his game and energetic style won him much admiration in the pages of *Shoot!*. That Keegan was enormously popular with supporters in the North East at the end of his career can be seen from his impact on gates. This was easy to measure because it was so dramatic. Newcastle were a poor team languishing in the Second Division before he joined them. In the 1981 - 1982 season the average home attendance was the lowest since the war. After Keegan's signing, the club record for gate receipts was broken three times in the 1982 - 83 season, leading the Newcastle's centenary history to comment, 'Keegan's

magnetism ensured six gates with over £50,000 taken.¹⁸⁸

Garry Whannel's estimation of Keegan is far more prosaic. He sees Keegan as a product of the post-Butskellite Welfare statism - pre-Thatcher era, which was ushered in by the 1976 IMF loan to the Labour government. According to Whannel's analysis, the popular capitalist values which Thatcherism promoted from 1979 generated within sport 'a new aggressive competitiveness'.¹⁸⁹ Work-rate became a key term in football culture, 'epitomised by Kevin Keegan's Liverpool and by Keegan himself, a player seen as compensating in his application for lack of real flair'.¹⁹⁰ However, as I shall argue in the next chapter of this thesis, the so-called obsession with work rate attacked by some journalists and players had emerged at least by 1966, ten years before the 1976 IMF loan 'watershed'. Rather than Kevin Keegan's version of the model professional being a precursor of Thatcherite values, it shares the mid 1960s' economic and social aspirations to which Bobby Moore, whom Keegan says offered him valuable advice about business dealings, subscribed. Although critics retrospectively have condemned the 1970s' 'triumph of consumerism' and the stress on individual preference it ushered in as a sign of 'a disengagement with social concerns as part of a breakdown of civil society', Kevin Keegan presented himself as a man who had achieved his potential through determination and effort, and saw his move up from the relative poverty of his childhood home in a mining village with an outside toilet and tin bath as part of that achievement.¹⁹¹ He believed that his self betterment through hard work and his consistency of effort made him a role model, and that he was a man with high personal standards which should be emulated.

Conclusion

The changes and continuities in the model professional in post-war English football reveal much about the changing social and cultural status of professional footballers and also shifting attitudes about what constituted admirable working-class masculinity. The discourse of the People's War allowed for the emergence of a new model professional, who, as an 'ordinary bloke' could inherit the heroic qualities and cross-class admiration previously the preserve of the upper-middle-class gentleman-amateur. Stanley Matthews and Tom Finney could be lauded as examples of a 'natural' gentlemanliness and as models for all men in a consensual post-war society. The promotion of the new model professional was a deliberate project, both from within football and without, a marker of a new social egalitarianism. As England captain, Billy Wright took this to its apogee, still deferential, but also a confident 'self-improver', who achieved considerable eminence and excited admiration. In the 1960s, Bobby Charlton's persona as 'The First Gentleman of Football', revealed that the distinction between a gentleman by birth and a 'natural gentleman' was no longer necessary. His name became a byword for the model English gentleman at home and abroad, though Charlton's version of the model professional was backward looking, his values rooted in the war and austerity Britain.

Bobby Moore and later Kevin Keegan's model professionals demonstrate the impact of the social and cultural changes of the 1960s.

Gentlemanliness was no longer a major facet of the model professional incarnated by Bobby Moore from the mid-1960s onwards. This suggests that admirable footballing masculinity no longer had to be measured against the standards of gentlemanliness. Both Moore and Keegan openly

discussed their earnings and the material signs of their social advancement. They served as models of admirable masculinity because of their ambitions and dedication to their craft, not despite it, and expected their financial success to be admired and approved. Thus they represent a further shift, the open embrace of 'consumerism' and the cultivation of an image of professionalism that is, in large part, the product of hard work. They did not consider themselves 'embourgeoised', both citing their working-class roots with pride and seeing themselves as products of a proper upbringing.

This chapter has demonstrated through the analysis of the model professional how this cultural type was able, through constant adjustments, to adapt itself to the changing social and cultural context of the period from 1946 - 1985 to maintain its hegemonic position. The next chapter examines the antecedents and emergence of the two main oppositional types, the 'hard man' and the 'maverick'.

CHAPTER FIVE

Hard Men and Mavericks: Oppositional Types 1960 - 1985

Chapter Four discussed the dominant cultural type of football masculinity in England, the model professional. This democratised gentleman, who replaced the gentleman-amateur as a national hero, had a cross-class appeal as a model of ideal manhood that emerged as a result of the discourse of the 'People's War', which brought about an acceleration of the shift of certain 'gentlemanly' qualities down the social scale. The 1960s and 1970s saw its continued dominance, though the type was modulated on less deferential lines, reflecting changes in attitudes towards acceptable working-class masculinity. This chapter will argue that, although the model professional maintained its hegemonic position throughout the period 1946 - 1985, there were two important oppositional constructions, the 'hard man' and the 'maverick'. These constructions contested the modesty, restraint and sportsmanship which were the defining traits of the model professional. The chapter will examine the social and cultural antecedents of these two oppositional types and how, in the 1960s, they achieved a new prominence as a result of social and cultural changes in that decade.

5.1 The 'Hard Man': 'You've Got to Clatter Lad Before Lad Clatters Thee'

In the early 1960s, a preoccupation with 'dirty' play developed in the football media and the construction of the hard man achieved a particular prominence. Contemporaries argued that the hard man

became common in professional football because of tactical changes, the growth of more defensive play and new styles of coaching, but also the bigger financial rewards available, which bred a more cynical, less entertaining style of play. The term hard man began to be invoked to describe a player (usually a defender or midfielder) who used a particularly high level of physicality and aggression on the football pitch. Arriving at a definition of a football hard man is a complex process, partly because the hard man, as will be argued later, though defined here as an 'oppositional' type, has been more openly tolerated and indeed sometimes even celebrated by the football authorities. This is largely because of the range of different, long-standing ideas about masculinity and its expression through sporting competition which the type united.

From its inception, professional football was a robust and physical game. In his first autobiography, *The Sash He Never Wore*, written in collaboration with football historian Percy Young, Derek Dougan attributed the 1960s and early 1970s' turn to 'rough play' as a democratisation of the aristocratic attitudes of those who played football in the public schools and universities when football was a gentleman's game and the "gentlemen" went on breaking the limbs of other "gentlemen" in a big way'.¹ Dougan cites the example of Lord Arthur Kinnaird who became something of a hero because of his fierce tackling and violent charging. The story of how Kinnaird's mother expressed her fears that her son would come home with a broken leg and was reassured that, 'It will not be his own', was often repeated in an approbatory manner, by C. B. Fry amongst others. Such was the esteem in which Kinnaird was held that his carriage was once dragged to the football ground by adoring fans who had uncoupled the horses.²

More generally, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century ex-public school/university amateur teams like the Corinthians espoused a 'healthy, robust, cultured play and good old-fashioned shoulder charging'.³ Such gentlemanly roughness was sanctioned by the Victorian idea of 'muscular christianity' which, as J. A. Mangan argued, owed little to religion, but was the product of a 'crude Darwinianism' promulgated in the public schools in which 'character' was formed and proven through the endurance of hardship and privation, as well as in sporting competition.⁴ Muscular christianity and public school modes of play helped to lay the basis for a particularly British style of play: honest and physical, yet fair, but that fairness was not incompatible with a considerable level of violence. As Clive Emsley concluded in his study *Hard Men: Violence in England Since 1750*, 'there has always been a steady undercurrent of violence in English society, much of which was excused by contemporaries as rough, sportsmanlike behaviour'.⁵

However, early professional football did not need to draw heavily on the model of Corinthian robustness, given the already long-established tradition of violence and aggression inherent in working-class ideas of masculinity. A study of attitudes towards aggression in early professional football has much to contribute to the understanding of the role of 'everyday violence' in the largely 'hidden' history of working-class masculinity in this period, which has tended to concentrate on street gangs and crime because of the availability of written sources in the court records. John E. Archer has characterised late Victorian working-class culture as holding 'deeply embedded' beliefs about a man's 'right to fight'.⁶ Among working-class

'cornermen and roughs...Violence was to some extent fun; it was sport with which to display one's toughness.'¹⁷ Victorian and Edwardian professional football was noted for its roughness. Examples abound of matches which were, as Archie Hunter, Aston Villa's captain described one cup tie against Wolves in 1886 - 87 as , 'stubborn and fiercely contested with a view to victory...In short the game was more like a war than anything else I can think of.'¹⁸

5.1.1 Antecedents of the Hard Man: 'Men of Iron': Frank Barson and Wilf Copping

The term hard man does not seem to have been used to describe footballers before the 1960s. However, from the 1920s at least, players who exercised this 'extra' level of physicality, such as Frank Barson and Wilf Copping, were described as some variation of 'man of iron', a phrase which came into use in the Yorkshire coalfields at the end of the nineteenth century for the machine which was used to cut coal mechanically at the face.⁹ 'Iron Man' thus carries no implied criticism, only admiration for the endurance and stamina of the man with the strength of a machine.

Frank Barson was probably the most famous 'iron man' of the 1920s. Born in Grimethorpe in Sheffield's steel belt, he played centre half for seven clubs in a long career which lasted until he was 39. Among these were Barnsley, Aston Villa and Manchester United. Roy Paul eulogised Barson in his 1956 autobiography as 'one of soccer's immortals', describing him as a 'tungsten steel character. It was like trying to shift a steel girder when you tried to move the ball away, with Barson's leg pressing firmly against it...No wonder they called Barson the Iron Man

in the 1920s'.¹⁰

Since the 1990s, the sociology of the body has emerged as a major area of study, with its emphasis on the importance of the body for the development of ideas about masculinity. According to R. W. Connell, 'what it means to be masculine is, quite literally, to embody force, to embody competence'.¹¹ It is clear from Paul's description of the (by then 60 year old Barson) that he did both, and possesses what sociologists of the body refer to as 'bodily capital'. This is not necessarily based upon imposing size or extreme musculature, but determination and strength and, above all, courage. 'Barson was a "he-man" footballer. Many of the game's prima donnas squealed at his strong tackling - But I've yet to meet the man who ever saw Barson flinch in a tackle himself.'¹² Barson told Paul that, "It was a man's game in my time, Roy. You took knocks and you gave knocks, and if you were man enough you took them without squealing"...To prove his point he would pull down those shaggy eyebrows. The flesh sagged and was pitted and scarred with the weals and gashes of many a heading duel.'¹³

Barson is offered here as an example of uncompromising working-class masculinity, loved and hated in equal measure by supporters who, according to Paul, either booed him, or idolised him, relishing his violence and toughness, exhorting him to, 'Shake them up!'¹⁴ What contemporaries thought about Barson's style of play is difficult to ascertain from the guarded language of newspaper reports. The *Manchester Guardian* once applied the epithet 'impetuous' to Barson's play, and the report of a match in 1924 referred enigmatically to 'an incident involving Barson' which brought 'some words of calm

from the referee'.¹⁵ According to one modern account, what actually transpired is that Barson ran after an opposing forward who had dared to tackle him and punched him, before finally knocking him out with a 'bruiser'.¹⁶ However, it appears that Barson enjoyed no little contemporary, as well as retrospective, approbation. When he left Old Trafford in 1928 on a free transfer, he is said to have received many glowing testimonials from his former team mates, the club's supporters and the local press. Louis Rocca said of him, 'In all my life, I never saw a man who could get more out of his team than Frank Barson'.¹⁷

Frank Barson was considered to be a very valuable footballer. He was not just a bruiser, and contemporaries praise his skill in distributing the ball from the midfield and his powers as an inspirational captain. Aston Villa had broken the national transfer record to buy him in 1919 and was only forced to sell him to United in 1922 when Barson refused to move to the Midlands from his native Sheffield, defying the club's residence rules. His 'iron man' persona also did not debar him from being capped once for England, though his disciplinary record prevented him from receiving further international honours as players who had been sent off were not called up to the national team until the 1930s. However, his popularity undoubtedly stemmed to a large extent from his use of violence on the pitch, admirers openly celebrating Barson's transgressive behaviour. Number 18 in a cartoon strip series about the history of Manchester United by A. S. Mellor, showed an opponent literally seeing stars after the application of what was commonly known as the 'Barson Bruiser', a fierce 'shoulder charge' which he actually executed with his 'head down, like a bull', and was designed to knock his opponent off his feet. His violent play

was also equated with bravery and a willingness to put his body at risk for the team.¹⁸ Barson's 'iron physique' was the result of much hard work. He had been a blacksmith in his youth and he rose at six to begin his regime of running and weightlifting. Paul Willis has described how 'the hard physically demanding labour of manual work is understood and reinterpreted by working-class men as being heroic and as requiring physical and mental bravery.'¹⁹ As an 'iron man', Barson took on much of the 'manual' work of the team and thus became 'heroic'.

Not all contemporaries were quite so complimentary. At a time when sendings-off were rare, Barson was suspended twelve times in his career, though only twice for violent play, the others were for retaliation. He also received a seven month ban for a sending-off at Fulham in 1928, even though the Mayor of Watford delivered a petition to the F. A. on his behalf. Dixie Dean's account of his first encounter with Barson, given in his 1970s' interviews for Radio Merseyside, claimed that Barson was feared by fellow professionals both for his off as well as onfield activities. 'Sammy Chedgzoy warned me about one of the United players and said: "Whatever happens today don't put a boot near this man...Don't upset him"... He was talking about a feller called Frank Barson. Now this Barson was also head of the razor gang from Sheffield. They were going round the country in the racing lark demanding money with a razor.'²⁰ According to Dean, Barson felled him with a punch shortly after play commenced, but retaliation was inflicted by Everton's inside right, Bobby Irvine, whom Dean describes as 'a good, hard kid who would have a go at anybody', who kicked Barson so hard in the ribs and on the jaw that Barson was stretchered off. Dean justified the subsequent level of violence in this

1925 match with the claim that will be echoed in the 1960s that it was necessary to have a 'hard kid' on your side for protection. We were the School of Science but we played United at their own game on their own midden. If you're going to do them, do them properly'.²¹

Studies of the fighting gangs of the late nineteenth century reveal that they 'considered standing up for one's self and toughness to be core masculine virtues...for the participants it was a way of gaining respect and position in what they perceived to be a tough man's world.'²² Dean appears to have done just that, his (albeit retrospective) description of the incident encapsulating the idea of defending your own 'turf'.

Barson's response after the match is also very important for what it shows about the 'other' dimension of the hard man. Sammy Chedgzooy was still worried that Barson would enter the visitors' dressing room to wreak his revenge. Barson duly arrived, on crutches, but instead shook Dean's hand and told him he would be a great player, after which Dean asked if he was all right. 'That was the type of man Barson was. Big enough to do and say that'.²³ Firstly, Barson, as Paul said, accepted his injuries 'without squealing', but also Dean and Barson both recognised that 'toughness' was part and parcel of the man's game and demonstrated that they were 'big' men by their reconciliation.

Whether Barson was indeed the leader of the Sheffield razor gang cannot be corroborated, but he did have known criminal associates, which appear to have enhanced his hard man persona. Fellow player and admirer at Villa, Billy Walker, later recalled how 'the one and only Frank...was never ashamed of numbering among his friends the notorious Fowler brothers, who were hanged for murder'.²⁴ It is not

uncommon for sporting and entertainment stars to associate with criminals because of the social cachet and the reflected reinforcement of their own masculinity this brings. However, Barson's alleged 'criminality' was not typical of the later iron/hard man type; future 'hard men' tended to pride themselves on being models of respectability in their private lives.

Wilf Copping was a craggy Barnsley ex-miner who began his career with Leeds in 1930 and was so highly regarded that Arsenal bought him in 1934 for £6,000. Copping reportedly exaggerated his fearsome appearance, compounded by his broken nose and boxer's jaw, by not shaving on match days. Like Barson, Copping was a Northerner and Richard Holt has argued that, 'There was a self-conscious cult of Northern aggression, which applauded the violent antics of some players', with Barson the most notorious example, though he 'was not alone'.²⁵ 'These hard men were never heroes in the sense of commanding wide admiration as athletes but there was a side of Northern masculinity that admired anyone who could "do the business".²⁶ Barson and also Copping's gritty Northernness was part of their individual iron man personae, and many hard men were proud of their Northern origins, but Northernness was not an essential trait of the hard man, as Nicholas Phelps has argued.²⁷ Holt admits that Southern born players like Ted Drake, the bruising Arsenal forward of the 1930s, played in the 'hard Northern way'. Fulham and Chelsea's Bobby Keetch and Chelsea's Ron Harris in the 1960s and 1970s were also celebrated hard men.²⁸

Between 1968 - 1985, in the pages of the weekly football magazines *Goal* and *Shoot!*, there were occasional articles which rehearsed the

North v South debate. As one such piece entitled 'Are Southerners Too Soft for the World of Soccer?' put it: 'Some Northerners claim that being born and playing in the North has built in advantages: "We're harder and more determined, and these are the qualities necessary to win Championships".' *Shoot!* counters this Northern hubris by declaring, 'Hold it now lads - haven't you ever felt that crunch of a Ron Harris tackle?'²⁹ The interesting point to note is that there were no articles which claimed hardness as an intrinsically Southern quality - it was always assumed that Northern players possessed this quality and did not have to argue their case.

Hardness may have been a major Northern virtue, but it was also fundamentally British. Wilf Copping's most famous match was at international level (he was capped twenty times), the so-called 'Battle of Highbury', a 'friendly' between England and Italy on 14 November, 1934 at the Arsenal Stadium. The match has become part of footballing folklore because of the high degree of violence throughout. The Italian centre half Luis Monti sustained a broken foot from a challenge by Drake in the second minute, and from then on there were a series of retaliatory fouls. Eddie Hapgood's account of the match in his *Football Ambassador* (1945) does not attribute the trouble to Monti's injury, which he says was self inflicted, but ascribes the foul play to the inducement of an Alfa Romeo and £150, and 'what was more important, exemption from their annual military service' offered to each Italian player by Mussolini to secure victory, together with the inability of the Italians to cope with the 'glorious football' played by the English. Hapgood did have his nose broken by an Italian elbow and when he re-entered the pitch after being patched up, he found a 'regular battle going on' occasioned by his injury. 'The Italians had

gone beserk, and were kicking everybody and everything in sight ...[A]lthough our lads were trying to keep their tempers, it's a bit hard to play like a gentleman when somebody closely resembling the Mafia is wiping his studs down your legs, or kicking you up in the air from behind.¹³⁰

Into the maelstrom stepped Wilf Copping, the embodiment of the British bulldog resisting the wild and dirty play of the agents of Fascism and organised crime, and by implication, displaying the indomitable British courage which won the war. Hapgood recounts Copping's contribution with obvious relish, while never once suggesting that it was anything other than fair. 'Wilf Copping enjoyed himself that afternoon. For the first time in their lives the Italians were given a sample of real honest shoulder charging, and Wilf's famous double-footed tackle was causing them furiously to think.'¹³¹ Copping 'played like a hero'.¹³² The defining moment for Hapgood came when, in the after-match banquet, with his nose splinted, he was on his way to the front to collect the winners' medals, when he caught the eye of his assailant who laughed at him, thus utterly spurning the reconciliation that real men who have injured each other in the pursuit of sport should always offer.¹³³

5.1.2 The 1960s 'Hard Man': Villain to Hero?

In the late 1950s, Roy Paul's (1956) and Trevor Ford's (1957) autobiographies presented the 'iron man' who plays hard as an admirable, necessary and endangered figure.¹³⁴ Paul and Ford's stance is one that I have argued in Chapter Three marked a change from the 'consensual' exemplary life autobiographies produced by professional

footballers between 1945 - 1953. Their tone was less deferential, more brashly self-confident, representative of a more assertive and aggressive working-class masculinity. In Barson and Copping and their ilk, they find representations of working-class masculinity with which they identify strongly. They both invoke the figure of the iron man retrospectively in order to defend against what they saw as emasculating tendencies in Fifties' football. 'British football could do with some of the Barson bite these days. It might stamp out some of the namby-pamby nonsense which is creeping into the game'.³⁵ In Paul's estimation a continental style of play was trying to 'breed airy-fairy feather-puff-footballers'.³⁶ Indeed in a later chapter ('as a fiercely patriotic Welshman'), he blamed England's lack of success in the Fifties on the 'gentlemanly' style of play adopted once players donned an England shirt, naming Billy Wright as one of the main culprits. This was compounded by the selectors' refusal to pick a half-back line with the same combativeness as the 'classic Britton, Cullis and Mercer middle line'. Before that 'they had chaps like Wilf Copping and Ernie Hart of Leeds...Men who could take an attack and shatter it by their deadly tackles and interceptions'.³⁷

Ford also, drawing inspiration from Copping's maxim, 'It's not a girl's game, and you've got to clatter lad before he clatters thee', mounts a three page defence of the shoulder charge which was under threat and declared that banning it would ruin soccer.³⁸ According to Ford, fans anticipated and relished the duels between 'strong-tackling, hard-hitting' players of the past, as well as his own against Ray Daniel of Arsenal and Frank Brennan of Newcastle.³⁹ Ford was in good company in defending the shoulder charge as a quintessentially honest and British tactic. Billy Wright, Matt Busby and Tom Finney all

rose to its defence in their autobiographies. Ford goes on to claim that the 'robust' players are not 'the really dirty players' whom he called 'the snakes of soccer'.

The crafty ankle tappers who openly boast of it in the dressing-room; the completely unprincipled players who hack blindly at a man's shins when the referee turns his back. The rougths who lunge deliberately with their knees into a player's thigh muscle or groin; the back-slashers - players who kick up backwards at a man coming from behind and rip his legs with a set of football studs.⁴⁰

This is one of the main defences of the hard man style of play which appear in the autobiographies of players who recognise themselves as hard men from the 1960s onwards. The hard man is not a dirty player, and those who are usually escape justice because their aggression is cowardly and covert, rather than openly displayed.

By the 1960s, football's 'iron men' had become 'hard men'. Emsley suggests that the term hard man was 'not really respectable'.⁴¹ It was in use among the street gangs of the nineteenth century and a study of Belfast 'hard men' has argued that the hard man was originally a bare knuckle fighter.⁴² Although the term hard man carried with it associations of street fighting and lack of respectability, the players who were labelled hard men were, post-war, largely highly respectable figures, family men and social conservatives. In opposition to Stephen Humphries's contention that the 'hooligans' of the nineteenth century were rebels, Andrew Davies argues that these working-class youths were 'archly conservative' in their attitudes to violence and what it demonstrated about their masculinity.⁴³ In the 1960s, the football hard man tended to claim that his 'toughness' was a virtue and a signifier of

decency and honesty.

Despite the continuance of these deeply held beliefs about working-class masculinity, in the second half of the 1960s and the early 1970s there was a concern that over physical, dirty play and its exponent, the hard man, were proliferating to the detriment of British football. The hard man achieved a prominence as a cultural type which it had not enjoyed before. Peter Osgood in a chapter of his 1969 autobiography entitled, 'The "Protection" Boys - Kicking is worse than ever now', ascribed its development to the richness of the financial rewards that football now offered and the new emphasis on success: 'Consequently there are more and more "hard men" about, players with no qualms about going outside the realms of fair play. I find it sickening.'⁴⁴ Leeds United, promoted to the First Division in 1964, had gained a reputation for kicking themselves out of the Second Division and their 'team full of hard men' became the paradigm for 'gamesmanship' and 'dirty play'. Leeds were accused of bringing a new cynicism into the game. Eamon Dunphy described it brilliantly as 'like some fellow running up to your desk or work bench all day and sticking a pin in you. The cumulative effect is drastic.'⁴⁵

There had been 'hard sides' before Leeds: the Portsmouth 'Iron men', a 'team of workers' who won two championships in the immediate post-war period and Bolton Wanderers in the 1950s with their twin hard men full backs Roy Hartle and Tommy Banks.⁴⁶ However, Leeds were in some quarters deemed to have crossed the line between hard but fair play and cynical dirty tactics. Leeds' Johnny Giles is one of the few players identified by name as a 'soccer snake', who deliberately went 'over the top'. Graeme Souness commented. 'It was Johnny who

made enemies and upset people'.⁴⁷ Not that the team was short of admirers, who recognised that the Leeds stars were skilful players, but pointed out that they therefore had no need of resorting to dirty tactics. Leeds United's 'eleven hard men' were vociferous in their own defence. 'We were learning to play it hard - because the Second Division was a hard school. It is true that manager Don Revie always told us to give 100 per cent effort for everyone of the 90 minutes - but never at any time were we encouraged to 'put the boot in'...we never intentionally set out to play any other way but hard and fair'.⁴⁸

Why did Leeds' hard men generate such opprobrium in the second half of the 1960s? Contemporaries explained it in footballing terms by the accusation that Leeds had departed from previous practice by employing too many hard men in the same team and because their hard men did not employ the type of open, honest physical aggression which we have seen before was tolerated as evidence of commitment and bravery. It may also have been partly inspired by resentment at the success of a new team straight out of the Second Division. The hard man in this period also functioned as the 'dark half' of the ball playing maverick individualist, a type discussed in the second half of this chapter, which also came into the spotlight in the 1960s. As a *Sunday Times Magazine* article accompanying a photo spread showing George Best displaying 'a composition of injuries spread over a number of games' put it, 'The only way most defenders know how to stop him is to hit him hard...Best comes in for special treatment. He is the marked man of the First Division, constantly needled, carrying a golden-boy image that is difficult for his rivals to digest.'⁴⁹ The *Sunday Times* feature portrays Best opposing his talent against the 'bullies', the representatives of an outmoded, thuggish manliness.

Nowhere are these tensions better exemplified than in the changing status of Nobby Stiles, who was a key part of the Manchester United defence from 1960 to 1970. John Williams and Rogan Taylor remarked correctly that Stiles was, in contrast to Bobby Moore, 'the carrier of rather longer-standing and more deep-rooted masculine values in the British game, which now seemed to be becoming more openly instrumental in their use'⁵⁰ By 1965, in his own estimation, Stiles was 'the player the fans love to hate', receiving threats from people in the street and poison pen letters. 'Even grandmothers out shopping would stop to wave their fists at me'.⁵¹ His selection for the World Cup squad came under fierce criticism and an awful Stiles tackle on French striker Jacques Simon in the one of the opening matches caused Danny Blanchflower to remark on television that the incident embarrassed him.⁵² Ramsey came under pressure to drop Stiles from the team, but defended him resolutely. According to Stiles, the unfairness of his victimisation meant that 'The England supporters sensed, I feel, that I was the victim of circumstances, and with the English sense of fair play, and their traditional feeling for the underdog, they sided with me.'⁵³

Criticism of Stiles came from (as in the case of Blanchflower) a perception that British football, and with it by implication, his brand of British aggression, was embarrassingly out of date by comparison with the greater sophistication of the world football on display. However, Stiles's rehabilitation drew upon the association of the iron man style with British virtues of fairness, honesty and bravery, demonstrating the enduring power of this essentially conservative construction of working-class masculinity. This was emphasised by

the fracas which followed England's elimination of Argentina from the competition during which a police cordon prevented the incensed (or in the British version, 'hysterical') Argentinian team from storming the England dressing room.

Stiles's two performances against Eusebio, one in the semi-final of the World Cup, provided confirmation of the essential sportsmanship of the British footballing hard man. As a 1969 article in *Shoot!* 'The night I duelled with the 'BLACK PANTHER' claimed,

It was two meetings with Eusebio - the Black Panther to his friends -...that won Nobby the hearts of soccer fans everywhere...Nobby was the player they loved to hate...the unnecessary boos from the crowd made him even more keen for victory. In the World Cup Finals he successfully subdued the great Eusebio, a feat no other defender in the Championship accomplished. Overnight Nobby turned from villain to hero and the public at last recognised him for what he really is: an outstanding player.⁵⁴

All of the 1966 World Cup winning team achieved a special status because of their victory, but Stiles's transformation from 'villain to national hero' was particularly striking.

However, Stiles' individual persona also modulated the previous image of the iron man because of his (in his own estimation, as well as that of others) imperfect physical condition, and probably contributed much to his rehabilitation. He topped a *Woman* magazine popularity poll along with Lee Marvin and Aristotle Onassis, where he was credited with an 'impish personality' and was the first of the 1966 squad to receive a waxwork at Madam Tussaud's.⁵⁵ The perception of his 'impishness' owes much to images of Stiles dancing around Wembley with the World Cup and no front teeth. Unlike Barson and

Copping, the Manchester-born Stiles did not have the iron physique of an ex-blacksmith or miner. Instead, '[m]y eyesight was weakening, and it looked as though it would stop my career. I was only 5 feet 5 inches tall...This seven-stone weakling image did not bother me, in fact, it just made me all the more determined to succeed. Perhaps if I'd been a handsome six-foot Greek god type I would never have had any aggression to a challenge.'⁵⁶ Without any physical advantages, Stiles had to prove himself by his determination and his preparedness to 'risk his body in performance'. He contrasts his own career, where he had to fight every step of the way, with those who had 'only a path strewn with roses leading to First Division football and acclaim'.⁵⁷ He compares himself with the two Bolton hard men, Banks and Hartle to emphasise the point. Banks was 'a man feared by wingers throughout Britain. When being tackled by Banks, or that other great Bolton full-back, Roy Hartle, who took over from him as the captain of crunch at Bolton, it was like running into a brick wall.'⁵⁸

Like Hartle, who was a Conservative councillor for a Bolton ward and who spoke like 'a university professor', Stiles was a highly respectable family man of deeply conservative politics.⁵⁹ His autobiography talks extensively about his family and even discusses his political views briefly. Stiles was a Tory voter who bemoaned the 'idle jacks' of the Welfare State, immigrants collecting benefits and prisoners being 'pampered' in a Britain where 'the voice of the ordinary bloke no longer matters'⁶⁰ The respectability of the hard man is relative: but it stands increasingly in contrast to the hedonistic lifestyle of the maverick.

5.1.3 The 1970 and 1980s - A Necessary Part of Football: 'Every

Class Side Needs the 'Chopper' type'.⁶¹

The Leeds United team also enjoyed something of an apotheosis. When they eventually won the League Championship in 1969, *Shoot!* outlined the team's credentials for greatness, under the sub-heading 'Home-grown stars', 'No club deserves the honour more than Leeds. To fight back from near relegation to the Third Division to the position of League Champions is a sensational achievement. Amazing, too, when you consider that only three members of this all-star team cost transfer fees...All the others...joined the Elland Road staff as juniors and were reared to stardom.'⁶² *Goal* waxed lyrical about the change in Leeds in the next season. 'No man better embodies the change of spirit than Norman Hunter...Both Leeds and Hunter appear to have accepted the fact that there is no longer a need to impress physical superiority on their opposition.'⁶³ By 1974, Norman Hunter, once 'referred to as the hardest man of football', had received the accolade of being voted the first PFA Player of the Year.

The combative aspects of Hunter's play, and those of other hard men, were enjoyed, celebrated and thus given a sanctioned space by fans and media. One 'unofficial' celebration of Hunter's aggression was adopted by television. Hunter describes how at the League Cup Final against Arsenal in 1968 a banner proclaiming, 'Norman Hunter Bites Yer Legs' was displayed in the crowd. This caught the attention of ITV which screened it several times during the game and the phrase stuck. Hunter was later presented by the Bradford Branch of the Leeds United supporters' club with a bronze statue of a leg with a huge bite taken out of the calf.⁶⁴ Such humorous actions about a player's exploits or a catchphrase which sums up their essence, plays an

important role in mediating the response to transgressive behaviour and creating a climate, if not quite of approval, or at least some degree of tolerance. The 'hard man' is expected to play hard. Tommy Smith claimed that people used to be disappointed 'if you didn't go out on the field and get stuck in'.⁶⁵ Duncan McKenzie reflected in his autobiography that 'My game and Tommy Smith's game are poles apart...but each of us, in our own way, has contributed something to the entertainment of the fans'.⁶⁶

The climate of tolerance for 'hard men' also extended to referees. An examination of the 1970 Cup Final between Chelsea and Leeds is instructive. The referee booked only one player, and there was clearly a reluctance to penalise 'hard tackling'. In one incident, Ron 'Chopper' Harris (never referred to by his nickname by the commentator Brian Moore), Chelsea's celebrated hard man, challenged for the ball with Billy Bremner with a high lunge with his studs aimed at Bremner's shin. Bremner jumped to avoid this, kicking Harris at the same time, and cushioned his fall by putting his arms on the back of Harris neck, dragging his shirt down and holding him. Harris pulled away, Bremner released him. Brian Moore's response in commentary was to say in measured tones, 'Harris and Bremner getting into a tangle there. Referee allows play to go on.' The referee ignored the incident. Harris was renowned for his lack of expression on the pitch, Bremner was less able to control his temper and barracked referees constantly, but in this instance they both caused no trouble for the referee by complaining to him. Neither challenged the referee's authority or interfered with his running of the game.⁶⁷ The referee Gordon Hill in his memoirs showed how he accepted the myth of the 'honesty' of the hard man in his comment about Norman Hunter. 'Norman nearly

kicked Gerry Francis over the stand...OK, it was a diabolical tackle, but to accuse this man of malice, of being deliberately brutal, is very unfair. I could have refereed players like Norman Hunter for ever. They are so open in their belligerence.¹⁶⁸

In both *Goal* and *Shoot!* Bremner, Hunter, Smith and Harris and other 'hard men' received praise for their commitment and effort whereas doubts were raised about the work rate, team work and consistency of Best, Marsh and other 'entertainers'. A 1969 *Shoot!* feature about Chelsea, 'The Blues Make Chelsea Fans Happy!', expressed doubts about 'the brilliant, if erratic, Peter Osgood - often a genius when it comes to moving up from midfield and taking a chance...suspect only when it comes to all out work rate - in other words consistency'. It had nothing but praise for 'tough as nails Ronnie Harris, the skipper'.⁶⁹

Both model professionals and mavericks frequently praised their hard men opponents in print. Bobby Moore, *Shoot!*'s first star columnist, wrote, in November 1969, in answer to the question, 'Is football getting tougher?', that football was getting harder, but not tougher. 'I can think of plenty of defenders who have been wrongly accused of dirty play. Scotland and Leeds United skipper Billy Bremner, Chelsea's Ron Harris and Liverpool's Tommy Smith are all hard - of course they are - but they're fair.'⁷⁰ In some cases this was undoubtedly because their own teams relied on hard men. Peter Osgood's diatribe against the 'Protection Boys' included a tortuous defence of Chelsea's own. 'Chelsea are not a hard side. We have players who can look after themselves, and Ron Harris and Eddie McCreadie are perhaps among the hardest in the League...[Harris] wants to win every ball and invariably he does. A very useful man to have on your side.'⁷¹ Osgood,

Rodney Marsh, George Best and the other 'mavericks' who were on the receiving ends of such treatment, also subscribed to the same idea of masculinity and had to be seen to take the knocks 'without squealing'. Best frequently claims he respects the hard men deployed to stop him in contemporary articles. Later, from the 1980s onwards, he presented a very different view, though still in a manner designed to show his own bravery and spirit. 'I had nothing but contempt for those so-called hard men. For hard men I always read, men who couldn't play...That's why I always made it a point to try and stick the ball through the legs of my markers the first time they came in and tried to tackle me'.⁷²

Garry Whannel has argued that there was a general reassertion of 'hardness' in sport in the 1970s and 1980s as 'one striking consequence of the shifting forms of gender relations during the 1970s and 1980s'.⁷³ The form of 'hardness' which Whannel cites specifically in support of this contention is the Americanised 'hypermasculinity', displayed in the film cycles which included *Die Hard*, *Lethal Weapon*, *Predator* and *Rambo*, all from the late 1980s and early 1990s.⁷⁴ The 'hypermasculine' body, developed by body-building, is usually seen by film studies scholars as a product of the philosophy of Thatcherism and Reaganism, and more properly belongs to the 1990s, a period outside the scope of this study. However, in football's case, the 1970s and 1980s hard man type was not influenced by 'ultra-hard macho and the rise of the cyborg', but a vernacular model of 'hardness' drawn from deep within British male working class culture. By 1980, the 'Anfield Iron' Tommy Smith can present a more unashamedly robust version of the hard man, in line with the general move towards a greater outspokenness in the football autobiographies of the late 1970s and

1980s, but reflects nothing of this 'ultra hardness'. He had retired from playing when the book was produced and felt able to reveal his pet greeting to opponents, 'I'm going to break your effing back'.⁷⁵

However, his version of the hard man is tempered by a sense that much of his 'tough guy' image was largely superficial. 'When I first started playing, as a youngster among men, I soon realised the way to win was to frighten the opposition. So I used to growl at them, and show my teeth - what's left of them - and it seemed to work. It was a tough guy reputation that took me about twelve months to forge, and twelve years to live down.'⁷⁶ His comments make it clear that he considers himself an 'honest pro' who had endured much bodily suffering in the service of football which is described in great detail. In fact he dwells on the imperfections of his scarred and battered body, which doctors have warned him will be badly affected by arthritis. The British football hard man's body is not hypermasculine, developed for the purposes of displaying an aggressive, ultra macho manhood, but one whose strength is tested in performance and continually put at risk for the team.

By 1980, Tommy Smith can lament the disappearance of the hard man because of the outlawing of the tackle from behind in 1971, and it is the case that the hard man's period of notoriety was short-lived.⁷⁷

From 1971 - 1984 it was rare for discussion of the hard man to appear in *Shoot!*, and then it was usually to deny that a problem existed.

However, in 1984 a number of features highlighted a new crop of hard men, prompted by the attention given to Spurs' Graham Roberts.⁷⁸ Any criticism was obviated by copious praise for their essential qualities.

Shoot!'s February 1984 feature, 'They go in HARD', testifies to the persistence of the hard man type and the admiration in the media and

on the terraces for his aggressive, masculine style.

You need them when you are struggling, when the opposition cuts up rough, when confidence ebbs away and heads begin to drop...they are THE HARD MEN, the players who inspire through example and terrify through sheer determination, physical strength and courage...Graham Roberts is rapidly becoming a folk hero at White Hart Lane where Spurs' fans relish his powerful approach, tough tackling and fearless attitude.⁷⁹

Roberts's qualities were illustrated by a full page action shot of him sending Anderlecht's Georges Grun flying into the air in the 1984 UEFA Cup Final with the caption, 'Roberts Rules: The power of Graham Robert's tackling could prove crucial for Spurs and England this season.'

5.1.4 Conclusion

The enduring importance of the hard man in the period 1946 - 1985 is illustrated by Alan Bleasdale's *Foreword* to Graeme Souness's 1985 autobiography 'No Half Measures'.⁸⁰ With all the eloquence of a Liverpudlian playwright who was a passionate defender of embattled working-class communities under Thatcherism, he summarises the mythos of the hard man to perfection, demonstrating its power to incarnate certain key masculine working-class qualities, not always those appreciated by the petty, pompous figures who have come to represent 'authority' in the 1980s. Rather than being a product of Thatcherism, the working-class hard man stands against its assault on the traditional working-class. While recognising that Souness is a controversial character and an uncompromising 'hard player', Bleasdale quotes a 16 year old apprentice professional, who describes

Souness as a 'proper captain' who defends the oppressed. 'Even if you're a nobody who cleans the boots...if he thinks you're getting picked on by someone, it doesn't matter who it is, "Charlie" will put them in their place...And I'll tell you one thing, he only has to do it once'. Souness's reputation as 'undoubtedly one of the hardest players in the game', means that he is disliked 'by the kind of people who usually become referees, television commentators, public hangmen, hangers-on, traffic wardens or fellow-professionals with neither the courage or the awareness ever to understand Graeme Souness'.

Bleasdale counters this dislike with Souness's courage when a wall collapsed at Walsall as Liverpool scored in an FA Cup tie, and Souness hurtled 'deep and immediately into the crowd to rescue and reassure', carrying out an injured twelve year old. Finally, Bleasdale recalls, without any sense of irony, a private conversation in which 'this so-called "hard man" talked in 'lyrical and loving fashion about his children and his total commitment to his family' and when asked if he was going to reveal anything of his private life in his autobiography replied, 'Well, above all, I really would like to mention my Mum'.⁸¹

In 1985, the hard man's aggressive and combative style is still equated with determination, courage and spirit. Hard men, according to the anecdotal evidence, are 'folk heroes' to certain fans, who, as well as celebrating those virtues, also enjoy the naked exercise of violence against opposing players. Although in the pre-war period Barson invested the type with an aura of criminality, the hard man was usually respectable, dedicated to his family and 'working' for the success of his team. He constantly risked his body in performance. Above all, the hard man was able to demonstrate the quintessentially British trait of honest and decent aggression which increasingly finds

its main locus for expression in sport. Although criticised for his crudity and destructiveness by some commentators, the hard man has at the very least been tolerated by officialdom because of a long-standing British admiration for and acceptance of a level of violence in sport which is glossed as a natural 'robust competitiveness'. It could be suggested that Nobby Stiles' national vilification came at a counter cultural moment when there was something of a challenge to accepted styles of working-class masculinity (a moment which will be discussed below in relation to the maverick) and when these somewhat embattled British values were on display to millions around the world in 1966, but Stiles's rapid transformation into 'our Nobby', the housewives' favourite, and the accomplished defender who tamed Eusebio, showed how deeply embedded the hard man's type of masculinity is in British culture and how widely accepted it was.

5.2 The Maverick

The other oppositional construction of footballing masculinity which became the focus of attention in the 1960s was the 'maverick'. Both academic and non-academic histories of football have retrospectively identified the emergence of a group of young, entertaining players in the 1960s and 1970s who posed a powerful challenge to the stifling prevailing orthodoxy in English football which prized 'work-rate', conformity and 'systems'. 'To my generation', one has written, 'They embodied what we fondly imagined to be the spirit of our youth...They were exceptions to a totalitarian rule...They scared managers with their quest for freedom - from fear, convention, boredom - and petrified them when they attained it.'⁸² The celebration

of the maverick from the 1990s onwards in men's magazines and fanzines has pushed the maverick player to the forefront in popular accounts of 1970s football. This has had the effect of rendering supporters' reminiscences about 'maverick' players and the response to them by fans particularly unreliable. However, contemporaries afforded a specific group of players special attention for their 'rebellious' attitudes and frequently bracketed these players together.

The pre-war history of professional football is full of players who at some point in their careers were 'rebels', coming into conflict with the game's authorities, whether at club or national level. Some were footballers who by their hedonistic, excessive lifestyles had crossed the boundaries of acceptable conduct off the pitch. Tom 'Pongo' Waring, the record breaking striker who played for Aston Villa between 1927 - 1935, appears to have flouted club discipline with impunity. His captain, Billy Walker, later said,

He clowned his way through life...Unfortunately for him, money burned holes in his pockets. There were no rules for Pongo. Nobody knew what time he would turn up for training - ten o'clock, eleven o'clock, twelve o'clock, it made no odds...he would start a little of his training - but that seldom lasted very long...after about ten minutes he would finally kick the ball into the stands and say: "I've had enough", and that was that.⁸³

However, Pongo's behaviour was never publicised. The post-war maverick type engaged in a particular style of rebellion, not just against the discipline of his football club, but against more general social values.

The most useful way of understanding the maverick in post-war

football is to situate the emergence of this type within the wider development in society of the different 'rebel male' types delineated by Andrew Spicer. He describes the nature and function of the type thus: 'In post-war British culture rebel males are those whose dress, behaviour, conduct, attitudes and values are at odds with the dominant middle-class ideology. They are often sexually transgressive, and they contest class barriers and undermine masculine norms'.⁸⁴ These rebel players posed a more direct challenge to the model professional's version of acceptable, conventional masculinity than the hard man. On the pitch, the maverick rebels through his behaviour, refusing to accept the authority of the referee, showing dissent and retaliating. He may also adopt a mode of playing which expresses an individuality and attitude which contravenes the accepted norms in football and society. Crucially, the late 1960s and 1970s maverick becomes associated with an off the pitch rebellion, expressed through a hedonistic lifestyle, which challenges the model professional's continence in pursuit of sporting excellence by an open excess, whether this is drinking, smoking, gambling, spending or in their physical appearance.

5.2.1 The 'Clown Prince': Len Shackleton, the 1950s' 'Bolshie'

Len Shackleton's biographer claims that, 'Gifted, extrovert ball-players such as Jim Baxter, Paul Gascoigne, Alan Hudson, Tony Currie, Rodney Marsh and Frank Worthington were all heirs to the maverick tradition established by Shackleton in the 1940s and 1950s'.⁸⁵ During his eleven year professional career with Bradford Park Avenue, Newcastle and Sunderland from 1946 - 1957, Len Shackleton won, in the words of Bill Murray, the Sunderland manager, in his

'Introduction' to Shackleton's famous 1956 autobiography, *Len Shackleton: Clown Prince of Soccer*, a reputation as *the* controversial player of his generation, either on or off the field'.⁸⁶ Stanley Matthews in *The Way It Was* recalled him thus: 'Len Shackleton was unpredictable, brilliantly inconsistent, flamboyant, radical and mischievous...Len was a continuous exasperation and affront to the conventional and the conformists of English football, of whom there were many.'⁸⁷ Shackleton's reputation was earned through a combination of a uniquely exhibitionist style of play with outspoken, public criticism of the way professional football was run.

Len Shackleton's playing style was, in itself, a form of rebellion. During competitive matches 'Shack' would often indulge his taste for what he called 'clowning', a number of polished ball tricks, which functioned on several levels. Most obviously it demonstrated his outstanding abilities in the control of a football and his natural exhibitionist qualities. However, 'fooling' has a long cultural history as a powerful form of protest through mockery. Shackleton undoubtedly used some of his antics as a means to mock opponents and referees. Before an international against West Germany in 1954, 'Shack' rolled the ball with his foot to the Italian referee but with his trademark powerful backspin on it, so that as the referee bent down to collect it, it rolled back to 'Shack'. In other games he actually beckoned the ball towards him with his finger. Sometimes he sat on the ball, and mimed the raising of a cup of tea to his lips.

Shackleton also believed in 'putting on a show' for the crowd. Retrospectively he claimed, in a 2000 television interview with Brian Moore for *Sky* that, 'I used to enjoy the game - that's the point. If I

wanted to make the ball go through somebody's legs, I'd do it. Whether it was the right thing to do for the team or not was just hard luck'.⁸⁸ Other 'Shack' tricks were to play 'one twos' off the corner flags or to roll the ball the length of the sideline with the inside of his foot. In so doing, 'Shack' was engaged in his own personal rebellion. He spoke out against what he termed 'the Wolves' battering ram brigade' which had dispensed almost entirely with 'the services of classic ball players' relying on 'ten per cent artistry and ninety per cent enthusiasm'.⁸⁹ The late 1950s and early 1960s was a period when contemporaries believed that football was becoming less of an individual and more of a team sport. In *Billy Wright's Book of Soccer* no. 5, 1962, Frank Gray acknowledged the lack of 'characters' in the modern game. 'Good players have now sunk their personality into the team. Now people go along to watch outstanding teams such as Spurs, Everton and Ipswich Town.'⁹⁰

Shackleton was also challenging the 'win at all costs' philosophy of professionalism. He tells the story of how once when playing for Sunderland he managed to break through on his own with the ball, walked it round the opposing goalkeeper, then stopped the ball on the line, shouting to the goalie that it had not yet gone in. The 'keeper scrambled on his hands and knees in the mud to try to get it and the referee was also made to look foolish as he had blown the whistle for a goal.⁹¹ 'Shack' had put his desire to mock and entertain before making sure the goal was scored. He even 'clowned' when taking penalties. Brian Redhead claims he saw him take a tremendous kick at the ball on the penalty spot but not make contact. Frank Swift dived for it, but the ball was still on the spot, from where 'Shack' coolly backheeled it into the goal past the prostrate goalkeeper.⁹²

'Clowning' won him considerable popularity among spectators. It was claimed in one obituary that 'Sunderland would try to suppress news that he might miss a match through injury as his absence could knock 10,000 off the attendance'.⁹³ However, he was also criticised by what he dubbed the "'get rid of it" faction', and, like the later mavericks, his commitment and effort was called into question.⁹⁴ He also became embroiled in a feud with Trevor Ford which resulted in Ford's sale to Swansea City. Ford accused Shackleton of allowing his clowning 'to nullify much of the co-ordination of the forward line.'⁹⁵ It has been suggested that Shackleton deliberately isolated Ford, though others have said that Ford was a poor positional player who was unable to anticipate 'Shack's' clever playmaking, but the controversy also contributed to 'Shack's' persona as an individualist who was not a team player.⁹⁶

Shackleton represented a particular type of expression of post-war rebellion. Malam argues that 'Shack' learned his trade in the 'comparatively easy-going atmosphere of wartime football: so he came into the resumption of structured competition at the end of the war as a fully-formed free spirit'.⁹⁷ The key to Shackleton's maverick persona was his insubordination and, despite the fact that Shack did not serve in the forces or do National Service, it is very much in the style of those who rebelled against pettiness, red tape and authority in the service comedies which were such a feature of the stage, radio and cinema after the war. Andrew Spicer's analysis of this service comedy cycle which challenged the discourse of the 'myth of the Blitz' - the 'heroic story of courage, endurance and pulling together' that explained how Britain won the Second World War - shows how these

films, often based on successful stage plays, enjoyed considerable popularity between 1951 - 1963.⁹⁸ In films such as *Private's Progress* (1958) and the *Navy Lark* (1959), 'official' versions of the war and National Service were satirised. In a number of radio series, notably *The Goon Show*, the Bolshie ex-'other ranker' demonstrated his contempt for inept and petty authority and regulations through skiving, insubordination and mockery.

That Shackleton shared, as Matthews remarked, the complete contempt for authority of the 1950s' 'Bolshie other ranker', is patently demonstrated by his autobiography, *The Clown Prince of Soccer* (1955). The immediate postwar autobiographies explain how the professional footballers who didn't fight at the front did their bit by becoming p-t instructors and travelled on morale boosting football tours and played fund-raising games. 'Shack' does indeed point out in his autobiography that he tried to join the RAF but was refused, not because he was a professional footballer (he was not an established star) but because he built aircraft radios for GEC and was thus in a reserved occupation.⁹⁹ However, he is not ashamed to admit that, at the end of war, he was prepared to 'skive' to continue his professional football career. When 'Shack' refused to move to Coventry with GEC at the end of the war because he did not want to leave Bradford Park Avenue, he then became eligible for National Service, which he had no intention of doing. 'Keen enough during the war, after VJ-Day with all my friends returning on demob leave, I had no desire to join up'.¹⁰⁰ Looking for an alternative, he is advised to become a miner, and comments, as his papers to report as a Bevin Boy arrived, 'I had warned the postman not to worry if he accidentally mislaid an OHMS envelope addressed to Len Shackleton.'¹⁰¹ Horrified by his first descent

in a cage to the coal face, he immediately realised 'I had made a real blunder by volunteering for mining, and I soon started investigating ways and means of 'dodging the column' without being reprimanded for absenteeism. To be perfectly frank, I did not overwork myself.'¹⁰²

As a groundstaff boy at Arsenal 'Shack' tells his readers that he had perfected the art of avoiding work, but his admission of continued skiving after the war was very bold.¹⁰³ As such, he was aligning himself with an alternative 'army' of working-class dissidents who had been (at least for part of their 'service life', whatever form this had taken) in Spicer's phrase, busy fighting the 'other war'.¹⁰⁴ In the Epilogue to the second printing of *Clown Prince*, 'Shack' has the confidence to repeat some of the criticism he received for not doing his bit and defend his actions.¹⁰⁵

Shackleton also waged a humorous, literate but vehement attack on the football authorities through his journalism and in his autobiography, with its celebrated blank page under the heading, 'The Average Director's Knowledge of Football'. In this autobiography he attacks the ship of fools of English football, run by pompous and ignorant little men. Among his targets are 'the footballer's contract, an evil document', transfers and the petty regulations imposed on professionals by their clubs, often summarised in little coloured books which he calls 'moronic manuals', the 'bull' and red tape of the service comedies.¹⁰⁶ He also criticises the failure to provide properly paid, qualified physiotherapists and trainers. Professional football is run by a series of inadequates, from the FA downwards. He rails against the mismanagement of the Jubilee Fund, the scandal of the allocation of Cup Final tickets, the missed opportunity provided by the football pools, and the appalling standard of coaching.

The Clown Prince begins with 'Shack's' surprise recall to the England team after a five year absence. He leaves the reader in no doubt why he made so few appearances for England, 'caused by selectors' reluctance to play individualists: they wanted to pick men who would part with the ball quickly.'¹⁰⁷ Later, he quotes a journalist who, having asked a selector 'Why is Len Shackleton consistently left out of the England team?' receives the reply, 'Because we play at Wembley Stadium, not the London Palladium'.¹⁰⁸ Shackleton's account of the two games he played for England when he was thirty-two amply demonstrate that he saw 'ball-juggling' as a form of protest. Even then he claims that, despite being 'hungry' to represent his country, he only agreed as it would give him the opportunity to publicise a hairdressing shop he was about to open. In the first match against Wales he reins in his natural inclination to 'try something on' and is a 'shadow of Shack', to the disappointment of spectators but to the post-match approval of the selectors.¹⁰⁹ This compliance wins him a second appearance against West Germany, where he again 'played ball by not playing *with* the ball, but after half an hour I was fed up, and decided the pretence had gone on long enough.'¹¹⁰ He then plays his normal game and scored the goal that would be the highlight of his brief England career (a total of five caps) with a chip over the goalkeeper.

The Clown Prince was so popular that it went into a fifth printing by Christmas 1955 (it was released in September). The book lays the foundations for what will become one of the major features of the English maverick type, the challenge which skilled individualism presents to international selectors, who prize conformity and effort over ability. Shackleton's impudence and insubordination on the

pitch, coupled with a refusal to back up his defence, and his tendency to drift out of games, were also essential aspects of the maverick image, powerful themes which persist at least until 1985. However, there were major shifts in the cultural representation of 'rebel' players which began in the 1960s, and which differentiate the later maverick from Shackleton's politically-driven Bolshieness.

5.2.2 The Early 1960s: The 'Chirpy Cockney', the 'Demon King' and 'Slim Jim'

Most of the overtly 'political' aspects of Shackleton's rebel persona were lost from the maverick type in the 1960s and the 'Bolshie' became a residual figure, particularly after the 'New Deal' removed the wage and transfer restraints which had been the main focus of this rebellion. Jimmy Greaves and Denis Law were two of the last 'contract' rebels who went to Italy to circumvent British restrictions on their earning power, Law actually after the 1961 ending of the maximum wage. (Later Derek Dougan uniquely united his on the pitch flamboyance and antics with chairmanship of the PFA and an 'autobiographical trilogy' which exposed and commented on the game's problems in the 1970s and 1980s.)

Jimmy Greaves's signing for Milan in 1961 earned him a maverick reputation, as regular stories about his drunken behaviour in Italy and his frequent brushes with coach Nero Rocco were fed back to England by a British press pack which had gathered there to cover his story. Greaves, like Denis Law after him, cited the stifling restrictions of Italian club discipline against which he was engaged in constant rebellion, and the negative, often brutal, defensive tactics of the

Italian style of play as his reasons for his failure to settle in Milan.¹¹¹ On his return to English football as a Spurs player, Greaves's 'Cockney wit' and 'impishness' drew on the long-established myth of the 'fly' cockney, the image of working-class resourcefulness and irreverence, living on his wits and always ready for a laugh, but also the 1960s' readoption of the youthful, working-class cockney rebel as a emerging social force.¹¹² Fashion photographers David Bailey, Brian Duffy and Terence Donovan and actors Michael Caine and Terence Stamp, were examples of working-class East End-born Cockneys whose origins and accents, as well as their irreverence, were part of their allure.¹¹³ This was in marked contrast to the self-educator Ramsey's notorious elocution lessons to rid him of his Essex accent. In an end of season game against Leicester City in 1965, Spurs were leading 5-2 when they were awarded a penalty, which gave Greaves the opportunity to demonstrate his characteristic 'impudence'. While Gordon Banks, standing with his back to the pitch, was wiping the palms of his hands on the grass, Greaves as a 'bit of a lark' dinked the ball into the net. The referee, much to everyone's astonishment and Greaves's considerable amusement, awarded a goal.¹¹⁴ Greaves's small stature was also part of his impish persona; especially as Greaves wore baggy shorts, like Alex James, the 'wee' Arsenal star of the 1930s. Greaves attributed this later not to any emulation of the Arsenal star of the 1930s, but to the fact that he was expected to wear the shorts of the much larger man he replaced in the Spurs' line up.

Despite Greaves' record-breaking goal-scoring exploits, even some of his biggest advocates in the press felt compelled to criticise his attitude. As Geoffrey Green put it, 'Greaves, of course, has his faults like the next man. Primarily he is an individualist and, as such, is not

easily amenable to discipline...There have been occasions when he has not always looked to be pulling his weight in a team sense, or producing the 'work rate' required on the field by his manager.¹¹⁵ 'In an age of mass production Greaves must remain the arch individualist. As such, he may often be looked upon with suspicion.'¹¹⁶ Greaves's individualism and perceived lack of effort became a *cause celebre* at international level, heightening the tension between the 'natural' skill of the gifted individual and the far more prosaic priorities of the selectors and managers of the English team which becomes a central strand of the English maverick type. Greaves wrote in his 1979 autobiography that Sir Alf Ramsey had correctly summed him up as 'a carefree non-conformist character whose thinking on football was completely the opposite of his cautious, methodical, well-organised approach to the game'.¹¹⁷ 'Let's face it. I was never the most enthusiastic of trainers. I'm the bloke who used to steal rides on milk floats and farm tractors during cross country runs at Tottenham. And it was me who found the only drinking place within walking distance of Lilleshall, the fitness fanatics' paradise.'¹¹⁸

Greaves's omission from the 1966 World Cup semi-final and final games, which effectively marked the end of his international career, became the locus for the rehearsal of the late 1960s' revival of concern about the quality and direction of English international football, which began as soon as the team were victorious in the World Cup. As in the 1950s, the argument was that the skilled individualist non-conformist ball-player was sacrificed for the stamina and effort of the journeyman, though now it was couched in the jargon of Fordism, laced with references to 'robots', 'systems' and machines.

Although Greaves became the first professional footballer to make a public confession of alcoholism in his 'rehab' autobiography, *This One's On Me*, this was not until 1979. Liking a good time was part of his maverick persona, but there was no public suggestion until later that this predilection had become deleterious to his game. Greaves was able to make the technically accurate claim in his earlier 1972 autobiography, *Let's Be Honest*, that his very public disciplining by West Ham for 'The Blackpool Affair' in 1970 was 'a tiny dot in a fourteen-year career of which I'm otherwise proud.'¹¹⁹ At the time, and subsequently, Greaves remained adamant that the 'curfew breaking', which involved the consumption of only a 'few lagers', though wrong, seemed 'a harmless enough idea' and was done on the understanding that the game would be called off the next day because of a frozen pitch. The subsequent media furore which led to Bobby Moore being dropped for England was an over-reaction and the result of West Ham's shabby treatment of Bobby Moore in failing to keep the matter 'in-house'.¹²⁰

Nor did Greaves have a reputation for ill-discipline on the pitch, unlike the other high-profile emigrant to Italy in 1961, Denis Law. Law, in the company of Joe Baker who had also signed for Torino, despite claiming that he spent most of his time in Italy closeted in his hotel or apartment to avoid the unwanted attentions of both press and supporters, still managed to become involved in some very well-publicised 'scrapes', including a car crash in which Baker sustained life-threatening injuries. A 'fiery' Scot, Law had been transferred from Manchester City to Torino when he was under a fourteen day suspension for 'misconduct' during a League match against Leicester City in April 1961 (having already received what he

describes as a 'blue caution', a special warning about his conduct for picking up three bookings).¹²¹ In his first autobiography *Living For Kicks* (1963), Law maintained that all these cautions were unjustified as they were retaliation against persistent fouling for which the offender had been unpunished. Law's most famous act of retaliation was when he kicked Bobby Robson 'right underneath the royal box' in an international at Wembley.¹²² At Torino he carried on unrepentantly dispensing his own form of justice. 'I was chopped down by Fusato, a notoriously rugged defender. As I got up I trod on Fusato's ankle, accidental like'. 'Of course it's wrong to retaliate', Law went on, 'But it is also very natural.'¹²³ Back in England he continued to mete out his own brand of justice, losing his temper when referees failed to crack down on persistent fouling. Law was first sent off on 16 November 1963 in a League match against Aston Villa. In Law's later account, after Alan Deakin kicked him throughout the game, he lost his temper and aimed a blow at his tormentor which did not connect. Law received a twenty-eight day suspension, during which he was not allowed to attend training.¹²⁴ In the 1964 season, when he was sent off again there was speculation that the F. A., concerned about rising levels of ill-discipline on the pitch, was about to make an example of him. He received another twenty-eight day ban and a £50 fine.¹²⁵ In 1967, his third sending off in three years earned him six weeks out of football. In the autobiography Law produced in 1979, five years after his retirement, he alleged that the severity of the punishments handed out by the F. A. was the result of a complaint that he had made about the behaviour of a referee in a match at the end of 1962. 'There is no doubt in my mind...that...in the minds of some referees I was a marked man...There were numerous...occasions when I felt I was being picked on by overzealous officials.'¹²⁶

Law had a 'celtic theatricality' in his on field demeanour, frequently making exaggerated gestures with his arms, the end of his long sleeves gripped in his fingers.¹²⁷ Busby described his special relationship with the Old Trafford crowd thus: 'He was the first British player to salaam or salute the crowd. Early on...the multitudes cheered him and he soon became what the crowd called him - 'The King'. He was liable to do a cross-talk act with a referee or linesman, complete with gesticulations.'¹²⁸ Law said that he felt supremely confident of his ability on the pitch and was accused frequently of being a 'Big Head' by the press.¹²⁹ Other mavericks claimed him as an inspiration. He was Rodney Marsh's 'big hero' and Marsh copied Law's style of wearing his shirt pulled down over his shorts.¹³⁰

Richard Holt sees Law's persona as encapsulating a 'toned down late 1950s rebelliousness', without Best's *El Beatle* pop-star glamour.¹³¹ He interprets Law's respectable private life as reflecting an Aberdonian sensibility and a frugality born of his harsh and austere upbringing, rather than the 'overwhelmingly Glaswegian ethos' of Scottish football, embodied by 'Slim Jim' Baxter.¹³² Although the argument of this chapter is that Law's ill-discipline and his flamboyance distinguished him from the 1950s' mavericks, Baxter's off-the-field behaviour in Scotland in the early Sixties was a precursor of the conspicuous hedonism which marked a division between the early and the later 1960s maverick type in English football. Baxter united impudence in his playing style, encapsulated by him famously playing 'keepy uppy' with the ball in a 1967 home international against England, with a riotous lifestyle. Scot Symon, his manager at Glasgow Rangers, allowed Baxter to flout the club's disciplinary code,

accepting his refusal to train when he had a hangover. Baxter became a leading figure in Glasgow nightlife, holding court in all night drinking sessions at the St Enoch's Hotel which he ran as his own private club, and whose bills his club paid. Billy McNeill says of Baxter, 'And while everyone talks about George Best being the football image of the Swinging 60s, Jimmy did it all before him'.¹³³ Herbert Moorhouse sees the antecedents of Baxter's persona in the figure of the Glaswegian working-class *gallus*, 'flash', nonchalant and full of oneself, originally a term which expressed disapproval, as likely to end up on the gallows, but more likely to express praise.¹³⁴ Though 'few of his escapades made the front pages of the tabloids back then', his biographer claims that the common knowledge of his drinking added to 'the legend that was growing around him' and that 'supporters enjoyed the fact that Baxter was something of a man about town'.¹³⁵ It is an important distinction. The maverick's excesses should not cross the line between being able to play effectively. Baxter's confident rebellion extended to his clothing, a feature of the maverick type which will be discussed in greater detail below. He adopted the 'Italian look' and became a style model for the young men of Glasgow. 'Jim seemed to set the style in Glasgow. If he was wearing something one week then you would see other people picking up on that and a whole trend would begin'.¹³⁶

5. 2. 3 The late 1960s and 1970s Maverick: Continuities

In this period, on the pitch, the maverick's individualist, entertaining playing style became even more of a challenge to the perceived prevailing philosophy of the game following the success of Ramsey's 'wingless wonders' in the 1966 World Cup and the concomitant

widespread adoption of the 4-3-3 formation and a greater tactical emphasis on defence. *Shoot!* voiced this credo in a 1970 article about Rodney Marsh.

In an era of more and more 'method' footballers, precision drilled in robot-like defence in-depth efficiency, the 'personality player' - the happy individualist who can still pull out the unexpected and, often as not, get away with it - is as welcome to spectators as he's too great a luxury for many less imaginative clubs... Because of his Show-Biz style of play, people have sometimes dubbed him 'The Clown Prince of Soccer' - but that's the sort of fighting spirit which is REALLY behind every single one of those Rodney Marsh specials.¹³⁷

Rodney Marsh, another 'chirpy Cockney', explained in his 1968 autobiography, *Shooting to the Top*, that he deliberately set out to have a different, flamboyantly exhibitionist playing style on the pitch. 'The idea was that I should be different from all the other youngsters at Fulham, though I sometimes overstepped the mark'.¹³⁸ 'I took every chance I could to get a laugh. I sat on the ball after scoring one goal against Leeds and looked pointedly around at their defenders as they argued among themselves. I knelt before referees as if praying for forgiveness...I held my head in my hands when Johnny Haynes made a mistake - just as Johnny himself does when someone else blunders'.¹³⁹ In his autobiography he claimed that he was giving up this exhibitionism as he had 'grown up', but it remained part of the Marsh style. Referees did not always see the joke, recognising that part of Marsh's purpose, as with his satirising of Haynes's 'head-shaking', was to challenge authority. In a match at Scunthorpe, while playing for Queens Park Rangers, Marsh pretended to kick someone who had been persistently fouling him, making the crowd laugh at his tormentor but not the referee, who took Marsh's name.¹⁴⁰ Both George

Best and Rodney Marsh (and other mavericks) taunted 'hard men' defenders in a graphic demonstration of their revolt against the 'new cynicism' of late 1960s early 1970s football, stopping with their feet on the ball and beckoning them into making a tackle, before rounding them with the ball or 'nutmegging' them.

The theme of stifling the individual, talented, unpredictable genius was, as this chapter has shown, not new, though the particular emphasis it was given in most of the maverick autobiographies identified it as a philosophy which now extended right to the top of the game and which they actively opposed. Best, and later Duncan McKenzie, define themselves in opposition to the 'robots' as individuals, flair players and entertainers. 'To me a football match is something to be enjoyed, like an evening out. It is a time for free and creative expression. You turn up, have your fun and then go home.'¹⁴¹

In *One Step Ahead* (1978), McKenzie recalls how his attempts to introduce entertaining play had been frowned upon, '...when Ian St John, the former Liverpool star, was giving his famous summing-up in a television interview, he gave me personally some stick, the general theme being that I had been too prone to attempt the fancy flicks and back-heels instead of getting stuck in and grafting.'¹⁴²

The failure of the English maverick to win a regular place in the English side, in the alternative tradition set by Shackleton and Greaves, also assumed a greater importance. George Best's 1968 life, *Best of Both Worlds* 'hijacks' this theme even though Best was not an Englishman. He takes a swipe at the England World Cup-winning team, declaring, 'England were represented by a team of - in the main - workhorses. That is why, while the rest of the nation was whooping

it up, I was shaking my head. Was there no scope for flair, individual talent? Was the flamboyant virtuoso a dead duck to his country?'¹⁴³

Peter Osgood's *Ossie the Wizard* (1969), in what was probably a conscious imitation of Shackleton's *Clown Prince* by Osgood's ghost writer, began with a chapter called, 'Why I'll Never Play for England'. In it Osgood claimed that he would not be selected as long as Sir Alf Ramsey is England manager, 'My style of play just does not fit in with his requirements of an England player. He wants hard work, lots of effort. Players who will run for each other, challenge back for the ball if they lose it. That's not my game. I'd like very much to play like that, but I can't. I've tried.'¹⁴⁴

After 1970, and the World Cup triumph of the entertaining and skilful Brazilians, the maverick's exclusion from the national side became even more of a symbol of the failure of English football to embrace individuality. In this climate, Charlie George was even more outspoken about his treatment by Alf Ramsey's successors. George's one England appearance was against the Republic of Ireland in September 1976 and the suspicion was that Revie had given him the cap because of pressure from the England manager's numerous critics. When Ron Greenwood invited him to play for the England B team a year later, he refused, writing in his *Sunday Mirror* column, 'Why should I, at 27 years of age, have to travel with an England reserve side? Why should I have to prove what I can do...And, because I've had the guts to turn round and tell the FA just that, I realise that C will no longer stand for Charlie, C will mean crucifixion. Crucifixion for my international career.'¹⁴⁵

The maverick, as the other half of the 'hundred and ten per cent' hard

man grafter, however, was also linked more emphatically to the 'suspicion' of laziness and not contributing sufficiently to the team. Peter Osgood again did not deny that he was not a 'worker'. He admitted that he tried to train harder but did not have enough natural stamina, and excessive hard training had a damaging effect on his play.

Maybe I lack dedication and...my attitude to football is all wrong...I try and let the others do my running for me. I don't go looking for the ball, and quite frankly my work off it is non-existent...Also against me is the fact that I hate training. I don't mind admitting it. I am just not interested in lapping a pitch, running, jumping, knees bend and all the rest of it.¹⁴⁶

McKenzie also laid claim to the legacy of 'Shack' as an individualist who did not make his full contribution - 'I've always had an impish sense of humour, and it hasn't always been appreciated. Perhaps there's a touch of the Len Shackleton in me - the fellow who became known as the Clown Prince of Soccer - and perhaps I haven't always been a team man.'¹⁴⁷ Brian Scovell's *Daily Mail* report of Charlie George's England debut could not have expressed this idea more forcibly. '...Not more than three out of ten for performance - 46 minutes had gone by before he made his one and only tackle...In the Revie phraseology he failed to close anyone down...Mostly he did the easy thing, settling for short balls to the nearest man.'¹⁴⁸

The maverick type of this period was the heir of Denis Law in the degree of ill-discipline he showed on the pitch and his refusal to apologise for it. Peter Osgood linked his troubles with Chelsea and the football authorities to his natural rebelliousness. 'I always seem to be in trouble. So far I have paid back over £200 in fines to Chelsea for

breaches of club discipline...It's been the same for me as long as I can remember. I've always been in some kind of trouble...I suppose my attitude is all wrong. But then if I want to do something I go ahead and do it.'¹⁴⁹ McKenzie similarly was proud of his rebel persona. 'It is in my character to be optimistic, and even rebellious when I believe I am in the right...'¹⁵⁰ The maverick was prepared to openly rehearse his difference and his rebellion, recounting with pride how as young boys they were 'free spirits' impatient of the petty restrictions of club discipline.

Charlie George, after scoring a goal, notoriously gave a double-V sign to a section of the opposition crowd who had taunted him throughout the game in an F. A. Cup tie between Arsenal and Derby, an action which *The Sun* described as, 'a foolhardy gesture to cheapen the reputation of Arsenal and devalue the name of football'.¹⁵¹ Charlie George's *Daily Express* column in March 1972 was unrepentant about retaliating when fouled, not just by humiliating his opponents. 'If they kick me or one of the others, well I just nut them. I call it me 'flick'. It's a joke among us at Arsenal...it means being brought up in Holloway where it's tough and you learn from the pram to nut people who pick on you.'¹⁵² George received a warning from the F. A. Disciplinary Committee for these comments. In 1979, Chas Critcher interpreted such 'aberrant behaviour' as a *cri du coeur*, springing from the 'superstar/dislocated's' social/cultural isolation.¹⁵³ However, it was also a confident signifier of rebellion against a system which wrongly preferred foul play and conformity to skill and imagination, rather than anomie.

5.2.4 The Late 1960s/1970s Maverick: Changes - 'Play Boys of the Soccer World': George Best and the Maverick Hedonists

In this period the maverick type was considerably modified. Although there had been an interest since at least the 1930s in the clothing and style of footballers, the mavericks' adoption of the new fashions and hairstyles of the 1960s became part of the visibility of the consumer power of working-class youth and a powerful challenge to accepted norms of male appearance. The private indulgences of Greaves were to become an overt hedonism, a rebellious assertion of virile confidence.

George Best's particular type of handsomeness became the desirable male body shape in the early 1960s. Christopher Breward points out that over the last fifteen years the potential of fashion as 'a significant cultural force...As an important conduit for the expression of social identity, political ideas and aesthetic taste,' has become recognised in academic study.¹⁵⁴ The appearance and clothing of footballers has much to reveal about continuities and changes in masculinity. In the 1930s and 1940s, footballers' autobiographies mentioned players who were considered handsome - those with conventional thirties and forties 'matinee idol' looks like Alf Ramsey and George Hardwick. However, Ramsey and others with their smart dress and immaculate grooming were still part of the adoption of sober and dark clothing for men which historians have termed the 'Great Masculine Renunciation', which had dictated what was acceptable masculine dress for all social classes since the Victorian age.¹⁵⁵ Nik Cohn argues that the aim of most British menswear styles pre-war was to fit in, but that post-war there was to be an 'explosion' in dress which challenged previous notions.¹⁵⁶ Until after the war, whatever social class men

'turned out as gentlemen. No matter how poor they were or how rough their work, when they put on their suits, they dressed to be polite.'¹⁵⁷

Clothing coupons and post-war rationing delayed the process, but in 1950 the 'Edwardian look' from Savile Row, with its narrow lines, single-breasted jackets and narrow trousers, originally associated with homosexuality and Oxbridge, which was caricatured by the youth cult of the Teddy Boys, signalled the 'first great detonation of male-working-class fashion'.¹⁵⁸ This, according to Cohn, was the end of what John Laver has described as the 'patriarchal principle', that young men should aspire to dress like their fathers, and revived the expression of sexuality through dress, bringing back 'flamboyance and preening'.¹⁵⁹ Some of the 'Busby Babes' wore clothes which were toned down versions of the 'Teddy Boy' look; Eddie Colman wore drainpipe jeans, and they sported the 'quiff' which was part of the Ted haircut. However, they were never anything other than respectable young men, despite their dalliance with the new youth fashions. The other male style which emerged in the mid-Fifties was less rebellious, but still signalled a marked difference from what had gone before and was based on Cecil Gee's 'Italian look'. These Italian style suits, with short 'bum-freezer', high-buttoned boxy jackets and narrow trousers were part of the 'Baxter' style and much favoured by 'smart' footballers like Frank McClintock and associated with the 'mod' movement.

The slight, willowy body of Best had become a fashionable and desirable shape because of the move towards youth and informality in 1960s' fashion. In terms of female fashion 'the presentation moved away from the frosty hauteur of the mature and elegant Fifties catwalk

model towards a graphic celebration of the pubescent and demotic gawkiness of accessible young photographic models such as Jean Shrimpton and Twiggy during the Sixties'.¹⁶⁰ Best and other young footballers could embody this 'new egalitarianism' of fashion which sought to capture the 'working-class energies of the street' and to project a 'more visible youthfulness'.¹⁶¹ In photographs Best can be seen wearing all of the new main masculine styles. He began wearing 'Edwardian' clothing, moved on to the Italian look, and dallied with the greater flamboyance which crept into men's clothing for a time with the frilled shirts and cravats adopted by the 'New Fops' in 1964 - 65 and the flared trousers and stream of mock hippy styles which followed 'Flower Power' in 1967, before settling on a casual chic style which espoused the new 'egalitarianism' and did not necessarily flaunt his wealth. Best said at one point that he only had one suit (presumably for disciplinary hearings, and it was velvet), a comment which demonstrates how the ethos of gentlemanly clothing had been eroded.¹⁶² Not only did Best have a body and face that suited these new styles, he also, after 1966, had the high profile and working-class status which made him and other footballers sought after models for the promotion of male clothing made cheaply for the mass youth market.

Best's three boutiques, the first of which, *Edwardia*, was opened in Sale in May 1966, six days after his brilliant performance against Benfica and the 'El Beatle' headline in the Portuguese newspaper *Bola*, and the 'George Best Clothing' range which he modelled for the Great Universal Stores catalogue, underlined this 'egalitarianism'. They offered the illusion that purchasers could easily adopt the same style as Best.

Such clothing was in itself interpreted as a powerful challenge to accepted norms of masculine appearance, especially when coupled with longer hair. To apply John Laver's remark about the nineteenth century, 'In such a rigid, controlled period in men's dress, small differences represent a considerable gesture', thus the bright colours, new designs and softer fabrics of these new clothes, according to Cohn, were associated with effeminacy and homosexuality.¹⁶³ Men allowing their hair to grow over their collars and their ears was interpreted similarly. 'If your ears didn't show, you were effeminate.'¹⁶⁴ *Goal*, in 1969, credited Best with 'changing the whole look of the game' with his hairstyle and recalled how, only a year before, Luton Town's manager, Alec Stock, had written in his autobiography that he would not allow a player like Best in his team while he had long hair. Les Allan, manager of Queens Park Rangers, and another defender of conformity, had barred Ian Morgan from the team photograph because of the length of his hair.¹⁶⁵ Best, and later Charlie George, were subjected to taunts about their effeminacy from the terraces, 'Where's your handbag?' was a popular jibe. Various versions of the terrace song 'Georgie Best (or Charlie George) Superstar', observed that the subject, 'Walks like a woman/Carries a handbag/ And wears a bra'. In 1969, *Shoot* explained what wearing his hair longer had meant for Trevor Hockey in an article entitled, 'Trevor Hockey - The Rebel with a Cause - Finding Success with Birmingham'.¹⁶⁶ 'It takes nerve to wear your hair as long as Trevor Hockey's. You need to be a bit rebellious, a bit of a character, and a very good player indeed - and Trevor Hockey of Birmingham City is all of these things...he is as noticeable on the field for his skill as for his Beatle haircut.' By 1976, when footballers and other men were growing their hair considerably

longer, Tony Currie and Alan Birchenall were able to parody this concern about effeminacy and assert their own virility by famously kissing each other after a collision.

George Best's long hair and (from 1971) his beard, can be seen as a reflection of changes in male appearance brought about by the mid-1960s' counter-cultural movement. Charlie George's long hair in 1970 was part of the working-class reaction to 'hippydom'. In 1968, working-class skinheads cropped their hair, but by the autumn of 1970 many were letting it grow. As a product of the Highbury estates, Charlie George's stringy, unkempt locks did not suggest androgyny as Best's dark celtic handsomeness had done, nor did it link him, however loosely, with the middle-class counter-culture. Instead it was defiantly, 'scruffily', working-class, and in tandem with Charlie George's streetwise persona, was open to interpretation as yobbishness. The *Daily Express* in 1972 published his photograph with the comment: 'Has it ever struck you that if Charlie George wasn't a brilliant, sensitive, temperamental footballer, he'd be a long, thin, lank-haired, loud-mouthed yob?'¹⁶⁷ Charlie George and Chelsea's Alan Hudson also wore three-piece suits from Tommy Nutter and Village Gate in Chelsea. There was an early 1970s' revival of tailoring which marked a move away from the 'egalitarianism' of Best's wardrobe to a more elitist declaration of economic power, status and confidence through more expensive, stylish clothing which only the select few could afford.

Paradoxically, the suggestion of 'sexual transgression' through effeminacy was frequently coupled with a hedonistic lifestyle, through those markers of masculinity, boozing, clubbing or womanising.

Dennis Viollet, who also broke goal scoring records for Manchester United in the early 1950s, is said to have had a drink problem, and that it was 'common knowledge that he was living it up and letting it affect his performance on the field'.¹⁶⁸ However, this excessive drinking and sybaritic lifestyle does not seem to have been openly acknowledged or celebrated, in the press or by supporters.

Since at least the nineteenth century, in British working-class society a certain level of drinking became 'associated with manliness and virility...conviviality, good fellowship, class and occupational identity'.¹⁶⁹ Trevor Ford, that virile Welshman, freely admitted he liked a drink and a smoke and could see no harm in it.¹⁷⁰ By 1960, Albert Finney as Arthur Seaton, the 'fighting cock' hero of the film *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, proclaims proudly 'What I want is a good time. All the rest is propaganda'. Seaton is a young, confident rebel who believes that 'the role of the working-class bloke is to avoid being "ground down" by the bosses and to take his pleasure while he can'. Woodfall's publicity for the film says of Seaton that his rebellion 'comes from living louder and faster than anyone else'.¹⁷¹ Rather than hedonism being just a sign of uncertainty about one's social position as Critcher argued, it can also be understood as a confident, rebellious assertion of virility and independence, as a long established means of expressing manliness. Best's - and some of the other 1960s and 1970s mavericks' - descent into alcoholism or gambling addiction retrospectively 'reinscribes' (to use Garry Whannel's term) the maverick for moral purposes as a victim, negating the rebellious, oppositional functions of the type.

George Best was first formally and publicly disciplined in 1966 by

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hips...And whisper it quietly, England need him too...Because if we are to think again in terms of enterprise and entertainment and of winning instead of losing, we are going to need George Best.¹⁸²

However, the rebellion of the maverick was exhausted by the end of the 1970s. The cohort of players usually retrospectively identified as English mavericks: Rodney Marsh, Peter Osgood, Alan Hudson, Charlie George, Tony Currie, Stan Bowles, Duncan McKenzie and Frank Worthington were no longer young enough to be considered for international selection, nor as symbols of youthful rebellion. Jimmy Greaves (1979) and George Best's (1981) 'rehab' autobiographies, *This One's On Me* and *Where Do I Go From Here?* recast the maverick's hedonism as a seedy, destructive alcoholism which had shortened their careers and blighted their personal lives, though Best was more optimistic about his future prospects than Greaves.¹⁸³ *Shoot*'s retrospective could speak about 'the soccer tragedy - admittedly from wounds largely self inflicted - of a wayward little genius named George Best'.¹⁸⁴ A news item in the same issue pictured George Best attending the premiere of the feature film *Yesterday's Hero* (1979) about an alcoholic footballer given one last chance of redemption. As the feature commented ironically, the film was not supposed to be based on Best's life.¹⁸⁵ The eclipse of the maverick and the dominance of Kevin Keegan who became the most sought after footballer for promotional activities in this period, possibly indicates a shift towards more conservative attitudes about acceptable masculine behaviour. The maverick's hedonism and individualism may have become associated not with rebellion, but self-indulgence and greed.

Conclusion

As this chapter has argued, the hard man was, for most of the period, an ambiguous figure, who, though he occasionally generated controversy, was seen at worst as a necessary evil, at best as embodying important virtues, effort, determination, courage and a will to win. By contrast, the individualist maverick, though exciting admiration for his skill, could not always be 'trusted' to serve the teams for which he played. Through his hedonistic lifestyle and clashes with authority, as much as his individualist entertaining playing style, the maverick type became a powerful oppositional figure in the 1960s and 1970s, contesting acceptable forms of behaviour and conduct within football and representing the expression of a confident, working-class, rebellious masculinity.

Goal's brief polemical series of articles at the beginning of 1971, 'The Case Against...', which profiled two players, George Best and Peter Osgood, reflected the extent to which the maverick type was perceived to have grabbed the headlines and threatened the football authorities. Osgood was

one of soccer's new generation. Another product of an era in which the loud, the precocious and the brash have become super-stars on the football field. It is a breed that has its own particular characteristics - overnight acclaim, headlines, controversy and money...Other stars have made it to the top without being outspoken, controversial and trouble-prone. Why not Osgood?¹⁸⁶

The choice of two maverick individualists for censure, rather than a hard man is, as this chapter has argued, highly significant, because the

maverick was a genuinely oppositional type, whose rebellious stance threatened some of the central values of the model professional, and, more generally of acceptable and deferential working-class masculinity. This censure carried with it an acceptance of the model professional's continued hegemonic position as the most admirable form of masculinity, able to resist the challenge of alternative constructions.

CONCLUSION

(i) Introduction

This thesis has analysed the major continuities and changes in the cultural representation of the professional footballer over the period 1945 - 1985, in order to investigate the assumption that there was a linear trajectory of transformation from 'local hero' to 'national star', which happened at some point in the 1950s and early 1960s. It has two interconnected strands of enquiry. Firstly, it analysed a body of original empirical data about the geographical origins and career patterns of professionals over approximately a hundred years. Secondly, it pursued a cross-disciplinary approach, employing methodology taken from Cultural and Film Studies to explore the nature of football stardom and the construction of footballers' star images as cultural types, seen as complex constructions which originate from a range of social and cultural forms.

The analysis of the quantitative surveys sought to establish the provenance of the local player in professional football, how frequently he was employed and whether, in the pre-1960 period particularly, players were more 'loyal' or 'rooted' in their communities because they were less mobile in terms of the number of clubs they played for during their careers. Was there a period when the local player had a greater presence in English football than at other times, and was there less reliance on the local player toward the end of the period covered by this thesis, which to some extent can be seen to reflect the local hero/national star trajectory?

The thesis also considered the local hero/national star trope through a discussion of the development of football stardom and the formulation

and circulation of the star image of footballers. Were the 'heroes' of professional football before the 1960s celebrated because they were local, 'loyal', 'steady' players, who were presented by the media and 'consumed' by supporters as 'ordinary' blokes with extraordinary talents, who could be perceived as inhabiting a similar milieu to that of the people who watched them play? Were they figures largely unknown outside the locality in which they played? Or should football stardom be understood differently and the cultural representation of players be discussed in more reflexive ways which allow for the prevalence of competing versions of masculinity, as well as 'other types' of heroes?

(ii) The Findings of the Research

Chapter One investigated the prevalence of the local player between 1890 - 1985, to determine whether there was a 'golden age' of the local player which might have encouraged the development of the cultural representation of the 'local hero'. In a major, club-based statistical survey, it located the birthplaces of the first team squads of 15 clubs at five yearly intervals. Comparison of the figures revealed a complex picture as far as the employment and recruitment of local players were concerned, and much variation between the practices of the sampled clubs. Prior to 1946, the highest percentage of local players (those born within seven miles of a club) in a squad was 50%, and was often much lower. The data gave no support for the 'populist' assumption that pre-war teams were largely composed of local players and that the number of local players declined post-war, particularly from the 1960s onwards. Indeed, the data revealed that there was a marked increase in the number of local players employed by some teams post-war, including a significant rise in the 1980s.

In many cases local players were often peripheral figures, making up the numbers in squads and acting as understudies for non-local first team regulars. There were short-term increases in the number of local and regional players employed by most of the clubs, but these were often prompted by extreme circumstances. Financial crisis and the disruption of wartime could result in a rapid influx of locally born personnel. However, usually this was a temporary measure, and clubs with 'ambition' and money were prepared to jettison local players in pursuit of glory. The analysis also suggested that the employment of locally born players was not always popular with supporters. The dependence upon local and regional players could bring complaints from managers and supporters alike of parsimony and lack of ambition.

However, there were also particular periods when the ideal of the local player was promoted, especially in the aftermath of the First and Second World Wars. Particularly powerful was the association of the local player with youth. The youth 'policies' which were adopted by some clubs to great acclaim after the Second World War had the concomitant effect of bringing more locally born players into those teams, though again 'home grown' players were also vulnerable in a push for promotion or the need to avoid relegation.

The overall conclusion from the statistical survey was that some clubs at certain times had very few or no locally born stars, whether they were 'heroes' or not, and that to be locally born was not an automatic guarantee of hero status, unless that player possessed other qualities.

Chapter Two's analysis considered the results of a second major original quantitative survey of some aspects of the careers of professional

footballers playing in the English League between 1890 and 1985. This investigated the contention that the 'local hero' as a loyal, one or two club player, more rooted in the community by reason of his lack of career mobility, predominated in the pre-1960 period. Thus, in addition to geographical origins, the two samples drawn from professionals playing between 1890 - 1939 and 1946 - 1985 looked at career length (to determine if there was a more rapid turnover of players post-war), debut age and number of English League clubs played for.

The comparison revealed that there were significant changes in these aspects of the professional's career between 1946 - 1960, but concluded that, in all aspects save one, the changes probably served to increase the numbers of local players. The phrase 'transitional/mobile' used by Chas Critcher to describe the 'cultural situation' of most professional footballers after the 'New Deal' was considered in terms of the footballer's employment. The data demonstrated that in reality rather than in terms of cultural perception, the professional footballer was not necessarily more of a mercenary figure, less rooted in the community. If the distortions caused by the exceptional season of 1946 - 1947 were removed, there was no significant difference in career length. However, there were considerably more players who had been born in the South-East. As these players did not migrate to Northern clubs in any large numbers, and were employed by Southern clubs, there was a far greater chance by the end of the 1950s that supporters of Southern clubs might see more men born in the South-East in their first teams. The 'turn to youth', which was a striking feature of the profession between 1946 - 1960, also probably contributed to the employment of more locally born, or at least 'home-grown', players.

There was also little change in the number of clubs played for, except for the larger numbers of one club players between 1946 - 1960. Though the proportion of one club players was falling before the New Deal, the increased transfer activity of the 1960s may have had an impact upon perceptions of the player as a 'less-rooted' figure. The overall conclusion of the analysis was that between 1946 - 1985 in the English League the profession had become younger and more Southern in the post-war period, but did not have a more rapid turnover of players, and, although it had less 'one club' men, the majority of players in both periods played for between one and three clubs.

Some of the existing analyses of the importance of cultural representations of the professional as a 'local hero' discussed in the literature review in the Introduction to the thesis implied a distinction between a 'hero' and 'stars'. 'Heroes' were those footballers admired for their actual achievements, in this case bringing honour to the locality and encouraging greater local identification between club and community, and their loyalty and steadiness of character. In contrast, 'stars', a term which carried pejorative associations of lack of authenticity and embourgeoisement, once they became national figures, became further divorced from solid working-class values. Chapter Three considered the 'local hero/national star' trajectory in terms of football stardom and the extent of national recognition that could be attained by professional footballers before the 1960s.

Chapter Three argued for a 'quantitative rather than qualitative' view of the changes in the economic, social and cultural fortunes of professional players. It contended that football heroes could be stars, acknowledged and understood as such by supporters. From the early years of

professionalism footballers saw themselves and were considered partly as entertainers. The chapter challenged the implicit accepted linear chronology of the development of football stardom which defines the early professionals as workers, part of the Victorian/Edwardian labour aristocracy, local figures perceived as little different from their working-class spectators. Later, according to this assumption, some stars achieved a regional, working-class fame. By the beginning of the Second World War, a small number of star professionals had progressed to national fame, though it took the 1958 Munich Crash and the New Deal of 1961 - 63 to enable football stars in large numbers to take on the trappings of national celebrity.

In contradistinction to the received wisdom, Chapter Three identified a number of significant stars from the early period onwards and argued that they were capable of achieving national recognition at least among football supporters. It stressed the importance of national means for the subsidiary circulation of star image such as the cigarette card and the cinema newsreel. Interest in the off the pitch activities and private lives of professional footballers, was also another significant marker of the star status of these players.

The chapter also argued for the importance of the Second World War for the creation of a cohort of football 'superstars', footballers who achieved national recognition among people who were not necessarily football supporters. The importance of football for boosting morale and raising funds, as well as the particular circumstances of wartime football, focused attention on a select group of players. The democratising discourse of the 'People's War' sought working-class heroes who could be models of admirable masculinity for all classes, and found them in the ranks of

professional footballers. Professionals and ex-professionals also worked to promote their own image as men worthy of social advancement and respect and the chapter adapts cross-disciplinary methods for the analysis of two of the major means by which this 'elevatory project' was pursued, the football autobiography and the football magazine.

Chapter Four argued that the changing cultural representation of the professional footballers should be traced, not through the binary opposition of the local hero/national star trajectory, nor other rigid models of transition, but as reflexive and fluid constructions. It employed the notion of types developed by Andrew Spicer to analyse changes in masculinity in post-war British films. Although not synchronic, types are historically specific, and their shifts, it is argued, are indications of wider social and cultural change. Chapter Four identifies three main football types: the dominant, consensual construction of the 'model professional' and the two oppositional types, the 'hard man' and the 'maverick'.

The chapter contended that at the end of the Second World War the discourse of the 'People's War' allowed for the emergence of a new 'model professional', who, as an 'ordinary bloke', could inherit the heroic qualities and cross-class admiration previously the preserve of the upper-middle-class gentleman-amateur. The antecedents of this type are traced from the nineteenth century gentleman-amateur athlete-hero, as embodied by G. O. Smith, the ex-public schoolboy Corinthian and amateur England international. After the war, Stanley Matthews and Tom Finney could be lauded as examples of a 'natural' gentlemanliness and as models for all men in the post-war consensus. The chapter argued that the promotion of this cross-class working-class democratised gentleman was a deliberate project. The F. A., journalists and professional footballers

themselves took part in the process of elevating the status of the model professional. As captain of England, Billy Wright took the democratised gentleman to its apogee, assuming the mantle of leader of his country from the Imperial/soldier heroes. Wright's belief in self-improvement echoed the Brains Trust and the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, as well as older working-class traditions of education and betterment.

By the 1960s, it was no longer necessary for the gentlemanliness of the model professional to be glossed as that of a 'natural' gentlemanliness. Bobby Charlton became the pattern for the perfect English gentleman at home and abroad, although his version of the model professional was rapidly becoming residual. Bobby Moore's and Kevin Keegan's personae demonstrated the impact of the social and cultural changes of the 1960s, whereby the model of admirable masculinity was less deferential, more openly ambitious and proud of its material success. Moore and Keegan did not consider themselves embourgeoised, and thus stars divorced from their fans, but cited their working-class roots with pride and expected their wealth and possessions to excite admiration as a marker of their achievements.

Although the model professional undoubtedly remained the dominant ideal of sporting masculinity throughout the period 1946 - 1985, Chapter Five discussed two important oppositional constructions, the 'hard man' and the 'maverick'. These constructions contested the modesty, restraint and sportsmanship of the model professional, and functioned as alternative forms of the hero, displaying different versions of masculinity which could excite some degree of admiration. The hard man construction drew upon the eighteenth - and nineteenth century - British admiration for physical, robust play, which was not incompatible with a

considerable level of violence, but mainly upon the long-established tradition of violence and aggression in working-class ideas of masculinity. Pre-war 'Men of Iron', such as Frank Barson and Wilf Copping, were figures who evoked differing, contradictory responses, admired for their toughness and determination, but also criticised for their crudity. The 'iron man' re-emerged as a subject of debate and concern in the early 1960s, but the type had mutated into the 'hard man', a potentially more threatening figure for those who saw him as a representative of an outmoded, thuggish manliness. Nobby Stiles's inclusion in Ramsey's World Cup squad saw these concerns reach a new prominence. The chapter suggested that Stiles's national vilification came at a time when counter cultural influences made possible something of a challenge to accepted styles of working-class masculinity, although that challenge was short-lived. Stiles's subsequent speedy rehabilitation and enthronement as 'the housewives' favourite' demonstrated the widespread acceptance of the necessity for a man to be able to 'look after himself' and his team mates in a hard but fair British manner. The deeply embedded admiration for the hard man's type of masculinity in British culture meant that in the 1970s and 1980s, although condemnation of the type persisted, the 'hard man' was more often defended as a necessary, respectable figure.

Chapter Five went on to discuss how the 'maverick' rebel posed a more direct challenge to the model professional's version of acceptable, conventional masculinity. It analysed how Len Shackleton became the 'clown prince of soccer' in the immediate post-war period, uniting 'clowning' on the pitch with trenchant and intelligent criticism of the game's authorities off it. His on-pitch foolery, part entertainment, part mockery of the game's pretensions re-emerged in the antics of some of

the 1960s and 1970s 'mavericks', but Shackleton's brand of overtly political, 'other ranks' Bolshieness did not find many emulators. There were major shifts in the cultural representation of 'rebel' players, as a new version of the maverick type evolved in the 1960s. The personae of Jimmy Greaves and Denis Law, the former as a chirpy Cockney non-conformist, impatient of discipline, the latter as a fiery, unrepentantly ill-disciplined Scot frequently punished by the game's authorities, were pre-emergent precursors of the later mavericks, who espoused an off the pitch hedonism as a confident, rebellious assertion of virility and independence. George Best became the apogee of this type, his rebellious stance threatening some of the central values of the model professional, and, more generally, of conformist and deferential working-class masculinity.

The analyses of these three cultural representations of the professional footballer revealed the persistence of the 'model professional', which maintained its hegemonic position throughout the period by continual adaptation. A 'counter-cultural' challenge in the 1960s, which stigmatised the violence of the hard man, quickly waned, as the respectable, British qualities of the type were celebrated. The transgressive, alternative figure of the maverick lost its energy, his on the pitch individualism and off the pitch hedonism degenerating into narcissism and self-indulgence.

Overall, the thesis rejects the 'local hero/national star' trajectory for the cultural representation of the professional footballer. It argues that, though some locally born players were undoubtedly celebrated as heroes, there has been an imbalance in academic writing about professional football stars which has to some extent exaggerated the importance of 'localness' and good character as the qualities which made footballers

heroes. Imported, non-local heroes have, largely unwittingly, been marginalised or ignored, as have more unruly, oppositional characters. The analysis of the statistical studies emphasised that in reality some teams had very few local players pre-war and that these players were often peripheral figures. Both 'small' and 'large' clubs had squads largely composed of non-locally or regionally born men pre-war, and the local player became more prevalent post-war.

Another argument inherent in the 'local hero/national star' trajectory, that some players were local heroes because they were not known to a wider audience before the late 1950s, was also modified. The thesis argued instead for a model of football stardom which defines footballers as entertainment stars from the earliest days of football, and identifies stars like Bloomer and Meredith as conscious promoters of their own star images. Some of these players could also become national stars, known to football supporters. 'Superstars', players known nationally to people who were not followers of football, emerged as a result of the Second World War, rather than in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Instead of the binary opposition of the local hero/national star trope, the thesis argued that footballers' star images should be understood as embodying different male cultural types. The analysis of the model professional showed that post-war national superstars could also become national heroes, symbol of admirable masculinity for all classes. However, the discussion of the hard man and the maverick argued for the importance of oppositional constructions of masculinity, which made 'heroes' out of stars whose personae contested the norms of acceptable masculinity.

(iii) Limitations of the Investigation and Suggestions for Further Research

The thesis has extended previously small studies about the geographical origins of the professional footballer to provide a detailed chronological survey of where footballers were born and where they went to play professional football between 1890 - 1985. The data collected also allows for differences in the recruitment and employment of local and non-local professionals by clubs. It provides the only survey of its kind of the changes and continuities in some aspects of the careers of professionals playing in the English League. The survey has revealed that in the neglected period of 1946 - 1960 the profession underwent significant change, as it became more 'southern' and more youthful. Although John Bale had previously discussed the 'rise of the Southern player' in his investigation of the changes between 1950 and 1980 in the 'geography of production' of professionals, neither the point at which the change happened, nor that it was a relatively sudden rise, could be identified because of the nature of his sample.

The analysis has made a contribution to beginning to rectify some of what is perceived to be methodological gaps in the study of the cultural representations of professional footballers. It has adapted ideas from Literary Studies and Visual Culture to suggest how problematic or under-used primary source material, primarily the football autobiography and the football photograph, can be employed as evidence in the study of these representations. Its cross-disciplinary approach has suggested how methodologies developed in Film and Cultural Studies can be drawn upon to understand the nature of football stars and stardom. It offered 'neutral' definitions for 'star' and 'superstar, shorn of

pejorative associations, and proposes a model and a tentative chronology for the development of football stardom, which supports a 'gradualist' view of the emergence of national stars, rather than the assumption that there was a 'transformation' in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Through the notion of cultural types, it has offered an alternative way of understanding the representations of footballers which is more flexible than existing models, able to encompass shifts and changes of emphasis in both consensual and oppositional masculinities as well as ideas of locality, regionality and nationality.

The thesis recognised that newspapers were a major means for the promotion of representations of professional footballers. However, though it drew upon national newspaper reports and features, there was no systematic survey of the changes and continuities in the coverage of the professional in national newspapers between 1845 - 1895, as this thesis has offered for football magazines and autobiographies. Obviously, such a survey would be a major, but hugely valuable project. There has been no such study elsewhere and historians still rely upon pioneering work by Tony Mason and Nicholas Fishwick.¹ Dave Russell suggests that a new aggressive style of reporting began in the later 1940s, which was less respectful to players, although chiefly concerned with corruption in the game.² An investigation of this contention would be a good starting point, particularly through the Sunday newspapers, which not only had the highest readership, but also where there was greater space, both physically and metaphorically, for information about the private lives of players and commentary and revelations about their behaviour on and off the pitch. Representations of professional footballers in boys' comics and on television similarly await systematic study.

As the Introduction pointed out, the analysis has not considered in any detail the material conditions of the professional footballer's career, although economic and contractual status is important as a means for the identification of stars through their 'labour', which encompasses both their drawing power and their elite status. The impact of the 'New Deal' of 1961 - 63 on the professional's economic and contractual status, as well on his public persona, is another very important area for future research. Historical attention has tended to focus upon how the 'New Deal' was won, rather than a detailed investigation of its impact on the professional player.

The analysis of the nature of football stardom which this thesis has begun has chronological limitations. In particular, it hardly touches upon the 1920s, which most historians assume was largely a period of continuity. However, American studies have emphasised the importance of the mid-1920s in the evolution of sports stars.³ The inter-war period continues to be something of a 'lost continent' in British football studies, and represents the largest area for future investigation of football stardom and its development, and who were the major stars. However, the analysis of football stardom could also be extended to cover the post-Heysel, pre-Premier League era from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s. This is also largely unexplored terrain that would benefit from systematic analysis of the range of sources that this thesis has identified and from the methodologies it has employed.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE:

Playing at Home? The Geographical Origins and Movements of Professional Footballers 1900 - 1985

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4) Audiovisual Material

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Bobby Moore, first broadcast BBC 2, 6 May 2006.

APPENDICES

**Appendix 1:
Data For Individual Clubs**

**Arsenal
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985**

	Local	SE	SW	EA	EM	WM	Wal	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900		2			2			2		1	9				3	19	19	D2
1905	3	2			1	1		1		1	7				2	20	25	D1
1910	4	2			1	1		1	1	2	8					20	26	D1
1914	6	1			1	2		2	1	3	4					20	22	D1
1920	2	2			1	2		3	1	3	3		2	1		20	27	D1
1925	1	3	1		1	1	1		1	2	6		2	1		20	28	D1
1930	2	2	3			2	2	2	2		3			2		20	22	D1
1935	2	2	4	1		2	1	1	1		6					20	29	D1
1940																		
1946	2	3	1			1	2	1	3	1	3	1	1			20	31	D1
1950	2		4	1		3	3	1	3		3					20	23	D1
1955	3	2	4			2	4	2		1	1	1				20	26	D1
1960	6		1					1		2	4	1	3	2		20	29	D1
1965		3	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	3		2			20	22	D1
1970	1	1		2	1		1		2	2	4		2			16	16	D1
1975	4	4		1	4		2			2	1	2				20	21	D1
1980	5	4		1			1		2		2	2	3			20	20	D1
1985	7	5	1		2			2	1		1	1				20	21	D1

Aston Villa
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	WM	EM	SE	SW	EA	Wal	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900	9	3	1		1			1		1	4					20	28	D1
1905	6	6	2					3		2	1					20	33	D1
1910	1	9	2		2			3		1	1			1		20	24	D1
1914	2	4	2	1	1			1	2	6					1	20	25	D1
1920	5	2	2	2				2	1	5	1					20	30	D1
1925	8	3	2	1	2		1	2		1						20	28	D1
1930	4	7	2	1	1		1	2	1							19	19	D1
1935	2	3	3	1	3		4	2			2			1		20	30	D1
1940																		
1946	8	3	1		2	1	1	2		2						20	27	D1
1950	5	2		1			3	1		4	1	2	1			20	26	D1
1955	3	3					2	3		3	2	1	3			20	28	D1
1960	3	4		1			1	3	1	1	5		1			20	28	D1
1965	5	4	1	1			1	2	1		5					20	24	D2
1970	1	2		4	1		1	4		1	5			1		20	22	D3
1975	1	2		1	1		1	6		3	4					20	24	D1
1980	1			2				5	2		3	1				14	14	D1
1985	5	4	1	5					1		3			1		20	23	D1

Barnsley
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	Yks	NW	NE	Sco	WM	Wal	SE	SW	EA	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900	2	4	4	1	4									4	20	20	D2
1905	4	5		5	3										20	22	D2
1910	5	3		4		2		1						3	20	23	D2
1914	3	2	1	8	1	1								2	20	20	D2
1920	5	4	1	3	1			1						3	20	25	D2
1925	4	3	2	3		2								4	20	28	D2
1930	3	3	3	5	1	1	1							2	20	26	D2
1935	4	3	2	5										4	20	28	D2
1940																	
1946	4	3	1	3	6		1		1				1	1	20	27	D2
1950	7	5	2	3	2								1		20	26	D2
1955	8	5	2	3	2										20	25	D2
1960	9	6		4	1										20	24	D3
1965	6	7	1	3	3										20	20	D4
1970	7	2	3	1	4			1	1						20	24	D3
1975	5	5	1	2	2		1	3							20	22	D4
1980	4	4	2	3	3	1		2	1						20	20	D3
1985	4	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	1				1		20	24	D2

Birmingham City
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	WM	EM	NW	NE	Yks	Sco	Wal	SE	SW	EA	Nlre	Ire	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900	5	6	2	1			4		1	1						20	22	D2
1905	2	6	1		1	3			3	3					1	20	23	D1
1910	3	2	3	2	4	2	2			1					1	20	29	D2
1914	6	1	2	2	2	2	3		1						1	20	23	D2
1920	3	2	4		2	5	1		2	1						20	24	D2
1925	3	2	5		2	4	3		1							20	21	D1
1930	1	3	4		2	4	4	1							1	20	28	D1
1935	2	4	2		3	2	2	3			1				1	20	27	D1
1940	5																	
1946	4	5	2			1	3	4						1		20	25	D2
1950	3		1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1		1	2	2		20	22	D2
1955	5	5		3	1	2	1	1	1	1						20	24	D1
1960	7	2	1	1	2	1		3	3							20	24	D1
1965	2	6		1	1	2	4	3							1	20	22	D2
1970	7	2	2	1		2	2	2	1	1						20	27	D2
1975	2	1	1	4	1	2	3	2	2	2						20	27	D1
1980	2			5	4	1	1	1	3				2	1		20	23	D1
1985	2	3	2	4	2	1	2		2	1		1				20	26	D1

Bristol City
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	SW	SE	EA	EM	WM	NW	Wal	Yks	NE	Sco	Nlre	Ire	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900	1		1		1	2	1			2	6				5	19	19	D1SLg
1905	4		1		1	1			2	1	4				4	18	18	D2
1910	2	1	2		1			1	5	2	5				1	20	30	D1
1914	2	2				2	2		1	3	5	1			1	20	25	D2
1921	6	3			1		3	1	2		2				2	20	23	D2
1925	3					1	1	1	4	3	7					20	25	D3S
1930	2		1		1	3	3	1		2	3				4	20	22	D2
1935	4	2	1			3		3	2	2	1				2	20	26	D3S
1940																		
1946	13	1			1		1	1	2		1					20	24	D3S
1950	9	1			2	1		2	3					2		20	24	D3S
1955	7	4	2			2			2	2				1		20	22	D2
1960	4	4	2			2			4	1	2	1				20	29	D3
1965	3	1	5	2	1	2			1	1	1					17	17	D2
1970	10	2			2	1	1			3	1					20	26	D3
1975	7				1	1		1	1	1	6					18	18	D2
1980	8	1				1		3	1		5			1		20	26	D2
1985	5	1	1				3	3	2	2	3					20	25	D2

Exeter City
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	SW	SE	EA	EM	WM	Wal	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900																		
1905																		
1910	1	1			1	3		6	1	4	2			1		20	20	S. League
1914	1	1				1		10		2	2				1	18	18	S. League
1920	1	1			1			9	3	2	2					20	25	D3
1925	3	3				2	1	3	4	2			1		1	20	23	D3(S)
1930		1	1			2	1	3	2	5	4				1	20	23	D3(S)
1935	4	1	1				1	2	1	4	4		1		1	20	25	D3(S)
1940																		
1946	1	5	2	1	1		1	2	5	2						20	25	D3(S)
1950	2	5		1	1			2	1	2	5	1	1			20	26	D3(S)
1955	2		1			2	2	3	3	3	3	1				20	28	D3(S)
1960	2	1	2		1	1	3	2	3	3			1		1	20	24	D4
1965	2	3	2			1		2	2	1	3	1	3			20	26	D3
1970		5	3			3		4	1	1	2					19	19	D4
1975	3	4	3			3	1	3	2		1					20	20	D\$
1980	1	6	8			1	3		1							20	21	D3
1985	1	5	3			1	2	2	2	2	2					20	26	D4

Hartlepool(s) United
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	NE	NW	Yks	Sco	EM	WM	Wal	SE	SW	EA	Ire	Nire	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900																		
1905																		
1910																		
1914																		
1921	7	10			2				1							20	28	D3(N)
1925	1	13	1	3		1									1	20	22	D3(N)
1930	1	16													3	20	27	D3(N)
1935	3	11		1	2			1						1	1	20	22	D3(N)
1940																		
		10																
1946	6	10		1	1	1		1								20	26	D3(N)
1950	5	9	1	1	4											20	22	D3(N)
1955	7	9	1		2	1										20	21	D3(N)
1960	7	12			1											20	27	D4
1965		5	2	2	5	2	2					1	1			20	26	D4
1970	3	1	2	5	4	1	2		2							20	26	D4
1975	1	10	2	4	1			1	1							20	27	D4
1980	5	10		2	2	1										20	24	D4
1985	6	9	1	2	2											20	24	D4

**Leeds City and United
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985**

	Local	Yks	NW	NE	Sco	EM	WM	Wal	SW	SE	EA	Ire	Nire	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900																		
1905	1		3	4	4	3	1					1			3	20	23	D2
1910		1	1	2	3	2	2	1		1		2	3		1	19	19	D2
1914	1	1	1	7	5	1	1			2		1				20	26	D2
1920	1	4	2	7	2	2	1			1						20	27	D2
1925		2	3	3	6	2	3							1		20	26	D2
1930	1	2		7	3	4	1					1	1			20	27	D1
1935		1	2	8	2	3	1			1		1	1			20	26	D1
1940																		
1946	3	4	1	5		1	1	1				1	3			20	25	D1
1950	1	3	3	2	1	3		2		2			2	1		20	23	D2
1955	3	5	2	1	4	1	1	2								19	19	D2
1960	1	3	4	2	5	1	1					2		1		20	26	D2
1965	3	3		3	6	1		1		1		1		1		20	22	D1
1970	2	6		2	3	1	1	2		1		1				19	19	D1
1975	2	3	1	1	8		1	3		1						20	21	D1
1980	2	2	4		3	2		5		1				1		20	22	D1
1985	1	4	4	3	3	1	1	1		1		1				20	28	D2

Luton did not reapply for election to the League from 1900-1921

Luton Town Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	SE	SW	EA	EM	WM	Wal	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1899	5								1		7				7	20	25	D2
1905																		
1910																		
1914																		
1921	3				4			2		3	4	2	1	1		20	25	D3S
1925	1	1			1	3			2	2	9				1	20	23	D3S
1930	2	2				1			3	5	5				2	20	25	D3S
1935	1		1		3	1		3	2	1	6				2	20	26	D3S
1940																		
1946	3	6			1	1	1	1			3			1	3	20	25	D2
1950	1	3				2	1	1		3	5	1		2	1	20	27	D2
1955	3				1	3	1	1	1		3	3	1	3		20	23	D1
1960	3	1	2			2		2	1	1	5	2	1			20	28	D2
1965	1	5			1	2		2		1	7		1			20	23	D4
1970	2	8			1	1		3			4	1				20	21	D2
1975	3	4	1			1		6	1	2	2					20	23	D2
1980	3	5	1		2	2	1	1			2		1	2		20	20	D2
1985	3	8				1	2	1		1			1	3		20	22	D1

Manchester United
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	NW	Yks	NE	EM	WM	Sco	Wal	SE	SW	EA	Nlre	Ire	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900	3	6		1		1	3	1							5	20	39	D2
1905	1	4		3	2	1	5		1			1		1	1	20	25	D2
1910	1	4	2	3	1	1	3	1	3					1		20	26	D1
1914	1	3	2	1	1	4	3	2	1				1	1		20	26	D1
1920	4	4	1	4		3	2	1				1				20	28	D1
1925	3	3	1	5	1	2	2	3								20	39	D1
1930	5	6		2	1	2	2	2								20	23	D2
1935	1	4	3	1	1	4	4	1								20	25	D1
1940																		
1946	4	4	2	3		1	1	1	2				1	1		20	21	D1
1950	7	3	1	2		1	1	3	1				1			20	23	D1
1955	7	4	3	2		1		1	1				1			20	24	D1
1960	5	4	1	1	2		2					1	4			20	26	D1
1965	4	4		1	1		4		1			1	4			20	20	D1
1970	4	2		1		1	7		1	1		1	1	1		20	22	D1
1975	2	1	2	2			5		2			3	2	1		20	20	D1
1980	1	2	1		1		5	1	1		1	2	3	2		20	23	D1
1985	2	2	1	1			3	2	3		1	1	2	1		20	26	D1

Newcastle United
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	NE	NW	Yks	Sco	EM	WM	SW	EA	SE	Wal	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900	2	4	2		11		1									20	21	D1
1905	6	1		1	7		1			2			1		1	20	30	D1
1910	7	1			8			1								20	27	D1
1914	4	2	3		8		1						1		1	20	26	D1
1920	4	5	2		8								1			20	25	D1
1925	2	8	1		8					1						20	27	D1
1930	1	4	2	1	8	1								1	1	20	29	D1
1935	4	3		3	8	1	1									20	28	D2
1940																		
1946	3	8	1	3	3			1		1						20	30	D2
1950	4	4	3	2	4								1	2		20	20	D1
1955	4	2	1	2	7					1	1		2			20	26	D1
1960	3	3	2	2	3					2	2	1	2			20	35	D1
1965		7	1	3	6					1	2					20	22	D2
1970	1	7		2	4	1					2	1	1	1		20	23	D1
1975	1	2	3	5	2	1	1	1		2			2			20	24	D1
1980	3	7		2	4	1	1	1		1						20	27	D?
1985	8		2	2	2					1	1	1	2	1		20	22	D2

Northampton Town
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	EM	WM	SE	SW	EA	Wal	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900	3		2					1			2				12	20	27	Mids League
1905	6	2	3					2							7	20	27	S. League
1910	3	1	2	1			1	2	2	1	2				4	19	19	S. League
1914	5	1	1	1			1	1	2		1				5	18	18	S. League
1920	10	1	1	2					2	3	1					20	22	D3
1925	3	1	4	4		1	1		1	3	1				1	20	20	D3S
1930	2	3	2	2			1		3	2	4				1	20	24	D3S
1935	2	2		2				2	1	7	2	1	1			20	29	D3
1940																		
1946	1	2	2	2				2	1	3	1		1		5	20	27	D3
1950		1	4	1			1	2	1	4	5	1				20	27	D3
1955	3		4	1			5	1	1	3	2					20	23	D4
1960	1	1	3	6		1	2	1		2	2			1		20	23	D3
1965	1	2	2	7			2	1		2	2	1				20	24	D1
1970	3	1	2	2	2	1	2		2	1	3		1			20	21	D4
1975	2	3		7		1	2		1	2	1					19	19	D4
1980	6	2	1	7	1	2										19	19	D4
1985	1	4	1	8			1		1	1	2			1		20	20	D4

Norwich City
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	EA	SE	SW	EM	WM	Wal	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	Ire	Nlre	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900																		
1905																		
1910																		
1914																		
1920	3				8	1			2	4						20	31	D3
1925		4	2	1	1	1		2		5	3		1			20	36	D3(S)
1930		1				3				6	7		1			20	32	D3(S)
1935		2	2		2	3	2	1	1	6	1					20	28	D2
1940																		
1946	3	7	1		1		4		1	1	2					20	38	D3
1950	1	3	4	1	1	1				6	1	1	1			20	24	D3
1955	2	2	4	1	2	2	2	1		1	1	1	1	2		20	31	D3
1960	2	3	3		1	2	1	2	1	1	1		1	2		20	26	D2
1965	1	1	3		1	4	2		1	2	1			1		19	19	D2
1970	3	3	3					2	1	2	3			1		20	23	D1
1975	2	2	3	2	2	1		1	1	2	5			1		20	28	D1
1980	1	1	7	2	2			4	1		3			1		20	23	D1
1985		3	7		1	1		3	1		1	1		1		20	23	D2

Nottingham Forest
Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	EM	WM	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	Wal	SE	SW	EA	Nire	Ire	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900		5	5	1	1	1	4	2							1	20	21	D1
1905	3	4	1	1	2	1	3	2	1						2	20	23	D1
1910	4	1	1	3	2		1	2	3	1					2	20	24	D1
1914	2	4	1	2			2		1		1				4	17	17	D2
1920	4	7	2		2	1	2								2	20	25	D1
1925	3	6			2	1	3	1	1	1		2				20	25	D2
1930	2	3		2		7	3	2						1		20	27	D2
1935	2	1		4	1	7	4	1								20	23	D2
1940																		
1946	2	7	1	3	1	2	3	1								20	30	D2
1950	1	2	3	2	3	2	1		1					1		16	16	D3 (S)
1955	4	1	3	1		5	2		2					2		20	21	D2
1960	2	4	1	2	2	2	3		1	2					1	20	24	D1
1965	4	2	2	3		2	2	1		2	1				1	20	24	D1
1970	3	4	1				7	1			2	1			1	20	21	D1
1975	3	4	1	2	1	1	5				1		1	1		20	22	D2
1980	2	5		1	1		6			2			1	2		20	22	D1
1985		3	1	4		1	4		3			2		2		20	22	D1

Oldham were elected to D2 in 1907

Oldham Athletic Origins of First Team Players 1900 - 1985

	Local	NW	Yks	NE	Sco	EM	WM	Wal	SE	SW	EA	Nire	Ire	For	?	Sample	Squad	Notes
1900																		
1905																		
1910	1	4	1	2	5		2	1	2							19	19	D1
1914	2	7	1	1	2		3	1	1					1		19	19	D1
1920	1	6		4	5	1	1	1	1							20	32	D2
1925	3	9	1	1		1	1	2	2							20	27	D2
1930	2	11	2	1	2	1			1							20	24	D2
1935	4	2	2	4			3	2					2			20	27	D2
1940																		
1946	10	5		2			1	1		1						20	28	D3 (N)
1950	8	3	3	2	3		1					1				20	27	D3 (N)
1955	3		2	10	2	1		2								20	28	D3 (N)
1960	6	3			6		1	1		1				1		20	28	D3 (N)
1965	3	1	3	5	4		2	1				1				20	28	D3 (N)
1970	5	5	1	2	4							1				20	20	D4
1975	8	5	2	1	1							1				19	19	D4
1980	8	3	4	1	1							1		2		20	21	D2
1985	5	6	1	2	3		1			1				1		20	22	D2

Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
2	Dabbs BE	17041909	WM	1933	1939	24	7	1935					2
3	Dackers W	20101874	Sco	1898	1899	23	2						1
4	Dadley BJ	01061898	SE	1921	1921	23	1						1
5	Daft HB	05041866	EM	1888	1894	22	7	1890					2
6	Dainty HC	02061879	EM	1899	1913	20	15	1900	1905	1910			4
7	Dale RA	21031896	NE	1922	1931	26	10	1925	1930				3
8	Dale W	17021905	NW	1928	1939	23	12	1930	1935				3
9	Dalrymple RR	02011880	Sco	1907	1910	27	4	1910					2
10	Dalton BL	09011917	SE	1935	1937	18	3	1935					3
11	Daly J	28121899	NW	1920	1920	20	11	1920					4
12	Dando M	**071905	SW	1928	1937	23	10	1930	1935				4
13	Dann RW	06061916	SE	1935	1939	19	5	1935					2
14	Danskin R	28051908	NE	1930	1947	22	18	1930	1935				2
15	Danson H	21061883	NW	1902	1911	19	10	1905	1910				1
16	Dark AJ	21081893	SW	1922	1928	29	7						4
17	Darling BS	23031916	NE	1938	1938	22	1						1
18	Darling HL	09081911	SE	1932	1947	21	16	1935					2
19	Darnell J	28031884	SE	1908	1914	24	7	1910	1914				1
20	Darnell L	14091905	EM	1925	1934	19	10	1925	1930				3
21	Dart E	12031880	EM	1909	1909	29	1						1
22	Darvill HA	07041896	SE	1921	1924	25	4						1
23	Davenport JK	23031862	NW	1888	1892	26	5						1
24	Davey HH	14061896	Nire	1923	1927	27	5	1925					3
25	Davidson CA	10101904	NW	1928	1931	23	4	1930					2
26	Davidson DL	04061905	Sco	1928	1937	23	10	1930	1935				4
27	Davidson J	14031901	NE	1930	1931	29	2	1930					1
28	Davidson RT	27041913	Sco	1934	1947	21	14	1935					2
29	Davidson S	01061889	Sco	1913	1922	24	10	1914	1920				1
30	Davie J	19021913	Sco	1936	1946	23	11						2
31	Davies AS	01031894	SW	1914	1927	20	14	1920	1925				3
32	Davies AL	03011905	Wal	1926	1938	21	13	1930	1935				4

Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
33	Davies CJ	26031918	Wal	1938	1948	19	11						2
34	Davies C	**031917	WM	1937	1938	20	2						1
35	Davies DD	05121914	Wal	1935	1946	20	12	1935					1
36	Davies DW	01101888	Wal	1912	1914	23	3	1914					3
37	Davies FP	01081903	Wal	1923	1933	20	11	1925	1930				3
38	Davies G	**021900	WM	1919	1923	19	5	1920					2
39	Davies GA	19011897	NW	1920	1924	23	5						3
40	Davies GI	24111909	Wal	1929	1934	19	6	1930					3
41	Davies GO	20041903	SE	1925	1925	22	1	1925					1
42	Davies HA	29011904	EM	1922	1938	18	17	1925	1930				4
43	Davies HC	20111902	Wal	1924	1927	21	4	1925					1
44	Davies J	20111901	SW	1926	1931	24	6	1930					3
45	Davies JH	**031916	Wal	1934	1935	18	2	1935					1
46	Davies JW	14111916	Wal	1935	1948	18	14	1935					4
47	Davies J	**071865	Wal	1890	1892	25	3	1890					1
48	Davies J	10111917	WM	1938	1938	20	1						1
49	Davies LS	28041899	Wal	1920	1931	21	12	1920	1925	1930			2
50	Davies LJ	17051894	EM	1921	1921	27	1						1
51	Davies R	29091897	EM	1922	1932	24	11	1925	1930				3
52	Davies RG	19101913	Wal	1936	1946	22	11						1
53	Davies RI	17081899	Wal	1921	1925	22	5	1925					2
54	Davies R	19101903	Wal	1925	1931	21	7	1925	1930				4
55	Davies SC	24031898	Wal	1919	1930	21	12	1920	1925	1930			7
56	Davies V	02071906	Wal	1930	1930	24	1	1930					1
57	Davies WG	31071915	Wal	1934	1946	19	13	1935					4
58	Davies W	13041882	Wal	1905	1911	23	7	1905	1910				1
59	Davies W	16021900	Wal	1921	1935	21	15	1925	1930	1935			5
60	Davies W	22061910	Wal	1930	1949	20	20	1930	1935				1
61	Davin M	09051905	Sco	1927	1933	22	7	1930					4
62	Davis CH	22091902	NE	1924	1924	21	1						1
63	Davis G	10021907	Yks	1928	1933	21	6	1930					2

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
64	Davis H	11081906	Yks	1928	1933	22	6	1930					4
65	Davis HA	30031897	EM	1919	1920	22	2	1920					1
66	Davis JW	10041882	EM	1904	1909	22	6	1905					1
67	Davis SS	25051900	NE	1923	1926	23	4	1925					3
68	Davison JE	02091887	NE	1908	1924	20	17	1910	1914	1920			1
69	Davison JW	06071897	NE	1919	1931	22	13	1920	1925	1930			3
70	Davison TR	03101901	NE	1921	1934	19	14	1925	1930				5
71	Daw EC	23011875	Yks	1896	1909	21	14	1900	1905				5
72	Dawes AG	23041907	SE	1929	1939	22	11	1930	1935				4
73	Dawes FW	02051911	SE	1929	1949	18	21	1930	1935				2
74	Daws J	27051898	EM	1920	1924	22	5	1920					2
75	Dawson A	22121912	NE	1934	1937	21	4	1935					4
76	Dawson E	16011913	NE	1936	1948	23	13						2
77	Dawson F	17101908	NW	1933	1935	24	3	1935					1
78	Dawson JM	13081890	Sco	1913	1913	23	1						1
79	Dawson J	18031888	NW	1906	1928	18	23	1910	1914	1920	1925		1
80	Dawson JR	04101914	Yks	1938	1946	23	9						1
81	Dawson PH	29111890	NE	1913	1923	22	11	1914	1920				2
82	Dawson T	15121901	NE	1924	1935	22	12	1925	1930	1935			3
83	Dawson T	06021915	NE	1936	1949	21	14						4
84	Day A	02101907	Wal	1933	1939	25	7	1935					5
85	Day JW	16091882	EM	1907	1909	24	3						1
86	Daykin T	**081882	NE	1904	1911	20	8	1905	1910				2
87	Deacey C	06101889	WM	1910	1922	20	13	1910	1914	1920			3
88	Deacon H	25041900	Yks	1921	1935	21	15	1925	1930	1935			6
89	Deacon J	23011906	Sco	1927	1939	21	13	1930	1935				4
90	Deacon LC	22121895	SW	1921	1928	25	8	1925					1
91	Deacon R	26061911	Sco	1930	1939	19	10	1930	1935				4
92	Deakin J	27091912	Yks	1936	1939	23	4						1
93	Dean A	02011877	WM	1896	1904	19	9	1900					5
94	Dean RJ	13021881	WM	1904	1911	23	8	1905	1910				1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
95	Dean WR	22011907	NW	1923	1938	16	16	1925	1930	1935			3
96	Dearson DJ	13051914	Wal	1934	1950	20	17	1935					3
97	Death WG	13111899	Yks	1920	1931	20	12	1920	1925	1930			5
98	Deeming H	24071901	WM	1924	1924	23	1						1
99	Delea W	12091910	Ire	1932	1932	21	1						1
100	Dellow RW	13071914	NW	1934	1946	20	13	1935					4
101	Demmelweek JW	10011907	SW	1926	1935	19	10	1930	1935				3
102	Dempsey WW	10091896	SW	1925	1925	28	1	1925					1
103	Dempster JB	30011896	Sco	1919	1921	23	3						1
104	Denholm GA	**081915	Sco	1936	1938	21	3						1
105	Denmark J	13051913	Sco	1937	1939	24	3						1
106	Dennington C	07101899	EA	1922	1929	22	8	1925					2
107	Dennington LA	**061902	WM	1924	1930	22	7	1925	1930				3
108	Dennis GT	12091897	Sco	1920	1930	22	11	1920	1925	1930			4
109	Dennis W	21091896	NW	1919	1929	22	11	1920	1925				5
110	Dennison H	04111894	Yks	1910	1924	16	15	1910	1914	1920			4
111	Dennison R	06101900	EM	1920	1929	19	10	1920	1925				5
112	Dennison RS	06031912	NE	1932	1947	20	16	1935					4
113	Denoon J	10041890	Sco	1920	1926	30	7	1920	1925				1
114	Dent F	24011896	Yks	1920	1930	24	11	1920	1925	1930			8
115	Dent GH	09031899	Yks	1923	1924	24	2						1
116	Dent JG	31011903	NE	1923	1936	20	14	1925	1930	1935			3
117	Depledge J	15041897	Yks	1923	1923	26	1						1
118	Derrick AE	08091908	Wal	1935	1946	26	12	1935					2
119	Derrick JH	08121891	EM	1909	1919	17	11	1910	1914				1
120	Deverall HR	05051916	SE	1938	1952	22	15						2
121	Devey EJ	**081862	WM	1892	1896	30	5	1890	1895				2
122	Devey HP	**031860	WM	1888	1892	28	5	1890					1
123	Devey JHG	26121866	WM	1891	1901	24	11	1890	1895	1900			1
124	Devey W	12041865	WM	1891	1898	26	8	1895					7
125	Devine AF	02041887	Sco	1910	1913	23	4	1910					2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
126	Devine J	10061897	Sco	1921	1927	24	7	1925					3
127	Devine JC	08091905	Sco	1925	1937	19	13	1925	1930	1935			6
128	Devlin JT	**101904	Sco	1924	1934	19	11	1925	1930				5
129	Devlin WA	30071899	Sco	1925	1927	26	3	1925					2
130	Dewar G	20071867	Sco	1889	1896	22	8	1890	1895				1
131	Dewar NH	11111908	Sco	1932	1936	23	5	1935					2
132	Dewhurst F	16121863	NW	1888	1890	24	3	1890					2
133	Dewsnap GH	13121905	NW	1932	1932	26	1						1
134	Dexter G	**071895	WM	1914	1914	20	1	1914					1
135	Diamond JJ	30101910	NE	1931	1938	20	8	1935					7
136	Diaper AW	11021909	SE	1932	1938	23	7	1935					3
137	Dickie GJ	22091903	Sco	1925	1932	21	8	1925	1930				5
138	Dickie JW	25011900	Sco	1923	1925	23	3	1925					1
139	Dickie WC	22111903	Sco	1928	1929	24	2						2
140	Dickie WC	02051893	Sco	1919	1921	26	3	1920					2
141	Dickinson J	11111899	NW	1920	1926	20	7	1920	1925				2
142	Dickinson PE	19011902	NE	1924	1924	22	1						1
143	Dickinson S	17081906	EM	1926	1934	20	9	1930					3
144	Dickinson W	22121895	Yks	1919	1929	23	11	1920	1925				3
145	Dickinson W	18021906	NW	1925	1938	19	14	1925	1930	1935			5
146	Dickson IW	**091902	Sco	1920	1924	17	5	1920					2
147	Dickson WA	27081866	Sco	1889	1896	23	8	1890	1895				2
148	Didymus FE	13041886	SE	1909	1909	23	1						1
149	Dillimore JW	19121894	SE	1922	1925	27	4	1925					1
150	Dilly T	**111882	Sco	1902	1908	19	7	1905					4
151	Dimbleby S	27111916	EM	1935	1937	18	3	1935					2
152	Dimmock JH	05121900	SE	1919	1932	18	14	1920	1925	1930			3
153	Dines J	12041886	EA	1912	1912	26	1						1
154	Dinsdale WA	12071903	NE	1921	1931	18	11	1925	1930				5
155	Ditchburn JH	13031897	Yks	1923	1931	26	9	1925	1930				2
156	Dix RW	05091912	SW	1927	1948	16	22	1930	1935				6

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
157	Dixon A	05101879	NW	1901	1912	21	12	1905	1910				2
158	Dixon C	22071891	NE	1919	1925	28	7	1920	1925				2
159	Dixon CH	16061903	WM	1928	1930	25	3	1930					3
160	Dixon C	01021901	Yks	1924	1932	23	9	1925	1930				2
161	Dixon DP	**111898	NE	1921	1925	22	5	1925					2
162	Dixon ES	26051894	NE	1913	1929	19	17	1914	1920	1925			3
163	Dixon E	10071901	Yks	1921	1932	20	12	1925	1930				7
164	Dixon RH	08021908	NE	1928	1932	20	5	1930					1
165	Dixon RH	30081904	NE	1922	1932	18	11	1925	1930				2
166	Dixon T	17091899	NE	1919	1933	19	15	1920	1925	1930			2
167	Dobinson H	02031898	NE	1921	1923	23	3						3
168	Dobson GF	07111910	Yks	1931	1935	20	5	1935					3
169	Dobson HA	**041893	WM	1912	1914	19	3	1914					1
170	Docking SH	13121914	NE	1934	1938	19	5	1935					2
171	Dodds C	24031904	NE	1926	1930	21	5	1925	1930				2
172	Dodds E	07091915	Sco	1934	1949	18	16	1935					4
173	Dodds JA	07091914	Nlre	1935	1936	20	2	1935					2
174	Dodds JT	**101885	NE	1905	1908	19	4	1905					2
175	Dodds LS	20091912	SW	1931	1939	18	9	1935					5
176	Dodds W	**011885	NE	1906	1907	21	2						2
177	Dodgin W	17041909	NE	1930	1945	21	16	1930	1935				6
178	Dodsworth VE	02101911	Yks	1932	1936	20	5	1935					2
179	Doherty J	12041908	Nlre	1932	1933	24	2						1
180	Doherty PD	05061913	Nlre	1933	1952	20	20	1935					5
181	Doig JE	29101866	Sco	1889	1907	22	19	1890	1895	1900	1905		3
182	Dollery HE	14101914	SE	1935	1935	20	1	1935					1
183	Dolman HW	30081906	WM	1928	1938	22	11	1930	1935				3
184	Dominy AA	11021893	SE	1920	1929	27	10	1920	1925				4
185	Donaghy E	08011900	Sco	1923	1927	23	5	1925					3
186	Donaghy P	13011898	Sco	1919	1924	21	6	1920					2
187	Donald A	29051900	Sco	1930	1935	30	6	1930	1935				2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
188	Donald DM	29121878	Sco	1908	1920	29	13	1910	1914	1920			3
189	Donaldson AP	04121890	Sco	1912	1923	21	12	1914	1920				3
190	Donaldson DE	28021911	Yks	1931	1932	20	2						2
191	Doncaster AR	13051908	Wal	1928	1935	20	8	1930	1935				4
192	Doncaster S	**091890	EM	1912	1913	21	2						2
193	Done R	27041904	NW	1926	1938	22	13	1930	1935				4
194	Donnelly J	18121899	Ire	1920	1931	20	12	1920	1925	1930			5
195	Donoghue J	22011903	For	1930	1931	27	2	1930					1
196	Donoven AE	20061900	EM	1920	1934	20	15	1920	1925	1930			2
197	Doolan A	07081889	Sco	1912	1919	23	8	1914					2
198	Dooley TE	15121914	NW	1938	1939	23	2						1
199	Doran JF	03011896	Nire	1920	1923	24	4	1920					3
200	Doran S	22121912	Yks	1934	1945	21	12	1935					3
201	Duckworth R	06061906	NW	1929	1938	23	10	1930	1935				5
202	Duckworth TC	02101908	NW	1931	1937	22	7	1935					3
203	Dudgeon A	23121913	NE	1937	1938	23	2						1
204	Dudley G	**021916	Sco	1938	1938	22	1						1
205	Dudley RA	03021915	SE	1935	1950	20	16	1935					3
206	Duff SD	**011919	NW	1937	1938	18	2						3
207	Duffield A	03031894	Yks	1920	1927	26	8	1920	1925				2
208	Duffus JM	10051901	Sco	1922	1927	21	6	1925					3
209	Duffus RMD	28021891	Sco	1921	1923	30	3						3
210	Duggan HA	08061903	Ire	1926	1939	23	14	1930	1935				2
211	Dugnolle JH	24031914	For	1935	1947	21	13	1935					2
212	Dukes HP	31031912	SE	1934	1946	22	13	1935					1
213	Dulson J	31021913	WM	1931	1933	18	3						2
214	Duncan ASM	02111888	Sco	1907	1912	18	6	1910					1
215	Duncan A	25011911	Sco	1930	1938	19	9	1930	1935				2
216	Duncan D	14101909	Sco	1928	1947	18	20	1930	1935				3
217	Duncan E	03121915	NW	1935	1935	19	1	1935					1
218	Duncan JG	03021898	Sco	1920	1920	22	1	1920					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
219	Duncan TG	01091897	Sco	1922	1926	24	5	1925					3
220	Duncan WM	20071913	Sco	1933	1937	20	5	1935					3
221	Duncan WW	14071895	Sco	1920	1920	25	1	1920					1
222	Dunderdale WL	06021915	EM	1935	1947	20	13	1935					3
223	Dunkley MEF	19021914	EM	1936	1949	22	14						2
224	Dunlop T	07051872	Sco	1895	1898	23	4	1895					1
225	Dunlop WTP	14071871	Sco	1894	1908	23	15	1895	1900	1905			1
226	Dunn A	14121876	Sco	1898	1903	21	6	1900					2
227	Dunn GA	13051902	NE	1926	1928	24	3						1
228	Dunn J	25111900	Sco	1928	1935	27	8	1930	1935				2
229	Dunn RV	24111908	SE	1931	1936	22	6	1935					1
230	Dunn WM	09101910	Sco	1935	1937	24	3	1935					2
231	Dunne J	03091905	Ire	1925	1936	19	12	1925	1930	1935			4
232	Dunning JW	**081866	Sco	1892	1894	26	3						1
233	Duns L	28091916	NE	1935	1951	18	17	1935					1
234	Durber P	**021873	WM	1896	1901	23	6	1900					2
235	Durkan J	14071915	Sco	1933	1934	18	2						2
236	Durston FJ	11071893	SE	1920	1920	27	1	1920					1
237	Duthie JF	07011903	Sco	1923	1933	20	11	1925	1930				7
238	Dutton HR	16011898	SE	1922	1931	24	10	1925	1930				3
239	Dutton T	11111906	NW	1934	1939	28	6	1935					4
240	Dutton TT	**041860	WM	1891	1891	31	1						1
241	Dwane EJ	17071896	For	1921	1923	25	3						1
242	Dye L	24111904	EM	1924	1924	19	1						1
243	Dyer JA	24081883	Yks	1901	1905	18	5	1905					2
244	Dyer JA	13041913	NW	1933	1946	20	14	1935					2
245	Dyke AS	**091886	WM	1913	1921	26	8	1914	1920				3
246	Dyson JM	04031907	NW	1927	1938	20	12	1930	1935				3
247	Earl AT	10021915	NE	1933	1947	18	15	1935					6
248	Earl AT	19031903	SE	1925	1932	22	8	1925	1930				1
249	Earl SE	25041902	EA	1923	1925	21	3	1925					1

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250	Earl EJ	17061905	NE	1925	1933	20	9	1925	1930				3
251	Earl SGJ	06091897	SE	1921	1932	23	12	1925	1930				3
252	Easson JF	03011906	Sco	1928	1938	22	11	1930	1935				2
253	Eastham GR	13091914	NW	1932	1949	17	18	1935					6
254	Eastham H	30061917	NW	1936	1953	19	18						3
255	Eastham JB	**011883	NW	1901	1905	18	5	1905					2
256	Eastman GF	07041903	SE	1924	1929	21	6	1925					2
257	Easton WC	10031906	NE	1923	1933	17	11	1925	1930				5
258	Eastwood CM	07051894	Yks	1920	1927	26	8	1920	1925				3
259	Eastwood E	24031916	NW	1938	1948	22	11						2
260	Eastwood R	01011913	NW	1938	1946	25	9						3
261	Eaton CA	15101910	NW	1934	1936	23	3	1935					2
262	Eaton F	12111902	NW	1925	1933	22	9	1925	1930				3
263	Ebdon RG	03051913	EA	1935	1948	22	14	1935					2
264	Eccles J	**021906	WM	1924	1928	18	5	1925					2
265	Eckford J	13021878	Sco	1899	1900	21	2	1900					2
266	Eddleston J	29121896	NW	1919	1932	22	14	1920	1925	1930			4
267	Edleston JH	27041891	NW	1912	1924	20	13	1914	1920				3
268	Edleston M	27051918	Yks	1935	1953	17	19	1935					4
269	Eden W	**031905	NE	1928	1938	23	11	1930	1935				3
270	Edmunds CT	07121903	Wal	1928	1931	24	4	1930					3
271	Edwards A	**041890	WM	1911	1911	21	1						1
272	Edwards DS	11091916	Wal	1937	1946	20	10						2
273	Edwards EA	17021892	WM	1913	1925	21	13	1914	1920	1925			6
274	Edwards EJ	14121898	Wal	1920	1929	21	10	1920	1925				4
275	Edwards G	02121920	Wal	1938	1954	17	17						3
276	Edwards GR	01041918	EA	1935	1950	17	16	1935					2
277	Edwards J	11121905	WM	1927	1937	21	11	1930	1935				2
278	Edwards JA	05031907	EM	1933	1933	26	1						1
279	Edwards S	**051898	WM	1924	1924	26	1						1
280	Edwards SC	16081912	EM	1934	1935	22	2	1935					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
281	Edwards WJ	22081905	WM	1924	1931	19	8	1925	1930				3
282	Edwards WF	**031896	WM	1920	1925	24	6	1920	1925				2
283	Edwards WH	**021874	WM	1896	1896	22	1						1
284	Edwards W	28041903	EM	1922	1938	19	17	1925	1930	1935			2
285	Egan GD	23021919	EM	1938	1938	19	1						1
286	Egan H	23021912	EM	1933	1938	21	6	1935					4
287	Eggett JH	19041874	EA	1901	1902	17	2						1
288	Eggleston A	04011910	NE	1930	1938	20	9	1930	1935				3
289	Eggleston JAE	29081897	SE	1921	1928	24	8	1925					3
290	Eggo RM	22111895	Sco	1919	1928	23	10	1920	1925				2
291	Ekins FG	27091871	SE	1891	1898	19	8	1895					3
292	Elkes AJE	31121894	WM	1919	1933	24	15	1920	1925	1930			5
293	Elkin BHW	14011886	SE	1908	1910	22	3	1910					2
294	Elliott CS	24041912	EM	1931	1947	19	17	1935					1
295	Elliott E	24051919	NE	1937	1951	18	15						4
296	Elliott GW	07011889	NE	1909	1924	20	16	1910	1914	1920			1
297	Elliott JAE	20101869	NE	1893	1895	23	3	1895					1
298	Elliott TW	06041890	NE	1910	1924	20	15	1910	1914	1920			6
299	Elliott WB	06081919	NE	1938	1950	19	13						2
300	Ellis J	25011908	NW	1932	1939	24	8	1935					4
301	Ellis WT	05111895	WM	1919	1930	23	12	1920	1925	1930			4
302	Ellison I	28081914	Yks	1934	1934	20	1						1
303	Ellison JW	04021906	NW	1927	1928	21	2						2
304	Ellison MF	10071893	EM	1920	1923	27	4	1920					2
305	Elwood RJ	01011919	WM	1938	1939	19	2						1
306	Elmore GV	**091884	WM	1902	1909	17	8	1905					3
307	Elston AE	**071882	NW	1905	1905	23	1	1905					1
308	Elwell TDO	20091901	WM	1925	1926	23	2	1925					1
309	Elwood JH	12061901	Nlre	1923	1932	22	10	1925	1930				3
310	Emanuel DL	03091917	Wal	1937	1947	19	11						2
311	Emanuel TD	01081915	Wal	1935	1945	20	11	1935					2

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Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
312	Emery DKJ	11061920	Wal	1937	1947	17	11						1
313	Emery FD	19051900	EM	1923	1935	23	13	1925	1930	1935			2
314	Emery HJ	18021908	SW	1929	1934	21	6	1930					3
315	Emmerson GAH	15051906	NE	1928	1937	22	10	1930	1935				5
316	Emptage AT	26121917	EM	1937	1952	19	16						2
317	England EE	03021901	EM	1919	1934	18	16	1920	1925	1930			3
318	English JC	13121886	NE	1910	1914	23	5	1910					2
319	Ephgrave GA	29041918	SE	1938	1951	20	14						4
320	Erentz HB	17091874	Sco	1897	1897	22	1						1
321	Etherington RD	19061899	NW	1921	1924	22	4						2
322	Evans A	17011901	SE	1927	1928	26	2						1
323	Evans AJ	**031874	NE	1896	1908	22	13	1900	1905				2
324	Evans CJH	31011897	Wal	1924	1925	27	2	1925					2
325	Evans DG	28011902	Wal	1924	1929	22	6	1925					3
326	Evans DR	09101915	SE	1936	1947	20	12						2
327	Evans HP	30081894	Wal	1920	1927	26	8	1920	1925				2
328	Evans JH	29111894	Wal	1920	1925	25	6	1920	1925				3
329	Evans J	12071900	WM	1921	1924	21	4						3
330	Evans JE	**041868	NE	1891	1895	23	5	1895					2
331	Evans JH	19011903	Wal	1922	1922	19	1						1
332	Evans JH	31011889	Wal	1920	1927	31	8	1920	1925				2
333	Evans JT	06021906	WM	1925	1929	19	5	1925					1
334	Evans O	**061878	NW	1902	1902	24	1						1
335	Evans RE	27111885	Wal	1906	1914	20	9	1910	1914				2
336	Evans RO	**081881	Wal	1903	1913	22	11	1905	1910				2
337	Evans SJVL	20051903	Wal	1926	1933	23	8	1930					4
338	Evans T	28111907	Wal	1929	1936	21	8	1930	1935				1
339	Evans TE	**021896	WM	1919	1921	23	3	1920					2
340	Evans TJ	07041903	Wal	1924	1931	21	8	1925	1930				3
341	Evans W	07111912	Wal	1931	1936	18	6	1935					1
342	Evenson I	**111882	NW	1900	1907	17	8	1900	1905				4

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
343	Everest J	20071908	Sco	1928	1939	20	12	1930	1935				6
344	Ewart J	14021891	Sco	1912	1929	21	18	1914	1920	1925			3
345	Eyre E	**121884	EM	1906	1914	21	9	1910	1914				4
346	Eyre FMB	29091903	EM	1930	1930	26	1	1930					1
347	Eyres J	20031897	NW	1922	1934	25	13	1925	1930				5
348	Facer A	15071901	EM	1923	1923	22	1						1
349	Fagan W	20021917	Sco	1936	1951	19	16						2
350	Fairclough A	04101891	NW	1913	1926	21	14	1914	1920	1925			5
351	Fairfoul T	16011881	Sco	1913	1914	32	2	1914					1
352	Fairgray NM	28101880	Sco	1905	1913	24	9	1905	1910				2
353	Fairgrieve RW	30081874	Sco	1899	1899	25	1						1
354	Fairhurst DL	20071907	NE	1927	1938	20	12	1930	1935				2
355	Fairhurst R	05091911	NW	1931	1936	19	6	1935					3
356	Fairhurst WG	23051910	NW	1930	1939	20	10	1930	1935				2
357	Fairhurst WS	01101902	NE	1928	1934	25	7	1930					4
358	Falconer F	24051899	Sco	1923	1928	24	6	1925					2
359	Fall JW	**121867	SE	1893	1895	25	3	1895					2
360	Fallon WJ	14011912	Ire	1933	1947	21	15	1935					3
361	Farmer A	09101908	Sco	1930	1939	21	10	1930	1935				2
362	Farmery LJV	25041901	Yks	1926	1930	25	5	1930					2
363	Farr TF	19021914	Sco	1934	1949	20	16	1935					1
364	Farrell P	03041872	Nlre	1897	1897	25	1						1
365	Farrell R	01011906	Sco	1928	1938	22	11	1930	1935				1
366	Farrington GS	**071884	WM	1901	1902	17	2						2
367	Farrington R	**011902	NW	1921	1921	19	1						1
368	Farrow GH	04101913	NE	1931	1947	17	17	1935					5
369	Fawcett RE	31071903	NE	1929	1930	26	2	1930					1
370	Fay JA	29031884	NW	1907	1922	23	16	1910	1914	1920			3
371	Fayers FL	29011890	EA	1910	1923	20	14	1910	1914	1920			4
372	Fazakerley SN	03011891	NW	1911	1925	20	15	1914	1920	1925			5
373	Featherby WL	28071905	EA	1924	1935	19	12	1925	1930	1935			8

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
374	Fecitt HL	**011865	NW	1888	1892	23	5						2
375	Feebery A	10091909	EM	1929	1939	19	11	1930	1935				2
376	Feebery JH	10051888	EM	1909	1923	21	15	1910	1914	1920			3
377	Feenan JJ	01071914	Ire	1936	1938	22	3						1
378	Feeney WT	26081910	NE	1931	1938	21	8	1935					7
379	Fell G	03121898	Yks	1919	1928	20	10	1920	1925				3
380	Fell JW	14051902	NE	1922	1930	20	9	1925	1930				5
381	Fellowes WJ	15031910	Yks	1929	1946	19	17	1930	1935				4
382	Felton RFF	12081918	NE	1938	1946	20	9						2
383	Felton W	01081900	NE	1921	1933	21	13	1925	1930				4
384	Fenner T	12051904	NW	1924	1934	20	11	1925	1930				3
385	Fenner WE	01071889	NW	1910	1912	21	3	1910					1
386	Fenton BRV	28101918	SE	1937	1957	18	21						4
387	Fenton EBA	07111914	SE	1932	1945	17	14	1935					1
388	Fenton F	**111878	EM	1898	1906	19	9	1900	1905				4
389	Fenton M	30101913	NE	1932	1949	18	18	1935					1
390	Fenwick AR	26031891	NE	1911	1924	20	14	1914	1920				4
391	Fenwick RW	29091894	NE	1921	1925	26	5	1925					3
392	Ferguson ASB	05081903	Sco	1924	1947	21	24	1925	1930	1935			7
393	Ferguson C	22111910	Sco	1933	1938	22	6	1935					3
394	Ferguson E	02081895	NE	1920	1929	25	10	1920	1925				3
395	Ferguson H	02031898	Sco	1925	1928	27	4	1925					1
396	Ferguson R	27071917	NE	1936	1946	19	11						2
397	Ferguson RL	15111895	Sco	1925	1927	29	3	1925					2
398	Ferguson W	13021901	Sco	1923	1932	22	10	1925	1930				1
399	Fergusson WA	02031900	WM	1922	1926	22	5	1925					4
400	Fern TE	01041886	EM	1909	1926	23	18	1910	1914	1920	1925		3
401	Ferrari FJ	22051901	SE	1925	1929	24	5	1925					4
402	Ferrier RJ	26041914	EM	1935	1946	21	12	1935					2
403	Field FS	12061914	EM	1933	1935	19	3	1935					2
404	Field R	02081891	NE	1922	1926	31	5	1925					4

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
405	Fielding HL	14101906	NW	1926	1937	19	12	1930	1935				4
406	Fielding W	17061915	NW	1936	1946	21	11						2
407	Fields AG	15111918	SE	1938	1950	19	13						1
408	Fillingham T	06091904	EM	1929	1938	24	10	1930	1935				2
409	Filliston JW	12051894	SE	1921	1923	27	3						1
410	Finan RJ	13011912	Sco	1933	1948	21	16	1935					2
411	Finch EAR	31081908	WM	1925	1937	17	13	1925	1930	1935			1
412	Finch JA	03021909	SE	1930	1939	21	10	1930	1935				1
413	Findlay A	26121902	Sco	1929	1934	26	6	1930					2
414	Finlay J	19101892	Sco	1909	1923	16	15	1910	1914	1920			1
415	Finn J	18041907	Sco	1930	1930	23	1	1930					1
416	Finney A	13031904	NW	1922	1936	18	15	1925	1930	1935			1
417	Finney WA	17071900	EM	1923	1931	23	9	1925	1930				2
418	Finnigan RP	16051904	Wal	1922	1934	18	13	1925	1930				5
419	Firth J	08081907	Yks	1927	1936	20	10	1930	1935				3
420	Firth J	27031910	Yks	1928	1938	19	11	1930	1935				4
421	Firth RE	20021887	WM	1909	1922	22	14	1910	1914	1920			4
422	Fisher F	11041910	EM	1929	1936	19	8	1930	1935				6
423	Fisher FT	14011920	WM	1938	1951	18	14						2
424	Fisher FW	11041910	Yks	1933	1939	23	7	1935					3
425	Fisher JA	**061879	Sco	1902	1906	23	5	1905					3
426	Fisher J	**021871	Sco	1897	1897	26	1						1
427	Fisher J	04081897	EM	1921	1929	24	9	1925					4
428	Fishlock LB	02011907	SE	1929	1937	22	9	1930	1935				5
429	Fishwick AE	**011899	NW	1923	1933	24	11	1925	1930				4
430	Fitchie TT	11121881	Sco	1901	1912	19	12	1905	1910				3
431	Fitton GA	**051902	EM	1922	1937	20	16	1925	1930	1935			4
432	Fitzgerald AM	25011911	Yks	1934	1947	23	14	1935					3
433	Fitzsimmons MJ	10121913	NW	1938	1938	24	1						1
434	Flack WLW	01061916	EA	1934	1946	18	13	1935					2
435	Flanagan J	03021902	NW	1926	1930	24	5	1930					3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
436	Flanagan WJA	08041908	SW	1933	1934	25	2						1
437	Flanders F	01011894	EM	1910	1922	16	13	1910	1914	1920			3
438	Flanningan T	27051908	Sco	1928	1931	20	4	1930					3
439	Flatley AA	05091919	Yks	1938	1951	18	14						3
440	Flavell F	05091904	NW	1930	1935	25	6	1930	1935				2
441	Fleetwood T	06121888	NW	1910	1923	21	14	1910	1914	1920			2
442	Fleming J	**091864	Sco	1892	1892	27	1						2
443	Fleming JBM	08031884	Sco	1912	1914	28	3	1914					2
444	Fletcher AF	28101917	NW	1938	1947	20	10						3
445	Fletcher AT	04061867	WM	1888	1892	21	5	1890					1
446	Fletcher AH	06091892	EM	1913	1921	20	9	1914	1920				3
447	Fletcher B	09031893	NE	1914	1929	21	16	1914	1920	1925			3
448	Fletcher CA	28101905	SE	1928	1945	22	18	1930	1935				7
449	Fletcher E	15121887	WM	1911	1926	23	16	1914	1920	1925			2
450	Fletcher HH	13061873	WM	1892	1909	19	18	1895	1900	1905			4
451	Fletcher T	15061881	EM	1901	1906	20	6	1905					2
452	Flewin R	28111920	SE	1938	1953	17	16						1
453	Flewitt AW	**021872	Yks	1893	1898	21	6	1895					3
454	Flint WA	21031890	EM	1908	1925	18	18	1910	1914	1920	1925		1
455	Flood CW	18071896	SE	1920	1927	24	8	1920	1925				4
456	Flowers GA	07051907	Yks	1929	1930	22	2	1930					3
457	Floyd P	08071899	NW	1921	1928	22	8	1925					2
458	Folks WT	**011886	SE	1903	1903	17	1						1
459	Forbes FJ	05081894	Sco	1928	1934	34	7	1930					4
460	Forbes G	21071914	NW	1936	1950	22	15						2
461	Forbes J	14031896	NE	1921	1927	25	7	1925					5
462	Forbes J	13011862	Sco	1888	1893	26	6	1890					1
463	Ford A	02081901	NE	1921	1923	20	3						2
464	Ford C	04031878	Sco	1898	1898	20	1						1
465	Ford EF	**011896	SE	1922	1922	26	1						1
466	Ford FGL	10021916	SE	1936	1947	20	12						3

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467	Ford JC	20091910	Sco	1931	1931	20	1						1
468	Ford L	18051914	Wal	1936	1938	22	3						1
469	Ford WG	07051876	Sco	1896	1898	20	3						2
470	Forde S	29081914	Yks	1932	1951	18	20	1935					2
471	Foreman AG	01031914	SE	1938	1946	24	9						2
472	Foreman RG	03091917	EM	1938	1938	20	1						1
473	Forman T	26101879	WM	1900	1911	20	12	1900	1905	1910			3
474	Forrest A	02041908	Sco	1927	1934	19	8	1930					2
475	Forrest E	19021919	NE	1938	1949	19	12						3
476	Forrest JH	24061864	NW	1888	1895	24	8	1890	1895				2
477	Forrest JH	28101895	NW	1921	1925	25	5	1925					1
478	Forrest JR	3051908	Sco	1930	1932	22	3	1930					1
479	Forrest S	**121890	Sco	1912	1914	21	3	1914					1
480	Forrest W	28021908	Sco	1929	1939	21	11	1930	1935				1
481	Forshaw R	20081895	NW	1919	1929	24	11	1920	1925				3
482	Forster LJ	22071915	NE	1938	1947	23	10						3
483	Forster M	24081900	NE	1920	1933	20	14	1920	1925	1930			3
484	Forster R	03111909	NE	1931	1931	21	1						1
485	Forster WB	28051909	NE	1935	1939	26	5	1935					3
486	Forsyth J	18101904	Sco	1925	1938	20	14	1925	1930	1935			3
487	Forsyth N	**111869	WM	1892	1894	22	3						1
488	Fort J	13041888	NW	1920	1929	32	10	1920	1925				1
489	Forward FJ	08091899	SE	1921	1932	21	12	1925	1930				4
490	Foss SLR	28111912	SE	1936	1947	23	12						1
491	Foster BO	10121907	SE	1929	1929	21	1						1
492	Foster I	03091905	WM	1927	1927	21	1						1
493	Foster J	15091902	WM	1925	1926	22	2	1925					2
494	Foster JS	19111877	Yks	1901	1907	23	7	1905					2
495	Foster JTF	21031903	NE	1920	1935	17	16	1920	1925	1930	1935		7
496	Foster R	**021911	NW	1931	1936	20	6	1935					4
497	Foster SB	12111897	EM	1919	1920	21	2	1920					2

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498	Foulke WH	12041874	WM	1894	1906	20	13	1895	1900	1905			3
499	Foulkes CE	07021905	WM	1927	1929	22	3						1
500	Foulkes HE	13041909	Wal	1931	1939	22	9	1935					2
501	Foulkes JB	28081913	Yks	1932	1938	19	7	1935					3
502	Fowler A	20111911	Yks	1932	1939	20	8	1935					2
503	Fowler HN	03091919	NE	1937	1951	17	15						3
504	Fowler J	03121899	Wal	1921	1931	21	11	1925	1930				3
505	Fowler JC	17111902	NW	1926	1933	23	8	1930					2
506	Fox FS	22111898	SW	1921	1930	22	10	1925	1930				5
507	Fox O	28071889	Yks	1910	1921	21	12	1910	1914	1920			1
508	Fox WV	08011898	NE	1919	1930	21	12	1920	1925	1930			3
509	Foxall AT	27051897	WM	1921	1924	24	4						3
510	Foxall FH	02041898	WM	1920	1923	22	4						3
511	Foxall H	21111901	WM	1922	1927	20	6	1925					2
512	Foxall JS	08101914	EM	1934	1938	19	5	1935					1
513	Foyers R	22061868	Sco	1895	1896	27	2	1895					1
514	Foyne J	23071914	NW	1933	1933	19	1						1
515	Frame T	05091902	Sco	1932	1936	29	5	1935					2
516	Frame WL	07051912	Sco	1934	1949	22	16	1935					1
517	Frampton HJ	**071896	SE	1920	1920	24	1	1920					1
518	France J	30111913	NW	1937	1947	23	11						2
519	Francis A	15071902	SE	1924	1924	22	1						1
520	Francis CT	28121915	Wal	1937	1945	21	9						2
521	Franks CR	15101892	NE	1922	1922	29	1						1
522	Fraser J	10111876	Sco	1897	1900	20	4	1900					2
523	Fraser NJ	16041913	Sco	1937	1938	24	2						2
524	Fraser WC	03071907	Sco	1926	1933	19	8	1930					3
525	Frater DT	08021911	Wal	1933	1935	22	3	1935					2
526	Freeborough J	13021879	NW	1902	1908	23	7	1905					3
527	Freeman A	21101899	NW	1922	1929	22	8	1925					2
528	Freeman BC	**101885	WM	1905	1921	19	17	1905	1910	1914	1920		4

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529	Freeman CR	28081887	EM	1906	1922	19	17	1910	1914	1920			3
530	Freeman E	05061886	EM	1920	1920	34	1	1920					1
531	Freeman HG	04111918	WM	1938	1952	19	15						2
532	Freeman JA	13071904	EM	1927	1927	23	1						1
533	Freeman RV	20121897	NW	1920	1933	22	14	1920	1925	1930			3
534	Freeman T	26011907	NE	1930	1933	23	4	1930					2
535	Freeman WD	**061887	WM	1907	1910	20	4	1910					2
536	Frew J	16031900	Sco	1922	1929	22	8	1925					3
537	Frewin GW	06021907	SE	1932	1935	25	4	1935					1
538	Friar J	22071911	Sco	1932	1938	21	7	1935					5
539	Frith W	09061912	Yks	1931	1946	19	16	1935					2
540	Froggatt F	21031898	Yks	1921	1933	23	13	1925	1930				3
541	Frosdick AW	03101893	EA	1920	1921	26	2	1920					1
542	Frost AD	01121915	NW	1938	1938	22	1						2
543	Fryar AFG	25071911	SE	1931	1938	20	8	1935					1
544	Fryer ER	**081904	WM	1927	1928	23	2						1
545	Fryer JL	23091911	NW	1933	1938	21	6	1935					3
546	Fryer J	12011896	NW	1922	1922	26	1						1
547	Fryer W	22071895	NE	1919	1920	24	2	1920					1
548	Fullwood J	17021911	EM	1934	1939	23	6	1935					2
549	Fulton JJ	22121903	Sco	1927	1930	23	4	1930					2
550	Furness WI	08061909	NE	1929	1946	20	18	1930	1935				2
551	Furniss S	09031895	Yks	1920	1926	25	7	1920	1925				3
552	Fursdon RH	01091918	SE	1938	1938	19	1						1
553	Fursland SA	31071914	Wal	1934	1938	20	5	1935					2
554	Gadsby KJ	03071916	EM	1936	1947	20	12						1
555	Gadsden E	21121895	EM	1920	1927	24	8	1920	1925				3
556	Galbraith H	22121868	Sco	1888	1898	19	11	1890	1895				3
557	Gale AR	16111904	NW	1925	1938	20	14	1925	1930	1935			3
558	Gale T	12101895	Yks	1922	1932	26	11	1925	1930				2
559	Gallacher HK	02021903	Sco	1925	1939	22	15	1925	1930	1935			6

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Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
560	Gallacher HM	11051870	Sco	1890	1895	20	6	1890	1895				3
561	Gallacher P	21081909	Sco	1929	1939	20	11	1930	1935				2
562	Gallacher P	09011913	Sco	1936	1947	23	12						2
563	Gallacher S	23121904	Sco	1924	1929	19	6	1925					3
564	Gallagher J	17021897	NE	1920	1926	23	7	1920	1925				3
565	Gallagher J	02091911	NW	1937	1948	25	12						2
566	Gallantree WL	25121913	NE	1932	1937	18	6	1935					3
567	Galley T	04081915	WM	1934	1948	19	15	1935					2
568	Gallimore F	19101908	NW	1931	1939	24	9	1935					1
569	Gallimore G	**081886	WM	1903	1910	17	8	1905	1910				3
570	Gallimore L	14091913	NW	1933	1946	19	14	1935					2
571	Gallimore SH	14041910	NW	1930	1933	20	4	1930					1
572	Gallon JW	12021914	NE	1936	1946	22	11						4
573	Galloway DW	06051905	Sco	1932	1938	27	6	1935					4
574	Galloway SR	22121896	NE	1922	1928	25	7	1925					5
575	Galt JH	11081885	Sco	1914	1914	29	1	1914					1
576	Gamble FC	29051905	SE	1928	1933	23	6	1930					4
577	Gane GBH	**021886	SW	1910	1920	24	11	1910	1914	1920			3
578	Garbutt HP	12111907	Yks	1930	1931	22	2	1930					2
579	Gardiner A	17031913	Sco	1933	1935	20	3	1935					2
580	Gardiner JG	**031904	Sco	1926	1932	22	7	1930					4
581	Gardiner JB	23081916	NE	1934	1939	18	6	1935					1
582	Gardner AE	**041887	WM	1908	1919	21	12	1910	1914				1
583	Gardner A	17041877	Sco	1901	1903	24	3						3
584	Gardner AE	**011878	WM	1898	1898	20	1						1
585	Gardner CR	22121912	WM	1935	1937	22	3	1935					2
586	Gardner DR	31031873	Sco	1899	1903	26	5	1900					2
587	Gardner JR	29071901	SE	1925	1932	24	8	1925	1930				3
588	Gardner JR	05031905	NE	1932	1932	27	1						1
589	Gardner T	28051910	NW	1929	1946	19	18	1930	1935				6
590	Gardner W	07061893	NE	1920	1932	27	13	1920	1925	1930			9

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Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
591	Garfield BW	**081872	EM	1894	1901	22	8	1895	1900				2
592	Garfield JH	**071875	SE	1899	1899	24	1						1
593	Garner JA	18071895	NW	1924	1926	29	3	1925					2
594	Garnham A	22061914	NE	1935	1938	21	4	1935					1
595	Garnish TF	03051900	SE	1923	1925	23	3	1925					2
596	Garratt GT	**041884	NE	1905	1907	21	3	1905					2
597	Garratt J	23031890	WM	1921	1926	31	6	1925					2
598	Garraty W	06101878	WM	1897	1910	18	14	1900	1905	1910			4
599	Garrett ACE	17061919	Sco	1937	1950	18	14						3
600	Garstang F	02111904	NW	1929	1929	24	1						1
601	Gascoigne TC	04111899	NE	1921	1926	21	6	1925					3
602	Gastall JWH	25051913	NW	1935	1938	22	4	1935					3
603	Gaughran WB	20011892	SW	1914	1923	22	10	1914	1920				2
604	Gaughran BM	29091915	Ire	1937	1938	21	2						3
605	Gault WE	20091889	NE	1912	1921	22	9	1914	1920				3
606	Gavigan P	11121896	Sco	1920	1926	23	7	1920	1925				2
607	Gay JM	17031897	Sco	1926	1930	29	5	1930					3
608	Geary F	23011868	EM	1888	1898	20	11	1890	1895				2
609	Gebbie AA	11111901	Sco	1936	1936	34	1						1
610	Geddes AJ	**041871	WM	1891	1894	20	4						2
611	Geddes J	11041908	Sco	1929	1929	21	1						1
612	Gee A	**061892	NE	1911	1923	19	13	1914	1920				4
613	Gee CW	06041909	NW	1929	1938	20	10	1930	1935				2
614	Gee H	25121895	NW	1922	1926	27	5	1925					3
615	Gee J	30091896	NW	1924	1926	27	3	1925					1
616	Geldard A	11041914	Yks	1929	1946	16	18	1930	1935				3
617	Gemmell J	17111880	Sco	1900	1911	19	12	1900	1905	1910			3
618	Gemmell J	17111911	NE	1930	1946	28	17	1930	1935				2
619	George FN	26121897	WM	1920	1927	22	8	1920	1925				1
620	George JS	04021884	EM	1905	1906	21	2	1905					1
621	George W	29061874	SE	1897	1911	23	15	1900	1905	1910			2

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Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
622	Gerrard E	01121903	NW	1925	1925	21	1	1925					1
623	Gerrard E	10101908	SE	1932	1936	23	5	1935					1
624	Gerrish WWW	**121884	SW	1909	1911	24	3	1910					2
625	Getgood G	15111892	Sco	1920	1926	27	7	1920	1925				5
626	Gettins JH	19111874	NE	1899	1902	24	4	1900					1
627	Gibbins WWT	07011901	SE	1923	1933	22	11	1925	1930				4
628	Gibbon S	09011910	Wal	1928	1933	18	6	1930					2
629	Gibbon T	24031891	NE	1913	1923	22	11	1914	1920				2
630	Gibbons AH	10041914	SE	1937	1948	23	12						4
631	Gibbons S	24031907	WM	1925	1937	18	13	1925	1930	1935			3
632	Gibson FTB	08121888	SE	1909	1921	20	13	1910	1914	1920			2
633	Gibson FW	18061907	EM	1927	1937	20	11	1930	1935				3
634	Gibson GE	29081912	WM	1932	1938	20	7	1935					3
635	Gibson JD	12061901	Sco	1926	1935	25	10	1930	1935				1
636	Gibson JR	23031898	For	1920	1933	22	14	1920	1925	1930			4
637	Gibson RS	**021889	SE	1911	1921	22	11	1914	1920				2
638	Gibson SG	20051899	WM	1921	1931	22	11	1925	1930				2
639	Gibson T	23101888	Sco	1907	1923	18	17	1910	1914	1920			3
640	Gibson WM	21071899	Sco	1923	1928	25	6	1925					1
641	Gilberthorpe AE	**011886	EM	1905	1908	19	4	1905					2
642	Gilchrist JW	30031899	Sco	1922	1923	23	2						1
643	Gilfillan JE	28091898	Sco	1928	1937	29	10	1930	1935				2
644	Gilgun P	30121901	Sco	1925	1926	23	2	1925					2
645	Gilhespy TWC	18021898	NE	1920	1932	22	13	1920	1925	1930			7
646	Gilhooley M	26111896	Sco	1920	1927	23	8	1920	1925				4
647	Gilhooly P	06071876	Sco	1900	1900	24	1	1900					1
648	Gill JJ	09111894	Yks	1913	1928	18	16	1914	1920	1925			5
649	Gill JJA	21071903	NE	1926	1935	23	10	1930	1935				4
650	Gillan JS	**121870	EM	1893	1893	22	1						1
651	Gillespie IC	06051913	SW	1936	1946	23	11						2
652	Gillespie M	24121869	Sco	1892	1899	22	8	1895					3

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Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
653	Gillespie R	20101904	NW	1924	1931	19	8	1925	1930				3
654	Gillespie TB	28021901	Sco	1925	1931	24	7	1925	1930				1
655	Gillespie WB	06081891	Ire	1910	1931	19	22	1910	1914	1920	1925	1930	2
656	Gillespie WF	29101903	Sco	1927	1929	23	3						2
657	Gillespie WJ	20101873	Sco	1895	1904	21	10	1895	1900				2
658	Gillick T	19051915	Sco	1935	1939	20	5	1935					1
659	Gillott E	14121902	Yks	1924	1927	21	4	1925					1
660	Gillow WB	06071892	NW	1912	1924	20	13	1914	1920				3
661	Gilson TA	**061879	WM	1900	1905	21	6	1900	1905				3
662	Gittens AG	**071886	NW	1908	1908	23	1						1
663	Gittins J	08101900	WM	1920	1932	19	13	1920	1925	1930			1
664	Gittins JH	11111893	EM	1914	1926	20	13	1914	1920	1925			2
665	Gladwin GWE	28031907	EM	1930	1938	23	9	1930	1935				2
666	Glasper WH	**041910	NE	1933	1936	23	4	1935					2
667	Glassey RJ	13081914	NE	1935	1939	21	5	1935					2
668	Gledhill S	07071913	Yks	1936	1948	23	13						1
669	Glen A	11121878	Sco	1902	1903	21	2						2
670	Glenn E	12041902	WM	1923	1930	21	8	1925	1930				1
671	Glidden GS	15121915	NE	1935	1950	19	16	1935					3
672	Glidden TW	**071902	NE	1922	1935	20	14	1925	1930	1935			1
673	Glidden WS	30011908	NE	1928	1930	20	3						4
674	Glover A	27031918	Yks	1937	1952	19	16						1
675	Glover CE	07041902	NW	1923	1927	21	5	1925					3
676	Glover EM	09091910	Wal	1929	1939	18	11						2
677	Glover JW	28101876	WM	1897	1907	20	11	1900	1905				3
678	Glover JW	29101896	NW	1921	1925	24	5	1925					2
679	Goddard G	20121903	SE	1926	1937	22	12	1930	1935				4
680	Goddard H	**021905	EM	1927	1927	22	1						1
681	Goddard R	17101920	Yks	1938	1953	17	16						4
682	Goddard RJ	22111898	SW	1921	1923	22	3						1
683	Godderidge AE	29051902	WM	1923	1926	21	4	1925					2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
684	Godfrey C	17021909	Yks	1928	1939	19	12	1930	1935				3
685	Godfrey J	**091894	Yks	1919	1920	24	2	1920					4
686	Godfrey T	15011904	Sco	1927	1932	23	6	1930					2
687	Godfrey W	29041910	Sco	1933	1936	23	4	1935					2
688	Goffey HH	09051911	SE	1935	1938	24	4	1935					2
689	Gofton G	28021912	NE	1932	1932	20	1						1
690	Goldberg L	03011918	Yks	1937	1949	19	13						2
691	Goldie A	05011874	Sco	1895	1903	21	9	1895	1900				3
692	Goldie E	15051873	Sco	1897	1897	24	1						1
693	Goldie WG	22011878	Sco	1897	1910	19	14	1900	1905	1910			3
694	Golding C	28081913	NW	1935	1935	22	1	1935					1
695	Goldsmith G	11031905	NE	1928	1935	23	8	1930	1935				3
696	Goldthorpe EH	08061898	Yks	1919	1925	21	7	1920	1925				4
697	Golledge LH	03081911	SW	1931	1936	20	6	1935					2
698	Gomm AF	01051897	SE	1920	1932	23	13	1920	1925	1930			2
699	Gooch PG	01091882	EA	1906	1907	23	2						2
700	Good HJ	02071901	Sco	1924	1927	23	4	1925					3
701	Good MH	**071875	Sco	1896	1902	21	7	1900					3
702	Goodacre R	24071908	EM	1930	1933	22	4	1930					2
703	Goodall AL	19061864	Nire	1888	1904	24	17	1890	1895	1900			4
704	Goodall EI	13101913	NE	1937	1938	23	2						2
705	Goodall FR	11021902	EM	1922	1936	19	15	1925	1930	1935			1
706	Goodall J	19061863	SE	1888	1902	25	15	1890	1895	1900			4
707	Goodchild AJ	04041892	SE	1911	1926	19	16	1914	1920	1925			1
708	Grant AF	11081916	SW	1938	1949	22	12						5
709	Grass G	23101905	NW	1930	1931	24	2	1930					1
710	Grassam W	20111880	Sco	1899	1904	18	6	1900					2
711	Graver F	08091897	NE	1922	1925	24	4	1925					3
712	Gray A	23091900	Wal	1923	1937	22	15	1925	1930	1935			4
713	Gray A	30081910	NW	1932	1935	22	4	1935					2
714	Gray AE	10031894	EM	1919	1926	25	8	1920	1925				1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
715	Gray FJS	**091868	WM	1889	1892	20	4	1890					2
716	Gray GW	27051896	Yks	1920	1922	24	3	1920					2
717	Gray M	18041907	NW	1927	1938	20	12	1930	1935				2
718	Gray RA	07101903	NE	1927	1935	23	9	1930	1935				7
719	Gray RSM	27021872	Sco	1895	1899	23	5	1895					2
720	Gray WJ	16091900	Sco	1928	1935	27	8	1930	1935				2
721	Grayer F	**021890	SE	1913	1913	23	1						1
722	Greatorex WHA	03011895	NW	1919	1923	24	5	1920					3
723	Greatrex GK	16051904	NW	1928	1932	24	5	1930					2
724	Greaves GH	20061897	EM	1921	1923	24	3						1
725	Greaves T	26031892	NE	1911	1927	19	17	1914	1920	1925			2
726	Green A	07101892	SE	1921	1923	28	3						2
727	Green AW	12051881	Wal	1902	1909	21	8	1905					3
728	Green BH	23021883	Yks	1901	1914	18	14	1905	1910	1914			5
729	Green F	**051902	NE	1927	1931	25	5	1930					3
730	Green FZ	09091916	Yks	1935	1948	18	14	1935					2
731	Green GF	22121914	Yks	1936	1948	21	13						3
732	Green GH	02051901	WM	1923	1933	22	11	1925	1930				1
733	Green GH	12111912	Wal	1936	1939	23	4						1
734	Green H	03081904	WM	1925	1928	21	4	1925					3
735	Green H	23041918	Yks	1937	1954	19	18						2
736	Green JH	**031915	NE	1934	1936	19	3	1935					2
737	Green JA	**091894	NW	1919	1919	24	1						1
738	Green RGC	12031912	SW	1932	1937	20	6	1935					4
739	Green T	25111883	NW	1901	1908	17	7	1905					3
740	Green T	25111893	NW	1919	1923	25	5	1920					4
741	Green T	26021900	NW	1920	1922	20	3	1920					2
742	Green T	**051913	WM	1933	1939	20	7	1935					3
743	Green TF	24081907	NE	1932	1935	25	4	1935					1
744	Greene C	01121911	Ire	1933	1936	21	4	1935					3
745	Greenfield GW	04081908	SE	1931	1934	23	4						1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
746	Greenhalgh HW	27061900	NW	1924	1928	24	5	1925					1
747	Greenhalgh JS	**031898	NW	1922	1925	24	4	1925					2
748	Greenhalgh NH	10081914	NW	1935	1948	21	14	1935					2
749	Greenhalgh S	**071882	NW	1902	1913	20	12	1905	1910				2
750	Greenwell EE	04011901	NE	1920	1927	19	8	1920	1925				2
751	Greenwell JW	08021901	NE	1928	1931	27	4	1930					2
752	Greer WH	28021872	NW	1891	1898	19	8	1895					2
753	Gregg RE	03011904	NE	1926	1937	22	12	1930	1935				4
754	Gregg W	21071908	Yks	1932	1939	24	8	1935					5
755	Gregory CF	24101911	Yks	1929	1946	17	18	1930	1935				6
756	Gregory H	06041893	WM	1911	1924	18	14	1914	1920				1
757	Gregory RJ	26081902	SE	1925	1927	23	3	1925					1
758	Gregory VF	14021888	SE	1920	1922	32	3	1920					1
759	Grendon FJW	05091891	SE	1920	1921	28	2	1920					1
760	Grenyer A	31081892	NE	1910	1922	18	13	1910	1914	1920			2
761	Gribben WH	28101906	Yks	1928	1928	21	1						1
762	Grice F	13111908	EM	1931	1938	22	8	1935					2
763	Grice R	12041907	NW	1932	1935	25	4	1935					3
764	Grice TW	17031908	EM	1933	1934	25	2						2
765	Grieve RB	28031884	Sco	1906	1910	22	5	1910					2
766	Griffin A	03061871	WM	1892	1899	21	8	1895					2
767	Griffin H	**091879	WM	1902	1902	22	1						1
768	Griffin JH	**041898	Wal	1920	1923	22	4	1920					2
769	Griffin RHG	18101919	SE	1938	1938	18	1						1
770	Griffith R	28091907	Ire	1932	1934	24	3						2
771	Griffiths A	06031879	WM	1903	1911	24	9	1905	1910				1
772	Griffiths FJ	13091873	Wal	1901	1901	27	1						1
773	Griffiths H	**011886	NE	1905	1908	19	4	1905					2
774	Griffiths HS	17111912	NW	1935	1946	22	12	1935					1
775	Griffiths H	**081871	WM	1889	1900	18	12	1890	1895	1900			1
776	Griffiths JS	23021914	Yks	1937	1952	23	16						4

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
777	Griffiths JA	**091872	WM	1895	1896	22	2	1895					1
778	Griffiths J	15091909	WM	1929	1939	19	11	1930	1935				3
779	Griffiths LH	07091905	Wal	1925	1950	21	6	1925	1930				4
780	Griffiths PH	25101908	Wal	1926	1934	17	9	1930					3
781	Griffiths TP	21051906	Wal	1922	1938	16	17	1925	1930	1935			6
782	Griffiths WM	08031919	Wal	1937	1955	18	19						2
783	Griggs PR	12061918	SE	1938	1938	20	1						1
784	Grimes WJ	27031886	SE	1907	1914	21	8	1910	1914				3
785	Grimsdell A	23031894	SE	1911	1929	17	19	1914	1920	1925			2
786	Grimwood JB	25101898	NE	1919	1927	20	9	1920	1925				2
787	Gripton EW	02071920	WM	1938	1951	18	14						3
788	Grogan J	30101915	Sco	1935	1951	19	17	1935					2
789	Groome JPG	01091901	SE	1926	1928	24	3						2
790	Grosvenor AT	22111908	WM	1931	1938	22	8	1935					3
791	Grosvenor P	17031911	WM	1933	1939	22	7	1935					1
792	Groves A	**011886	Wal	1909	1923	23	15	1910	1914	1920			2
793	Groves A	27091907	EM	1927	1939	19	13	1930	1935				5
794	Groves E	**071900	WM	1921	1929	21	9	1925					1
795	Groves F	06051892	EM	1909	1925	17	17	1910	1914	1920	1925		5
796	Groves FW	13011891	Yks	1911	1924	19	14	1914	1920				4
797	Groves G	08101894	WM	1920	1923	25	4	1920					1
798	Groves GJ	19101868	EM	1895	1895	26	1	1895					1
799	Groves JA	**071883	NE	1903	1909	20	7	1905					3
800	Groves W	**111869	Sco	1890	1893	20	4	1890					2
801	Grundy AJ	19091919	NE	1936	1937	16	2						1
802	Grundy H	18091893	NW	1914	1928	20	15	1914	1920	1925			1
803	Gueran SF	02101916	SE	1936	1937	19	2						1
804	Guest WF	08021914	WM	1933	1947	19	15	1935					3
805	Guest WR	08021913	Yks	1936	1936	23	1						1
806	Gummery WH	01051900	WM	1924	1925	24	2	1925					2
807	Gundry R	04071917	SE	1935	1935	18	1	1935					1

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
808	Gunn W	04121858	EM	1888	1892	29	5	1890					1
809	Gunnell RC	10041899	SE	1926	1926	27	1						1
810	Gunson JG	01071904	NW	1926	1935	22	10	1930	1935				5
811	Gunton SA	**031883	EA	1911	1912	28	2						2
812	Gurkin J	09091895	NE	1921	1929	26	9	1925					4
813	Gurney R	13101907	NE	1925	1938	17	14	1925	1930	1935			1
814	Gurry JW	17071907	SE	1932	1936	25	5	1935					3
815	Guthrie JWT	06061912	Sco	1937	1946	25	10						2
816	Guttridge FH	12041866	EM	1888	1894	22	7	1890					2
817	Guy G	01111896	NW	1920	1922	23	3	1920					2
818	Guyan GW	05041901	Sco	1922	1931	21	10	1925	1930				5
819	Gwyther BP	22081906	Wal	1925	1926	19	2	1925					2
820	Hackett CE	09021903	EM	1930	1932	27	3	1930					2
821	Hacking J	23121897	NW	1921	1935	23	15	1925	1930	1935			4
822	Haddleton GA	06041910	NE	1930	1934	20	5	1930					4
823	Haddow AS	08041903	Sco	1927	1927	24	1						1
824	Haddow D	12061869	Sco	1890	1898	21	9	1890	1895				3
825	Haden S	17011902	Yks	1923	1935	21	13	1925	1930	1935			2
826	Hadley GA	05061893	WM	1919	1922	26	4	1920					2
827	Hafekost CH	22031890	SE	1914	1914	24	1	1914					1
828	Hagan A	10111895	NE	1919	1926	23	8	1920	1925				3
829	Hagan J	21101918	NE	1935	1957	16	23	1935					2
830	Haggan J	16121896	NE	1919	1922	22	4	1920					2
831	Haggart W	**081874	Sco	1898	1899	24	2						1
832	Hague EM	21071901	Yks	1928	1930	27	3	1930					3
833	Haigh C	**081903	EM	1923	1924	20	2						1
834	Haines WH	**061882	WM	1904	1908	22	5	1905					2
835	Haines WWP	14071900	SW	1922	1931	22	10	1925	1930				2
836	Hainsworth L	25011918	Yks	1938	1952	20	15						3
837	Hale A	24011906	Yks	1925	1929	19	5	1925					3
838	Hales H	21111908	EM	1928	1935	19	8	1930	1935				6

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
839	Haley WT	16021904	SE	1924	1931	20	8	1925	1930				4
840	Halford D	19101915	SE	1935	1939	19	5	1935					3
841	Halkyard C	17041902	NW	1924	1934	22	11	1925	1930				4
842	Hall AE	**021882	WM	1903	1913	21	11	1905	1910	1914			1
843	Hall AEB	03091918	Wal	1935	1947	16	13	1935					2
844	Hall AW	06111908	Sco	1928	1939	19	12	1930	1935				1
845	Hall AG	12111912	SE	1934	1948	21	15	1935					4
846	Hall B	06031879	Yks	1900	1911	21	12	1900	1905				3
847	Hall BAC	29031908	Yks	1926	1934	18	9	1930					6
848	Hall B	**021903	NE	1926	1932	23	7	1930					3
849	Hall E	22061889	Yks	1905	1924	16	20	1905	1910	1914	1920		3
850	Hall E	06081916	NE	1935	1937	19	3	1935					2
851	Hall FW	18111917	NE	1936	1955	18	20						3
852	Hall F	**031892	Yks	1920	1922	28	3	1920					2
853	Hall GWC	12031912	EM	1930	1939	18	10	1930	1935				2
854	Hall GWE	05091912	EM	1932	1938	19	7	1935					3
855	Hall J	23101912	NW	1933	1938	20	6	1935					2
856	Hall JH	03071883	EM	1904	1914	21	11	1905	1910	1914			4
857	Hall J	25101909	Yks	1934	1936	24	3	1935					1
858	Hall L	23011915	NE	1938	1948	23	11						1
859	Hall P	**011884	NW	1903	1908	19	6	1905					3
860	Hall SA	18021917	SE	1938	1946	21	9						1
861	Hall TWS	15061908	NE	1929	1930	21	2	1930					1
862	Hallam C	**041899	WM	1922	1927	23	6	1925					3
863	Hallam J	**021869	WM	1892	1895	23	4	1895					1
864	Hallard W	28021913	NW	1935	1946	22	12	1935					4
865	Halley G	29101887	Sco	1911	1922	23	12	1914	1920				3
866	Halliday D	11121897	Sco	1925	1934	27	10	1925	1930				4
867	Halliday JH	20021908	Sco	1930	1931	22	2	1930					2
868	Halliday T	11091909	NE	1928	1938	18	11	1930	1935				3
869	Halliday W	1411906	Sco	1927	1931	20	5	1930					2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
870	Halliwell JC	20051898	Yks	1921	1931	23	11	1925	1930				2
871	Halliwell JA	17011894	NW	1912	1928	18	17	1914	1920	1925			3
872	Hallows JH	16021907	NW	1930	1936	23	7	1930	1935				2
873	Halsall WG	29031912	NW	1933	1938	21	6	1935					2
874	Halsall W	02051897	NW	1921	1930	24	10	1925	1930				1
875	Halse HJ	01011886	SE	1905	1922	19	18	1905	1910	1914	1920		5
876	Halshaw JT	**031896	NW	1923	1923	27	1						1
877	Halstead FD	**041896	NW	1920	1924	24	5	1920					4
878	Halton RL	11071916	WM	1936	1951	20	16						5
879	Hamer A	08121916	Yks	1938	1938	21	1						1
880	Hamill KJ	06031914	NW	1935	1935	21	1	1935					1
881	Hamill M	19011885	Nire	1911	1923	26	13	1914	1920				2
882	Hamilton HH	27031906	NW	1923	1938	17	16	1925	1930	1935			6
883	Hamilton J	16061901	Sco	1928	1930	27	3	1930					2
884	Hamilton JS	16081906	Sco	1931	1938	25	8	1935					3
885	Hamilton S	**041912	NE	1937	1938	25	2						1
886	Hamilton T	10021893	Sco	1920	1928	27	9	1920	1925				1
887	Hamilton W	24101904	Sco	1925	1930	20	6	1925	1930				5
888	Hammerton JD	22031900	Yks	1920	1925	20	6	1920	1925				2
889	Hammond HE	07111907	SE	1928	1937	20	10	1930	1935				1
890	Hammond L	12091901	EM	1924	1933	22	10	1925	1930				2
891	Hammond WR	19061903	SE	1921	1923	18	3						1
892	Hampshire JG	05101913	Yks	1935	1937	21	3	1935					1
893	Hampson EJ	28121887	WM	1913	1923	25	11	1914	1920				3
894	Hampson H	08061918	NW	1936	1939	18	4						2
895	Hampson J	23031906	NW	1925	1937	19	13	1925					2
896	Hampson T	02051898	NW	1920	1929	22	10	1920	1925				5
897	Hampson W	24071889	NW	1914	1923	25	10	1914	1920				5
898	Hampson W	26081882	NW	1907	1927	25	21	1910	1914	1920	1925		3
899	Hampton JH	21041885	WM	1904	1922	19	18	1905	1910	1914	1920		3
900	Hancock E	29031907	Yks	1931	1938	24	8	1935					4

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901	Hancock FL	13071906	Yks	1930	1936	24	7	1930	1935				2
902	Hancocks J	30041919	WM	1938	1955	19	18						2
903	Hand WR	05071898	EM	1920	1925	22	6	1920	1925				1
904	Handley CHJ	12031899	SE	1921	1931	22	11	1925	1930				3
905	Hands T	04011870	WM	1892	1895	22	4	1895					1
906	Hanford H	09101907	Wal	1927	1946	19	20	1930	1935				3
907	Hankey AE	24081914	WM	1937	1949	23	13						1
908	Hanlon JJ	12101917	NW	1938	1949	20	12						1
909	Hann L	**011915	NE	1936	1939	21	4						2
910	Hann R	04071911	NE	1932	1946	21	15	1935					2
911	Hannaford CW	08011896	SE	1920	1928	24	9	1920	1925				4
912	Hannah AB	17091864	Sco	1889	1894	24	6	1890					2
913	Hannah D	28041867	Nire	1890	1898	23	9	1890	1895				3
914	Hannah G	04021871	Sco	1895	1897	24	3	1895					2
915	Hannah JH	30111898	EA	1920	1924	21	5	1920					1
916	Hanney ET	19011889	SE	1913	1921	24	9	1914	1920				3
917	Hanson AJ	27021912	NW	1932	1938	20	7	1935					2
918	Hanson F	23051915	Yks	1935	1946	20	12	1935					2
919	Hanson J	06111904	NW	1924	1929	19	6	1925					1
920	Hanson S	27121915	NW	1936	1955	20	20						1
921	Hapgood EA	27091908	SW	1927	1939	18	13	1930	1935				1
922	Harbidge CW	15071891	WM	1920	1921	29	2	1920					2
923	Harbot JW	16081907	NW	1930	1937	23	8	1935					5
924	Hardinge HTW	25021886	SE	1905	1919	19	15	1905	1910	1914			3
925	Hardman HP	04041882	NW	1900	1909	18	10	1900	1905				4
926	Hardstaff J	09111882	EM	1904	1905	21	2	1905					1
927	Hardwick GFM	02021920	NE	1937	1955	17	19						2
928	Hardy C	01011898	NE	1921	1927	23	7	1925					1
929	Hardy GG	**041912	EM	1936	1938	24	3						2
930	Hardy HJ	14011895	NW	1920	1930	25	11	1920	1925	1930			3
931	Hardy JH	**031898	NE	1922	1922	24	1						1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
932	Hardy JJ	10021899	NE	1921	1927	22	7	1925					4
933	Hardy R	16061885	SE	1908	1910	23	3	1910					1
934	Hardy S	28081883	EM	1902	1924	19	23	1905	1910	1914	1920		4
935	Hardy W	18041891	NE	1910	1931	19	22	1910	1914	1920	1925	1930	2
936	Hardy WH	25101915	Yks	1935	1936	19	2	1935					2
937	Hare CB	**061871	WM	1891	1897	20	7	1895					3
938	Hargreaves T	17111902	NW	1923	1930	20	8	1925	1930				4
939	Hargreaves H	03021899	NW	1921	1927	22	7	1925					4
940	Hargreaves J	01051915	Yks	1935	1947	20	13	1935					3
941	Hargreaves JL	04031890	NW	1911	1923	21	13	1914	1920				1
942	Hargreaves T	29101917	NW	1937	1946	19	10						2
943	Harker W	**011911	NW	1930	1938	19	9						5
944	Harkin J	08081913	Yks	1934	1946	21	13						2
945	Harkus GC	25091898	NE	1921	1931	22	11	1925	1930				3
946	Harley AJ	17091898	Sco	1927	1930	28	4	1930					3
947	Harley CC	**031871	WM	1890	1890	19	1	1890					1
948	Harley J	21021917	Sco	1935	1947	18	13	1935					1
949	Harper B	23111912	Yks	1932	1939	19	8	1935					1
950	Harper EC	22081901	SE	1923	1934	22	12	1925	1930				4
951	Harper G	**051877	WM	1897	1902	20	6	1900					3
952	Harper K	15041917	Yks	1937	1948	20	12						2
953	Harper RRG	**041881	WM	1905	1908	24	4	1905					3
954	Harper T	**041903	Yks	1927	1928	24	2						1
955	Harper W	19011897	Sco	1925	1938	28	14	1925	1930	1935			3
956	Harper WG	15111900	Sco	1921	1926	20	6	1925					4
957	Harrington JC	25121896	NW	1920	1923	23	4	1920					4
958	Harris A	16091912	NE	1930	1938	17	9	1930	1935				4
959	Harris A	29101902	NW	1924	1927	21	4	1925					1
960	Harris A	15091903	NW	1926	1926	22	1						1
961	Harris A	28071914	WM	1936	1946	22	11						1
962	Harris B	14031901	Yks	1922	1933	21	12	1925	1930				5

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
963	Harris CV	01091896	EM	1922	1927	25	6	1925					2
964	Harris C	01121885	SE	1905	1905	19	1	1905					1
965	Harris EJ	**071872	WM	1895	1895	23	1	1895					1
966	Harris F	05041908	WM	1928	1935	20	8	1930	1935				2
967	Harris FE	01121899	NW	1919	1921	19	3	1920					1
968	Harris F	02071912	WM	1934	1949	22	16	1935					1
969	Harris GA	01011878	WM	1901	1909	23	9	1905					2
970	Harris J	19031896	NE	1924	1928	28	5	1925					5
971	Harris J	30061917	Sco	1936	1956	19	21						3
972	Harris J	19031896	Sco	1922	1932	26	11	1925	1930				3
973	Harris J	05111891	Sco	1910	1926	18	17	1910	1914	1920			4
974	Harris NL	30101894	Sco	1920	1928	25	9	1920	1925				3
975	Harris T	18091905	NW	1926	1930	20	5	1930					4
976	Harris WN	22021900	WM	1923	1929	23	7	1925					2
977	Harris WH	**071904	SW	1924	1929	20	6	1925					2
978	Harris W	25091890	Sco	1909	1909	18	1						1
979	Harris W	01121918	WM	1937	1949	18	13						3
980	Harris WJ	25041900	NE	1924	1928	24	5	1925					4
981	Harrison A	15021904	NW	1922	1930	18	9	1925	1930				3
982	Harrison FP	21061911	Yks	1934	1936	23	3	1935					2
983	Harrison F	02021880	SE	1907	1913	27	7	1910					2
984	Harrison G	18071892	EM	1910	1931	18	22	1910	1914	1920	1925	1930	4
985	Harrison H	21111893	NE	1919	1928	25	10	1920	1925				4
986	Harrison W	26091901	NW	1924	1932	22	9	1925	1930				1
987	Harrison WE	29081884	NW	1907	1923	23	17	1910	1914	1920			4
988	Harrold JGW	26031892	SE	1912	1923	20	12	1914	1920				2
989	Harrold S	05091895	WM	1919	1922	23	4	1920					3
990	Harron J	14031900	NE	1920	1929	20	10	1925					4
991	Harrop J	**091884	Yks	1907	1921	22	15	1910	1914	1920			3
992	Harry AE	08031897	SE	1921	1933	24	13	1925	1930				1
993	Harston E	27021907	Yks	1930	1937	23	8	1930	1935				5

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994	Hart EA	03011902	EM	1920	1936	18	17	1920	1925	1930	1935		2
995	Hart HA	16081894	EM	1919	1919	25	1						1
996	Hart J	02011903	Sco	1926	1930	23	5	1930					4
997	Hart J	01011903	NE	1928	1928	25	1						1
998	Hart JL	28021917	NW	1938	1953	21	16						1
999	Hartill WJ	08071905	WM	1928	1937	23	10	1930	1935				4
1000	Hartles W	**041890	NW	1920	1921	30	2	1920					2
1001	Hartley A	08021872	Sco	1892	1899	20	8	1895					4
1002	Hartley J	29101876	Sco	1895	1902	18	8	1895	1900				4
1003	Hartley S	22011914	Yks	1936	1938	22	3						2
1004	Hartley TW	07051917	NE	1935	1947	18	13	1935					2
1005	Hartshorne J	25031907	WM	1936	1939	29	4						1
1006	Hartwell AW	28061883	SW	1901	1908	18	8	1905					2
1007	Harvey E	08091900	Yks	1924	1928	23	5	1925					2
1008	Harvey H	**041875	WM	1897	1900	22	4	1900					3
1009	Harvey JD	07081911	Yks	1932	1934	21	3						2
1010	Harvey JH	06041915	NE	1936	1938	21	3						3
1011	Harvey J	11061918	Yks	1937	1952	19	16						2
1012	Harvey WA	02051908	NE	1929	1938	21	10	1930	1935				3
1013	Harvey WHT	12041896	NE	1919	1924	23	6	1920					2
1014	Harwood A	16051881	NE	1906	1906	25	1						1
1015	Harwood I	05121905	Yks	1929	1936	23	8	1930	1935				5
1016	Haslam G	**041898	NW	1921	1927	23	7	1925					2
1017	Hasson WC	12061905	Sco	1928	1935	23	8	1930	1935				3
1018	Hastings AC	17031912	Sco	1930	1945	28	16	1930	1935				1
1019	Hatfield E	16011905	EM	1928	1932	23	5	1930					3
1020	Hatton C	14091918	EM	1936	1953	17	18						3
1021	Hatton SEO	**041891	WM	1919	1921	28	3	1920					1
1022	Hauser S	20021893	Yks	1913	1921	20	9	1914	1920				1
1023	Havelock PHW	20011901	Yks	1923	1931	22	9	1925	1930				5
1024	Hawarden A	30061895	NW	1921	1923	26	3						2

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1025	Hawes AR	02101895	EA	1920	1931	24	12	1920	1925	1930			5
1026	Hawkins GH	24111915	NE	1935	1948	19	14	1935					5
1027	Hawkins JV	05101904	SE	1927	1930	22	4	1930					2
1028	Hawkins T	**041869	WM	1892	1897	23	6	1895					1
1029	Hawksworth E	06121894	NW	1919	1926	24	8	1920	1925				2
1030	Hawley FW	28071890	EM	1912	1927	22	16	1914	1920	1925			7
1031	Haworth G	17101864	NW	1888	1891	23	4	1890					1
1032	Haworth R	**021907	NW	1929	1930	22	2	1930					1
1033	Haworth R	26061897	NW	1921	1932	24	12	1925	1930				2
1034	Haworth R	10031901	NW	1921	1926	20	6	1925					3
1035	Hawtin LC	02071892	EM	1920	1922	28	3	1920					1
1036	Haycock FJ	19041912	NW	1936	1946	24	11						2
1037	Haydon JG	04051901	SW	1921	1930	20	10	1925	1930				1
1038	Hayes W	08061919	NW	1938	1950	19	13						1
1039	Hayes WE	08111895	NW	1914	1927	18	14	1914	1920	1925			5
1040	Hayes WE	07111915	Ire	1934	1949	18	16	1935					2
1041	Hayhurst A	17091905	Yks	1932	1938	26	7	1935					2
1042	Haynes AH	21041873	WM	1892	1895	19	4	1895					3
1043	Hays CJ	12121918	NE	1938	1952	19	15						3
1044	Hayward JW	**101903	EM	1925	1933	21	9	1925	1930				2
1045	Hayward LE	02081917	WM	1934	1951	17	18	1935					2
1046	Haywood A	23031875	WM	1894	1907	19	14	1895	1900	1905			5
1047	Haywood G	11121906	EM	1929	1935	22	7	1930	1935				3
1048	Haywood NSC	07091910	Sco	1933	1933	22	1						1
1049	Head BJ	08061916	SW	1936	1952	20	17						2
1050	Heale JA	19091914	SW	1931	1939	16	9	1935					2
1051	Healey R	20091890	NE	1909	1922	18	14	1910	1914	1920			3
1052	Healless H	10021893	NW	1919	1932	26	14	1920	1925	1930			1
1053	Healy J	14091904	Sco	1925	1929	20	5	1925					1
1054	Heap C	14021906	NW	1928	1931	22	4	1930					3
1055	Heap D	02031902	NW	1923	1924	21	2						1

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1056	Heap F	12101897	NW	1919	1929	21	11	1920	1925				1
1057	Heard LH	25051893	SE	1923	1923	30	1						1
1058	Heaselgrave SE	01091916	WM	1936	1947	19	12						2
1059	Heathcock JB	05121903	WM	1926	1929	22	4						2
1060	Heathcote J	17111894	NW	1919	1927	24	9	1920	1925				4
1061	Heaton T	02061897	NW	1919	1926	22	8	1920	1925				2
1062	Hebden GHR	02061900	SE	1920	1929	20	10	1920	1925				3
1063	Hebden JT	12111900	NW	1920	1932	19	13	1920	1925	1930			5
1064	Hedley F	06011908	NE	1928	1939	20	12	1930	1935				7
1065	Hedley GA	20071876	NE	1897	1912	21	16	1900	1905	1910			2
1066	Heelbeck LW	13051911	Yks	1931	1936	20	6	1935					3
1067	Hegazi H	14091891	For	1911	1911	19	1						1
1068	Heinemann CA	29021904	WM	1925	1925	21	1	1925					1
1069	Heinemann GH	17121905	WM	1928	1937	22	10	1930	1935				4
1070	Helliwell E	25111905	Yks	1926	1932	20	7	1930					2
1071	Helliwell S	30011904	Yks	1926	1931	22	6	1930					4
1072	Helliwell T	**011897	Yks	1922	1923	25	2						1
1073	Hemsley CJ	17081888	SE	1919	1920	31	2	1920					1
1074	Henderson A	16071873	NE	1893	1900	20	8	1895	1900				2
1075	Henderson CJ	**041870	NE	1892	1896	22	5	1895					4
1076	Henderson CG	12051885	NE	1908	1910	23	3	1910					2
1077	Henderson D	06031913	SE	1935	1938	22	4	1935					1
1078	Henderson GB	09011902	Sco	1925	1936	23	12	1925	1930	1935			2
1079	Henderson GH	02051880	Sco	1905	1909	25	5	1905					3
1080	Henderson WJ	11011899	NE	1921	1929	22	9	1925					5
1081	Hendren EH	05021889	SE	1908	1926	19	19	1910	1914	1920	1925		2
1082	Hendry WH	**061864	Sco	1888	1896	24	9	1890	1895				5
1083	Henry GR	05101920	Yks	1938	1952	17	15						4
1084	Henry WA	06091884	Sco	1909	1919	24	11	1910	1914				2
1085	Henshall HV	14061889	WM	1910	1923	21	14	1910	1914	1920			4
1086	Henson GH	25121911	SE	1932	1939	21	8	1935					5

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1087	Heppell GB	02091916	NE	1937	1951	20	15						1
1088	Hepworth R	25011919	Yks	1939	1950	20	12						1
1089	Herbert JH	21011895	Yks	1921	1921	26	1						1
1090	Herd A	08111911	Sco	1932	1951	20	20	1935					2
1091	Herod ERB	16051900	SE	1921	1936	21	16	1925	1930	1935			6
1092	Hesford RT	13041916	NW	1934	1949	18	16	1935					1
1093	Heslop R	05021907	NE	1928	1938	21	11	1930	1935				2
1094	Hetherington J	11041892	NE	1920	1927	28	8	1920	1925				4
1095	Hetherington JA	07081906	Yks	1928	1938	22	11	1930					4
1096	Hetherington TB	22011911	NE	1933	1946	22	14	1935					2
1097	Heward HA	31081910	NE	1932	1935	22	4	1935					2
1098	Hewison R	25031889	NE	1910	1924	21	15	1910	1914	1920			2
1099	Hewitson R	26021884	NE	1903	1908	19	6	1905					3
1100	Hewitt A H	10011900	EM	1924	1927	24	4	1925					1
1101	Hewitt CW	10041884	NE	1904	1921	20	18	1905	1910	1914	1920		3
1102	Hewitt JJ	15061911	NE	1930	1939	19	10	1930	1935				4
1103	Hewitt J	03051881	NW	1901	1910	20	10	1905	1910				3
1104	Hewitt TJ	26041889	Wal	1911	1911	22	1						1
1105	Heydon C	24051919	NW	1938	1948	19	11						3
1106	Heywood AE	12051913	NE	1938	1946	25	9						2
1107	Heywood G	12011907	NW	1935	1936	28	2	1935					2
1108	Heywood H	**031913	NW	1932	1934	19	3						2
1109	Heywood R	04051909	NW	1929	1939	20	11	1930	1935				1
1110	Hibberd CM	08051895	Yks	1921	1923	26	3						2
1111	Hibbert W	21091886	NW	1906	1922	19	17	1910	1914	1920			4
1112	Hibbs HE	27051906	WM	1925	1939	19	15	1925	1930	1935			1
1113	Hick WM	13021903	NE	1921	1931	18	11	1925	1930				6
1114	Hickie W	09121902	Sco	1924	1932	21	9	1925	1930				4
1115	Hickman G	17011909	NE	1928	1929	19	2						1
1116	Hickman JEA W	**031915	WM	1936	1939	21	4						1
1117	Hickman J	**081901	NE	1926	1928	25	3						3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1118	Hicks GW	30041902	NW	1923	1933	21	11	1925	1930				4
1119	Higginbotham H	27071897	For	1919	1924	22	6	1920					5
1120	Higgins A	04111885	Sco	1905	1921	19	17	1905	1910	1914	1920		3
1121	Higgins AK	26041909	Sco	1931	1938	22	8	1935					4
1122	Higgins JB	31121885	WM	1907	1907	21	1						1
1123	High SC	18021908	NE	1929	1932	21	4	1930					3
1124	Higham F	**091905	EM	1924	1929	18	6	1925					3
1125	Higham N	14021912	NW	1933	1939	21	7	1935					3
1126	Hilditch CG	02061894	NW	1919	1931	25	13	1920	1925	1930			1
1127	Hiles WR	28111901	Wal	1924	1927	22	4	1925					2
1128	Hill AM	21061910	Yks	1935	1936	25	2	1935					2
1129	Hill CJ	06091918	Wal	1938	1950	19	13						4
1130	Hill DF	02061904	Sco	1934	1938	30	5	1935					2
1131	Hill FR	21051906	Sco	1932	1947	26	16	1935					4
1132	Hill FWP	25031895	SE	1920	1921	25	2	1920					2
1133	Hill H	24091899	EM	1919	1933	19	15	1920	1925	1930			4
1134	Hill JH	02031897	NE	1920	1933	23	14	1920	1925	1930			5
1135	Hill JW	02061895	NW	1921	1922	26	2						1
1136	Hill LG	15021899	SE	1920	1928	21	9	1920	1925				4
1137	Hill RH	26111893	EM	1920	1930	26	11	1920	1925	1930			2
1138	Hillam CE	06101908	NW	1930	1939	21	10	1930	1935				5
1139	Hilley C	29091902	Sco	1926	1931	23	6	1930					2
1140	Hillier EJJ	10041907	Wal	1927	1936	20	10	1930	1935				3
1141	Hillman AG	**031892	Wal	1920	1920	28	1	1920					1
1142	Hillman J	30101870	SW	1891	1905	20	15	1895	1900	1905			3
1143	Hills JJ	14101897	SE	1924	1926	26	3	1925					2
1144	Hills WR	16121904	EA	1927	1934	22	8	1930					4
1145	Hilsdon GR	10081885	SE	1906	1911	21	6	1910					1
1146	Hilton F	08071903	Yks	1922	1928	19	7	1925					2
1147	Hilton H	13111889	NW	1909	1923	19	15	1910	1914	1920			2
1148	Hilton WA	14041911	NW	1934	1939	23	6	1935					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1149	Hinchley AA	**081869	WM	1891	1891	22	1						1
1150	Hinchcliffe AG	26081897	NW	1919	1922	22	4	1920					2
1151	Hinchliffe T	06121913	Yks	1936	1946	22	11						4
1152	Hindley FC	02111914	EM	1938	1946	23	9						2
1153	Hindmarsh JL	**021885	NE	1905	1914	20	10	1905	1910	1914			3
1154	Hindson JB	15071908	NE	1931	1937	23	7	1935					1
1155	Hinsley G	19071914	Yks	1938	1949	24	12						3
1156	Hinson RH	09101915	EM	1933	1935	17	3	1935					2
1157	Hinton IF	**011897	Wal	1926	1928	29	3						1
1158	Hinton WFW	25121895	SW	1920	1925	24	6	1920	1925				2
1159	Hinton WG	22061913	SE	1934	1936	21	3	1935					2
1160	Hipkin AB	08081900	EA	1926	1926	26	1						1
1161	Hird A	02091900	Sco	1922	1930	21	9	1925	1930				2
1162	Hird T	31121912	NE	1933	1935	20	3	1935					2
1163	Hirst H	24101899	Yks	1921	1926	21	6	1925					4
1164	Hisbent JS	**051882	SW	1905	1914	23	10	1905	1910	1914			2
1165	Hitchins AW	01121913	SW	1937	1939	23	3						1
1166	Hoad SF	27121890	SE	1909	1926	18	18	1910	1914	1920	1925		4
1167	Hoar SW	28111895	SE	1920	1929	24	10	1920	1925				3
1168	Hoare GR	18041884	SE	1907	1919	23	13	1910	1914				3
1169	Hobbins SG	06051916	SE	1937	1949	21	13						3
1170	Hobbis HHF	09031913	SE	1931	1947	18	17	1935					1
1171	Hobbs EC	30041910	EM	1934	1938	24	5	1935					3
1172	Hobson A	09091913	NE	1936	1939	22	4						2
1173	Hoddinott FT	29111894	Wal	1920	1927	25	8	1920	1925				4
1174	Hodge J	05071891	Sco	1910	1923	19	14	1910	1914	1920			4
1175	Hodge FC	20011891	WM	1913	1923	22	11	1914	1920				4
1176	Hodgetts D	28111863	WM	1888	1896	24	9	1890	1895				2
1177	Hodgkinson AV	04081885	Wal	1903	1906	18	4	1905					3
1178	Hodgkinson H	29121903	Yks	1923	1934	19	12	1925	1930				3
1179	Hodgkinson J	**071882	NW	1905	1905	23	1	1905					1

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1180	Hodgkinson VA	01111906	EM	1925	1933	18	9	1925	1930				2
1181	Hodgkiss R	22031918	NW	1938	1948	20	11						2
1182	Hodgson G	16041904	For	1925	1939	21	15	1925	1930	1935			3
1183	Hodgson JV	30091913	NE	1932	1951	18	20	1935					2
1184	Hodgson T	19011903	NE	1921	1932	18	12	1925	1930				2
1185	Hodkinson JC	**021889	NW	1909	1922	20	14	1910	1914	1920			2
1186	Hodnett JE	18071896	WM	1919	1927	23	9	1920	1925				5
1187	Hoffman EH	16071892	NE	1919	1923	27	5	1920					3
1188	Hofton LB	**031888	Yks	1907	1920	19	14	1910	1914	1920			2
1189	Hogan JC	16101882	NW	1903	1912	20	10	1905	1910				3
1190	Hogg FW	24041918	NE	1937	1949	19	13						3
1191	Hogg J	22051881	NE	1903	1903	22	1						1
1192	Hogg T	21031908	NE	1929	1931	21	3	1930					2
1193	Holbeach F	17031910	EM	1933	1933	23	1						1
1194	Holcroft S	**081901	WM	1924	1926	23	3	1925					1
1195	Holdcroft GH	23011909	WM	1926	1939	17	14	1930	1935				3
1196	Holden A	23091882	SE	1908	1909	25	2						1
1197	Holdstock H	29101879	SE	1899	1904	19	6	1900					2
1198	Hole WJ	01111897	Wal	1920	1930	22	11	1920	1925	1930			1
1199	Holford T	28011878	WM	1898	1923	20	26	1900	1905	1910	1914	1920	3
1200	Holland J	03041901	NW	1920	1930	19	11	1920	1925	1930			8
1201	Holland PB	05101898	NE	1919	1930	20	12	1920	1925	1930			2
1202	Holley GH	25111885	NE	1904	1914	18	11	1905	1910	1914			1
1203	Holliday JW	19121908	NE	1930	1939	21	10	1930	1935				2
1204	Hollingworth R	17101909	EM	1928	1935	18	8	1930	1935				1
1205	Holmes E	15111900	NW	1927	1929	26	3						2
1206	Holmes J	27121908	NW	1930	1939	21	10	1930	1935				4
1207	Holmes MM	24121908	EM	1931	1939	22	9	1935					4
1208	Holmes R	23061867	NW	1888	1890	21	3	1890					1
1209	Holmes T	20041902	NE	1926	1933	24	8	1930					3
1210	Holt AG	08041911	SE	1932	1939	21	8	1935					1

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1211	Holt J	10041865	NW	1888	1897	23	10	1890	1895				1
1212	Holt T	**021901	WM	1923	1926	22	4	1925					1
1213	Homer S	14011903	WM	1925	1933	22	9	1925	1930				3
1214	Honeyman JW	29121893	NE	1919	1923	25	5	1920					2
1215	Hood C	28041912	EM	1934	1934	22	1						1
1216	Hood WJ	03111914	Nlre	1937	1937	22	1						1
1217	Hooper A	05011900	NE	1925	1928	25	4	1925					2
1218	Hooper C	23031903	NE	1924	1928	21	5	1925					3
1219	Hooper D	15091893	NE	1919	1919	25	1						1
1220	Hooper FW	14111894	NE	1919	1926	24	8	1920	1925				3
1221	Hooper HR	16121910	NW	1928	1949	17	22	1930	1935				3
1222	Hooper M	14071901	NE	1923	1939	22	17	1925	1930	1935			3
1223	Hooper PGW	17121914	SE	1934	1947	19	14	1935					2
1224	Hooper WG	20021884	SE	1905	1912	21	8	1905	1910				3
1225	Hope J	10061905	NE	1926	1930	21	5	1930					2
1226	Hope P	24041897	NE	1920	1929	23	10	1920	1925				4
1227	Hopewell TH	12081896	WM	1914	1921	18	8	1914	1920				1
1228	Hopkin F	23091895	NW	1919	1931	23	13	1920	1925	1930			3
1229	Hopkins IM	11101910	Wal	1932	1947	21	16	1935					3
1230	Hopkins J	12071899	Nlre	1920	1928	21	9	1920	1925				2
1231	Hopkins W	11111888	NE	1913	1924	24	12	1914	1920				5
1232	Hopkinson S	09021902	NW	1919	1935	17	17	1920	1925	1930	1935		4
1233	Horler GH	10021895	SW	1920	1927	25	8	1920	1925				3
1234	Hornby CF	25041907	WM	1930	1936	23	7	1930	1935				2
1235	Hornby R	13041914	NW	1931	1947	17	17	1935					2
1236	Horrocks J	**091887	NW	1908	1911	20	4	1910					3
1237	Horton JWG	06011907	SE	1929	1934	22	6	1930	1935				2
1238	Horton JH	**021866	WM	1888	1897	22	10	1890	1895				1
1239	Horton JW	14071905	NW	1926	1938	21	13	1930	1935				3
1240	Hosker J	15021894	NW	1919	1923	25	5	1920					2
1241	Host WW	13011906	Sco	1928	1935	22	8	1930	1935				1

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1242	Hoten RV	27121896	EM	1919	1930	22	12	1920	1925	1930			5
1243	Hough E	04121899	WM	1921	1932	21	12	1925	1930				3
1244	Hough WA	**031903	NW	1930	1939	27	10	1930	1935				3
1245	Houghton H	26081906	NW	1927	1936	21	10	1930	1935				4
1246	Houghton JH	14091891	NW	1919	1921	27	3	1920					2
1247	Houghton WE	29061910	EM	1929	1948	19	20						2
1248	Houldsworth FC	29051911	SE	1934	1945	23	12	1935					3
1249	Houlker AE	27041872	NW	1896	1908	24	13	1900	1905				1
1250	Hoult AA	09071915	EM	1934	1937	19	4	1935					2
1251	Housam A	10101917	NE	1937	1947	19	11						1
1252	Howard F	12031878	EM	1899	1899	21	1						1
1253	Howard W	18011899	NW	1922	1922	23	1						1
1254	Howarth H	25111908	NW	1929	1945	20	17	1930	1935				2
1255	Howarth JT	15041890	NW	1913	1922	22	10	1914	1920				3
1256	Howat D	01101870	NW	1893	1895	22	3	1895					1
1257	Howe D	26111917	Yks	1936	1951	18	16						1
1258	Howe F	24091912	NW	1931	1946	18	16	1935					5
1259	Howe HG	09041906	SE	1929	1934	23	6	1930					3
1260	Howe HA	01041916	WM	1938	1948	22	11						2
1261	Howe JR	07101915	NE	1934	1950	18	17	1935					3
1262	Howe LF	05031912	SE	1930	1938	18	9	1930	1935				1
1263	Howe T	26051892	WM	1921	1925	29	5	1925					1
1264	Howell H	29111890	WM	1913	1922	22	10	1914	1920				2
1265	Howell HR	28061895	EA	1925	1925	30	1	1925					1
1266	Howell R	12101867	Yks	1892	1903	24	12	1895	1900				3
1267	Howes D	23031898	SW	1920	1921	22	2	1920					1
1268	Howie C	25041906	Sco	1928	1930	22	3	1930					1
1269	Howie D	15071886	Sco	1911	1924	25	14	1914	1920				1
1270	Howie J	19031878	Sco	1903	1913	25	11	1905	1910	1914			2
1271	Howieson J	07061900	Sco	1926	1929	26	4						2
1272	Howlett CE	26091906	NE	1927	1929	20	3						3

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1273	Howlett HWA	23061910	NE	1928	1932	18	5	1930					2
1274	Howshall JH	12071912	WM	1933	1939	21	7	1935					6
1275	Howson W	22101893	Yks	1920	1925	26	6	1920	1925				3
1276	Hoyland E	17011914	Yks	1936	1939	22	4						3
1277	Hoyland W	14081901	Yks	1921	1932	20	12	1925	1930				3
1278	Hubbert H	12101899	Yks	1922	1928	22	7	1925					2
1279	Hubbick HE	12111910	NE	1935	1950	24	16	1935					4
1280	Hudspeth FC	20041890	NE	1910	1929	20	20	1910	1914	1920	1925		2
1281	Hufton AE	25111892	EM	1912	1932	19	21	1914	1920	1925	1930		3
1282	Hugall JC	26041889	NE	1910	1923	21	14	1910	1914	1920			2
1283	Hugh AR	05081909	Wal	1929	1933	20	5	1930					1
1284	Hughes J	29081909	NE	1934	1938	25	5	1935					2
1285	Hughes J	**041877	Wal	1898	1903	21	6	1900					2
1286	Hughes JH	25091912	WM	1929	1939	16	11	1930	1935				5
1287	Hughes JI	29011913	Wal	1932	1938	19	7	1935					2
1288	Hughes J	04061902	NW	1924	1924	22	1						1
1289	Hughes J	18031901	Wal	1925	1927	24	3	1925					2
1290	Hughes LC	**021899	SE	1924	1926	25	3	1925					2
1291	Hughes RG	02081902	NE	1920	1933	18	14	1920	1925	1930			2
1292	Hughes R	05081892	NE	1919	1929	27	11	1920	1925				5
1293	Hughes WM	06031918	Wal	1935	1950	17	16	1935					3
1294	Hull AJ	08081902	SE	1926	1930	24	5	1930					2
1295	Hullett WA	19111915	NW	1936	1948	20	13						4
1296	Hulm GW	08111903	NW	1929	1929	25	1						1
1297	Hulme JA	18121877	WM	1897	1897	19	1						1
1298	Hulme JHA	26081904	WM	1923	1937	19	15	1925	1930	1935			3
1299	Hulse BD	**031875	NW	1897	1900	22	4	1900					2
1300	Humphreys P	03121880	EA	1901	1911	20	11	1905	1910				4
1301	Humphries B	26121901	Wal	1925	1929	23	5	1925					2
1302	Humphries HJ	**021894	WM	1914	1922	20	9	1914	1920				2
1303	Humpish AE	03041902	NW	1921	1934	19	14	1925	1930				7

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1304	Hunt AK	24111921	EM	1938	1938	16	1						1
1305	Hunt DA	19051914	SE	1934	1947	20	14						4
1306	Hunt GS	22021910	Yks	1929	1947	19	19	1930	1935				5
1307	Hunt SW	09011909	EM	1933	1939	24	7	1935					7
1308	Hunt T	23061908	WM	1929	1932	21	4	1930					1
1309	Hunter AE	07081902	Yks	1931	1935	29	5	1935					4
1310	Hunter AC	27091895	Sco	1920	1923	24	4	1920					2
1311	Hunter GC	**081886	For	1908	1914	22	7	1910	1914				4
1312	Hurel E	10041915	For	1936	1938	21	3						2
1313	Hurst DJ	**041876	NE	1897	1902	21	6	1900					3
1314	Hurst GJ	27101914	NW	1934	1950	19	17	1935					2
1315	Hurst SC	21061911	SW	1932	1939	21	8	1935					4
1316	Hutcheson JM	31031909	Sco	1933	1935	24	3	1935					1
1317	Hutchins AV	15091890	SE	1919	1923	28	5	1920					2
1318	Hutchinson R	22121894	NE	1921	1927	26	7	1925					6
1319	Hutchison D	29101908	Sco	1926	1936	17	11	1930	1935				3
1320	Jackson G	17061893	NW	1921	1929	28	9	1925					2
1321	Jackson G	14011911	NW	1934	1947	23	14	1935					1
1322	Jackson H	20071917	Yks	1936	1947	19	12						2
1323	Jackson J	15091875	Sco	1897	1904	21	8	1900					2
1324	Jackson J	04121899	NE	1925	1932	25	8	1925	1930				1
1325	Jackson JH	27121897	NW	1921	1927	23	7	1925					2
1326	Jackson JR	14041896	NW	1923	1924	27	2						1
1327	Jackson J	29111906	Sco	1933	1938	26	6	1935					1
1328	Jackson RG	12051915	NE	1935	1947	20	13	1935					1
1329	Jackson T	16031897	NE	1920	1929	23	10	1920	1925				1
1330	Jackson W	04081904	NW	1924	1934	20	11	1925	1930				7
1331	Jackson WJ	27011876	Wal	1899	1904	23	6	1900					2
1332	Jackson WK	24121900	Sco	1922	1923	21	2						1
1333	Jacobson HL	20021903	NE	1925	1936	22	12	1925	1930	1935			2
1334	Jacques TE	13111890	NW	1912	1921	21	10	1914	1920				2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1335	Jacques W	08121888	SE	1914	1922	25	9	1914	1920				1
1336	Jakeman GJW	**041899	WM	1924	1932	25	9	1925	1930				2
1337	James AW	14091901	Sco	1925	1936	24	12	1925	1930	1935			2
1338	James AF	31121902	NE	1927	1927	24	1						1
1339	James D	16111899	Wal	1921	1928	21	8	1925					2
1340	James D	29091917	Wal	1936	1947	18	12						3
1341	James GC	**021899	WM	1921	1932	22	12	1925	1930				3
1342	James J	13011910	SE	1931	1939	21	9	1935					1
1343	James NL	25031908	NW	1930	1938	22	9	1930	1935				3
1344	James RW	**051897	WM	1920	1927	23	8	1920	1925				3
1345	James WB	19021907	Wal	1925	1936	18	12	1925	1930	1935			5
1346	Jamieson HJ	09121908	NE	1928	1931	19	4	1930					3
1347	Jarvie J	19101900	Sco	1925	1929	24	5	1925					4
1348	Jarvis GH	03121889	Sco	1919	1920	29	2	1920					1
1349	Jeavons WH	09021912	Yks	1931	1935	19	5	1935					6
1350	Jeffries F	03071884	SE	1910	1926	26	17	1910	1914	1920	1925		3
1351	Jeffer AS	01101897	NW	1923	1924	25	2						2
1352	Jeffer TE	03081900	EA	1921	1927	21	7	1925					1
1353	Jenkins EJ	16071909	Wal	1930	1935	21	6	1930	1935				3
1354	Jenkins ES	06071895	Wal	1921	1923	26	3						1
1355	Jenkins ET	**031904	NW	1931	1931	27	1						1
1356	Jenkins ET	26061906	Wal	1928	1934	22	7	1930					3
1357	Jenkinson W	02031892	NW	1919	1921	27	3	1920					2
1358	Jenkyns CAL	24081866	Wal	1892	1900	26	9	1895	1900				4
1359	Jennings DB	20071910	WM	1930	1949	20	20	1930	1935				3
1360	Jennings HW	07011920	EA	1938	1951	18	14						3
1361	Jennings J	27081902	NW	1923	1937	21	15						5
1362	Jennings S	18121898	EM	1919	1931	20	13	1920	1925	1930			8
1363	Jennings THO	08031902	Sco	1924	1932	22	9	1925	1930				2
1364	Jennings W	20101897	EM	1919	1925	21	7	1920	1925				4
1365	Jennings WH	01041909	SW	1929	1935	20	7	1930	1935				2

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1366	Jennings W	25021893	Wal	1912	1929	19	18	1914	1920	1925			1
1367	Jennings W	25021891	EM	1913	1926	22	14	1914	1920	1925			4
1368	Jephcott AC	31101890	WM	1911	1922	20	12	1914	1920				1
1369	Jephson AE	09051902	Yks	1928	1934	26	7	1930					2
1370	Jepson JJ	**071899	NW	1925	1931	26	7	1925	1930				3
1371	Jessop FS	07021907	EM	1930	1938	23	9	1930	1935				2
1372	Jewett AW	15111899	SE	1923	1926	23	4	1925					2
1373	Jewett G	**041906	SE	1927	1931	21	5	1930					2
1374	Jewhurst FH	30091897	SE	1921	1927	23	7	1925					3
1375	Jex W	23031885	EA	1911	1911	26	1						1
1376	Jinks JT	19081916	SE	1938	1951	22	14						4
1377	Jobey G	**071885	NE	1906	1921	21	16	1910	1914	1920			5
1378	Jobling J	29071906	NE	1929	1938	23	10	1930	1935				2
1379	Jobson JT	08081903	NE	1922	1933	19	12	1925	1930				5
1380	Jobson JW	29071908	NE	1930	1930	22	1	1930					1
1381	John EJ	**031907	Wal	1920	1928	21	6	1930					2
1382	John R	22071899	Wal	1920	1926	21	7	1920	1925				2
1383	John RF	03021900	Wal	1922	1936	22	15	1925	1930	1935			1
1384	John WR	29011911	Wal	1928	1938	17	11	1930	1935				6
1385	Johnson A	05121917	NE	1938	1938	20	1						1
1386	Johnson A	**011904	WM	1925	1931	21	7	1925	1930				4
1387	Johnson C	29041884	NE	1905	1919	21	15	1905	1910	1914			2
1388	Johnson G	**111871	WM	1896	1904	24	9	1900					2
1389	Johnson GA	22071905	NE	1924	1938	19	15	1930	1935				4
1390	Johnson GH	**041903	Yks	1922	1927	19	6	1925					4
1391	Johnson H	04011899	Yks	1919	1935	20	17	1920	1925	1930	1935		2
1392	Johnson H	04121910	NW	1931	1936	20	6	1935					3
1393	Johnson H	08081913	NE	1935	1938	22	4	1935					3
1394	Johnson JC	03101905	Yks	1928	1939	22	12	1930	1935				5
1395	Johnson JG	**121906	NE	1924	1925	17	2						1
1396	Johnson JH	28051897	SW	1921	1928	24	8	1925					2

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1397	Johnson JW	12021919	NE	1936	1947	17	12						2
1398	Johnson JA	04041911	EM	1931	1939	20	9	1935					3
1399	Johnson M	09101904	NE	1925	1928	20	4	1925					4
1400	Johnson MH	26071910	NE	1933	1939	23	7	1935					3
1401	Johnson PR	13121899	EM	1921	1922	21	2						1
1402	Johnson REO	25101911	NE	1934	1948	22	15	1935					1
1403	Johnson RJ	27031905	NE	1930	1932	25	3	1930					2
1404	Johnson S	19101901	WM	1924	1933	22	10	1925	1930				4
1405	Johnson T	04051911	Yks	1929	1948	18	20	1930	1935				2
1406	Johnson CF	19081900	NE	1919	1935	19	17	1920	1925	1930	1935		3
1407	Johnson WF	29081902	WM	1926	1928	24	3						2
1408	Johnston C	26111912	Sco	1935	1937	22	3	1935					2
1409	Johnston H	26091919	NW	1937	1954	17	18						1
1410	Johnston WG	16011901	Sco	1920	1934	19	15	1920	1925	1930			4
1411	Johnstone JC	**041896	Sco	1921	1928	25	8	1925					2
1412	Johnstone R	18091908	Sco	1935	1939	27	5	1935					1
1413	Johnstone W	18051900	Sco	1926	1932	26	7	1930					3
1414	Joliffe CA	15011907	SE	1932	1932	24	1						1
1415	Jolley E	**061871	WM	1893	1895	22	3	1895					1
1416	Jolly H	05041908	NE	1932	1935	24	4	1935					4
1417	Jones AF	25121888	EM	1907	1919	18	13	1910	1914				2
1418	Jones A	**041899	WM	1919	1923	20	5	1920					4
1419	Jones AT	06021883	Wal	1903	1906	20	4	1905					2
1420	Jones A	10011900	NW	1923	1935	23	13	1925	1930	1935			1
1421	Jones AE	**011878	SE	1901	1901	23	1						1
1422	Jones B	14121912	Wal	1933	1949	20	17	1935					3
1423	Jones C	12121899	Wal	1920	1933	20	14	1920	1925	1930			5
1424	Jones C	20111911	Wal	1934	1945	22	12	1935					2
1425	Jones CW	29041914	Wal	1932	1947	18	16	1935					3
1426	Jones D	09041914	EM	1934	1949	20	16	1935					1
1427	Jones D	09041914	Wal	1938	1947	24	10						2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1428	Jones DG	10061914	Wal	1934	1938	20	5	1935					4
1429	Jones DOE	15071909	Wal	1929	1938	20	10	1930	1935				5
1430	Jones DO	28101910	Wal	1931	1948	20	18	1935					3
1431	Jones D	14051894	EM	1921	1924	27	4						2
1432	Jones EM	20041914	Wal	1933	1946	19	14	1935					2
1433	Jones E	05041900	NE	1925	1928	25	4	1925					2
1434	Jones E	29111907	Wal	1927	1938	19	12	1930	1935				3
1435	Jones EN	05021915	WM	1936	1947	21	12						4
1436	Jones E	20101888	Wal	1909	1915	20	6	1910	1914				3
1437	Jones FJ	11021898	SE	1923	1926	25	4	1925					3
1438	Jones GH	27111918	Yks	1936	1951	17	16						2
1439	Jones GW	28061895	NE	1919	1928	24	10	1920	1925				4
1440	Jones GW	30111896	EM	1920	1920	23	1	1920					1
1441	Jones G	01021889	NW	1909	1921	20	13	1910	1914	1920			3
1442	Jones GT	**011912	Wal	1933	1938	21	6	1935					4
1443	Jones H	24031891	EM	1912	1923	21	12	1914	1920				1
1444	Jones HJ	**101911	NW	1932	1939	20	8	1935					2
1445	Jones H	03091896	NW	1922	1935	25	14	1925	1930				3
1446	Jones H	03091910	Wal	1935	1936	24	2	1935					1
1447	Jones I	31071899	Wal	1920	1925	21	6	1920	1925				2
1448	Jones J	**031877	WM	1901	1912	24	12	1905	1910				1
1449	Jones J	09071889	NE	1912	1926	23	15	1914	1920	1925			3
1450	Jones JWE	**041890	WM	1910	1910	20	1	1910					1
1451	Jones JE	03071913	NW	1933	1946	20	14	1935					2
1452	Jones JLM	11021900	Wal	1922	1926	22	5						2
1453	Jones JT	**101874	WM	1894	1896	19	3	1895					1
1454	Jones JT	25111916	Wal	1936	1948	19	13						3
1455	Jones JW	08021891	Yks	1920	1929	29	10	1920	1925				3
1456	Jones L	09061913	Yks	1934	1952	21	19	1935					4
1457	Jones LJ	01071911	Wal	1929	1948	18	20	1930	1935				5
1458	Jones OH	24081910	Wal	1933	1936	23	4	1935					4

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1459	Jones R	06061900	NW	1920	1925	20	6	1920	1925				5
1460	Jones RH	09011902	NW	1924	1938	22	15	1925	1930	1935			4
1461	Jones R	09041918	NW	1936	1946	18	11						1
1462	Jones S	14091911	Nire	1933	1945	21	13	1935					1
1463	Jones S	03051911	Sco	1934	1936	23	3	1935					3
1464	Jones T	06121899	Wal	1924	1936	24	13	1925	1930	1935			1
1465	Jones T	03011915	NW	1934	1934	19	1	1935					1
1466	Jones TG	12101917	Wal	1935	1949	17	15	1935					2
1467	Jones TJ	06121909	Wal	1926	1945	16	20	1930	1935				4
1468	Jones TW	**061905	WM	1924	1925	19	2	1925					1
1469	Jones TW	23031907	WM	1930	1946	23	17	1930	1935				3
1470	Jones VW	**031900	Wal	1922	1933	22	12						5
1471	Jones W	06031876	SE	1895	1905	19	11	1895	1900	1905			2
1472	Jones WD	04041905	Wal	1927	1931	22	5	1930					3
1473	Jones WH	26111910	Wal	1930	1932	19	3	1930					1
1474	Jones WH	24031881	WM	1901	1913	20	13	1905	1910				2
1475	Jones WL	**041882	Wal	1903	1921	21	19	1905	1910	1914	1920		3
1476	Jordan G	02101905	Wal	1929	1934	23	6	1930					3
1477	Jordan HM	24071908	Sco	1930	1930	22	1	1930					1
1478	Joslin PJ	01091916	SW	1935	1950	18	16	1935					2
1479	Joyce JW	26061877	WM	1902	1914	25	13	1905	1910	1914			2
1480	Joyner FM	20081918	Sco	1938	1938	20	1						1
1481	Kaine WEJC	27061900	SE	1924	1925	24	2	1925					2
1482	Kane A	22011900	Sco	1922	1926	22	5	1925					3
1483	Kane R	11051911	Sco	1935	1946	24	12	1935					1
1484	Kane S	17041912	NE	1934	1935	22	2	1935					2
1485	Kasher JNR	14011894	NE	1919	1926	25	8						3
1486	Kavanagh WJ	**081917	SE	1938	1938	21	1						1
1487	Kay AE	22111895	Yks	1922	1931	26	10	1925	1930				1
1488	Kay F	**021901	NW	1921	1922	20	2						1
1489	Kay G	21091891	NW	1910	1927	18	18	1910	1914	1920	1925		3

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1490	Kay H	24041900	Yks	1920	1927	20	8	1920	1925				4
1491	Kay T	24041883	NW	1904	1913	21	10	1905	1910				1
1492	Kean A	30091894	Sco	1921	1923	26	3						2
1493	Kean FW	10121898	Yks	1920	1934	21	15	1920	1925	1930			3
1494	Kearney JL	28091899	Nlre	1923	1923	23	1						1
1495	Kearney R	06031903	NW	1929	1930	26	2	1930					1
1496	Kearney SF	28031917	NW	1937	1949	20	13						3
1497	Kearney TP	08071913	NW	1933	1933	20	1						1
1498	Kearns JH	**041880	WM	1905	1914	25	10	1905	1910	1914			3
1499	Keating AE	28061902	Yks	1923	1932	21	10	1925	1930				4
1500	Keating RE	14051904	NE	1927	1937	23	11	1930	1935				8
1501	Keay W	**081871	Sco	1893	1894	22	2						1
1502	Kedens JA	19041901	Sco	1926	1926	25	1						1
1503	Keedwell JH	12021901	NW	1924	1924	23	1						1
1504	Keeling H	10021906	EM	1929	1933	23	5	1930					4
1505	Keen ERL	04091910	NE	1930	1937	19	8	1930	1935				2
1506	Keen JF	25111897	NE	1920	1925	22	6	1920	1925				5
1507	Keen WJ	**021904	SE	1926	1934	22	9	1930					2
1508	Keenan H	20121893	NW	1912	1922	18	11	1914	1920				1
1509	Keenlyside GJ	04081889	NE	1919	1923	30	5	1920					2
1510	Keenor FG	31071894	Wal	1920	1933	26	14	1920	1925	1930			2
1511	Keeping AME	22081902	SE	1924	1939	22	16	1925	1930	1935			2
1512	Keetley CF	10031906	EM	1927	1935	21	9	1930	1935				3
1513	Keetley F	23031901	EM	1921	1932	20	12	1925	1930				4
1514	Keetley HB	17041900	EM	1924	1926	24	3	1925					1
1515	Keetley JF	28061897	EM	1921	1925	24	5	1925					6
1516	Keetley T	16111898	EM	1919	1933	20	15	1920	1925	1930			4
1517	Keeton A	15011918	EM	1937	1947	19	11						1
1518	Keeton WW	30041905	EM	1930	1932	25	3	1930					2
1519	Kelly C	14061894	NW	1923	1927	29	5	1925					2
1520	Kelly D	23061917	NW	1937	1938	20	2						2

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1521	Kelly GM	18091908	NE	1928	1939	19	12	1930	1935				6
1522	Kelly JE	29121907	NE	1928	1946	20	19	1930	1935				5
1523	Kelly J	04051902	Sco	1925	1932	23	8	1925	1930				4
1524	Kelly J	02031913	NE	1930	1939	27	10	1930	1935				5
1525	Kelly L	19111911	Sco	1934	1939	23	6	1935					3
1526	Kelly P	20031901	NW	1924	1929	23	6	1925					3
1527	Kelly R	16111893	NW	1913	1935	19	23	1914	1920	1925	1930	1935	5
1528	Kelly T	13011902	NW	1923	1930	21	8	1925	1930				2
1529	Kelly TW	22111919	NE	1937	1950	17	14						1
1530	Kelly W	27031880	Sco	1903	1903	23	1						1
1531	Kelso J	08121910	Sco	1933	1938	22	6	1935					4
1532	Kelso T	05061882	Sco	1906	1911	24	6	1910					1
1533	Kemplay J	17011876	NE	1898	1898	22	1						1
1534	Kendall JW	09101905	EM	1922	1933	18	12	1925					5
1535	Kennedy AL	01091895	Nlre	1920	1930	24	11	1920	1925	1930			4
1536	Kennedy F	**041902	NW	1923	1937	21	15	1925	1930	1935			7
1537	Kennedy J	20021897	NE	1921	1925	24	5	1925					2
1538	Kennedy JJ	08051883	Sco	1906	1911	19	6	1905	1910				3
1539	Kennedy SP	26121914	NW	1933	1934	18	2						1
1540	Kennedy W	02021912	Sco	1931	1937	19	7	1935					4
1541	Kennie G	17051904	Yks	1921	1925	17	5	1925					2
1542	Kent H	22101879	WM	1908	1908	28	1						1
1543	Kenyon F	22021912	NW	1933	1934	21	2						2
1544	Kerr AW	11081917	NE	1936	1946	19	11						1
1545	Kerr J	01011903	Sco	1924	1933	21	10	1925	1930				3
1546	Kerr TM	22051910	Sco	1935	1938	25	4	1930					1
1547	Kerry E	16061905	EM	1929	1931	24	3						1
1548	Kettle WW	10091898	NE	1921	1925	22	5	1925					4
1549	Key GB	11021882	Sco	1905	1908	23	4	1905					1
1550	Kidd GI	20051909	Sco	1931	1935	22	5	1935					3
1551	Kidd WE	31011907	NE	1931	1947	24	17	1935					1

Appendix 2

Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1552	Kidger EA	16071892	EM	1920	1920	28	1	1920					1
1553	Kilborn C	18031902	EM	1921	1923	19	3						1
1554	Kilcar S	22121907	Sco	1929	1936	21	8	1930	1935				6
1555	Killourhy M	19021911	NW	1929	1938	18	10	1930	1935				3
1556	Kilshaw EA	25121919	NW	1937	1948	17	12						2
1557	Kimberley JB	**021899	NW	1922	1922	23	1						1
1558	Kimberley WJ	01051886	WM	1907	1908	21	2						1
1559	King AP	26111895	EA	1921	1921	25	1						1
1560	King A	06081887	Sco	1913	1913	26	1						1
1561	King CT	18051897	For	1923	1923	26	1						1
1562	King EF	25021914	SE	1934	1934	20	1						1
1563	King ES	06121902	SE	1925	1926	22	2	1925					1
1564	King EW	25111907	SE	1931	1937	23	7	1935					1
1565	King FO	13031917	NE	1934	1937	17	4	1935					2
1566	King FAR	19091919	EM	1937	1949	17	13						3
1567	King HJ	**011911	Sco	1933	1939	22	7	1935					3
1568	King J	08121906	NW	1926	1930	19	5	1930					1
1569	King S	14021897	Yks	1922	1931	25	10	1925	1930				2
1570	King TP	29061909	EM	1934	1939	25	6	1935					3
1571	Kingaby HCL	**081880	SE	1905	1905	25	1	1905					2
1572	Kingdon WIG	25061905	WM	1926	1937	21	12	1930	1935				2
1573	Kingham HR	19111904	SE	1926	1935	21	10	1930	1935				1
1574	Kinghorn WJD	27021912	Sco	1938	1938	26	1						1
1575	Kingsley AJ	25101891	For	1921	1924	29	4						3
1576	Kingwell LE	31051918	Sco	1937	1938	19	2						1
1577	Kinsey G	20061866	WM	1891	1900	25	10	1895	1900				5
1578	Kirby HH	23031903	Wal	1924	1925	21	2	1925					2
1579	Kirby J	30091910	EM	1929	1937	18	9	1930	1935				1
1580	Kirby NJR	15111908	NE	1928	1931	19	4	1930					2
1581	Kirchen AJ	26041913	EA	1933	1939	20	7	1935					2
1582	Kirk G	14071883	Yks	1905	1907	22	3	1905					3

Appendix 2

Database 1: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1890 - 1939

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1583	Kirk H	22041899	SW	1919	1929	20	11	1920	1925				6
1584	Kirk RH	22021899	Sco	1924	1928	25	5	1925					2
1585	Kirkaldie J	02081917	WM	1936	1947	19	12						3
1586	Kirkaldy JW	08111885	NE	1905	1906	19	2	1905					1
1587	Kirkbride JP	14071897	NE	1919	1920	22	2	1920					1
1588	Kirkham RJ	16061918	NW	1937	1946	19	10						2
1589	Kirkham WT	26111901	NE	1923	1932	21	10	1925	1930				3
1590	Kirkpatrick E	27021899	NW	1925	1929	26	5	1925					2
1591	Kirkup R	07041908	NE	1927	1927	19	1						1
1592	Kirkwood D	24121900	Sco	1926	1933	25	8	1930					4
1593	Kirrage FB	03031893	SE	1919	1919	26	1						1
1594	Kirsopp WHJ	21041892	NW	1914	1923	22	10	1914	1920				4
1595	Kirtley E	25081911	NE	1931	1931	20	1						1
1596	Kirton J	04031916	Sco	1936	1953	20	18						2
1597	Kirton JW	02111873	EM	1896	1897	22	2						2
1598	Kirton WJ	02121896	NE	1919	1929	22	11	1920	1925				3
1599	Kitchen N	26071911	NE	1935	1938	24	4	1935					3
1600	Kitson G	16051911	Wal	1934	1936	23	3	1935					2

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
2	Aas E	12101955	For	1980	1981	24	2	1980					1
3	Abbiss K	26041932	SE	1959	1960	27	2	1960					1
4	Abbley S	19031957	NW	1979	1981	22	3	1980					1
5	Abbott G	14121963	WM	1982	1995	18	14	1985					3
6	Abbott J	25051943	NW	1961	1964	18	4	1965					1
7	Abbott P	01101953	NW	1973	1978	19	6	1975					4
8	Abbott R	02081953	SE	1973	1978	20	6	1975					1
9	Abbotts J	10101924	WM	1950	1950	25	1	1950					1
10	Abel G	17091960	NW	1985	1993	24	9	1985					2
11	Abrahams L	03041953	SE	1977	1977	24	1						1
12	Abrey B	25041939	SE	1961	1962	22	2						1
13	Achampong K	26061966	SE	1984	1992	18	9	1985					3
14	Ackereley E	23091943	Sco	1962	1963	18	2						2
15	Ackereley S	20021942	NW	1961	1961	19	1						1
16	Ackerman A	05011929	For	1950	1960	21	11	1950	1955	1960			5
17	Ackerman C	20021948	SE	1966	1967	18	2						1
18	Acland M	04061935	SE	1956	1956	21	1						1
19	A'Court A	30091934	SE	1952	1965	17	14	1955	1960	1965			2
20	Acres B	27101926	EA	1951	1969	24	9	1955					1
21	Acton A	12111938	EM	1958	1958	19	1						1
22	Adam C	22031919	Sco	1946	1954	27	9	1950					2
23	Adam J	22041931	Sco	1954	1954	23	1						1
24	Adams B	18051947	SE	1964	1965	17	2	1965					1
25	Adams CJ	16091927	SE	1951	1955	23	5	1955					1
26	Adams D	15021931	EM	1951	1955	20	5	1955					1
27	Adams ER	17011945	SE	1967	1972	22	6	1970					3
28	Adams EW	03041922	SE	1947	1949	25	4						1
29	Adams F	08021933	NW	1956	1963	23	8	1960					2
30	Adams G	16101926	Sco	1949	1949	22	2						1
31	Adams GR	28091947	SE	1966	1967	18	3	1965					1
32	Adams GW	01031933	EA	1957	1957	24	1						1
33	Adams JA	02081937	WM	1957	1957	20	1						1

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Database 2: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1946 - 1985

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
34	Adams L	14021931	SE	1951	1951	20	1						1
35	Adams MA	20021965	SW	1982	1982	17	1						1
36	Adams RM	13021928	SE	1948	1953	20	6	1950					2
37	Adams RL	15091945	SW	1966	1968	20	3						1
38	Adams ST	18061958	SE	1977	1978	19	2						2
39	Adams V	16101946	NE	1965	1966	18	2	1965					1
40	Adams WH	08011919	NE	1946	1951	27	6	1946	1950				2
41	Adams WV	10051921	SE	1946	1946	25	1	1946					1
42	Adamson DH	07051951	NE	1970	1971	19	2	1970					1
43	Adamson H	27061924	Sco	1947	1955	23	10	1950	1955				1
44	Adamson J	04041929	NE	1950	1963	21	14	1950	1955	1960			1
45	Adamson T	15101948	NE	1966	1967	17	2						2
46	Addinall AW	30011921	SE	1946	1954	25	9	1946	1950				3
47	Addison C	18051940	SW	1957	1973	17	17	1960	1965	1970			5
48	Addy M	20021943	Yks	1962	1966	19	5	1965					2
49	Adey AL	01031930	Sco	1950	1954	20	5	1950					3
50	Adkins NH	11031965	NW	1982	1992	17	11	1985					2
51	Adlington T	21111935	NE	1956	1965	20	10	1960	1965				2
52	Agboola R	30051962	SE	1980	1992	18	13	1980	1985				3
53	Agnew D	31031925	Nire	1950	1950	25	1	1950					1
54	Agnew DY	04081939	Sco	1961	1966	22	6	1965					2
55	Agnew J	27061935	NE	1954	1955	19	2	1955					1
56	Aherne T	26011919	Ire	1948	1956	29	9	1950	1955				1
57	Aiken T	18031946	Nire	1967	1968	21	2						1
58	Aimson P	03081943	NW	1961	1973	18	13	1965	1970				8
59	Aindow R	23101946	NW	1968	1970	21	3	1970					1
60	Ainge R	05081920	Wal	1946	1946	26	1	1946					1
61	Ainscough J	26031926	NW	1950	1953	24	4	1950					1
62	Ainscow A	15071953	NW	1971	1989	18	19	1975	1980	1985			6
63	Ainsley G	15041915	NE	1932	1948	17	17	1946					4
64	Ainsworth A	31071913	NW	1933	1947	20	15	1946					2
65	Ainsworth D	28011958	NW	1975	1975	17	1	1975					1

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Database 2: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1946 - 1985

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
66	Aird J	18021926	Sco	1949	1954	23	6	1950	1955				1
67	Airey C	06021965	Yks	1982	1989	17	8	1985					4
68	Airey J	28111937	SE	1958	1959	20	2	1960					1
69	Aitchison B	15111937	SE	1964	1965	16	2	1965					1
70	Aitchison PM	19091931	SE	1951	1954	19	4						1
71	Aitken A	21081934	Sco	1959	1960	25	2	1960					1
72	Aitken C	01051942	Sco	1960	1975	18	16	1960	1965	1970	1975		1
73	Aitken GB	13081928	Sco	1951	1959	23	9	1955					2
74	Aitken GG	28051925	Sco	1951	1959	26	9	1955					2
75	Aitken GL	30091952	SE	1972	1977	19	6	1975					2
76	Aitken P	30061954	NE	1972	1982	18	11	1975	1980				4
77	Aitken W	11011951	Sco	1968	1968	17	1						1
78	Aizlewood M	01101959	Wal	1975	1994	16	20	1975	1980	1985			7
79	Aizlewood S	09101952	Wal	1968	1983	16	16	1970	1975	1980			3
80	Akers V	24081946	SE	1971	1975	25	5	1975					2
81	Alberry W	21071922	Yks	1946	1946	24	1	1946					1
82	Albeson B	14121946	NW	1965	1974	18	10	1965	1970				4
83	Albiston A	14071957	Sco	1974	1992	17	19	1975	1980	1985			4
84	Albury W	10081933	SE	1956	1959	23	5	1960					2
85	Alcock T	09121948	WM	1963	1977	24	15	1965	1970	1975			4
86	Aldecoa E	30111922	For	1946	1946	23	1						1
87	Alderson B	05051950	Sco	1970	1977	20	8	1970	1975				2
88	Alderson K	21081953	NE	1970	1970	17	1	1970					1
89	Alderson S	15081948	NE	1966	1967	18	2						2
90	Alderton J	06121924	NE	1946	1951	21	6	1946	1950				2
91	Aldis P	11041927	WM	1950	1958	23	9	1950	1955				1
92	Aldous SER	10021923	SE	1950	1957	27	8	1950	1955				1
93	Aldread P	06111946	EM	1965	1966	18	2	1965					1
94	Aldred A	27081919	NW	1948	1948	29	1						1
95	Aldread G	11091966	Sco	1984	1985	17	2	1985					1
96	Aldridge NR	10011966	NW	1984	1984	18	1						1
97	Aldridge NH	23021921	WM	1946	1948	25	3	1946					2

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Database 2: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1946 - 1985

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
98	Aldridge S	02111957	Yks	1980	1980	22	1	1980					1
99	Aleksic M	14041951	EM	1973	1981	22	9	1975	1980				3
100	Alesinoye M	01101955	NE	1975	1975	19	1	1975					1
101	Alexander A	28091924	Sco	1946	1948	21	3						1
102	Alexander AC	10011934	Sco	1957	1959	23	3	1960					3
103	Alexander AA	08021935	SE	1952	1955	17	4	1955					1
104	Alexander DL	19021935	EM	1955	1958	20	4	1955					2
105	Alexander I	26011963	Sco	1981	1993	18	13	1985					2
106	Alexander J	05101955	NE	1976	1981	20	6	1980					3
107	Alexander P	04091962	SE	1982	1982	19	1						1
108	Alexander R	28011961	Sco	1984	1985	23	2	1985					1
109	Alison J	11101923	Sco	1949	1956	25	8	1950	1955				2
110	Allan A	29101947	Sco	1967	1972	19	6	1970					2
111	Allan J	10111953	Sco	1971	1983	17	13	1975	1980				1
112	Allan J	26091931	NE	1951	1952	19	2						1
113	Allanson G	06031965	Yks	1981	1982	16	2						1
114	Allardyce S	19101954	WM	1973	1992	18	20	1975	1980	1985			8
115	Allatt V	28051959	WM	1979	1987	20	9	1980	1985				6
116	Allaway J	23041922	SW	1946	1946	24	1	1946					1
117	Allchurch I	16121929	Wal	1949	1967	19	19	1950	1955	1960	1965		3
118	Allchurch L	12091933	Wal	1951	1970	17	20	1955	1960	1965	1970		3
119	Allcock F	07091925	EM	1953	1955	27	3	1955					1
120	Allcock K	24041921	EM	1947	1947	26	1						1
121	Allcock T	10121935	Yks	1953	1968	17	16	1955	1960	1965			2
122	Alder D	30121951	SE	1969	1979	17	11	1970	1975				4
123	Alldis G	26011920	NW	1938	1950	18	13	1946	1950				2
124	Allen HA	27101924	EM	1947	1953	22	7	1950					2
125	Allen BW	23021921	Wal	1946	1952	25	7	1946	1950				4
126	Allen CD	20051961	SE	1978	1995	17	18	1980	1985				8
127	Allen DJ	02031939	SE	1957	1970	18	14	1960	1965	1970			3
128	Allen D	14071946	Yks	1965	1965	19	1	1965					1
129	Allen DS	16041930	SE	1954	1956	24	3	1955					2

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Database 2: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1946 - 1985

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
130	Allen F	28061927	EM	1951	1954	24	4						2
131	Allen GB	10111946	NE	1963	1968	16	6	1965					1
132	Allen GH	23011932	WM	1953	1964	21	12	1960					2
133	Allen J	14111964	NW	1981	1984	16	4						2
134	Allen J	24041955	WM	1980	1980	25	1	1980					1
135	Allen JIC	27011932	Sco	1953	1955	21	3	1955					2
136	Allen K	09111943	SE	1964	1972	20	9	1970					4
137	Allen KR	12011952	Yks	1978	1987	26	10	1980	1985				3
138	Allen K	22031961	SE	1979	1979	18	1						1
139	Allen LW	04091937	SE	1956	1968	18	13	1960	1965				3
140	Allen M	21031967	Wal	1985	1994	18	10	1985					5
141	Allen MS	18121963	NE	1981	1983	17	3						2
142	Allen M	30031949	NE	1967	1978	18	12	1970	1975				2
143	Allen PM	30071967	Yks	1984	1985	17	2	1985					1
144	Allen PC	01111946	SE	1965	1978	18	14	1965	1970	1975			2
145	Allen PM	08101934	SW	1954	1954	19	1						1
146	Allen AR	03051919	SE	1938	1952	19	15	1946	1950				2
147	Allen R	16011939	Nlre	1960	1961	21	2	1960					1
148	Allen RHA	05121916	SW	1946	1946	29	1	1946					2
149	Allen AR	11101912	SE	1934	1950	21	17	1946	1950				4
150	Allen R	15011929	WM	1946	1964	17	19	1946	1950	1955	1960		3
151	Allen RL	22041935	WM	1958	1960	23	3	1960					2
152	Allen RP	09011954	WM	1973	1980	19	8	1975	1980				2
153	Allen W	22101917	NE	1938	1951	20	14	1946	1950				3
154	Alleyne A	19051951	For	1972	1975	21	4	1975					1
155	Allinson I	01101957	SE	1974	1989	16	16	1975	1980	1985			5
156	Allinson J	31071922	NE	1948	1951	26	4	1950					2
157	Allinson JA	09081932	NE	1957	1960	25	4	1960					1
158	Allison JJ	17111913	NE	1946	1946	32	1	1946					1
159	Allison K	06011937	Sco	1963	1966	26	4	1965					2
160	Allison MA	05091927	SE	1949	1957	21	9	1950	1955				2
161	Allison T	20021921	NE	1946	1946	25	1	1946					1

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Database 2: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1946 - 1985

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
162	Allister J	30061927	Sco	1951	1952	24	2						1
163	Allman G	23071930	NW	1950	1956	20	7	1950	1955				2
164	Allsop N	01111930	WM	1953	1953	22	1						1
165	Allsop WH	29011912	Yks	1931	1946	19	16	1946					2
166	Allum A	15101930	SE	1957	1957	26	1						1
167	Alsop GA	10091908	SW	1929	1946	20	18	1946					4
168	Alston A	26021949	For	1974	1976	25	3	1975					2
169	Alston AG	26021937	NW	1957	1966	20	10	1960	1965				3
170	Alty C	23101944	NW	1962	1969	17	8	1965					2
171	Ambler R	02121937	Yks	1958	1963	20	6	1960					4
172	Ambrose AL	22061960	For	1979	1981	19	3	1980					1
173	Anderson J	23071913	NE	1946	1946	23	1	1946					1
174	Anderson JM	25121932	Sco	1954	1959	21	6	1955					2
175	Anderson J	08121929	Sco	1948	1958	18	11	1950	1955				2
176	Anderson J	11101921	NW	1947	1950	25	4	1950					2
177	Anderson JCP	07111959	Ire	1979	1990	19	12	1980	1985				2
178	Anderson JC	08051915	Sco	1933	1946	18	14	1946					2
179	Anderson JE	07061931	Sco	1955	1955	24	1	1955					1
180	Anderson JHT	11011937	Sco	1957	1960	20	4	1960					1
181	Anderson JL	05041928	Sco	1953	1961	25	9	1955	1960				5
182	Anderson N	30111930	NE	1953	1955	22	3	1955					1
183	Anderson PA	11091930	EA	1953	1953	22	1						1
184	Anderson PD	22091932	SW	1952	1964	19	13	1955	1960				2
185	Anderson PT	31051949	SE	1970	1982	21	13	1970	1975	1980			3
186	Anderson PO	05011948	Nire	1966	1969	18	4						1
187	Anderson R	11081928	Sco	1946	1947	18	2	1946					1
188	Anderson R	21011937	Sco	1959	1959	22	1						1
189	Anderson RJ	23021936	SE	1956	1959	20	4						1
190	Anderson JR	09111924	NE	1947	1958	22	12	1950	1955				4
191	Anderson RL	23041926	Nire	1950	1951	24	2	1950					1
192	Anderson RJ	03071922	NE	1946	1946	24	1	1946					1
193	Anderson S	11011936	NW	1955	1956	19	2	1955					1

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Database 2: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1946 - 1985

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
194	Anderson TK	11031944	SE	1962	1975	18	14	1965	1970	1975			5
195	Anderson TC	24091934	Sco	1956	1967	21	12	1960	1965				10
196	Anderson T	03031951	Nire	1972	1978	21	7	1975					3
197	Anderson VA	29071956	EM	1974	1994	18	21	1975	1980	1985			6
198	Anderson W	06111926	Sco	1954	1955	27	2	1955					1
199	Anderson WB	28031935	NE	1955	1960	20	6	1955	1960				2
200	Anderson WJ	24011947	NW	1963	1976	16	14	1965	1970	1975			3
201	Anderson WR	20091927	NE	1946	1946	18	1	1946					1
202	Anderson WR	13111919	Sco	1946	1948	26	3	1946					1
203	Andrew G	24111945	Sco	1966	1966	20	1						1
204	Andrew M	05011922	Sco	1948	1951	26	4	1950					2
205	Andrew REH	05011936	NW	1957	1964	21	8	1960					2
206	Andrews CJ	01111930	SE	1952	1957	22	6	1955					2
207	Andrews D	14121934	NW	1955	1955	20	1	1955					1
208	Andrews G	23041942	WM	1965	1976	23	12	1965	1970	1975			4
209	Andrews G	11021945	WM	1967	1968	22	2						1
210	Andrews I	01121964	EM	1983	1995	18	13	1985					3
211	Andrews JP	01021927	Sco	1951	1961	24	11	1955	1960				3
212	Andrews KA	28041968	Wal	1984	1987	16	4	1985					1
213	Andrews LL	29101953	WM	1973	1973	19	1						1
214	Andrews AP	12061922	SE	1947	1954	25	8	1950	1955				1
215	Andruszewski E	04101955	SE	1974	1982	18	9	1975	1980				2
216	Angell P	11011932	SE	1953	1964	21	12	1955	1960	1965			1
217	Angus J	12031909	NE	1930	1947	21	18	1946					1
218	Ansell B	29091947	WM	1967	1967	19	1						1
219	Ansell WJ	04081921	EM	1947	1951	26	5	1950					1
220	Anslow S	05051931	SE	1951	1958	20	8	1955					1
221	Anthony T	16081943	SE	1962	1962	19	1						1
222	Antic R	22111949	For	1980	1983	31	4	1980					1
223	Antonio G	20101914	WM	1935	1950	20	16	1946	1950				4
224	Appleby J	15061934	NE	1956	1962	22	7	1960					4
225	Appleby R	15011940	NE	1959	1966	19	8	1960					1

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
226	Appleton C	07031936	Yks	1954	1968	18	15	1955	1960				3
227	Appleton R	24091932	NE	1952	1952	19	1						1
228	Appleton T	09061936	NE	1958	1958	22	1						1
229	Arblaster M	06061943	SE	1964	1973	21	10	1965	1970				3
230	Archell GL	08021950	SE	1967	1968	17	2						1
231	Archer J	18061941	WM	1959	1971	18	13	1960	1965	1970			5
232	Archer JG	09041936	SE	1954	1954	18	1	1955					1
233	Archer P	25081952	Yks	1971	1971	19	1						1
234	Archer R	03091933	Yks	1951	1955	17	5	1955					1
235	Archer WH	05021914	Yks	1946	1974	32	2	1946					1
236	Archibald JM	19031917	Sco	1946	1946	29	1	1946					1
237	Archibald S	27091956	Sco	1980	1992	23	13	1980	1985				4
238	Ardiles O	03081952	For	1978	1989	26	12	1980	1985				3
239	Ardron W	19091918	Yks	1938	1955	19	18	1946	1950	1955			2
240	Arentoft P	01111942	For	1968	1973	25	6	1970					2
241	Argue J	26111911	Sco	1933	1946	21	14	1946					1
242	Arins A	26101958	EM	1978	1981	19	4	1980					3
243	Arkwright I	18091959	Yks	1978	1983	18	6	1980					2
244	Armes I	06041924	EA	1946	1952	22	7	1946	1950				2
245	Armfield J	21091935	NW	1954	1970	18	17	1955	1960	1965	1970		1
246	Armitage K	23101920	Yks	1946	1947	25	2	1946					2
247	Armitage L	15121921	Yks	1946	1947	24	2	1946					2
248	Armitage S	05061919	SE	1946	1946	27	1	1946					1
249	Armstrong A	06061925	NW	1949	1949	24	1						1
250	Armstrong D	26121954	NE	1971	1987	16	17	1975	1980	1985			3
251	Armstrong DT	09111942	SE	1965	1969	22	5	1965					2
252	Armstrong DJ	16031939	NE	1958	1961	19	4	1960					2
253	Armstrong E	25051921	NE	1947	1947	26	1						1
254	Armstrong GS	02011958	SE	1975	1984	17	10	1975	1980				3
255	Armstrong GJ	23051954	Nlre	1976	1986	22	11	1980	1985				4
256	Armstrong G	09081944	NE	1961	1978	17	18	1965	1970	1975			3
257	Armstrong J	14091943	NE	1960	1963	16	4	1960					2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
258	Armstrong J	05091936	Sco	1957	1970	20	14	1960	1965	1970			4
259	Armstrong J	16111931	SE	1953	1958	21	6	1955					2
260	Armstrong JM	29011939	NE	1959	1959	20	1						1
261	Armstrong KT	11101957	NE	1977	1978	19	2						2
262	Armstrong KC	31011959	WM	1983	1985	24	3	1985					2
263	Armstrong K	03061924	Yks	1947	1956	23	10	1950	1955				1
264	Armstrong JR	01071938	NE	1959	1959	21	1						1
265	Armstrong T	10071958	Yks	1976	1984	18	9	1980					2
266	Armstrong T	27021920	NE	1946	1946	26	1	1946					1
267	Arnell AJ	25111933	SE	1953	1963	19	11	1955	1960				3
268	Arnison JW	27061924	For	1948	1950	24	3	1950					1
269	Arnold E	13091922	EA	1947	1951	24	5	1950					1
270	Arnold JA	06081950	WM	1979	1986	29	8	1980	1985				3
271	Arnold JW	06121954	SE	1972	1973	17	2						1
272	Arnold R	03061952	WM	1970	1983	18	14	1970	1975	1980			1
273	Arnold SF	05011951	SE	1968	1973	17	6	1970					3
274	Arnott JH	06091932	SE	1953	1968	20	16	1955					4
275	Arnott KW	26091958	NE	1976	1990	17	15	1980	1985				3
276	Arnott W	29051935	Sco	1957	1958	22	2						1
277	Arrowsmith A	11121942	WM	1961	1972	18	12	1965	1970				3
278	Arthur DR	09031960	WM	1981	1983	21	3						2
279	Arthur J	14121917	NW	1938	1954	20	17	1946	1950				4
280	Arundel F	20021939	SW	1956	1961	17	6	1960					2
281	Ash M	04091943	Yks	1963	1967	19	5	1965					2
282	Ashall G	29091911	EM	1935	1948	23	14	1946					2
283	Ashcroft CT	03071926	NW	1946	1958	20	13	1946	1950	1955			3
284	Ashcroft L	01101952	NW	1970	1986	17	17	1970	1975	1980	1985		3
285	Ashcroft LL	10071921	Wal	1946	1947	25	2	1946					1
286	Ashe A	14101925	Sco	1953	1960	27	8	1955	1960				4
287	Ashe N	16111943	WM	1959	1963	16	5	1960					2
288	Ashenden RE	04021961	SE	1978	1980	17	3	1980					1
289	Asher S	24121930	SE	1956	1957	25	2						1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
290	Asher T	21121936	Yks	1957	1959	20	3						1
291	Ashfield G	15041934	NW	1955	1959	21	5	1955					2
292	Ashley J	10061931	EM	1950	1951	19	2	1950					1
293	Ashman GA	30051928	Yks	1948	1958	20	11	1950	1955				3
294	Ashman R	19031926	EM	1947	1964	21	8	1950	1955	1960			1
295	Ashmore AM	11091937	Yks	1957	1963	19	7	1960					3
296	Ashmore GA	11081946	EM	1966	1968	20	3						1
297	Ashton D	04071922	EM	1946	1949	24	4	1946					2
298	Ashton J	04071954	SE	1971	1975	17	5	1975					1
299	Ashton KJ	12121936	NW	1957	1962	20	6	1960					2
300	Ashton R	16081921	Wal	1947	1951	26	5	1950					3
301	Ashurst J	12101954	Sco	1972	1993	17	22	1975	1980	1985			6
302	Ashurst L	10031939	NW	1958	1973	19	16	1960	1965				2
303	Ashworth A	01101939	NW	1957	1967	17	11	1965					4
304	Ashworth B	18081942	NW	1963	1970	21	8	1965	1970				4
305	Ashworth F	26011928	NW	1951	1953	23	3						2
306	Ashworth I	17101958	NW	1979	1980	20	2						2
307	Ashworth J	06011943	Yks	1961	1974	18	14	1965					7
308	Ashworth N	16011968	NW	1984	1984	16	1						1
309	Askew W	02101959	SE	1979	1990	19	12	1980	1985				3
310	Askey C	03101932	WM	1947	1963	16	15	1950	1955	1960			3
311	Aspden J	06021938	NW	1955	1965	17	11	1955	1960	1965			1
312	Aspinall J	27041916	NW	1936	1949	20	14	1946					2
313	Aspinall JJ	15031959	NW	1982	1987	23	6	1985					1
314	Aspinall W	10121964	NW	1983	1985	18	3	1985					1
315	Asprey W	11091936	WM	1953	1968	16	16	1955	1960	1965			3
316	Asquith B	16091910	Yks	1934	1949	23	16	1946					3
317	Astall G	22091927	SE	1947	1962	19	16	1950	1955	1960			3
318	Astbury MJ	22011964	Yks	1980	1988	16	9	1980	1985				4
319	Astbury T	09021920	Wal	1946	1954	26	9	1946	1950				1
320	Astle J	13051942	EM	1961	1973	19	13	1965	1970				2
321	Aston J	03091921	NW	1946	1953	24	8	1946	1950				1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
322	Aston J	28061947	NW	1964	1979	17	16	1965	1970	1975			4
323	Aston AJ	29071930	Wal	1947	1950	17	4	1950					1
324	Aston S	10051940	EM	1966	1967	26	2						1
325	Aston W	16101918	WM	1938	1951	19	14	1946	1950				2
326	Athersych R	21091962	Yks	1981	1982	18	2						1
327	Atherton D	06071951	Wal	1968	1970	17	3	1970					1
328	Atherton FG	18071934	NW	1955	1965	21	11	1955	1960	1965			3
329	Atkin JM	14021948	EM	1969	1974	21	6	1970					1
330	Atkins A	21021925	For	1949	1954	24	6	1950					2
331	Atkins D	08111938	Yks	1959	1970	20	12	1960	1965	1970			2
332	Atkins I	16011957	WM	1975	1993	18	19	1975	1980	1985			7
333	Atkins R	16101962	EM	1982	1989	19	8	1985					1
334	Atkins JT	17081941	SW	1957	1959	16	3						1
335	Atkins W	09051939	WM	1959	1974	20	16	1960	1965	1970			7
336	Atkinson B	16111934	Yks	1956	1958	21	3						2
337	Atkinson BH	15041934	SE	1955	1956	21	2	1955					1
338	Atkinson C	17121932	Yks	1953	1964	20	12	1955	1960				3
339	Atkinson CB	05051938	NE	1959	1963	21	5	1960					1
340	Atkinson DJ	03041951	Yks	1968	1968	17	1						1
341	Atkinson FJ	24081919	NE	1946	1948	27	3	1946					1
342	Atkinson GJ	17051943	NW	1962	1973	19	12	1965	1970				1
343	Atkinson H	28071925	Ire	1946	1954	21	9	1946	1950				2
344	Atkinson HA	08111960	Ire	1979	1984	18	6	1980					4
345	Atkinson AI	19121932	NE	1952	1957	19	6	1955					2
346	Atkinson J	20121913	NE	1932	1949	18	18	1946					2
347	Atkinson P	19011966	NE	1983	1989	17	7	1985					2
348	Atkinson PG	14081961	Yks	1979	1989	18	11	1980	1985				4
349	Atkinson P	13091924	NE	1946	1947	21	2	1946					1
350	Atkinson P	14121949	EM	1969	1969	19	1						1
351	Atkinson PMC	20091929	EM	1949	1951	19	3	1950					1
352	Atkinson RF	18031939	NW	1962	1971	23	10	1965	1970				1
353	Atkinson T	19111928	Yks	1946	1946	17	1	1946					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
354	Atkinson T	23111942	NE	1963	1969	20	7	1965					2
355	Atkinson W	31081920	NE	1951	1951	31	1						1
356	Atkinson W	21121944	NE	1964	1964	19	1						1
357	Atthey N	08051946	Sco	1963	1976	17	14	1965	1970	1975			1
358	Attley B	23081955	Wal	1974	1983	19	10	1970	1975	1980			3
359	Attwell FR	23031920	WM	1937	1954	17	8	1946	1950				3
360	Atyeo PJ	07021932	SW	1950	1965	18	16	1950	1955	1960	1965		2
361	Auguste J	24111965	For	1983	1983	17	1						1
362	Auld R	23031938	Sco	1961	1964	23	3						1
363	Auld W	09071929	Sco	1950	1951	21	2	1950					1
364	Austin J	06071933	WM	1952	1963	19	12	1955	1960				2
365	Austin K	07081961	WM	1984	1984	23	1						1
366	Austin R	26031960	SE	1978	1978	18	1						1
367	Austin T	01021954	SE	1974	1983	20	10	1975	1980				8
368	Avery R	17021961	SE	1977	1977	16	1						1
369	Aveyard W	11061918	Yks	1946	1952	28	7	1946	1950				4
370	Avis V	24101935	SE	1953	1960	17	8	1955	1960				1
371	Avramovic R	29111949	For	1979	1983	29	5	1980					2
372	Aylott S	03091951	SE	1971	1977	19	7	1975					2
373	Aylott T	29111957	SE	1977	1992	19	16	1980	1985				9
374	Ayre C	14031956	NE	1976	1976	20	1						1
375	Ayre R	26031932	Sco	1952	1959	20	8	1955					2
376	Ayre W	07051952	NE	1977	1985	25	9	1980	1985				4
377	Ayres F	17071926	WM	1948	1948	22	1						1
378	Ayres H	10031920	NW	1946	1954	26	9	1946	1950				2
379	Ayres K	15051956	SE	1974	1974	18	1						1
380	Ayris J	08011953	SE	1970	1976	17	7	1970	1975				1
381	Ayrton N	11021962	SE	1980	1980	18	1	1980					1
382	Ayton J	15101923	Sco	1948	1951	24	4	1950					1
383	Baber JM	10101947	SE	1966	1970	18	5	1970					1
384	Babes J	20111929	Nlre	1950	1951	20	2	1950					1
385	Bacci A	15071922	NE	1950	1951	28	2	1950					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
386	Backos D	13111950	For	1977	1977	26	1						1
387	Bacon C	09111919	SE	1946	1949	26	4	1946					1
388	Bacon RAS	04031935	EA	1955	1960	20	6	1950	1955	1960			2
389	Bacuzzi RD	12101940	SE	1960	1969	19	10	1960	1965				3
390	Bacuzzi G	25091916	SE	1936	1956	19	21	1946	1950	1955			1
391	Baddeley K	12031962	SW	1980	1984	18	5	1980					2
392	Baddock S	10091958	SE	1985	1985	26	1	1985					1
393	Bades B	03071939	NW	1963	1963	24	1						1
394	Badger C	16061930	Yks	1950	1950	20	1	1950					1
395	Badger L	08061945	Yks	1962	1977	17	16	1965	1970	1975			2
396	Badham J	31011919	WM	1947	1956	28	10	1950	1955				1
397	Badminton R	15091947	SE	1966	1966	18	1						1
398	Bagnall R	22111926	Yks	1946	1947	29	2	1946					1
399	Bailey AD	23091946	NW	1971	1978	24	8	1975					3
400	Bailey WC	06071944	Sco	1962	1962	18	1						1
401	Bailey D	11011957	EM	1975	1975	18	1	1975					1
402	Bailey D	24091935	NW	1956	1958	20	3						2
403	Bailey GR	09081958	SW	1978	1986	20	9	1980	1985				1
404	Bailey GE	31101958	Yks	1977	1977	18	1						1
405	Bailey TG	22031920	WM	1946	1949	26	4	1946					2
406	Bailey IC	20101956	NE	1975	1984	18	10	1975	1980				2
407	Bailey JA	01041957	NW	1975	1990	18	16	1975	1980	1985			4
408	Bailey JS	30071950	SE	1967	1967	17	1						1
409	Bailey EJ	17061921	SW	1946	1957	25	12	1946	1950	1955			1
410	Bailey M	07051937	Yks	1957	1960	20	4	1960					1
411	Bailey MR	14041950	WM	1968	1968	18	1						1
412	Bailey MA	27021942	EA	1960	1978	18	19	1960	1965	1970	1975		3
413	Bailey N	26091958	NW	1978	1993	19	16	1980	1985				4
414	Bailey RR	16051944	SE	1966	1971	22	6	1970					2
415	Bailey RN	26051932	SE	1949	1964	17	16	1950	1955	1960			2
416	Bailey SJ	12031964	SW	1981	1981	17	1						1
417	Bailey T	18121947	WM	1974	1977	26	4	1975					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
418	Baillie CJ	31031964	Nlre	1981	1991	17	11	1985					3
419	Baillie D	27011937	Sco	1955	1955	18	1	1955					1
420	Baillie J	26021929	Sco	1954	1960	25	7	1955	1960				4
421	Baily E	06081925	SE	1946	1959	21	14	1946	1950	1955			4
422	Bain AE	22011936	Sco	1957	1961	21	5	1960					3
423	Bain JA	14121919	Sco	1946	1953	26	8	1946	1950				2
424	Bain J	23061957	Sco	1976	1978	19	3						2
425	Bain JS	20071946	Sco	1964	1966	18	3	1965					1
426	Bain WC	16111924	Sco	1950	1950	25	1	1950					1
427	Bainbridge KV	15011921	SE	1946	1954	25	9	1946	1950	1955			3
428	Bainbridge PE	30011958	Yks	1977	1979	19	3	1980	1985				2
429	Bainbridge RE	22021931	Yks	1953	1954	22	2	1955					1
430	Bainbridge T	23121962	NE	1981	1983	18	3						1
431	Bainbridge W	09031922	NE	1946	1953	24	8	1946	1950				2
432	Baines SN	28071920	EM	1938	1946	18	9	1946					2
433	Baines SJ	23061954	EM	1972	1986	18	15	1975	1980	1985			6
434	Baird DF	26111935	Sco	1960	1967	24	8	1960	1965				2
435	Baird JG	14011924	EM	1946	1947	22	2	1946					1
436	Baird H	17081913	Nlre	1936	1952	23	7	1946	1950				3
437	Baird H	14031930	Sco	1957	1958	27	2						1
438	Baird S	13051930	Sco	1954	1954	24	1						1
439	Bairstow DL	01091951	Yks	1971	1972	19	2						1
440	Baker AR	22061944	WM	1960	1970	16	11	1960	1965	1970			2
441	Baker CJ	06011936	SE	1960	1965	24	6	1960	1965				2
442	Baker CH	11011924	SW	1946	1946	22	1	1946					1
443	Baker CE	14031959	EA	1977	1994	18	18	1980	1985				4
444	Baker CW	18121934	Wal	1953	1965	18	13	1955	1960	1965			1
445	Baker DS	28061965	WM	1982	1983	17	2						1
446	Baker DH	21101928	SW	1949	1949	20	1						1
447	Baker DG	08041947	SE	1966	1966	19	1						1
448	Baker F	22101918	WM	1936	1949	17	15	1946					1
449	Baker TG	06041936	Wal	1954	1961	18	8	1955	1960				2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
450	Baker G	22041939	Yks	1957	1960	18	4	1960					1
451	Baker G	16091938	NW	1963	1968	24	6	1965					1
452	Baker GA	11041938	For	1960	1969	22	10	1960	1965				3
453	Baker GE	03121958	SE	1977	1991	18	15	1980	1985				4
454	Baker JH	17071940	NW	1962	1970	22	9	1965	1970				3
455	Baker K	15101956	SE	1975	1975	18	1	1975					1
456	Baker KR	29101949	SE	1969	1972	19	4	1970					1
457	Baker M	26041961	Wal	1978	1979	17	2						1
458	Baker PR	24081934	SE	1957	1962	23	6	1950					2
459	Baker PRB	10121931	SE	1952	1964	20	13	1955	1960				1
460	Baker RV	08061954	Yks	1972	1974	18	3	1975					1
461	Baker S	02121961	NE	1980	1991	18	12	1980	1985				3
462	Baker TA	09081939	SE	1962	1962	23	1						1
463	Baker T	03111965	SE	1985	1987	19	3	1985					1
464	Baker WG	03101920	Wal	1938	1955	17	18	1946	1950	1955			2
465	Bakes MS	08021937	Yks	1953	1962	16	10	1955	1960				1
466	Bakewell H	08031921	Yks	1946	1946	25	1	1946					1
467	Bakholt K	12081963	For	1985	1985	22	1	1985					1
468	B'Alac PJ	09121953	SW	1971	1973	17	3						1
469	Balcombe SW	02091961	Wal	1981	1981	19	1						1
470	Balderstone JC	16111940	Yks	1959	1975	18	17	1960	1965	1970	1975		3
471	Baldie DW	16041921	Sco	1946	1947	25	2	1946					1
472	Baldrige RW	26111932	NE	1956	1959	23	4	1960					1
473	Baldry WJ	09071956	SE	1975	1977	19	3	1975					1
474	Baldwin JG	26071921	SE	1951	1951	30	1						1
475	Baldwin H	17071920	WM	1937	1954	17	8	1946	1950				3
476	Baldwin J	22011922	NW	1946	1955	24	10	1946	1950	1955			2
477	Baldwin T	10061945	NE	1964	1977	19	14	1965	1970	1975			3
478	Ball AJ	12051945	NW	1962	1982	17	11	1965	1970	1975	1980		7
479	Ball JA	16071923	NW	1946	1951	23	6	1946	1950				4
480	Ball D	14061962	NE	1979	1981	17	3	1980					1
481	Ball SG	15121959	SW	1979	1979	19	1						1

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
482	Ball GH	02111944	EM	1964	1971	19	8	1965	1970				2
483	Ball J	13031925	NW	1947	1958	22	12	1950	1955				2
484	Ball JA	16071923	SE	1946	1952	23	7	1946	1950				1
485	Ball JH	04041931	WM	1951	1955	20	5	1955					2
486	Ball K	26101940	WM	1958	1972	17	5	1960	1965	1970			2
487	Ballagher J	21031936	NW	1958	1963	22	6	1960					3
488	Ballantyne JD	16091927	NE	1950	1951	22	2	1950					1
489	Ballard EA	16061920	SE	1946	1950	26	5	1946	1950				2
490	Balmer J	06021916	NW	1935	1951	19	17	1946	1950				1
491	Balmer JM	25051946	NE	1965	1966	19	2	1965					1
492	Balogun JA	27031931	For	1956	1956	25	1						1
493	Balsom CG	25031946	SW	1963	1963	17	1						1
494	Balson MJC	09091947	SW	1966	1973	18	8	1970					1
495	Bamber JD	01021959	NW	1979	1994	20	16	1980	1985				8
496	Bambridge KG	01091935	Yks	1955	1965	19	11	1955	1960	1965			3
497	Bambridge SM	27051960	SE	1976	1976	16	1						1
498	Bamford HFE	08041914	SE	1946	1946	32	1	1946					1
499	Bamford HC	08021920	SW	1946	1958	26	13	1946	1950	1955			1
500	Bancroft PA	10091964	EM	1982	1984	17	3						2
501	Banfield NA	20011962	SE	1980	1984	18	5	1980					2
502	Banham R	30101936	EM	1955	1961	18	7	1955	1960				2
503	Banjo TB	19021960	SE	1977	1981	17	5	1980					1
504	Banks A	05101938	NW	1958	1972	19	15	1960	1965	1970			4
505	Banks CN	12111965	WM	1984	1988	18	5	1985					2
506	Banks E	07041950	EM	1967	1972	17	6	1970					1
507	Banks FS	21081945	Yks	1963	1977	18	15	1965	1970	1975			3
508	Banks GE	28031919	WM	1938	1948	19	11	1946					2
509	Banks G	30121937	Yks	1958	1972	20	15	1960	1965	1970			3
510	Banks IF	09011961	Yks	1978	1994	17	17	1980	1985				8
511	Banks JM	16111968	NW	1987	1987	18	1						1
512	Banks K	19101923	NW	1946	1951	22	6	1946	1950				1
513	Banks R	28061920	NW	1946	1954	26	9	1946	1950				2

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
514	Banks T	10111929	NW	1947	1960	17	14	1950	1955	1960			1
515	Bannan TN	13041930	Sco	1951	1960	21	10	1955	1960				4
516	Banner A	28061918	Yks	1938	1952	20	15	1946	1950				2
517	Bannerman TG	17091924	Sco	1948	1950	23	3	1950					1
518	Bannister BI	14041947	Yks	1965	1979	18	15	1965	1970	1975			4
519	Bannister E	02061920	NW	1946	1950	26	5	1946	1950				2
520	Bannister G	22071960	NW	1978	1995	18	18	1980	1985				8
521	Bannister K	27011923	Yks	1946	1953	23	9	1946	1950				2
522	Bannister N	21071937	NW	1955	1965	18	11	1955	1960	1965			4
523	Bannister PF	11101947	WM	1964	1967	16	4	1965					1
524	Bannon EJ	18041958	Sco	1978	1979	20	2						1
525	Bannon I	03091959	NW	1976	1979	16	4						1
526	Bannon PA	15111956	Ire	1978	1984	21	7	1980					2
527	Banton DC	15051961	SE	1979	1990	18	12	1980	1985				6
528	Banton G	16031957	NW	1976	1981	19	6	1980					2
529	Barber E	25031926	NW	1950	1951	24	2	1950					2
530	Barber F	26081963	NE	1982	1995	19	14	1985					6
531	Barber J	09101929	WM	1950	1951	20	2	1950					2
532	Barber K	21091947	SE	1970	1978	22	9	1970	1975				2
533	Barber L	13071929	WM	1949	1954	20	6	1950					1
534	Barber MJ	24081941	SW	1960	1964	19	5	1960					2
535	Barber PA	10061965	SE	1983	1995	18	13	1985					3
536	Barber WG	19091939	SE	1956	1962	16	7	1960					2
537	Barclay JM	08091921	Sco	1947	1948	25	2						1
538	Barclay RL	30111922	Sco	1948	1948	25	1						1
539	Barclay W	11071924	Sco	1948	1949	24	2						1
540	Bardsley L	18081925	NW	1947	1955	22	9	1950	1955				2
541	Bargh GW	27051910	NW	1928	1946	18	18	1946					4
542	Barham MF	12071962	SE	1979	1992	17	14	1980	1985				6
543	Bark R	27011926	Sco	1948	1948	22	1						1
544	Barkas S	29121909	NW	1927	1946	17	20	1946					2
545	Barkas T	27031912	NE	1932	1948	20	17	1946					5

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
546	Barke JL	16121912	EM	1934	1946	21	13	1946					2
547	Barke WH	23111919	Yks	1946	1949	26	4	1946					3
548	Barker D	17061911	EM	1933	1946	22	14	1946					3
549	Barker GA	07021949	Yks	1968	1978	19	11	1970	1975				4
550	Barker G	06071931	Yks	1954	1959	23	6	1955					1
551	Barker TH	12011936	NW	1957	1958	21	2						1
552	Barker J	16101915	EM	1937	1951	21	15	1946	1950				3
553	Barker J	04071948	Yks	1965	1974	17	10	1965	1970				1
554	Barker K	22021949	WM	1971	1971	22	1						1
555	Barker L	26031924	NW	1948	1950	24	3	1950					1
556	Barker AM	23021956	NE	1974	1983	18	10	1975	1980				3
557	Barker RJ	23111939	EM	1967	1971	27	5	1970					3
558	Barker RC	01121927	Sco	1948	1950	20	3	1950					2
559	Barker W	31051924	WM	1949	1950	25	2	1950					1
560	Barks E	01091921	EM	1946	1954	24	8	1946	1950				2
561	Barley CD	20031932	SE	1953	1954	21	2						2
562	Barley PJ	25041936	Yks	1953	1953	17	1						1
563	Barlow CJ	14111935	NW	1957	1964	21	8	1960					3
564	Barlow FC	15101946	Yks	1965	1975	18	11	1965	1970	1975			2
565	Barlow H	25101925	NW	1946	1960	20	5	1946	1950				1
566	Barlow H	22071916	Yks	1935	1953	19	19	1946	1950				5
567	Barlow P	09011950	SE	1966	1970	16	5	1970					3
568	Barlow PD	19121946	Yks	1966	1967	19	2						2
569	Barlow RJ	17081926	SW	1946	1960	20	15	1950	1955	1960			2
570	Barnard A	20061932	NW	1954	1959	22	6	1955					3
571	Barnard CL	01081947	Wal	1965	1971	18	7	1965	1970				4
572	Barnard G	23031946	SE	1964	1976	18	13	1965	1970	1975			3
573	Barnard LK	29101958	NW	1977	1990	18	14	1980	1985				3
574	Barnard HM	18071933	SE	1953	1958	20	6	1955					1
575	Barnard RS	16041933	NE	1951	1962	18	12	1955	1960				1
576	Barnes BN	25121937	SW	1956	1957	18	2						1
577	Barnes C	28051957	SE	1983	1984	26	2						1

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
578	Barnes DO	17121962	SE	1980	1995	17	16	1980	1985				7
579	Barnes E	29111937	NW	1957	1969	19	13	1960	1965				1
580	Barnes K	16031929	WM	1951	1964	22	14	1955	1960	1965			2
581	Barnes MF	17091963	SE	1980	1984	16	5	1980					2
582	Barnes P	29061938	SE	1960	1961	22	2	1960					1
583	Barnes PS	10061957	NW	1974	1988	17	15	1975	1980	1985			7
584	Barnes CR	21021936	NW	1956	1968	20	13	1960	1965				6
585	Barnes W	16011920	Sco	1946	1955	26	10	1946	1950	1955			1
586	Barnes W	16031939	Sco	1958	1967	19	10	1960	1965				2
587	Barnett GAS	04111934	SE	1955	1965	20	11	1955	1960	1965			4
588	Barnett D	24091951	SE	1968	1972	16	5	1970					1
589	Barnett GL	11031963	WM	1982	1994	19	13	1985					4
590	Barnett GC	16101946	NW	1965	1975	18	11	1965	1970	1975			2
591	Barnett G	17051936	WM	1958	1961	22	4	1960					3
592	Barnett TA	12101936	SE	1958	1960	21	3	1960					1
593	Barney VC	03041922	SE	1946	1950	24	5	1946	1950				3
594	Barney VR	18111947	SE	1966	1969	18	4						1
595	Barnsley A	09061962	Yks	1985	1992	23	8	1985					3
596	Barnsley GR	09121935	WM	1954	1963	18	10	1955	1960				4
597	Barnwell J	24121938	NE	1956	1970	17	15	1960	1965	1970			3
598	Baron KMP	19071926	NW	1947	1960	21	14	1950	1955	1960			4
599	Barr HH	17051935	Nlre	1962	1963	27	2						1
600	Barr JM	09091917	Sco	1946	1946	28	1	1946					1
601	Barrass MW	15121924	NW	1946	1956	21	11	1946	1950	1955			3
602	Barratt AG	13041920	EM	1938	1955	18	18	1946	1950	1955			4
603	Barratt A	18101965	NW	1985	1994	19	10	1985					3
604	Barratt H	25121918	SE	1937	1951	18	15	1946	1950				1
605	Barratt LE	13081945	WM	1962	1965	17	4	1965					3
606	Barrell LP	30081932	EA	1956	1956	24	1						1
607	Barrett AH	21121927	NW	1946	1946	18	1	1946					1
608	Barrett C	03081952	NW	1972	1980	20	9	1975	1980				3
609	Barrett JG	05111930	SE	1949	1959	18	11	1950	1955				3

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
610	Barrett J	26031931	WM	1954	1955	23	2	1955					1
611	Barrett KB	05051938	WM	1958	1962	20	4	1960					2
612	Barrett L	22101947	SE	1965	1977	17	13	1965	1970	1975			2
613	Barrett MJ	12091959	SW	1979	1983	19	5	1980					1
614	Barrett CR	19101946	Yks	1968	1968	21	1						1
615	Barrett RH	22071939	SE	1958	1958	19	1						1
616	Barrett GT	16031934	NW	1957	1960	23	4	1960					2
617	Barrie J	17051925	Wal	1948	1950	23	3	1950					1
618	Barritt R	15041919	Yks	1948	1952	29	5	1950					3
619	Barron J	19071913	NE	1935	1946	22	2	1946					2
620	Barron J	19101943	Sco	1963	1980	19	18	1965	1970	1975	1980		6
621	Barron PG	16091953	SE	1976	1986	22	11	1980	1985				5
622	Barron RW	30061947	EM	1967	1968	20	2						1
623	Barron W	26101917	NE	1937	1950	19	14	1946	1950				2
624	Barrow G	13061954	NW	1981	1993	27	13	1985					2
625	Barrowcliffe G	18101931	EM	1951	1965	19	15	1955	1960	1965			1
626	Barrowclough SJ	29101951	Yks	1969	1984	17	16	1970	1975	1980			6
627	Barry KA	13091930	SE	1952	1952	21	1						1
628	Barry KT	09011961	NE	1979	1980	18	2	1980					1
629	Barry MJ	22051953	Yks	1970	1978	17	9	1970	1975				3
630	Barry PP	25101920	SE	1950	1950	29	1	1950					1
631	Barry RA	19091942	Sco	1969	1974	26	6	1970					2
632	Bartholomew H	18011920	Sco	1947	1950	27	4	1950					2
633	Bartlett F	08111930	NE	1952	1963	21	12	1955	1960				2
634	Bartlett FL	05031913	SE	1934	1947	21	14	1946					2
635	Bartlett G	03121955	SE	1974	1974	18	1						1
636	Bartlett KF	12101962	SE	1980	1992	17	13	1980	1985				5
637	Bartlett PJ	17011960	EM	1977	1974	17	3						1
638	Bartley A	08031938	NW	1958	1966	20	9	1960	1965				4
639	Bartley DR	03101947	SW	1965	1982	17	18	1965	1970	1975	1980		3
640	Bartley JR	15091958	SE	1980	1981	21	2	1980					1
641	Barton AE	08041937	SE	1953	1966	16	14	1955	1960	1965			3

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
642	Barton D	09051959	NE	1977	1983	18	7	1980					3
643	Barton DJ	31071927	SE	1950	1953	23	4	1950					2
644	Barton F	22101947	EM	1964	1978	16	15	1965	1970	1975			7
645	Barton JB	27041942	NW	1958	1971	16	14	1960	1965	1970			2
646	Barton JS	24101953	WM	1978	1983	24	6	1980					2
647	Barton KR	20091937	Wal	1960	1964	22	5	1960					2
648	Barton L	20031920	NW	1949	1950	29	2	1950					1
649	Barton CR	04031942	Yks	1961	1964	19	5						1
650	Barton DR	25091946	Yks	1964	1968	17	5	1965					2
651	Bartram AP	08011944	For	1969	1969	25	1						1
652	Bartram S	22011914	NE	1934	1955	20	22	1946	1950	1955			1
653	Basey PJ	27081948	Wal	1966	1966	18	1						1
654	Basford J	24071925	NW	1948	1953	23	6	1950					2
655	Bason B	03091955	SE	1972	1982	16	11	1975	1980				4
656	Bassett GR	12051943	WM	1961	1961	18	1						1
657	Bassett WEG	08061912	Wal	1934	1948	22	14	1946					2
658	Bassham AJ	03101933	SE	1953	1957	19	5	1955					1
659	Bastin CS	14031912	SW	1927	1946	16	20	1946					2
660	Batch NA	09111957	Yks	1976	1991	18	16	1980	1985				3
661	Batchelor E	04081930	WM	1950	1954	20	5	1950					1
662	Bateman A	13061924	Yks	1946	1948	22	3	1946					1
663	Bateman A	12061918	NW	1946	1946	28	1						1
664	Bateman C	22101930	SE	1954	1957	23	4	1955					1
665	Bateman E	05041929	SE	1955	1956	26	2	1955					1
666	Bater PT	26101955	Wal	1974	1988	18	15	1975	1980	1985			4
667	Bates AN	06041938	EM	1958	1958	20	1						1
668	Bates BF	04121944	EM	1963	1969	18	7	1965					2
669	Bates DL	10051933	SE	1957	1957	24	1						1
670	Bates ET	03051918	EA	1937	1952	19	16	1946	1950				1
671	Bates E	10061935	Yks	1957	1958	22	2						1
672	Bates GR	21111923	Yks	1946	1946	22	1	1946					1
673	Bates JW	28041942	NE	1965	1965	23	1	1965					1

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
674	Bates M	24051965	WM	1982	1984	17	3						2
675	Bates MJ	19091947	Yks	1966	1980	18	15	1970	1975	1980			4
676	Bates PD	28111949	WM	1974	1985	24	12	1975	1980	1985			4
677	Bates WH	13011922	SE	1946	1948	24	3	1946					2
678	Batey R	18101912	NE	1932	1947	19	16	1946					4
679	Bathgate S	20121919	Sco	1946	1952	26	7	1946	1950				1
680	Batson BM	06021953	For	1971	1982	18	12	1975	1980				3
681	Batt VT	13031943	SE	1961	1962	18	3						1
682	Batty FR	20121934	Yks	1955	1958	20	4	1955					1
683	Batty L	15021964	SE	1985	1990	21	6	1985					1
684	Batty M	10071944	NW	1962	1964	18	3						1
685	Batty PW	09011964	Yks	1982	1990	18	9	1985					3
686	Batty RR	05101925	NE	1948	1958	22	11	1950	1955				2
687	Batty SG	14021917	SE	1946	1947	29	2	1946					2
688	Battye JE	19051926	Yks	1949	1959	23	11	1950	1955				2
689	Baugh JR	23021956	For	1976	1977	20	2						1
690	Bauld PS	20091929	Sco	1954	1954	24	1						1
691	Baverstock R	03121963	SE	1982	1982	18	1						1
692	Bavin J	25051921	Yks	1948	1948	27	1						1
693	Baxter JC	08111925	Sco	1946	1959	20	14	1946	1950	1955			3
694	Baxter JC	29111939	Sco	1965	1968	25	4	1965					2
695	Baxter LR	24111931	EM	1952	1961	20	10	1955	1960				4
696	Baxter MJ	30121956	WM	1974	1983	17	10	1975	1980				2
697	Baxter PA	22041964	SE	1981	1981	17	1						1
698	Baxter RD	04021937	NE	1959	1969	22	11	1960	1965				4
699	Baxter SW	16081953	WM	1972	1976	19	5	1975					2
700	Baxter W	21091924	Sco	1948	1956	23	9	1950	1955				2
701	Baxter WA	23041939	Sco	1960	1972	21	13	1960	1965	1970			3
702	Baxter WA	06091917	EM	1937	1953	19	17	1946	1950				2
703	Bayley TK	25061921	WM	1947	1947	26	1						1
704	Bayliss R	20071944	Nire	1964	1969	20	6	1965					2
705	Bayly MJ	14091966	Ire	1983	1984	16	2						1

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
706	Baynham J	21041918	Wal	1946	1948	28	3	1946					2
707	Baynham RL	10061929	WM	1952	1964	23	13	1955	1960				1
708	Bazley JA	04101936	NW	1956	1961	19	6	1960					1
709	Beach DF	02021920	SE	1946	1948	26	3	1946					2
710	Beacock GC	22011960	Yks	1980	1985	20	6	1980	1985				2
711	Beadnell W	25011933	NE	1954	1955	21	2	1955					1
712	Beal P	08011945	SE	1963	1979	18	17	1965	1970	1975			3
713	Beale JM	16101930	SE	1951	1952	20	2						1
714	Beaman RW	14011943	WM	1961	1961	18	1						1
715	Beamish KG	25081947	NW	1965	1981	18	17	1965	1970	1975	1980		6
716	Bean A	17011935	Yks	1952	1954	17	3						1
717	Bean AS	25081915	EM	1934	1948	25	15	1946					1
718	Bean RE	10041926	SE	1951	1951	28	1						1
719	Beaney WR	29051954	SE	1972	1974	18	3						1
720	Beanland A	11011944	Yks	1962	1969	18	8	1965					4
721	Beard M	03051942	WM	1960	1972	18	13	1960	1965	1970			2
722	Beardall JT	18101946	NW	1967	1969	21	3						2
723	Beards A	19101932	Yks	1950	1955	17	6	1950	1955				3
724	Beardshaw EC	26111912	NE	1937	1950	24	14	1946	1950				3
725	Beardsley DT	23101946	Sco	1966	1974	19	9	1970					2
726	Bearpark PH	13011939	SW	1960	1960	21	1	1960					1
727	Bearryman HW	26091924	SE	1950	1953	25	4	1950					1
728	Beasley A	27071913	SW	1931	1951	18	21	1946	1950				4
729	Beasley A	15021964	WM	1984	1995	20	12	1985					3
730	Beason ML	01121955	SE	1975	1975	19	1	1975					1
731	Beaton W	30091935	Sco	1958	1958	22	1						1
732	Beattie A	11081913	Sco	1934	1946	21	13	1946					1
733	Beattie AH	09021964	NW	1983	1987	19	5	1985					1
734	Beattie B	20081957	SW	1973	1974	16	2						1
735	Beattie G	16061925	Sco	1947	1954	22	8	1950					3
736	Beattie TK	18121953	NE	1972	1982	18	11	1975	1980				3
737	Beattie RS	24101936	Sco	1959	1962	22	4	1960					2

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
738	Beattie R	24011916	Sco	1937	1953	21	17	1946	1950				1
739	Beattie SR	10071967	Sco	1986	1988	19	3						1
740	Beattie T	12031921	NE	1946	1947	23	2	1946					1
741	Beaumont A	09011927	NW	1948	1948	21	1						1
742	Beaumont F	22101939	Yks	1957	1965	17	9	1960	1965				3
743	Beaumont N	11021967	Yks	1985	1991	18	7	1985					2
744	Beaven K	26121949	SE	1967	1967	17	1						1
745	Beaver D	04041966	EM	1984	1984	18	1						1
746	Beavon C	27091937	Yks	1962	1968	24	7	1965					1
747	Beavon DG	08121961	EM	1980	1982	18	3	1980					3
748	Beavon MS	30111958	WM	1978	1992	19	15	1980	1985				3
749	Bebbington RK	04081943	NW	1962	1973	19	12	1965	1970				3
750	Bebbington PA	13101946	WM	1967	1969	18	3	1965					2
751	Beck JA	25051954	SE	1972	1989	18	18	1975	1980	1985			5
752	Beckers P	03101947	Sco	1964	1964	16	1						1
753	Beckett RW	20031928	WM	1950	1953	22	4	1950					1
754	Beckett W	04071915	NW	1934	1946	23	13	1946					5
755	Beckford D	12051967	NW	1984	1996	17	13	1985					6
756	Beddow RM	11051936	WM	1954	1954	18	1						1
757	Bedford NB	24121933	Wal	1954	1966	20	13	1955	1960	1965			6
758	Bedson RA	04021929	WM	1953	1953	24	1						1
759	Bee FE	23011927	EM	1947	1948	20	2						2
760	Beeby O	02101934	EM	1955	1959	20	5	1955					2
761	Beech C	12031935	WM	1949	1956	24	8	1950	1955				1
762	Beech G	09011922	WM	1949	1957	27	9	1950	1955				1
763	Beech HW	07011946	NW	1965	1967	19	3	1965					2
764	Beech K	18031958	WM	1974	1984	16	11	1975	1980				3
765	Beel WJL	23081945	WM	1962	1964	17	3						2
766	Beer AD	11031950	Wal	1970	1977	20	8	1970	1975				2
767	Beer CE	15081936	SW	1956	1957	20	2						1
768	Beesley C	06101951	NE	1968	1968	16	1						1
769	Beesley MA	10061942	SE	1960	1970	18	11	1960	1965	1970			4

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Database 2: Professional First Team Players for English League Clubs 1946 - 1985

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
770	Begg JA	14021930	Sco	1953	1954	23	2						1
771	Beglin JM	29071963	Ire	1984	1990	21	7	1985					2
772	Beighton G	01071939	Yks	1961	1965	22	5	1965					2
773	Bekker JF	24121951	Wal	1974	1975	22	2	1975					1
774	Belcher JA	31101932	SE	1954	1961	21	8	1955	1960				3
775	Belfield MR	10061961	SE	1979	1982	18	4	1980					1
776	Belfitt RM	30101945	SE	1964	1975	18	12	1965	1970	1975			5
777	Belfon F	18021965	EM	1981	1984	16	4						1
778	Bell AS	13031931	Sco	1954	1958	23	5	1955					2
779	Bell AD	06051956	SW	1979	1979	23	1						1
780	Bell A	27021955	NE	1974	1974	19	1						1
781	Bell A	05031931	NE	1950	1950	19	1	1950					1
782	Bell BR	09041941	SE	1958	1958	17	1						1
783	Bell CT	21031945	Yks	1966	1972	21	7	1970					2
784	Bell C	24031926	EM	1950	1954	24	5	1950					1
785	Bell C	26021946	NE	1963	1978	17	16	1965	1970	1975			2
786	Bell D	24121909	Sco	1931	1949	21	19	1946					3
787	Bell DJ	13091939	NE	1958	1958	18	1						1
788	Bell DM	30101956	EM	1975	1984	18	10	1975	1980				5
789	Bell DS	19121963	NE	1981	1982	17	2						1
790	Bell E	27111929	NW	1950	1957	20	8	1950	1955				1
791	Bell JE	13021922	NE	1946	1956	24	11	1950	1955				1
792	Bell E	22071918	Yks	1936	1946	18	11	1946					4
793	Bell G	04041947	SW	1966	1977	19	12	1970	1975				2
794	Bell GW	26031937	NE	1955	1955	18	1	1955					1
795	Bell GT	30031955	NW	1974	1986	19	13	1975	1980	1985			5
796	Bell H	22101924	NW	1946	1959	21	14	1946	1950	1955			1
797	Bell HD	14101924	NE	1946	1958	20	13	1946	1950	1955			2
798	Bell IC	14111958	NE	1977	1982	18	6	1980					2
799	Bell JA	25041936	Sco	1960	1961	24	2	1960					1
800	Bell JH	29081919	NE	1946	1949	27	4	1946					1
801	Bell JR	17101939	NE	1957	1965	17	9	1960	1965				3

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
802	Bell J	28071924	NE	1947	1951	23	5	1950					2
803	Bell N	16111955	NE	1975	1983	19	9	1975	1980				2
804	Bell P	10041935	Sco	1955	1955	20	1	1955					1
805	Bell RL	06121930	NE	1950	1950	19	1	1950					1
806	Bell R	20031935	Sco	1955	1959	20	5	1955					2
807	Bell RC	26101950	SE	1968	1976	17	9	1970	1975				4
808	Bell RM	16091934	Sco	1957	1964	22	8	1960					1
809	Bell S	28101923	SE	1948	1948	24	1						1
810	Bell S	13031965	NE	1981	1987	16	7	1985					2
811	Bell S	08011920	SE	1946	1947	26	2	1946					1
812	Bell TJ	01081944	EM	1966	1977	22	12	1970	1975				3
813	Bell TA	30121923	NW	1946	1955	22	10	1946	1950	1955			3
814	Bell W	16061953	NW	1974	1974	21	1						1
815	Bell WJ	03091937	Sco	1960	1969	22	10	1960	1965				3
816	Bellamy A	05041942	NE	1962	1975	20	14	1965	1970	1975			2
817	Bellamy G	04071962	EM	1980	1995	18	16	1980	1985				3
818	Bellas WJ	21051925	NW	1948	1951	23	4	1950					2
819	Bellest WR	14111933	SE	1955	1962	21	8	1955	1960				4
820	Bellis A	08101920	NW	1937	1953	16	17	1946	1950				4
821	Bellis TG	21041919	Wal	1938	1948	19	11	1946					1
822	Bellotti DC	25121946	SE	1966	1974	19	9	1970					4
823	Bence PI	21121948	SE	1967	1976	18	10	1970	1975				3
824	Benjafield BJ	02081960	SE	1978	1978	18	1						1
825	Benjamin IT	11121961	EM	1978	1995	16	18	1980	1985				11
826	Benjamin T	01041957	For	1974	1987	17	16	1975	1980	1985			2
827	Benn A	26011926	Yks	1948	1948	22	1						1
828	Bennett A	05111931	WM	1948	1957	16	10	1950	1955				2
829	Bennett A	16071944	NE	1961	1970	17	10	1965	1970				3
830	Bennett DA	11071959	NE	1978	1991	19	14	1980	1985				5
831	Bennett DM	05031939	SE	1960	1961	22	2	1960					1
832	Bennett DP	26041960	NW	1978	1983	18	6	1980					1
833	Bennett D	30101963	Yks	1980	1981	16	2	1980					1

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
834	Bennett D	18121933	Yks	1959	1961	25	3	1960					1
835	Bennett EW	29031929	WM	1953	1955	24	3						1
836	Bennett EE	22081925	SE	1948	1955	23	8	1950	1955				1
837	Bennett GF	16031938	NE	1959	1960	21	2	1960					1
838	Bennett HS	16051949	NW	1967	1973	18	7	1970					3
839	Bennett J	15051949	Yks	1965	1965	16	1	1965					1
840	Bennett JG	21031946	NW	1966	1968	20	3						1
841	Bennett KE	02101921	SE	1946	1953	24	8	1946	1950				4
842	Bennett LH	28081938	NW	1958	1960	20	3	1960					1
843	Bennett LD	04081961	SE	1946	1955	16	10	1946	1950	1955			2
844	Bennett M	04081961	WM	1978	1989	17	12	1980	1985				5
845	Bennett P	30011961	NW	1980	1981	19	2	1980					1
846	Bennett PR	04021952	SE	1971	1981	19	11	1975	1980				3
847	Bennett PC	29111939	SE	1959	1960	19	2	1960					1
848	Bennett PL	24061946	SE	1963	1978	17	16	1965	1970				2
849	Bennett RJ	16021945	EM	1963	1964	18	2						1
850	Bennett R	29121951	SE	1972	1973	20	2						1
851	Bennett R	08051927	EM	1949	1953	22	5	1950					3
852	Bennett ST	18091944	WM	1963	1974	18	12	1965	1970				1
853	Bennett W	15121918	Yks	1946	1949	27	4	1946					3
854	Benning MD	03021938	SE	1958	1961	20	4	1960					1
855	Bennion JR	02041934	NW	1957	1962	23	6	1960					3
856	Bennion S	09021938	NW	1959	1963	21	5	1960					2
857	Bennyworth IR	15021962	Yks	1979	1991	17	13	1980	1985				3
858	Benson JH	23121942	Sco	1961	1978	18	18	1965	1970	1975			5
859	Benson JR	07011933	EM	1955	1955	22	1	1955					1
860	Benson R	26031925	NE	1949	1949	24	1						1
861	Bent G	27091932	NW	1954	1956	21	3	1955					1
862	Bent GW	06101945	Wal	1963	1964	17	2						1
863	Bentall CE	28011922	Yks	1946	1946	24	1	1946					1
864	Bentham A	12091940	NW	1960	1961	19	2	1960					1
865	Bentham JJ	03031963	Yks	1981	1981	18	1						1

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
866	Bentham SJ	17031915	NW	1935	1948	20	14	1946					1
867	Bentley A	28101931	SE	1955	1961	23	7	1955	1960				2
868	Bentley A	20121939	WM	1958	1970	18	13	1960	1965	1970			2
869	Bentley DA	30051950	EM	1966	1979	16	14	1970	1975				3
870	Bentley J	17021942	NW	1960	1962	18	3	1960					2
871	Bentley KJ	27071936	Yks	1957	1957	21	1						1
872	Bentley TFR	17051924	SW	1946	1962	22	17	1946	1950	1955	1960		4
873	Bentley WJ	21101947	WM	1965	1979	17	15	1965	1970	1975			3
874	Beresford JW	25011946	Yks	1962	1966	16	5	1965					2
875	Beresford P	30111944	EM	1963	1963	18	1						1
876	Beresford R	29061925	EM	1946	1946	21	1	1946					1
877	Beresford RH	03061921	WM	1948	1948	27	1						1
878	Bermingham A	11091944	NW	1967	1970	22	4	1970					1
879	Bernard MP	10021948	WM	1965	1978	17	14	1965	1970	1975			3
880	Berry DG	01061945	NW	1966	1966	21	1						1
881	Berry GF	19111957	For	1976	1991	18	16	1980	1985				4
882	Berry JA	27081965	NW	1983	1983	18	1						1
883	Berry RJ	01061926	SE	1947	1957	21	11	1950	1955				2
884	Berry LD	04051956	SE	1975	1990	19	16	1975	1980	1985			4
885	Berry MJ	14021955	SE	1974	1974	19	1						1
886	Berry N	06041963	Sco	1981	1984	18	4						1
887	Berry N	15081922	NW	1946	1947	24	2	1946					1
888	Berry P	15111935	SE	1956	1957	20	2						1
889	Berry PA	08041958	SE	1976	1981	18	6	1980					1
890	Berry P	20091933	SE	1953	1959	19	7	1955					2
891	Berry SA	04041963	NW	1981	1990	18	10	1985					6
892	Berry T	31031922	Yks	1947	1957	25	11	1950	1955				2
893	Berry W	04041934	EM	1956	1956	22	1						1
894	Bertolini J	21031934	Sco	1952	1965	18	14	1955	1960	1965			2
895	Bertram JT	03021953	NE	1971	1971	18	1						1
896	Bertschin CF	07091924	SE	1947	1948	22	2						1
897	Bertschin KE	25081956	SE	1975	1990	19	16	1975	1980	1985			7

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
898	Besagni RG	22041935	SE	1952	1952	17	1						1
899	Best AK	05011959	SW	1984	1984	25	1						1
900	Best CC	24021951	For	1969	1975	18	7	1970	1975				1
901	Best D	06091943	SW	1960	1975	16	16	1960	1965	1970	1975		5
902	Best G	22051946	Nlre	1963	1982	17	20	1965	1970	1975	1980		3
903	Best JB	11071940	NW	1960	1960	20	1	1960					1
904	Best TH	23121920	Wal	1947	1949	26	3						3
905	Best WJB	07091943	Sco	1963	1977	19	15	1965	1970	1975			3
906	Beswick I	02011936	NW	1958	1960	22	3	1960					1
907	Beswick K	03021943	Wal	1962	1966	19	5	1965					2
908	Betmead H	11041912	EM	1931	1946	19	16	1946					1
909	Bett F	05121920	Yks	1937	1948	16	12	1946					3
910	Bettany CD	15061932	EM	1953	1965	21	13	1955	1960	1965			2
911	Bettany JW	16121937	Yks	1960	1970	22	11	1960	1965	1970			3
912	Betteridge RM	11081924	WM	1949	1953	25	5	1950					3
913	Betts AT	31101953	EM	1974	1975	20	2	1975					2
914	Betts JB	18091932	Yks	1952	1964	19	13	1955	1960				4
915	Betts E	27071925	EM	1946	1956	21	11	1946	1950	1955			8
916	Betts MJ	21091956	Yks	1975	1980	18	6	1975	1980				2
917	Betts S	21091956	Yks	1977	1977	20	1						1
918	Bevan BE	20031937	SW	1957	1960	20	4	1960					3
919	Bevan PP	20101952	WM	1970	1979	17	10	1970	1975				3
920	Bevans S	16041934	NW	1950	1954	16	5	1950					1
921	Bevis DR	27071942	SE	1963	1965	21	3	1965					1
922	Bevis WE	29091918	SE	1937	1946	18	10	1946					1
923	Bewley DG	22101920	SE	1946	1955	25	10	1946	1950	1955			3
924	Beynon EN	03051940	Wal	1959	1959	19	1						1
925	Beynon ER	17111924	Wal	1946	1954	21	9	1946	1950				2
926	Bickerstaffe J	08111918	NW	1946	1952	27	7	1946	1950				3
927	Bickle MJ	25011944	SW	1965	1972	21	8	1965	1970				2
928	Bickles D	06041944	SE	1963	1969	19	7	1965					2
929	Bicknell C	06111905	EM	1928	1946	22	19	1946					3

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
930	Bicknell J	16121931	EM	1953	1953	21	1						1
931	Bicknell R	19021926	Yks	1947	1953	21	7	1950					3
932	Bicknell SJ	28111959	WM	1976	1978	16	3						2
933	Bielby PA	24111956	NE	1973	1978	16	6	1975					3
934	Bielby T	24111943	Yks	1960	1960	16	1	1960					1
935	Biggins B	19051940	NW	1957	1958	17	2						1
936	Biggins GW	10031958	Yks	1977	1977	19	1						1
937	Biggins SJ	20061954	WM	1977	1986	23	10	1980	1985				4
938	Biggins W	20111961	Yks	1980	1996	18	17	1980	1985				8
939	Biggs AG	08021936	SW	1953	1968	17	16	1955	1960	1965			4
940	Biggs A	17041936	SE	1957	1959	21	3						2
941	Bilcliff R	24051931	NE	1951	1963	20	13	1955	1960				2
942	Biley AP	26021957	SE	1975	1986	18	12	1975	1980				6
943	Bill RJ	17051944	SE	1962	1962	18	1						1
944	Billing PG	24101964	NW	1985	1996	20	12	1985					6
945	Billingham J	03121914	EM	1935	1954	20	20	1946	1950				5
946	Billingham PA	08101938	WM	1955	1960	16	6	1955	1960				2
947	Billings J	30031944	Yks	1962	1964	18	3						1
948	Billington BK	28041951	EM	1969	1969	18	1						1
949	Billington HJR	24021916	SE	1938	1950	22	13	1946	1950				2
950	Billington S	23021937	NW	1960	1963	23	4	1960					1
951	Billington WF	28011930	NW	1954	1957	24	4	1955					1
952	Bimpson JL	14051929	NW	1952	1962	23	11	1955	1960				4
953	Binch D	10021956	EM	1975	1976	19	2	1975					1
954	Bines HM	17051930	Wal	1951	1952	21	2						1
955	Bing D	27101928	SE	1951	1954	22	4						1
956	Bingham JG	23091949	EM	1969	1972	19	4	1970					3
957	Bingham WL	05081931	Nlre	1950	1964	19	15	1950	1955	1960			4
958	Bingham WP	12071922	SW	1946	1947	24	2	1946					1
959	Bingley W	17041930	Yks	1949	1964	19	16	1950	1955	1960			5
960	Binks MJ	15091953	SE	1972	1972	18	1						2
961	Binney FE	12081946	SW	1967	1981	21	15	1970	1975	1980			5

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
962	Binnie L	17121917	Sco	1946	1946	18	1	1946					1
963	Binns E	13081924	Yks	1946	1956	22	11	1950	1955				3
964	Birbeck J	15041932	NE	1953	1959	21	7	1955					2
965	Birch A	12081956	WM	1972	1987	16	16	1975	1980	1985			8
966	Birch B	18111931	NW	1949	1961	17	13	1950	1955	1960			2
967	Birch C	01091928	Wal	1949	1954	20	6	1950					3
968	Birch HK	11011914	Sco	1946	1946	22	1	1946					1
969	Birch JVT	28101927	EM	1948	1948	20	1						1
970	Birch J	21101927	Yks	1949	1949	21	1						1
971	Birch KJ	31121933	NW	1955	1958	21	4	1955					2
972	Birch T	20111933	WM	1954	1961	20	7	1955	1960				2
973	Birch TN	16021958	NW	1978	1980	20	3	1980					2
974	Birch JW	05101917	Yks	1946	1952	28	7	1946	1950				1
975	Birchall PW	03091957	NW	1976	1977	18	2						1
976	Bircham B	31081924	NE	1949	1950	25	2	1950					2
977	Bircham WC	07091939	NE	1958	1962	18	5	1960					2
978	Birchenall AJ	22081945	SE	1964	1979	19	16	1965	1970	1975			7
979	Bircumshaw A	08021945	EM	1960	1970	16	11	1960	1965	1970			2
980	Bircumshaw PB	29081938	EM	1956	1963	18	8	1960					3
981	Bird JC	09061948	Yks	1967	1984	19	18	1970	1975	1980			4
982	Bird FJ	21111940	Wal	1957	1967	16	11	1960	1965				2
983	Bird KB	25091918	EA	1938	1952	19	15	1946	1950				1
984	Bird K	07081952	Yks	1972	1983	20	12	1975	1980				2
985	Bird RP	27121941	WM	1961	1971	19	11	1965	1970				4
986	Birkbeck JD	01101932	EM	1954	1954	21	1						1
987	Birkett C	17091933	NW	1950	1956	26	7	1950	1955				2
988	Birkett R	21071927	NW	1946	1949	19	4	1946					3
989	Birkett W	26061922	NW	1946	1953	24	8	1946	1950				3
990	Birks G	25011942	Yks	1962	1971	20	10	1965	1970				4
991	Birmingham CH	24081922	NW	1946	1946	24	1	1946					1
992	Birse CDV	26101916	Sco	1946	1946	29	1	1946					1
993	Birtles G	27071956	EM	1976	1991	20	16	1980	1985				5

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
994	Bishop PJ	04011944	Yks	1965	1970	21	6	1965	1970				1
995	Bishop RJ	24111955	Wal	1977	1983	21	7	1980					3
996	Bishop SHR	08041934	SE	1953	1964	19	12	1955	1960				1
997	Bishton DR	22091950	SE	1968	1968	17	1						1
998	Bissell SJ	08101958	WM	1978	1978	19	1						1
999	Bisset TA	21031932	SE	1952	1960	20	9	1955	1960				1
1000	Bithell B	25101956	NW	1976	1977	19	2						2
1001	Black AD	04061943	Sco	1964	1973	21	10	1965	1970				2
1002	Black A	23091917	Sco	1946	1952	18	7	1950					2
1003	Black IH	27031924	Sco	1947	1957	23	11	1950	1955				2
1004	Black J	04111945	NW	1964	1965	18	2	1965					1
1005	Black J	10111957	Sco	1977	1983	19	7	1980					3
1006	Black N	19061931	NE	1952	1955	21	4	1955					2
1007	Black RP	29071960	Sco	1984	1987	24	4	1985					2
1008	Blackadder F	13011916	NE	1937	1946	21	10	1946					1
1009	Blackburn A	04081935	EM	1954	1960	19	7	1955	1960				2
1010	Blackburn C	16011961	Yks	1980	1980	19	1	1980					1
1011	Blackburn DJ	05071931	Yks	1957	1957	26	1						1
1012	Blackburn EH	18041957	NE	1974	1986	17	13	1975	1980	1985			3
1013	Blackburn K	17071940	NW	1960	1963	20	4	1960					1
1014	Blackburn KA	13051951	SE	1968	1968	17	1						1
1015	Blacker JA	10081945	Yks	1963	1964	18	2						1
1016	Blackhall MC	17111960	SE	1981	1982	20	2						1
1017	Blackhall R	19021957	NE	1974	1982	17	9	1975	1980				3
1018	Blackhall S	25091945	NE	1963	1963	17	1						1
1019	Blacklaw AS	02091937	Sco	1956	1970	18	15	1960	1965	1970			3
1020	Blackler MJ	14031963	SW	1982	1982	19	1						1
1021	Blackley A	31011939	NE	1960	1961	21	2	1960					1
1022	Blackley JH	12051948	Sco	1977	1981	19	5	1980					2
1023	Blackman RH	02041925	SE	1946	1957	21	12	1946	1950	1955			3
1024	Blackshaw W	06091920	NW	1938	1950	17	13	1946	1950				3
1025	Blackwell P	13011963	NW	1981	1984	18	4						1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1026	Blackwell SG	08061967	WM	1984	1984	17	1						1
1027	Blackwood RR	20081934	Sco	1962	1967	18	6	1965					2
1028	Blades PA	05011965	EA	1982	1996	17	15	1985					4
1029	Blagg EA	09021918	EM	1946	1948	28	3	1946					2
1030	Blain JD	09041940	NW	1959	1973	19	14	1960	1965	1970			4
1031	Blair A	18121959	Sco	1978	1988	18	11	1980	1985				5
1032	Blair D	26061921	Yks	1948	1953	27	6	1950					1
1033	Blair J	13011947	Sco	1972	1973	25	2						1
1034	Blair JA	06011918	Sco	1937	1952	19	16	1946	1950				3
1035	Blair KG	28091952	Nlre	1974	1976	21	3	1975					2
1036	Blair RV	26091949	Nlre	1966	1982	16	17	1970	1975	1980			4
1037	Blake AJ	26021927	WM	1949	1952	22	3	1950					2
1038	Blake RT	24071935	EA	1955	1960	20	6	1955	1960				1
1039	Blakeman A	02111937	NW	1958	1958	20	1						2
1040	Blakeman AG	11061918	SE	1946	1949	28	4	1946					3
1041	Blakey D	22081929	NE	1948	1966	19	19	1950	1955	1960	1965		1
1042	Blakie JS	09121926	Sco	1950	1950	23	1	1950					1
1043	Blampey SL	13061951	Yks	1969	1974	18	6	1970					1
1044	Blanchflower RD	10021926	Nlre	1948	1963	22	16	1950	1955	1960			3
1045	Blanchflower J	07031933	Nlre	1951	1957	18	7	1955					1
1046	Blankley BS	27101964	SE	1984	1986	19	3	1985					1
1047	Blant C	07101946	NW	1966	1976	19	11	1970	1975				6
1048	Bleanch NWS	19081940	NE	1961	1961	21	1						2
1049	Blears BT	18111933	Wal	1954	1955	20	2	1955					1
1050	Bleasdale DG	23031965	NW	1983	1983	18	1						1
1051	Blease R	16081960	NW	1984	1984	24	1						1
1052	Blenkinsopp TW	13051920	NE	1946	1952	26	7	1946	1950				3
1053	Blick MR	20091948	SW	1967	1970	18	4	1970					1
1054	Blissett GP	29061964	NW	1983	1995	19	13	1985					3
1055	Blissett LL	01021958	For	1975	1993	17	19	1975	1980	1985			3
1056	Blizzard LWB	13031923	SE	1946	1956	23	11	1946	1950	1955			3
1057	Blochel JE	03031962	SE	1981	1981	19	1						1

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1058	Block MJ	28011941	SW	1957	1966	16	10	1960	1965				3
1059	Blockley JP	12091949	EM	1968	1979	18	12	1970	1975				4
1060	Blondel F	31101923	NW	1946	1946	22	1	1946					1
1061	Blood JF	02101914	EM	1938	1947	23	10	1946					2
1062	Bloomer BM	03051952	EM	1978	1978	26	1						1
1063	Bloomer J	10041926	Sco	1947	1954	21	8	1950					2
1064	Bloomer JM	22081947	Sco	1965	1968	18	4	1965					1
1065	Bloomer RS	21061966	Yks	1985	1991	19	7	1985					2
1066	Bloomfield EWA	28061932	EA	1953	1956	21	4	1955					2
1067	Bloomfield JH	15021934	SE	1952	1968	18	17	1955	1960	1965			7
1068	Bloomfield RG	15101944	SE	1964	1965	19	2	1965					1
1069	Bloomfield WG	25081939	SE	1956	1957	17	2						1
1070	Bloor A	16031943	WM	1961	1978	18	18	1965	1970	1975			2
1071	Bloor MB	25031949	Wal	1971	1973	22	3						2
1072	Bloor R	08071932	WM	1953	1954	21	2						1
1073	Blore R	18031942	Wal	1959	1969	17	11	1960	1965				4
1074	Bloss PK	16011953	EA	1970	1972	17	3	1970					1
1075	Blott JP	26021965	NE	1984	1986	19	3	1985					2
1076	Blowman P	12121949	NE	1967	1969	17	3						1
1077	Bloxham JA	02071920	EM	1947	1949	27	3						1
1078	Blue A	08041940	Sco	1961	1962	21	3						2
1079	Blundell A	18081947	NW	1965	1966	18	2	1965					1
1080	Blunstone F	17101934	NW	1951	1963	16	13	1955	1960				2
1081	Blunt D	29041949	Yks	1967	1967	18	1						1
1082	Blunt E	21051918	WM	1937	1949	19	13	1946					2
1083	Bly TG	22101935	EA	1956	1964	20	9	1960					4
1084	Bly W	15051920	NE	1938	1959	18	22	1946	1950	1955			1
1085	Blyth JA	02021955	Sco	1971	1982	16	12	1975	1980				3
1086	Blyth JW	26051947	Sco	1966	1967	19	2						1
1087	Blyth MB	28071944	EA	1967	1980	23	14	1970	1975	1980			4
1088	Blythe JA	31011924	NE	1946	1948	22	3	1946					1
1089	Boag J	12111937	Sco	1962	1962	24	1						1

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1090	Boam SW	28011948	EM	1966	1982	18	17	1970	1975	1980			5
1091	Boardman G	14081943	Sco	1963	1972	20	10	1965	1970				2
1092	Bodak PJ	12081961	WM	1980	1990	19	11	1980	1985				5
1093	Bodel AC	12021957	Sco	1975	1979	18	5	1975					1
1094	Bodell N	29011938	NW	1958	1967	20	10	1960	1965				3
1095	Boden JG	04101926	EM	1949	1950	22	2	1950					1
1096	Boden K	05071950	Yks	1976	1976	26	1						1
1097	Bodle H	04101920	Yks	1938	1956	17	19	1946	1950	1955			5
1098	Boersma P	24091949	NW	1969	1978	19	10	1970	1975				4
1099	Bogan T	18051920	Sco	1948	1953	28	6	1950					4
1100	Bogie MFM	26121939	Sco	1963	1964	23	2						2
1101	Bolam TE	08071924	NE	1950	1951	26	2	1950					1
1102	Bolder RJ	02101958	SE	1977	1992	18	16	1980	1985				4
1103	Bolland GE	12081943	EM	1961	1974	18	14	1965	1970				5
1104	Bollands JF	11071935	NE	1954	1965	19	12	1955	1960	1965			4
1105	Bolton IR	13071953	EM	1971	1983	18	13	1975	1980				3
1106	Bolton JM	26101941	Sco	1963	1965	21	3	1965					1
1107	Bolton J	02021955	NE	1971	1985	16	15	1975	1980	1985			3
1108	Bolton L	11071932	NE	1955	1956	23	2	1955					1
1109	Bolton R	01091921	Yks	1948	1954	26	7	1950					1
1110	Bolton R	21011938	SE	1958	1968	20	11	1960	1965				3
1111	Bond DJT	17031947	SE	1964	1977	17	14	1965	1970	1975			4
1112	Bond JE	04051929	NW	1951	1958	22	8	1955					2
1113	Bond GC	30121932	SW	1953	1961	20	9	1955	1960				3
1114	Bond J	17121932	SE	1951	1968	18	18	1955	1960	1965			2
1115	Bond KJ	22061957	SE	1975	1993	18	19	1975	1980	1985			5
1116	Bond LA	12021965	NE	1970	1983	16	14	1970	1975	1980			3
1117	Bonds WA	17091946	SE	1964	1987	17	24	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	2
1118	Bone J	22071949	Sco	1971	1973	22	3						2
1119	Bone J	19121930	NE	1954	1956	23	3	1955					1
1120	Boner D	12101941	Wal	1963	1963	21	1						1
1121	Bonetti PP	27091941	SE	1959	1978	17	20	1960	1965	1970	1975		1

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1122	Bonnar P	27111920	Nlre	1949	1952	28	4	1950					2
1123	Bonnell A	23031921	Yks	1946	1948	25	3	1946					2
1124	Bonner B	22071927	Sco	1951	1951	24	1						1
1125	Bonnyman P	06021954	Sco	1975	1988	21	14	1975	1980	1985			4
1126	Bonson J	19061936	Yks	1956	1966	20	11	1960	1965				7
1127	Book AK	04091934	SW	1964	1973	19	10	1965	1970				2
1128	Book KA	12021946	SW	1967	1973	21	7	1970					3
1129	Booker K	03031918	Yks	1938	1952	20	15	1946	1950				2
1130	Booker M	22101947	Yks	1966	1968	18	3						2
1131	Booker R	25011958	SE	1978	1992	20	15	1980	1985				3
1132	Boom A	11041953	SE	1972	1972	19	1						1
1133	Boot E	13101915	Yks	1935	1951	19	17	1946	1950				2
1134	Boot MC	17121947	EM	1966	1966	18	1						1
1135	Booth AJ	20071961	SE	1978	1979	17	2						1
1136	Booth C	30121934	NW	1954	1965	19	12	1955	1960	1965			4
1137	Booth D	02101948	Yks	1968	1977	19	10	1970	1975				2
1138	Booth DC	25101962	NW	1979	1980	16	2	1980					1
1139	Booth D	09041949	EM	1966	1984	17	19	1970	1975	1980			6
1140	Booth GV	02041925	NW	1948	1948	23	1						1
1141	Booth KK	22111934	NW	1954	1960	19	7	1955	1960				4
1142	Booth P	07121965	NW	1984	1985	18	2	1985					2
1143	Booth R	05091949	Wal	1966	1968	16	3						1
1144	Booth SS	20041926	Sco	1951	1954	25	4						2
1145	Booth WS	07011920	SE	1938	1948	18	11	1946					2
1146	Booth TA	09111949	NW	1968	1984	18	7	1970	1975	1980			2
1147	Booth W	26121918	Yks	1947	1947	28	1						1
1148	Boothman J	02121920	NW	1946	1947	25	2	1946					1
1149	Boothway J	04021919	NW	1946	1949	27	4	1946					2
1150	Bootle W	09011926	NW	1948	1954	22	7	1950					2
1151	Borota P	05031952	For	1978	1981	26	4	1980					1
1152	Borthwick GM	30121955	SE	1977	1979	21	3						1
1153	Borthwick JR	24031964	NE	1982	1992	18	11	1985					3

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1154	Borthwick WR	04041948	Sco	1966	1966	18	1						1
1155	Boslem W	11011958	NW	1975	1977	17	3	1975					1
1156	Bossons PLP	10011924	NW	1946	1948	22	3	1946					1
1157	Bostock BR	19041929	EM	1948	1948	19	1						1
1158	Boswell AH	08081943	WM	1961	1973	18	13	1965	1970				5
1159	Boswell J	13031922	NW	1950	1957	28	8	1950	1955				1
1160	Botham IT	24111965	NW	1979	1984	23	5	1980					1
1161	Bottiglieri A	29051962	SE	1979	1981	17	3	1980					1
1162	Bottom AE	28021930	Yks	1948	1959	18	12	1950	1955				4
1163	Bottoms MC	11011939	SE	1960	1960	21	1	1960					1
1164	Boughen P	17091949	Yks	1970	1970	20	1	1970					1
1165	Boulter DA	05101962	SE	1981	1981	18	1						1
1166	Boulton CW	06011948	WM	1964	1978	16	15	1965	1970	1975			2
1167	Boulton CD	12091945	SW	1964	1980	18	17	1965	1970	1975	1980		2
1168	Boulton FP	12081917	SW	1936	1949	19	14	1946					3
1169	Boulton R	22071923	EM	1947	1948	24	2						1
1170	Bourne A	30091934	NW	1958	1959	23	2						1
1171	Bourne GF	05031932	WM	1952	1955	20	4	1955					1
1172	Bourne JA	19061948	EM	1970	1979	22	10	1970	1975				3
1173	Bourne RA	09121954	EA	1971	1981	16	11	1975	1980				2
1174	Bouston BJ	03101960	WM	1977	1977	16	1						1
1175	Bovington EEP	23041941	SE	1959	1967	18	9	1960	1965				1
1176	Bowden J	25081921	NW	1946	1948	25	3	1946					1
1177	Bowden JL	21011963	NW	1981	1994	18	14	1985					4
1178	Bowden PW	23071959	NW	1976	1978	17	3						1
1179	Bowen D	16111921	Wal	1950	1950	28	1	1950					1
1180	Bowen DL	07061928	Wal	1947	1959	19	13	1950	1955				3
1181	Bowen KB	26021958	EM	1976	1985	18	10	1980	1985				3
1182	Bowen TH	21081924	WM	1946	1952	22	7	1946	1950				2
1183	Bower K	18031926	Yks	1946	1949	20	4	1946					2
1184	Bowering M	15111936	Yks	1958	1960	21	3	1960					1
1185	Bowers I	16011955	EM	1974	1983	19	10	1975	1980				2

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1186	Bowers JA	14111939	EM	1959	1966	19	8	1960	1965				2
1187	Bowery BN	29101954	For	1975	1976	20	2	1975					1
1188	Bowey KA	09051960	NE	1978	1979	18	2						1
1189	Bowgett P	17061955	SE	1978	1979	23	2						1
1190	Bowie JD	09081924	Sco	1947	1955	23	9	1950	1955				4
1191	Bowie JM	11011941	Sco	1962	1972	21	11	1965	1970				2
1192	Bowker K	18041951	WM	1970	1981	19	12	1970	1975	1980			4
1193	Bowler GC	08061929	Nlre	1946	1954	27	9	1946	1950				3
1194	Bowles JC	04081914	SW	1936	1952	22	17	1946	1950				3
1195	Bowles PMA	31051957	NW	1974	1984	17	11	1975	1980				3
1196	Bowles S	24121948	NW	1967	1983	18	17	1970	1975	1980			7
1197	Bowman A	07031934	Sco	1953	1962	19	10	1955	1960				2
1198	Bowman D	10031964	SE	1984	1985	20	2	1985					1
1199	Bowman RD	25091954	SE	1972	1982	17	11	1975	1980				3
1200	Bowman RCC	21101920	Sco	1948	1948	27	1						1
1201	Bowron K	10041939	NE	1965	1966	26	2	1965					1
1202	Bowstead PE	10051944	EA	1962	1963	18	2						1
1203	Bowtell SJ	02121950	SE	1967	1971	16	4	1970					1
1204	Bowyer F	10041922	WM	1947	1959	25	13	1950	1955				1
1205	Bowyer I	06061951	NW	1968	1989	17	22	1970	1975	1980	1985		5
1206	Boxall AR	11051953	SE	1980	1983	27	4	1980					2
1207	Boxley J	31051931	WM	1950	1960	19	11	1950	1955	1960			2
1208	Boxshall D	02041920	Yks	1946	1953	26	8	1946	1950				4
1209	Boyce RW	06011943	SE	1960	1972	17	13	1960	1965	1970			1
1210	Boyd BG	04011938	NE	1958	1958	20	1						1
1211	Boyd G	27031958	Sco	1978	1981	20	4	1980					3
1212	Boyd J	10041925	NE	1948	1948	23	1						1
1213	Boyd J	10091926	For	1950	1951	23	2	1950					1
1214	Boyd JR	07031926	Sco	1947	1947	21	1						1
1215	Boyd LAM	11111923	SE	1946	1955	22	10	1946	1950	1955			2
1216	Boyd W	18101958	Sco	1979	1983	20	5	1980					1
1217	Boyden J	12021929	WM	1952	1952	23	1						1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1218	Boyer PJ	25011949	EM	1968	1982	19	15	1970	1975	1980			6
1219	Boyes K	04021935	Yks	1957	1965	22	9	1960	1965				1
1220	Boyes WE	05011913	Yks	1931	1950	18	20	1946	1950				4
1221	Boyle DW	24041929	NE	1952	1960	23	9	1955	1960				3
1222	Boyle H	22041924	Sco	1947	1955	23	9	1950	1955				2
1223	Boyle IR	07121953	Yks	1972	1973	18	2						1
1224	Boyle J	25121946	Sco	1964	1974	17	11	1965	1970				2
1225	Boyle TDJ	29101958	Wal	1977	1989	18	13	1980	1985				6
1226	Boylen D	26101947	NW	1966	1977	18	12	1970	1975				1
1227	Brabrook P	08111937	SE	1954	1970	16	17	1955	1960	1965	1970		3
1228	Brace RL	19121964	SE	1983	1983	18	1						1
1229	Brace SC	21091942	SW	1962	1975	19	14	1965	1970	1975			6
1230	Bracewell K	05101936	NW	1959	1967	22	9	1960	1965				4
1231	Brack AHB	27011940	Sco	1962	1962	22	1						1
1232	Bradbury A	23011947	Yks	1964	1970	17	7	1965	1970				2
1233	Bradbury B	05081952	NW	1972	1973	20	2						1
1234	Bradbury TE	15111939	SE	1960	1970	20	11	1960	1965	1970			5
1235	Bradbury W	03041933	NW	1951	1961	18	11	1955	1960				6
1236	Bradd LJ	05011947	NW	1967	1982	20	16	1970	1975	1980			4
1237	Brader A	06101942	EM	1960	1960	17	1	1960					1
1238	Bradford DW	22021953	NW	1971	1981	18	11	1975	1980				3
1239	Bradford GRW	18071927	SW	1949	1963	22	15	1950	1955	1960			1
1240	Bradford L	24111916	EM	1946	1948	29	3	1946					2
1241	Bradley BC	07061950	Nlre	1972	1972	22	1						1
1242	Bradley C	15051922	Yks	1946	1946	24	1	1946					1
1243	Bradley DM	24111965	WM	1984	1996	18	13	1985					3
1244	Bradley D	16011958	NW	1977	1980	19	4	1980					2
1245	Bradley DH	06121953	NW	1975	1975	21	1	1975					1
1246	Bradley DJ	11091924	EM	1949	1961	24	13	1950	1955	1960			1
1247	Bradley GJ	07111917	Yks	1937	1949	19	13	1946					3
1248	Bradley G	23111933	NE	1955	1960	21	6	1955	1960				2
1249	Bradley G	20051925	Yks	1946	1957	21	12	1946	1950	1955			2

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1250	Bradley J	21031927	Sco	1952	1952	25	1						1
1251	Bradley J	27111916	Yks	1936	1951	19	16	1946	1950				4
1252	Bradley K	31011946	NW	1964	1975	18	12	1965	1970	1975			2
1253	Bradley LH	27051957	NW	1975	1978	18	4	1975					2
1254	Bradley NB	17121957	Nire	1979	1982	21	4	1980					3
1255	Bradley PK	18031955	WM	1973	1973	18	1						1
1256	Bradley RJ	24041939	WM	1962	1965	23	4	1965					2
1257	Bradley W	20061933	NW	1958	1962	25	5	1960					2
1258	Bradley W	26061937	Sco	1963	1965	26	3	1965					1
1259	Bradshaw GF	10031913	NW	1933	1950	20	18	1946	1950				6
1260	Bradshaw GH	29031920	EM	1947	1947	27	1						1
1261	Bradshaw P	02101953	Yks	1974	1977	20	4	1975					2
1262	Bradshaw PW	28041956	NW	1973	1990	17	18	1975	1980	1985			6
1263	Brady PJ	11031936	Ire	1958	1964	22	7	1960					2
1264	Brady PJ	26031961	WM	1981	1983	20	3						2
1265	Brady TR	03061937	Ire	1957	1965	20	9	1960	1965				2
1266	Brady W	13021956	Ire	1973	1989	17	17	1975	1980	1985			2
1267	Bragg WL	08071929	SE	1946	1956	17	11	1946	1950	1955			1
1268	Braithwaite RM	24021937	Nire	1963	1966	26	4	1965					1
1269	Bramhall J	20111956	NW	1976	1990	19	15	1980	1985				5
1270	Bramhall N	16101965	NW	1982	1982	16	1						1
1271	Bramley A	25031929	EM	1949	1952	20	4	1950					1
1272	Bramley E	29081920	EM	1938	1947	18	10	1946					1
1273	Bramley JS	19041946	Yks	1964	1966	18	3	1965					1
1274	Bramwell J	01031937	NW	1958	1964	21	7	1960					2
1275	Branagan JPS	03071955	NW	1974	1988	19	15	1975	1980	1985			5
1276	Branagan K	27071930	NW	1950	1965	20	16	1950	1955	1960	1965		2
1277	Brand AS	08111957	Sco	1975	1983	21	9	1975	1980				3
1278	Brand KR	28041938	SE	1956	1957	18	2						1
1279	Brand RL	18121936	Sco	1965	1968	18	4	1965					2
1280	Brand RE	02101934	SE	1955	1962	20	8	1955	1960				2
1281	Brander GM	01111929	Sco	1952	1952	22	1						1

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1282	Brandon KA	08021934	WM	1953	1958	19	6	1955					2
1283	Branfoot IG	26011947	NE	1966	1977	19	12	1970	1975				3
1284	Brannan P	07041947	Yks	1968	1969	21	2						1
1285	Brannan R	27081924	Yks	1947	1948	23	2						1
1286	Branston TG	25071938	SE	1960	1972	22	13	1960	1965	1970			3
1287	Brass RA	09111943	NE	1964	1965	20	2	1965					1
1288	Brasted GA	30061933	SW	1956	1956	23	1						1
1289	Bratley CT	30041939	Yks	1958	1958	19	1						1
1290	Bratt H	08101939	NW	1961	1962	21	2						1
1291	Braxthwaite EJR	19121965	SE	1985	1986	19	2	1985					1
1292	Bray GC	30051951	SE	1972	1976	21	5	1975					3
1293	Bray G	11111918	NW	1938	1951	19	14	1946	1950				1
1294	Bray IM	06121962	Wal	1981	1991	18	11	1985					3
1295	Bray J	16031937	NW	1959	1965	22	7	1960	1965				2
1296	Bray W	17111964	SW	1981	1982	16	2						1
1297	Brayton BJ	29091938	NE	1959	1967	20	9	1960	1965				2
1298	Brazier CJ	06061957	WM	1976	1986	19	11	1980	1985				4
1299	Brazil AB	15061959	Sco	1977	1986	18	10	1980	1985				5
1300	Brazil GN	19091962	SE	1980	1996	17	17	1980	1985				6
1301	Breaks E	29121919	Yks	1948	1954	28	7	1950					1
1302	Brears PA	25091954	NW	1973	1975	18	3	1975					1
1303	Breckin J	27071953	Yks	1971	1983	18	13	1975	1980				3
1304	Bremner DG	07091952	Sco	1979	1989	26	11	1980	1985				4
1305	Bremner KJ	07011957	Sco	1980	1991	23	12	1980	1985				5
1306	Bremner WJ	09121942	Sco	1959	1981	16	23	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	3
1307	Brenen A	05101915	NE	1938	1950	22	13	1946	1950				1
1308	Brennan B	25041933	Yks	1950	1950	17	1	1950					1
1309	Brennan F	23041924	Sco	1946	1955	22	10	1946	1950	1955			1
1310	Brennan H	17111930	EM	1953	1954	22	2						1
1311	Brennan I	25031953	NE	1974	1981	21	8	1975	1980				2
1312	Brennan J	29021934	Nlre	1954	1955	20	2	1955					1
1313	Brennan M	11111934	NW	1956	1956	21	1						1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1314	Brennan MR	04101965	NW	1983	1995	17	13	1985					4
1315	Brennan MH	03011943	Sco	1962	1962	19	1						1
1316	Brennan M	17051952	NW	1970	1974	18	5	1970					2
1317	Brennan PJ	01031924	Ire	1948	1950	24	3	1950					1
1318	Brennan RJ	13111944	NW	1963	1964	18	2						1
1319	Brennan RA	14031925	Nire	1947	1959	22	13	1950	1955				4
1320	Brennan JSA	06051937	NW	1957	1969	20	13	1960	1965				1
1321	Brennan SA	03091958	SE	1976	1978	17	3						2
1322	Brent P	18011937	EM	1959	1959	21	1						1
1323	Brentano SR	09111961	Yks	1984	1993	22	10	1985					2
1324	Bretherton T	09041920	NW	1946	1946	26	1	1946					1
1325	Brett DS	08041961	NW	1983	1985	22	3	1985					1
1326	Brett RA	04091937	SE	1955	1961	17	7	1955	1960				3
1327	Brewer AP	20051932	SE	1950	1960	18	11	1950	1955	1960			2
1328	Brewster G	19101925	Yks	1949	1950	23	2	1950					1
1329	Brewster JR	19081942	EM	1964	1965	22	2	1965					1
1330	Brewster WC	04081933	Sco	1955	1955	22	1	1955					1
1331	Brice GHJ	04051924	SE	1946	1955	22	10	1946	1950	1955			4
1332	Brickley D	09091929	Yks	1950	1956	20	7	1950	1955				1
1333	Bridge MJ	06061932	SE	1952	1955	20	4	1955					1
1334	Bridger DJ	08111941	SE	1962	1964	20	3						1
1335	Bridges BJ	29041941	EA	1958	1973	17	16	1960	1965	1970			5
1336	Bridges B	03021937	Yks	1957	1957	20	1						1
1337	Bridges B	28021959	Yks	1976	1977	17	2						1
1338	Bridges H	30061915	NW	1946	1947	31	2	1946					1
1339	Bridgett J	10041929	WM	1950	1954	21	5	1950					1
1340	Bridgett RA	05041947	WM	1967	1969	20	3						1
1341	Bridgwood G	17101944	WM	1960	1972	16	13	1960	1965	1970			2
1342	Brien WR	11111930	WM	1953	1953	22	1						1
1343	Brier JD	03041941	Yks	1961	1965	20	5	1965					1
1344	Brierley K	03041926	Yks	1946	1954	20	9	1946	1950				3
1345	Brierley K	14121951	NW	1969	1972	17	4	1970					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1346	Briggs AM	21061939	Yks	1957	1969	18	13	1960	1965				1
1347	Briggs CE	04041911	SE	1937	1947	26	11	1946					2
1348	Briggs JC	24111918	NW	1946	1949	27	4						2
1349	Briggs G	21061959	Yks	1977	1994	18	18	1980	1985				2
1350	Briggs G	27021923	NE	1948	1954	25	7	1950					1
1351	Briggs JC	27101924	Yks	1950	1952	25	3	1950					1
1352	Briggs MD	14091961	NE	1978	1978	16	1						1
1353	Briggs MF	09091948	EA	1968	1977	19	10	1970	1975				2
1354	Briggs WR	29031943	Nlre	1960	1967	17	8	1960	1965				3
1355	Briggs S	02121946	Yks	1968	1972	21	5	1970					1
1356	Briggs TH	27111923	EM	1947	1958	23	12	1950	1955				5
1357	Briggs TR	11051919	Yks	1946	1955	27	10	1946	1950	1955			2
1358	Briggs W	29111922	NE	1946	1951	23	6	1946	1950				3
1359	Briggs WW	15051942	Sco	1961	1962	19	2						1
1360	Brigham H	19111914	Yks	1936	1949	21	14	1946					3
1361	Bright D	24121946	NE	1968	1969	21	2						2
1362	Bright G	02121934	EM	1956	1957	21	2						1
1363	Bright SL	13101957	EA	1975	1976	17	2	1975					1
1364	Brignall SJC	12061960	SE	1978	1978	18	1						1
1365	Briley L	02101956	SE	1976	1991	19	16	1980	1985				5
1366	Brimacombe J	25111958	SW	1985	1989	26	5	1985					1
1367	Brims D	08011934	Sco	1958	1959	24	2						1
1368	Brindle JJ	12071917	NW	1947	1947	30	1						2
1369	Brindle W	29011950	NW	1967	1970	17	4	1970					2
1370	Brindley J	02061931	EM	1953	1953	22	1						1
1371	Brindley JC	29011947	EM	1965	1976	18	12	1965	1970	1975			3
1372	Brine PK	18071953	SE	1972	1977	19	6	1975					1
1373	Brinton EJ	26051908	SW	1929	1946	21	18	1946					3
1374	Brinton JV	11071916	SW	1935	1948	19	14	1946					5
1375	Briscoe JE	28041917	NW	1936	1948	19	13	1946					2
1376	Briscoe JP	14101923	Yks	1946	1946	22	1						1
1377	Briscoe J	31051947	Yks	1966	1967	19	2						1

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1378	Brisley TW	04071950	SE	1967	1980	17	14	1970	1975	1980			4
1379	Brissett TA	02011961	WM	1980	1982	19	3	1980					2
1380	Bristow GA	25061933	SE	1950	1960	17	11	1950	1955	1960			1
1381	Britt MC	17011946	SE	1962	1965	16	4	1965					2
1382	Brittan C	02061927	SW	1950	1957	23	8	1950	1955				1
1383	Britten MEW	01051955	SW	1974	1978	19	5	1975					2
1384	Britton I	19051954	Sco	1972	1988	18	17	1975	1980				3
1385	Britton J	27051920	NW	1946	1948	26	3	1946					2
1386	Broadbent AH	20081934	WM	1953	1967	19	15	1955	1960				7
1387	Broadfoot JJ	04031940	SE	1958	1967	18	10	1960	1965				5
1388	Broadhurst BW	24111938	Yks	1961	1961	22	1						1
1389	Broadhurst K	03061959	Yks	1976	1979	17	4						1
1390	Broadis IA	18121922	SE	1946	1958	23	13	1946	1950	1955			4
1391	Broadley L	10081930	Yks	1952	1952	22	1						1
1392	Brockbank A	23091961	NE	1979	1982	17	4	1980					1
1393	Brocken BJFM	12091957	For	1981	1981	23	1						1
1394	Brocklehurst JF	15121927	NW	1952	1955	24	4	1955					2
1395	Broddle JR	01111964	Yks	1981	1992	16	12	1985					4
1396	Brodie CTG	22021937	Sco	1957	1970	20	14	1960	1965	1970			5
1397	Brodie E	08111940	Sco	1963	1971	22	9	1965	1970				3
1398	Brodie M	26091950	Sco	1969	1982	18	14	1970	1975	1980			2
1399	Brogan D	11011939	Sco	1960	1960	21	1	1960					1
1400	Brogan FA	03081942	Sco	1964	1972	22	9	1965	1970				2
1401	Brogan JA	05061944	Sco	1975	1975	31	1	1975					1
1402	Brogden LA	18101949	Yks	1967	1973	17	7	1970					2
1403	Brolls N	26091953	Sco	1956	1956	22	1						1
1404	Brolly MJ	06101954	Sco	1972	1985	17	14	1975	1980	1985			5
1405	Brolly TH	01061912	Nlre	1933	1949	21	17	1946					2
1406	Bromage R	09111959	WM	1977	1990	17	14	1980	1985				3
1407	Bromley B	20031946	NW	1962	1974	16	13	1965	1970				4
1408	Brook D	19111960	Yks	1978	1978	17	1						1
1409	Brook H	15101921	Yks	1946	1957	24	12	1946	1950	1955			3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1410	Brook L	27071918	Yks	1937	1956	19	20	1946	1950	1955			2
1411	Brooke GJ	24111960	SE	1980	1990	19	11	1980	1985				5
1412	Brooke M	04061925	Yks	1950	1950	25	1	1950					1
1413	Brookes E	03021944	Yks	1960	1972	16	13	1960	1965	1970			3
1414	Brookes SK	02021953	Yks	1971	1976	18	6	1975					1
1415	Brookes WA	19041931	WM	1953	1956	22	4	1955					1
1416	Brookfield AJ	11041959	NW	1976	1977	17	2						1
1417	Brookin WJ	14061919	SE	1946	1946	27	1	1946					1
1418	Brooking TD	02101948	SE	1967	1983	18	17	1970	1975	1980			1
1419	Brooks A	12031944	NW	1963	1964	19	2						2
1420	Brooks H	02061915	EM	1936	1947	21	12	1946					2
1421	Brooks J	08031927	WM	1950	1950	23	1	1950					1
1422	Brooks J	23121931	SE	1949	1963	17	15	1950	1955	1960			5
1423	Brooks JT	23081947	SE	1967	1967	20	1						1
1424	Brooks S	09101962	SE	1979	1995	16	17	1980	1985				4
1425	Brooks SM	18061955	NW	1976	1984	21	9	1980					3
1426	Brooks TW	02021948	NE	1964	1970	16	7	1970					1
1427	Broome FH	11061915	SE	1934	1954	19	21	1946	1950				5
1428	Broomfield DS	06101921	SE	1946	1947	24	2	1946					1
1429	Broomfield IL	17121950	SW	1968	1972	17	5	1970					3
1430	Broomfield J	06061934	NW	1956	1956	22	1						1
1431	Broomhall KL	21051951	WM	1968	1968	17	1						1
1432	Brophy H	02091951	Ire	1966	1966	16	1						1
1433	Brotherston N	18111956	Sco	1975	1988	18	14	1975	1980	1985			3
1434	Brough NK	22121965	EM	1983	1984	17	2						1
1435	Broughton E	09021925	Yks	1947	1952	22	6	1950					2
1436	Brown A	11121937	SE	1961	1961	23	1						2
1437	Brown A	22051959	NE	1976	1985	17	10	1980	1985				3
1438	Brown AE	04031934	SW	1957	1957	23	1						1
1439	Brown AR	14081917	EM	1935	1947	18	13	1946					3
1440	Brown A	15081930	Sco	1958	1960	28	3	1960					1
1441	Brown AR	21111914	NE	1934	1946	19	13	1946					3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1442	Brown A	12041951	Sco	1968	1985	17	18	1970	1975	1980	1985		5
1443	Brown AD	12101926	Sco	1950	1962	23	13	1950	1955	1960			3
1444	Brown AW	26081914	NE	1934	1948	20	15	1946					3
1445	Brown A	17081963	NW	1982	1982	19	1						1
1446	Brown A	20021915	Sco	1936	1946	21	11	1946					2
1447	Brown AJ	03101945	NW	1963	1982	17	20	1965	1970	1975	1980		2
1448	Brown AJ	17091958	Yks	1982	1992	23	11	1985					4
1449	Brown RB	06091927	NE	1947	1955	19	9	1950	1955				3
1450	Brown BD	10091949	SE	1968	1974	18	7	1970					1
1451	Brown C	25051918	NE	1946	1950	28	5	1946	1950				2
1452	Brown D	21101963	NW	1982	1982	18	1						1
1453	Brown DJ	28011957	NE	1977	1990	20	14	1980	1985				5
1454	Brown DJ	08021944	SE	1963	1974	19	12	1965	1970				4
1455	Brown WD	04061919	Yks	1946	1951	27	6	1946					2
1456	Brown DA	21031958	SW	1978	1979	20	2						1
1457	Brown EACH	04101927	SE	1953	1953	25	1						1
1458	Brown E	28021926	NW	1950	1960	24	11	1950	1955	1960			4
1459	Brown EC	03021921	NE	1946	1947	25	2	1946					1
1460	Brown F	06121931	SE	1952	1959	18	8	1955					3
1461	Brown G	12011932	Sco	1957	1957	25	1						1
1462	Brown G	18101934	Yks	1953	1954	18	2						1
1463	Brown G	30061933	NW	1952	1963	19	12	1955	1960				5
1464	Brown G	04021932	Sco	1955	1960	23	6	1955	1960				2
1465	Brown G	07121965	Sco	1983	1983	17	1						1
1466	Brown GS	21031929	EM	1950	1957	21	8	1950	1955				1
1467	Brown GC	21031944	EM	1969	1981	25	13	1970	1975	1980			6
1468	Brown GF	05111950	EM	1969	1969	18	1						1
1469	Brown HT	09041924	SE	1946	1957	21	12	1946	1950	1955			4
1470	Brown HS	23051918	NE	1938	1946	20	9	1946					2
1471	Brown H	07121921	Sco	1950	1951	28	2	1950					1
1472	Brown I	20091935	SE	1957	1962	21	6	1960					2
1473	Brown J	16021924	Sco	1948	1951	24	4	1950					3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1474	Brown JB	07061939	Sco	1960	1962	21	3	1960					1
1475	Brown JK	03101953	Sco	1969	1979	16	11	1970	1975				3
1476	Brown J	13061961	Wal	1978	1978	17	1						1
1477	Brown J	06031940	Sco	1962	1962	22	1						1
1478	Brown J	29071940	SW	1960	1967	20	8						2
1479	Brown J	08111914	Nlre	1934	1950	19	17	1946	1950				4
1480	Brown JC	30121947	Yks	1966	1981	18	16	1970	1975	1980			3
1481	Brown JL	23031921	NE	1947	1949	26	3						1
1482	Brown JT	02041935	Sco	1960	1963	25	4	1960					2
1483	Brown J	26041929	NE	1949	1960	20	12	1950	1955	1960			4
1484	Brown JS	07051920	NW	1946	1947	26	2	1946					1
1485	Brown K	23091954	EM	1973	1975	22	3	1975					1
1486	Brown K	01011942	EM	1958	1958	16	1						1
1487	Brown K	19101957	NW	1976	1976	18	1						1
1488	Brown KG	16071954	WM	1973	1974	19	2						1
1489	Brown KJ	29011942	SE	1963	1964	21	2						1
1490	Brown KT	28091959	SW	1978	1980	18	3	1980					1
1491	Brown K	16021934	SE	1952	1968	18	17	1955	1960	1965			2
1492	Brown KG	21031952	Yks	1969	1979	17	11	1970	1975				2
1493	Brown KJ	18101933	WM	1957	1958	23	2						2
1494	Brown L	22081937	NE	1950	1969	23	10	1960	1965				5
1495	Brown M	13121956	NW	1973	1991	16	19	1975	1980	1985			4
1496	Brown MJ	11071939	WM	1959	1967	20	9	1960	1965				2
1497	Brown MJ	11041944	SE	1961	1969	17	9	1965					4
1498	Brown MJL	27091951	Wal	1973	1973	21	1						1
1499	Brown MR	07091943	EM	1964	1965	20	2	1965					1
1500	Brown NR	16011966	Yks	1983	1983	17	1						1
1501	Brown NL	16101966	Yks	1985	1991	18	7	1985					1
1502	Brown OJ	04091960	NW	1980	1984	19	5	1980					4
1503	Brown PB	13071934	SE	1953	1959	19	7	1955					2
1504	Brown PR	01091961	SE	1980	1981	18	2	1980					1
1505	Brown P	30051959	NE	1979	1995	20	17	1980	1985				4

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1506	Brown PJ	16011966	Yks	1982	1989	16	8	1985					3
1507	Brown R	26021944	EM	1962	1962	18	1						1
1508	Brown RM	11021929	NE	1951	1951	22	1						1
1509	Brown R	09081924	Sco	1948	1957	24	10	1950	1955				4
1510	Brown R	23111955	Sco	1974	1976	18	3	1975					1
1511	Brown R	02121931	Sco	1956	1967	24	12	1960	1965				1
1512	Brown R	14051949	SW	1968	1971	19	4	1970					1
1513	Brown RAJ	07111915	EA	1937	1948	21	12	1946					3
1514	Brown RC	24111953	SW	1974	1975	20	2	1975					2
1515	Brown RH	02051940	SE	1961	1967	21	7	1965					3
1516	Brown RW	12121952	WM	1977	1986	24	10	1980	1985				4
1517	Brown R	20031923	Nlre	1946	1946	23	1	1946					1
1518	Brown R	26121944	NE	1965	1974	20	10	1965	1970				3
1519	Brown R	10061925	NE	1946	1955	21	10	1946	1950	1955			1
1520	Brown R	17071932	EM	1953	1956	21	4	1955					1
1521	Brown RE	05101945	SE	1966	1975	20	10	1970	1975				4
1522	Brown HR	20121923	WM	1946	1957	22	12	1946	1950	1955			2
1523	Brown S	15091941	SE	1960	1972	18	13	1960	1965	1970			2
1524	Brown SAJ	13071952	SE	1969	1974	17	6	1970					1
1525	Brown T	07061929	NE	1952	1957	23	6	1955					2
1526	Brown T	17111933	Sco	1957	1957	23	1						1
1527	Brown T	26101919	Sco	1946	1950	26	5	1946	1950				1
1528	Brown TE	08091935	NE	1954	1957	18	4	1955					1
1529	Brown TG	11081924	NE	1947	1953	23	7	1950					2
1530	Brown TH	08051930	NW	1951	1958	21	8	1955					2
1531	Brown TL	17041921	Sco	1946	1952	25	7	1946	1950				3
1532	Brown WS	08021921	WM	1946	1947	25	2	1946					1
1533	Brown W	17091928	Sco	1953	1953	24	1						1
1534	Brown W	05021950	Sco	1968	1977	18	10	1970	1975				5
1535	Brown W	27031928	NE	1950	1957	22	8	1950	1955				1
1536	Brown W	21021929	Sco	1951	1951	22	1						1
1537	Brown W	06091910	SE	1930	1947	19	18	1946					4

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1538	Brown WC	24041920	SE	1946	1946	26	1	1946					1
1539	Brown WDF	08101931	Sco	1959	1966	27	8	1960	1965				2
1540	Brown WF	20101922	Sco	1946	1957	23	12	1946	1950	1955			2
1541	Brown WFT	07021943	SE	1965	1969	22	5	1965					3
1542	Brown WH	11031909	NE	1931	1947	22	17	1946					2
1543	Brown WI	25111938	Sco	1959	1960	20	1	1960					2
1544	Brownbill DA	04021954	NW	1973	1979	19	7	1975					3
1545	Browne RJ	09021912	Nlre	1935	1947	23	13	1946					2
1546	Browne SL	21061964	SE	1981	1981	17	1						1
1547	Browning LJ	30031928	Yks	1946	1953	18	8	1946	1950				2
1548	Brownlee TC	21051935	Sco	1957	1965	22	9	1960	1965				4
1549	Brownlie JJ	11031952	Sco	1978	1984	26	7	1980					3
1550	Brownlow JM	18061916	Nlre	1946	1948	30	3	1946					2
1551	Bruce AR	23121952	Sco	1971	1984	18	14	1975	1980				3
1552	Bruce R	14101928	Nlre	1951	1951	22	1						1
1553	Bruck DJ	19041944	For	1960	1973	16	14	1960	1965	1970			3
1554	Brunskill J	22041932	NE	1954	1954	22	1						1
1555	Brunt GR	24111926	EM	1949	1953	22	5	1950					1
1556	Brunt ME	05121946	Yks	1966	1966	19	1						1
1557	Brush P	22021958	SE	1977	1989	19	13	1980	1985				3
1558	Bruton DE	31101952	SW	1971	1980	18	10	1975	1980				3
1559	Bruton M	06051958	SW	1979	1979	21	1						1
1560	Bryan EN	06061926	Wal	1948	1948	22	1						1
1561	Bryan P	30041944	EM	1962	1965	18	4	1965					1
1562	Bryan PA	22061943	WM	1964	1965	21	2	1965					2
1563	Bryant E	18111921	WM	1946	1951	24	6	1946	1950				3
1564	Bryant JS	27111953	SE	1977	1979	23	3						2
1565	Bryant RJ	20061963	SW	1985	1985	22	1	1985					1
1566	Bryant SP	05091953	SE	1974	1981	20	8	1975	1980				4
1567	Bryceland T	01031939	Sco	1962	1971	23	10	1965	1970				2
1568	Brydon IF	22031927	Sco	1953	1955	26	3	1955					3
1569	Buchan AR	02051926	Sco	1950	1953	24	4	1950					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1570	Buchan G	02051950	Sco	1973	1975	23	3	1975					2
1571	Buchan MM	06031949	Sco	1971	1984	22	14	1975	1980				2
1572	Buchan T	06121915	Sco	1946	1949	30	4	1946					2
1573	Buchan WRM	17101914	Sco	1937	1951	22	15	1946	1950				3
1574	Buchanan CC	31071928	Sco	1949	1956	21	8	1950	1955				2
1575	Buchanan D	23061962	NE	1978	1987	16	10	1980	1985				3
1576	Buchanan J	19091951	Sco	1970	1982	18	13	1970	1975	1980			3
1577	Buchanan J	09091928	Sco	1954	1962	16	9	1955	1960				2
1578	Buchanan J	03011935	Sco	1961	1961	26	1						1
1579	Buchanan PS	13101915	Sco	1936	1948	20	13	1946					3
1580	Buchanan WM	29071924	Sco	1949	1955	25	7	1950	1955				2
1581	Buck AM	25081946	EA	1964	1968	18	5	1965					1
1582	Buck AR	18081944	EM	1962	1973	18	12	1965	1970				4
1583	Buck DC	25081946	EA	1965	1965	19	1	1965					1
1584	Buck GW	25011941	SE	1958	1962	17	5	1960					2
1585	Buckingham CME	12081943	SW	1962	1966	18	5	1965					2
1586	Buckingham VF	23101915	SE	1935	1948	19	14	1946					1
1587	Buckland MC	18081961	SW	1983	1984	21	2						1
1588	Buckle HE	28101924	SE	1946	1956	19	11	1946	1950	1955			3
1589	Buckley AP	20041951	EM	1971	1984	20	14	1975	1980				4
1590	Buckley F	11051922	WM	1947	1950	25	4	1950					1
1591	Buckley G	03031961	NW	1980	1985	19	6	1980	1985				2
1592	Buckley G	31081960	NW	1979	1979	19	1						1
1593	Buckley I	08101953	NW	1971	1980	17	10	1975	1980				3
1594	Buckley JW	18051962	Sco	1984	1992	22	9	1985					4
1595	Buckley MJ	04111953	NW	1971	1984	17	14	1975	1980				5
1596	Buckley NA	25091968	Yks	1986	1989	17	4						1
1597	Buckley PM	12081946	Sco	1964	1972	18	9	1965	1970				3
1598	Buckley S	16101953	EM	1974	1986	20	13	1975	1980	1985			3
1599	Budd KJ	20031965	SE	1985	1985	20	1	1985					1
1600	Bugg AA	27111948	EA	1968	1969	19	2						1
1601	Buick JAL	01071933	Sco	1955	1961	22	7	1955	1960				1

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1602	Buist JG	19071918	Sco	1946	1948	28	3	1946					2
1603	Bukovina JF	02021964	Yks	1983	1983	19	1						1
1604	Bukowski D	02111952	EM	1971	1972	18	2						1
1605	Bulch RS	01011933	NE	1955	1959	22	5	1955					2
1606	Bull M	03041930	SE	1952	1954	22	3						2
1607	Bull W	01041926	WM	1948	1948	22	1						1
1608	Bulless B	04091933	Yks	1952	1963	18	12	1955	1960				1
1609	Bullions JL	12031924	Sco	1946	1953	22	8	1946	1950				3
1610	Bullivant TP	23091956	SE	1974	1985	17	12	1975	1980	1985			4
1611	Bullock ME	02101946	WM	1963	1978	16	16	1970	1975				4
1612	Bullock N	26031932	WM	1952	1959	20	8	1955					1
1613	Bullock PL	17111941	WM	1957	1968	25	12	1960	1965				6
1614	Bullock SJ	28091962	WM	1980	1981	17	1	1980					1
1615	Bullock S	05101966	NW	1983	1990	16	8	1985					3
1616	Bulmer P	31081965	NW	1982	1986	17	5	1985					2
1617	Bumpstead DJ	06111935	SE	1957	1963	21	7	1960					2
1618	Bumstead CH	08011922	SE	1946	1951	24	6	1946	1950				2
1619	Bumstead J	27111958	SE	1978	1992	19	15	1980	1985				2
1620	Bumstead RG	27011936	SE	1958	1969	22	12	1960	1965				1
1621	Bunce F	16021938	SE	1955	1962	17	8	1955	1960				1
1622	Bunclark C	27031931	Yks	1954	1954	23	1						1
1623	Bunkell RK	18091949	SE	1971	1978	21	9	1975					2
1624	Bunn FS	06111962	WM	1980	1989	17	10	1980	1985				3
1625	Bunner HF	18091936	NW	1957	1965	20	9	1960	1965				2
1626	Bunting B	14021923	NW	1946	1947	23	2	1946					1
1627	Burbanks WE	01041913	Yks	1934	1953	21	20	1946	1950				3
1628	Burbeck RT	27021934	EM	1952	1963	18	12	1955	1960				3
1629	Burckitt JD	16121946	WM	1964	1966	17	3	1965					1
1630	Burden B	26111939	EM	1960	1960	20	1	1960					1
1631	Burden TD	21021924	SE	1946	1960	22	15	1950	1955	1960			3
1632	Burdess J	10041946	NE	1963	1964	17	2						1
1633	Burgess AC	21091919	NW	1946	1953	26	8	1946	1950				4

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1634	Burgess DJ	20011960	NW	1981	1994	21	14	1985					3
1635	Burgess ERC	27101944	SE	1963	1971	18	9	1965	1970				4
1636	Burgess M	17041932	For	1953	1965	21	13	1955	1960	1965			7
1637	Burgess WAR	09041917	Wal	1938	1955	21	18	1946	1950	1955			2
1638	Burgess W	19061921	NW	1946	1946	25	1	1946					1
1639	Burgher SG	29101966	WM	1984	1984	17	1						1
1640	Burgin A	06031947	Yks	1964	1975	17	12	1965	1970	1975			4
1641	Burgin E	29041927	Yks	1949	1965	22	17	1950	1955	1960	1965		4
1642	Burgin E	04011924	Yks	1949	1950	25	2	1950					1
1643	Burgin T	28081943	Yks	1967	1967	24	1						1
1644	Burke C	13091921	Sco	1946	1946	23	1	1946					1
1645	Burke DI	06081960	NW	1978	1994	18	17	1980	1985				5
1646	Burke J	10081962	Sco	1982	1983	20	2						2
1647	Burke JJ	28051911	Ire	1931	1950	20	20	1946	1950				3
1648	Burke P	26041957	Yks	1974	1981	17	8	1975	1980				3
1649	Burke PJ	01021912	NW	1933	1946	22	14	1946					3
1650	Burke R	28101920	NW	1938	1948	17	11	1946					3
1651	Burke RG	05111931	NIre	1955	1955	23	1	1955					1
1652	Burke RS	13081921	NE	1946	1956	25	11	1946	1950	1955			4
1653	Burke SJ	29091960	EM	1979	1987	18	9	1980	1985				3
1654	Burke T	18101939	Sco	1962	1962	22	1						1
1655	Burke M	26031959	Sco	1977	1984	18	8	1980					4
1656	Burkett JW	21081942	SE	1961	1969	19	9	1965					2
1657	Burkinshaw GA	01101939	Yks	1946	1948	16	3	1946					2
1658	Burkinshaw HK	23061935	Yks	1954	1967	19	14	1955	1960	1965			3
1659	Burkitt JO	19011926	WM	1948	1961	22	14	1950	1955	1960			1
1660	Burleigh MS	02021951	NE	1970	1981	19	12	1970	1975	1980			4
1661	Burley GE	03061956	Sco	1973	1994	17	22	1975	1980	1985			4
1662	Burlinson RL	29031920	NE	1946	1946	26	1	1946					1
1663	Burlinson TH	29031920	NE	1957	1964	27	8	1960					2
1664	Buluraux D	08061951	NE	1970	1974	19	5	1970					1
1665	Burman AP	03061958	SE	1976	1977	18	2						1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1666	Burman SJ	26111965	EA	1984	1986	18	3	1985					1
1667	Burn JH	21011930	NE	1955	1955	25	1	1955					1
1668	Burn RG	09111931	NE	1950	1954	18	5	1950					2
1669	Burnett AP	23071922	Sco	1946	1949	24	4	1946					2
1670	Burnett DH	27091944	SE	1965	1976	20	12	1965	1970	1975			4
1671	Burnett GG	11021920	NW	1946	1954	26	9	1946	1950				2
1672	Burnett J	24061939	EM	1958	1958	19	1						1
1673	Burnett WJ	01031926	NE	1947	1953	21	7	1950					2
1674	Burns AJ	27031944	SE	1964	1978	20	15	1965	1970				5
1675	Burns BR	19061937	Yks	1957	1957	20	1						1
1676	Burns D	12111958	NW	1976	1981	17	6	1980					1
1677	Burns DG	23011950	SE	1968	1968	18	1						1
1678	Burns EO	08031945	Sco	1963	1966	18	4	1965					2
1679	Burns F	17101948	Sco	1967	1980	18	14	1970	1975	1980			3
1680	Burns FJ	11111924	NE	1946	1957	21	12	1946	1950	1955			3
1681	Burns K	23111953	Sco	1971	1985	17	15	1975	1980	1985			5
1682	Burns K	24091923	SE	1946	1947	22	2	1946					2
1683	Burns LF	03081932	NW	1955	1955	23	1	1955					1
1684	Burns LGH	22061944	SE	1966	1967	22	2						1
1685	Burns ME	21121946	NW	1969	1980	22	12	1970	1975	1980			4
1686	Burns MT	07061908	NE	1927	1951	19	25	1946	1950				3
1687	Burns NJ	11061945	Sco	1965	1966	20	2	1965					1
1688	Burns O	16051914	Sco	1946	1947	32	2	1946					2
1689	Burns P	17041931	NE	1951	1951	20	1						1
1690	Burrell G	06091926	Nlre	1953	1957	26	5	1955					2
1691	Burrell LF	08081917	SE	1946	1947	19	2	1946					1
1692	Burridge J	03121951	NE	1968	1995	16	28	1970	1975	1980	1985		13
1693	Burridge PJ	30121933	SE	1958	1966	24	9	1960	1965				4
1694	Burrows AM	16021959	EM	1979	1987	20	9	1980	1985				2
1695	Burrows A	20101941	Yks	1959	1959	17	1						1
1696	Burrows A	04121919	NW	1938	1948	18	11	1946					2
1697	Burrows DW	07021961	EM	1978	1978	17	1						1

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1698	Burrows F	20011944	Sco	1965	1973	21	9	1965	1970				2
1699	Burrows H	17031941	NW	1959	1974	18	16	1960	1965	1970			3
1700	Burrows PS	02101967	Wal	1985	1985	17	1	1985					1
1701	Burrows PA	08021946	NW	1966	1977	20	12	1970	1975				3
1702	Bursell JC	16011935	Yks	1952	1952	17	1						1
1703	Burt JHL	05041950	Sco	1970	1973	20	4	1970					3
1704	Burtenshaw CE	16101922	EA	1948	1951	25	4	1950					2
1705	Burtenshaw S	23111935	EA	1952	1966	16	15	1955	1960	1965			1
1706	Burtenshaw WF	13121925	EA	1948	1951	22	4	1950					2
1707	Burton AR	11011939	SE	1960	1969	21	10	1960	1965				1
1708	Burton AD	11111941	Wal	1958	1971	16	14	1960	1965	1970			3
1709	Burton BB	28121932	EM	1954	1954	21	1						1
1710	Burton E	02091921	Yks	1948	1948	26	1						1
1711	Burton KO	11021950	Yks	1968	1980	18	13	1970	1975	1980			3
1712	Burton R	13031951	SE	1971	1982	20	12	1975	1980				1
1713	Burton S	10111926	SW	1946	1961	19	16	1946	1950	1955	1960		1
1714	Burvill G	26101962	SE	1983	1990	20	8	1985					3
1715	Busby DE	27071956	SE	1973	1974	17	2						1
1716	Busby MG	24031953	SE	1970	1979	17	10	1970	1975				2
1717	Busby VD	19061949	SE	1969	1983	20	15	1970	1975	1980			6
1718	Bush B	25041925	SW	1947	1954	22	8	1950					1
1719	Bush TD	29011943	EA	1960	1969	17	10	1960	1965				1
1720	Bush WT	22021914	WM	1933	1946	19	14	1946					1
1721	Bushby A	15011932	Yks	1952	1960	20	9	1955	1960				2
1722	Bushby DC	25121933	SW	1957	1957	23	1						1
1723	Bushby TW	21081914	NE	1934	1946	20	13	1946					3
1724	Bushell MJ	05061968	EM	1984	1984	16	1						1
1725	Butcher JM	27051956	NE	1976	1985	20	10	1980	1985				3
1726	Butcher R	13021916	NW	1938	1949	22	12	1946					1
1727	Butcher T	28121958	For	1977	1992	18	16	1980	1985				3
1728	Butler BG	04061962	NW	1985	1992	23	8	1985					1
1729	Butler BF	04071966	NW	1985	1990	19	6	1985					3

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1730	Butler D	23031945	NE	1964	1975	19	12	1965	1970	1975			2
1731	Butler DJ	01091962	WM	1981	1981	18	1						1
1732	Butler DJ	30031953	WM	1973	1973	20	1						1
1733	Butler DA	24061944	NW	1962	1972	18	11	1965	1970				2
1734	Butler DG	04081952	SE	1969	1970	17	2	1970					1
1735	Butler DM	07031943	SE	1961	1973	18	13	1965	1970				3
1736	Butler E	28081924	NE	1948	1953	24	6	1950					2
1737	Butler EAE	13051919	SW	1946	1952	27	7	1946	1950				1
1738	Butler G	26091946	NE	1965	1981	18	17	1965	1970	1975	1980		6
1739	Butler I	01021944	Yks	1960	1975	16	16	1960	1965	1970	1975		3
1740	Butler J	16101920	WM	1950	1953	29	4	1950					1
1741	Butler JH	10031937	WM	1958	1967	21	10	1960	1965				2
1742	Butler JP	07091964	NW	1981	1982	16	2						1
1743	Butler JW	07021943	NE	1963	1977	20	15	1965	1970	1975			3
1744	Butler K	23081936	NE	1959	1960	23	2	1960					1
1745	Butler MP	06081913	Nlre	1935	1947	22	13	1946					2
1746	Butler MP	03031966	Yks	1984	1989	18	6	1985					3
1747	Butler PL	03101942	EM	1961	1966	18	6	1965					4
1748	Butler S	07011919	Yks	1938	1947	19	10	1946					2
1749	Butler T	28041918	NW	1937	1952	19	16	1946	1950				4
1750	Butler WG	07021923	WM	1946	1950	23	5	1946	1950				1
1751	Butlin BD	09111949	EM	1967	1980	17	14	1970	1975	1980			6
1752	Butt L	26081910	NW	1929	1947	19	19	1946					5
1753	Butterfield J	30081922	Yks	1947	1947	25	1						1
1754	Butterworth AJ	07111961	Yks	1980	1985	18	6	1980	1985				2
1755	Butterworth DA	04051937	SW	1957	1959	20	3						1
1756	Butterworth IS	25011964	NW	1981	1993	16	13	1985					3
1757	Buttle SA	01011953	EA	1973	1976	20	4						1
1758	Buttress MD	23031958	EA	1976	1978	18	3						2
1759	Buxton IR	17041938	EM	1959	1969	21	11	1960	1965				4
1760	Buxton MJ	29051943	NE	1962	1970	19	9	1965	1970				2
1761	Buxton SC	13031960	WM	1977	1989	17	13	1980	1985				3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1762	Byatt DJ	08081958	SE	1978	1980	20	3	1980					2
1763	Bycroft S	19021912	EM	1935	1951	23	17	1946	1950				1
1764	Byrne AB	02021946	Ire	1963	1978	17	16	1965	1970	1975			4
1765	Byrne DS	05031961	SE	1985	1993	24	9	1985					4
1766	Byrne G	10041957	Sco	1977	1978	20	2						1
1767	Byrne G	29081938	NW	1957	1968	19	12	1960	1965				1
1768	Byrne J	20051939	Sco	1961	1968	22	8	1965					4
1769	Byrne JF	01021961	NW	1979	1995	18	17	1980	1985				6
1770	Byrne JJ	13051939	SE	1956	1968	17	13	1960	1965				3
1771	Byrne PJ	15051956	Ire	1979	1980	23	2	1980					1
1772	Byrne RW	08091929	NW	1951	1957	21	7	1955					1
1773	Byrne W	22101918	EM	1946	1948	27	3	1946					2
1774	Byrom DJ	06011965	NW	1984	1984	19	1						1
1775	Byrom J	28071944	NW	1961	1976	17	16	1965	1970	1975			2
1776	Byrom R	02011935	NW	1957	1960	22	4	1960					2
1777	Byrom T	17031920	NW	1946	1946	26	1	1946					1
1778	Byrom W	30031915	NW	1946	1947	31	2	1946					1
1779	Byron GF	04091953	NW	1974	1974	20	1						1
1780	Bywater NL	08121920	WM	1946	1948	25	3	1946					2
1781	Cabrie DM	03061918	Sco	1946	1946	28	1	1946					1
1782	Cadden JY	13041920	Sco	1950	1953	30	4	1950					3
1783	Cade D	29091938	Yks	1959	1959	20	1						1
1784	Cadette RR	21031965	SE	1984	1996	19	13	1985					5
1785	Caesar GC	05031966	SE	1985	1995	19	11	1985					4
1786	Cahill PG	29091955	SE	1974	1978	18	5	1975					3
1787	Cahill T	14061931	Sco	1952	1964	21	13	1955	1960				2
1788	Cain JP	29121933	NE	1960	1961	26	2	1960					1
1789	Caine B	20061936	NW	1957	1963	21	7	1960					3
1790	Cairney C	21091926	Sco	1950	1954	23	5	1950					2
1791	Cairney J	13071931	Sco	1956	1957	25	2						1
1792	Cairns C	17091936	Sco	1958	1958	21	1						1
1793	Cairns JG	13041922	NE	1947	1949	25	3						1

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1794	Cairns KW	29061937	NW	1962	1967	25	6	1965					1
1795	Cairns RL	25121927	NE	1948	1956	20	9	1950	1955				1
1796	Cairns RS	27051929	Sco	1953	1960	24	8	1955	1960				1
1797	Cairns R	04041934	NE	1955	1964	21	10	1955	1960				3
1798	Cairns WH	07101912	NE	1934	1953	21	10	1946	1950				2
1799	Cakebread G	01041936	SE	1954	1963	18	10	1955	1960				1
1800	Calder WC	28091934	Sco	1958	1966	23	9	1960	1965				4
1801	Calderwood J	28021955	Sco	1972	1979	17	8	1975					1
1802	Caldwell A	21031958	NW	1983	1989	25	7	1985					4
1803	Caldwell DL	07051932	Sco	1960	1960	28	1	1960					1
1804	Caldwell DW	31071960	Sco	1979	1991	19	13	1980	1985				4
1805	Caldwell T	05121938	Yks	1959	1971	20	13	1960	1965	1970			4
1806	Caleb GS	25051945	SE	1963	1964	18	2						1
1807	Callaghan AJ	08101966	Ire	1984	1993	17	10	1985					4
1808	Callaghan C	25081930	NW	1953	1956	23	4	1955					1
1809	Callaghan E	21011910	WM	1932	1946	21	15	1946					1
1810	Callaghan FJ	19121944	SE	1963	1973	18	11	1965	1970				1
1811	Callaghan HW	20031929	Sco	1954	1954	25	1						1
1812	Callaghan IR	10041942	NW	1959	1981	17	23	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	3
1813	Callaghan NI	12091962	For	1980	1991	17	12	1980	1985				3
1814	Callaghan R	05101931	Sco	1955	1957	23	3	1955					2
1815	Callaghan W	07021930	Sco	1952	1954	22	3						1
1816	Callaghan WA	09121941	Sco	1964	1964	22	1						1
1817	Callaghan WF	26021924	Wal	1949	1949	25	1						1
1818	Callan D	27071932	Wal	1955	1955	23	1	1955					1
1819	Callan FTM	24081935	Sco	1957	1958	22	1						1
1820	Calland A	10091929	NE	1951	1953	21	3						1
1821	Calland E	15061932	NE	1952	1961	20	10	1955	1960				4
1822	Calland R	05071916	NE	1946	1953	30	8	1946	1950				1
1823	Callender J	02041923	NE	1946	1957	23	12	1946	1950	1955			1
1824	Callender N	09061924	NE	1946	1948	22	3	1946					1
1825	Callender TS	20091920	NE	1938	1956	17	19	1946	1950	1955			2

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1826	Calloway LJ	17061945	WM	1964	1974	19	11	1965	1970				5
1827	Calow CJH	30091931	Nlre	1952	1952	20	1						1
1828	Calver RJ	22091938	Sco	1961	1961	22	1						1
1829	Calverley A	24111917	Yks	1946	1952	28	7	1946	1950				4
1830	Calvert CA	21041954	Yks	1972	1978	18	7	1975					2
1831	Calvert JWH	03021907	Yks	1931	1947	24	17	1946					3
1832	Camden CE	28051963	NW	1983	1986	20	4	1985					2
1833	Came MR	14091961	SW	1984	1995	22	12	1985					3
1834	Cameron AR	05101943	Sco	1964	1964	20	1						1
1835	Cameron D	09111953	Sco	1973	1980	19	8	1975	1980				2
1836	Cameron D	16061922	Ire	1948	1948	26	1						1
1837	Cameron D	10031936	Sco	1958	1958	22	1						1
1838	Cameron DGB	01021936	Sco	1956	1957	20	2						1
1839	Cameron HG	01021927	Sco	1948	1955	21	8	1950	1955				4
1840	Cameron J	07031931	Sco	1953	1959	22	7	1955					1
1841	Cameron JA	29111929	Sco	1956	1956	26	1						1
1842	Cameron R	23111932	Sco	1950	1963	17	14	1950	1955	1960			3
1843	Cameron RP	11041939	NE	1958	1958	19	1						1
1844	Cameron SJ	28111966	NW	1983	1983	16	1						1
1845	Cammack SR	20031954	NW	1971	1985	17	15	1975	1980	1985			4
1846	Camp S	08021954	NW	1975	1977	21	3	1975					2
1847	Campbell AJ	21021948	Sco	1965	1981	17	17	1965	1970	1975	1980		4
1848	Campbell TA	11091944	Nlre	1970	1972	25	3	1970					1
1849	Campbell C	27021928	Sco	1949	1949	21	1						1
1850	Campbell D	03021944	NW	1965	1969	21	5	1965					3
1851	Campbell D	18021947	Wal	1964	1966	17	3	1965					1
1852	Campbell DA	02111958	Sco	1975	1979	16	5	1975					1
1853	Campbell DA	02061965	Nlre	1984	1994	19	11	1985					7
1854	Campbell D	19101932	NW	1953	1963	20	11	1955	1960				3
1855	Campbell D	14121922	Sco	1949	1951	26	4	1950					3
1856	Campbell F	23121950	Sco	1968	1968	17	1						1
1857	Campbell AG	26021965	NW	1982	1984	17	3						1

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1858	Campbell GR	13071965	SE	1984	1991	19	8	1985					3
1859	Campbell J	25111918	Sco	1946	1947	27	2	1946					1
1860	Campbell J	11111922	Sco	1946	1957	23	12	1946	1950	1955			1
1861	Campbell JC	11041937	SE	1957	1963	20	7	1960					3
1862	Campbell J	23071928	NE	1949	1955	21	7	1950	1955				1
1863	Campbell J	22091934	Sco	1959	1959	24	1						1
1864	Campbell J	17031922	NW	1946	1956	24	11	1946	1950	1955			2
1865	Campbell JP	28061923	Nlre	1949	1952	26	4	1950					1
1866	Campbell J	28031925	Sco	1949	1950	24	2	1950					2
1867	Campbell L	26071935	NW	1953	1963	18	11	1955	1960				3
1868	Campbell PJ	07101964	NE	1983	1983	18	1						1
1869	Campbell PA	16101961	Yks	1980	1980	18	1	1980					1
1870	Campbell R	23041937	NW	1958	1966	21	9	1960	1965				3
1871	Campbell RI	28061922	Sco	1947	1957	25	11	1950	1955				2
1872	Campbell RM	12091956	Nlre	1973	1987	16	15	1975	1980	1985			8
1873	Campbell R	19101934	NW	1955	1956	20	2	1955					1
1874	Campbell TM	20021935	Sco	1961	1961	26	1						1
1875	Campbell WG	02071944	Nlre	1964	1965	20	2	1965					1
1876	Campbell WR	09101962	Yks	1979	1987	16	9	1980	1985				2
1877	Candlin MH	11111921	NE	1949	1954	27	6	1950					2
1878	Canham A	08061960	Yks	1984	1995	24	12	1985					2
1879	Cann RG	17111934	Yks	1957	1957	22	1						1
1880	Cannell PA	02091953	NE	1973	1982	19	10	1975	1980				2
1881	Cannell S	31121958	Yks	1977	1978	18	2						1
1882	Canning LD	21021926	Wal	1946	1951	20	6	1946	1950				3
1883	Canning L	01111925	Sco	1948	1956	22	9	1950	1955				2
1884	Cannon J	19031927	Sco	1956	1956	29	1						1
1885	Cannon JA	02101953	Sco	1972	1987	18	16	1975	1980	1985			1
1886	Canoville PK	04031962	SE	1981	1987	19	7	1985					1
1887	Cantello L	11091951	NW	1968	1982	16	15	1970	1975	1980			4
1888	Cantwell NE	28121932	Ire	1952	1966	19	15	1955	1960	1965			2
1889	Canvin CE	23011924	SE	1946	1946	22	1	1946					1

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1890	Cape JP	16111911	NE	1929	1946	17	18	1946					4
1891	Capel FJ	14011927	NW	1949	1956	22	8	1950	1955				1
1892	Capel JE	31031937	Wal	1955	1955	18	1	1955					1
1893	Capel MJ	15021935	NW	1955	1956	20	2	1955					1
1894	Capel T	27061922	NW	1946	1955	24	10	1946	1950	1955			6
1895	Capewell R	26071929	Yks	1952	1954	23	3						2
1896	Capper J	23071931	Wal	1952	1960	21	9	1955	1960				3
1897	Capstick AL	02011928	NW	1948	1948	20	1						1
1898	Carberry R	16011931	Sco	1953	1957	22	5	1955					4
1899	Carberry LJ	18011936	NW	1956	1966	20	11						3
1900	Cardwell L	20081912	NW	1930	1948	18	19	1946					3
1901	Carey JJ	23021919	Ire	1937	1952	18	16	1946	1950				1
1902	Carey PR	14051933	SE	1956	1962	23	7	1960					4
1903	Carey R	19111927	Sco	1949	1949	21	1						1
1904	Cargill DA	21071936	Sco	1953	1960	17	8	1955	1960				4
1905	Cargill JG	22091945	Sco	1964	1966	18	3	1965					2
1906	Carless EF	09091912	Wal	1946	1946	33	1	1946					1
1907	Carlin P	17121929	Yks	1953	1953	23	1						1
1908	Carlin W	06101940	NW	1959	1973	18	15	1960	1965	1970			8
1909	Carling TP	26021939	Yks	1960	1970	21	11	1960	1965	1970			4
1910	Carlson GE	27071925	NW	1947	1948	22	2						1
1911	Carlton DG	24111952	SE	1971	1981	18	11	1975	1980				3
1912	Carmichael J	11111948	NE	1970	1982	21	13	1970	1975	1980			1
1913	Carmody MJ	09021966	Yks	1984	1986	18	3	1985					2
1914	Carnaby BJ	14121947	SW	1972	1976	24	5	1975					1
1915	Carney S	22091957	NE	1979	1985	21	7	1980	1985				3
1916	Carolan JF	08091937	Ire	1958	1961	20	4	1960					2
1917	Carolin B	06121937	NE	1957	1959	19	3						1
1918	Carpenter S	23091960	SW	1985	1985	24	1	1965					1
1919	Carpenter TAE	11031925	SE	1950	1950	25	1	1950					1
1920	Carr CP	19061964	SE	1982	1993	18	12	1985					5
1921	Carr D	19011937	NE	1957	1965	20	9	1960	1965				3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1922	Carr D	31011957	SE	1976	1983	19	8	1980					3
1923	Carr DH	01091927	EM	1949	1949	21	1						1
1924	Carr EM	03011917	NE	1937	1953	20	17	1946	1950				5
1925	Carr ED	11011961	For	1978	1982	17	5	1980					3
1926	Carr F	21041919	Yks	1946	1946	27	1	1946					1
1927	Carr WG	25101944	NE	1962	1969	17	8	1965					3
1928	Carr J	12011924	Sco	1950	1950	26	1	1950					1
1929	Carr JW	10061926	For	1950	1950	24	1	1950					1
1930	Carr K	06111958	NE	1977	1987	18	11	1980	1985				3
1931	Carr LL	18021910	For	1933	1946	23	14	1946					3
1932	Carr P	25081951	NE	1967	1979	16	13	1970	1975				3
1933	Carr P	16111960	Yks	1978	1981	17	4	1980					1
1934	Carr SR	01061926	NW	1948	1948	22	1						1
1935	Carr WM	06011950	SE	1967	1982	17	16	1970	1975	1980			3
1936	Carrick MD	05121946	NE	1966	1974	19	9	1970					5
1937	Carrick WF	26091952	Ire	1972	1972	19	1						1
1938	Carrington A	14111936	EM	1959	1960	22	2	1960					1
1939	Carrodus F	31051949	NW	1969	1983	20	15	1970	1975	1980			5
1940	Carroll A	06031920	Yks	1948	1949	28	2						1
1941	Carroll J	11051923	Ire	1948	1948	25	1						1
1942	Carroll J	06011957	NW	1975	1978	18	4	1975					2
1943	Carroll M	10091952	Sco	1970	1970	17	1	1970					1
1944	Carroll M	04101961	NE	1981	1982	19	2						1
1945	Carroll TR	18081942	Ire	1966	1972	24	7	1970					2
1946	Carruthers AN	12051915	Sco	1936	1946	21	11	1946					2
1947	Carruthers E	02021953	Sco	1976	1976	23	1						1
1948	Carruthers J	02081926	Sco	1949	1951	23	3	1950					2
1949	Carson AM	12111942	Sco	1960	1964	17	5	1960					2
1950	Carter B	17111938	NW	1957	1961	18	5	1960					2
1951	Carter DF	11091921	SW	1946	1950	24	5	1946	1950				3
1952	Carter G	14021943	NW	1959	1967	16	9	1960	1965				3
1953	Carter HS	21121913	NE	1932	1951	18	20	1946	1950				3

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1	Player	DOB	Region	SeasonBeg	YearEnd	Debut Age	Career	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	No. Clubs
1954	Carter J	23041920	Yks	1946	1946	26	1	1946					1
1955	Carter LA	24101960	SE	1980	1981	19	2	1980					2
1956	Carter M	18041960	NW	1979	1988	19	10	1980	1985				4
1957	Carter R	01051951	NW	1971	1974	20	4						2
1958	Carter R	01061933	SE	1958	1962	25	5	1960					2
1959	Carter RF	11101937	EA	1960	1960	22	1	1960					1
1960	Carter RW	19021954	SW	1974	1987	20	14	1975	1980	1985			5
1961	Carter SA	06091928	SW	1950	1951	21	2	1950					1
1962	Carter SC	23041953	EA	1970	1984	17	15	1970	1975	1980			5
1963	Carter SY	28071916	EM	1938	1946	22	9	1946					1
1964	Carter W	04101933	WM	1951	1965	17	15	1955	1960	1965			3
1965	Carter WHJ	14091945	SE	1965	1966	19	2	1965					1
1966	Cartlidge DT	09041940	EM	1961	1962	21	2						2
1967	Cartwright IJ	13111964	WM	1982	1985	17	4	1985					1
1968	Cartwright JW	05111940	EM	1959	1962	18	4	1960					1
1969	Cartwright L	04031952	Wal	1973	1983	21	11	1975	1980				3
1970	Cartwright P	23081957	NE	1979	1983	22	5	1980					1
1971	Cartwright WJ	11061922	NW	1946	1947	24	2	1946					1
1972	Carty SJ	12011934	Sco	1956	1959	22	4						1
1973	Carver DF	16041944	Yks	1961	1974	17	14	1965	1970				4
1974	Carver GF	27061935	WM	1953	1965	18	13	1955	1960	1965			1
1975	Carver JW	16011965	NE	1985	1985	20	1	1985					1
1976	Casarino AG	01091962	SE	1981	1993	18	13	1985					4
1977	Case JR	18051954	NW	1974	1995	20	22	1975	1980	1985			7
1978	Case N	01091925	NW	1949	1951	24	3	1950					3
1979	Casey GH	25081941	NW	1967	1969	26	3						1
1980	Casey LJ	24051931	SE	1955	1959	24	5	1955					2
1981	Casey TD	05091943	Wal	1961	1961	17	1						1
1982	Casey T	11031930	Nlre	1949	1962	19	14	1950	1955	1960			5
1983	Cashley AR	23101951	SW	1970	1985	18	16	1970	1975	1980	1985		3
1984	Cashmore N	24031939	SE	1964	1964	25	1						1
1985	Caskey WT	12101953	Nlre	1978	1979	24	2						1

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1986	Casley J	27041926	SW	1947	1947	21	1						1
1987	Casper F	09121944	Yks	1962	1975	17	14	1975					2
1988	Cassell J	23041947	NW	1970	1970	23	1	1970					1
1989	Cassells KB	10071957	SE	1978	1988	21	11	1980	1985				5
1990	Cassidy AD	01031959	Yks	1977	1978	18	2						1
1991	Cassidy FJA	20081964	SE	1983	1985	19	3	1985					1
1992	Cassidy JT	01121943	Sco	1963	1964	19	2						2
1993	Cassidy L	10031923	NW	1947	1956	24	10	1950	1955				2
1994	Cassidy N	07121945	EA	1967	1975	21	9	1970	1975				4
1995	Cassidy T	18111950	Nire	1970	1982	19	13	1970	1975	1980			2
1996	Cassidy W	30071917	NE	1935	1952	18	18	1946	1950				1
1997	Cassidy WP	04101940	Sco	1961	1970	20	10	1965	1970				3
1998	Caswell BL	14021956	WM	1972	1986	16	15	1975	1980	1985			3
1999	Caswell PD	16011957	SE	1976	1978	21	3						2
2000	Cater R	02021922	SE	1946	1951	24	6	1946	1950				2
2001	Catleugh GC	11061932	NE	1954	1964	22	11	1955	1960				1