

The Emergence, Development and Establishment of Association Football in Manchester

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Abstract

This thesis provides a commentary on my publications and considers how my research has developed through each phase of my adult life. This is a thesis in support of a PhD by Publication, where the tone and approach aims to appraise my output and consider its contribution and significance, resulting in a more personal account than a traditional PhD allows. It provides an explanation and justification for the publications, positioning them and the period of research within a contemporary context. Within this thesis, I outline the origins of my research and provide a commentary on my writing and research career alongside my personal development. I set my output within the context of the different stages of my career, both in terms of my previous business life and my formal academic engagement, where it should be stressed that each stage has built on the experience I gained during the previous one. My work focuses on the development of football within Manchester and is directly linked to the current state of knowledge and debates within sports history on the origins of football. It adds regional context that informs the wider debate on the game's origins. The historical publications which this synthesis presents illustrate changing scholarly emphases since my first publication in 1989 while also demonstrating a raising in the quality of football writing and research. My work considers football's growth, dependencies, successes and failures, providing evidence supporting considerations on every aspect of the sport. The submitted publications demonstrate my increasing focus on academic development through each phase of my working life. If my works in their entirety could be published as one volume, within its pages would be a coherent, all-encompassing tome documenting research that has challenged perceptions of Mancunian football and highlighting a factual account of how the game was established in the region, how it grew, who was influential on its propagation and development, who attended, who played and how rivalries became established.

Keywords: Association Football; Football; Soccer; Manchester; Collective Biography; Origins

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I would like to thank Manchester Metropolitan University, the Department of Exercise and Sport Science and the International Sport and Leisure History cluster for their faith in my abilities and their support over recent years. My supervisory team, Dave Day, Samantha Oldfield and Melanie Tebbutt, for their support and advice. I am also grateful to Margaret Roberts for her skills as a genealogical researcher that have aided my biographical investigations. Craig Horner, from the Manchester Centre For Regional History, and Claire Turner, from the Manchester Histories Festival, must also be thanked for both suggesting in the same week, that I contact Dave Day about my academic ambitions during discussions on my publication *Manchester A Football History* and future intentions almost four years ago.

Dave Day, my director of studies, has been especially supportive since I first contacted him to enquire about the possibility of developing my academic career. It is appropriate to state that without Dave's enthusiasm and support I would not have been able to make this journey. Working alongside Dave has been inspiring and, together with Sam Oldfield, he has encouraged me throughout and enabled my career to develop in the manner I had always hoped.

My family, as always with my research and writing, has been supportive throughout. My wife and children have enabled me to dedicate these last few years to this research and have never failed in their support. They have shared my vision and the outputs of my research and study are as much their successes as mine. Thanks, as always.

Finally, it is appropriate to remember some of the influential figures who provided guidance during the earlier phases of my writing career. Keith Mellor gave me the opportunity to produce my first book in 1989. Sadly, Keith died during the research phase, but it was his initial encouragement that set me off on this path. Julian Baskcomb taught me that sports writing should be well-researched, informative and accessible by all. He always believed that it was quality that mattered and with his guidance my career progressed. Established author Andy Ward was another key figure who provided advice at a crucial stage of my writing career.

There have been many other influences on my research and writing over the years. It is impossible to list them all here, but I would like to thank everyone who has offered support and guidance during my 28 years plus writing career.

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Publications

Gary James, *Manchester: the City Years* (Halifax: James Ward, 2012)

ISBN 9780955812774

Tim Ashmore, Gary James et al, *The Big Book of United* (Halifax: James Ward, 2011)

ISBN 9780955812750

Gary James, *Joe Mercer, OBE: Football with a Smile* (Halifax: James Ward, 2010)

ISBN 9780955812743

Gary James, *Manchester: A Football History* (Halifax: James Ward, 2010)

ISBN 9780955812736

Gary James, *The Big Book of City* (Halifax: James Ward, 2009)

ISBN 9780955812729

Gary James, *Manchester: A Football History* (Halifax: James Ward, 2008)

ISBN 9780955812705

Gary James, *Manchester City the Complete Record* (Derby: Breedon Books, 2006)

ISBN 9781859835128

Gary James, *Manchester City: 125 Years of Football* (Altrincham: At Heart Publications, 2006)

ISBN 9781845471033

Gary James, *Manchester City Hall of Fame* (London: Hamlyn, 2005)

ISBN 9780600612827

Gary James, *Farewell to Maine Road* (Leicester: Polar Publishing, 2003)

ISBN 9781899538195

Gary James, *Manchester: the Greatest City* (Leicester: Polar Publishing, 2002)

ISBN 9781899538225

Mark Brown and Gary James, *Atkinson for England* (Manchester: Empire, 2001)
ISBN 9781901746174

Gary James, *Manchester: the Greatest City* (Leicester: Polar Publishing, 1997)
ISBN 9781899538096

Gary James, *Football with a Smile: The Authorised Biography of Joe Mercer, OBE*
(Leicester: ACL & Polar, 1993)
ISBN 9780951486290

Steve Cawley and Gary James, *The Pride of Manchester* (Leicester: ACL & Polar,
1991)
ISBN 9780951486214

Gary James and Keith Mellor, *From Maine Men to Banana Citizens* (Nottingham:
Temple Press, 1989)
ISBN 9781870010086

In addition to the above I have provided historical support and proof reading to a
variety of other publications, such as Paul Lake, *I'm Not Really Here: A Life of Two
Halves* (London: Century, 2011).

Book Chapters

Gary James. 'The Sporting Broads', In *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day, (Crewe,
Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014),
195-212.
ISBN 9781905476954

Journal Articles

Gary James and Dave Day. 'FA Cup Success, Football Infrastructure and the
Establishment of Manchester's Footballing Identity', *Soccer & Society*, 16, No. 2-3
(2015), 200-216.

Gary James and Dave Day. 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Victorian Manchester', *Sport in History*, 34, No. 1 (2014): 49-74.

Gary James. 'Manchester's Footballing Pioneers, 1863-1904: A Collective Biography', Under Review at the *International Journal of the History of Sport*

Articles

Gary James, 'Gone but not Forgotten: Maine Road, Manchester', *Football Weekends*, March, 2015

Gary James, 'Moving Manchester', *When Saturday Comes*, April, 2011

Gary James, 'Manchester City and their Managers', *When Saturday Comes*, January, 2010

Gary James, 'Alternative Manchester', *When Saturday Comes*, March, 2008

Gary James, 'Swift, Frank Victor (1913–1958)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Since January 2011 commissioned articles have appeared in the *2014 League Cup Final match programme*, the *Manchester Evening News* (a series of eleven articles on Manchester City's 1981 FA Cup final starting line-up, and further pieces on the all-Manchester 1926 FA Cup semi-final and the 1934 FA Cup quarter-final between Manchester City and Stoke City) and in Football Association produced match programmes (two FA Cup final, two FA Cup semi-final and three Community Shield match programmes).

Throughout the period 1999 to 2014 the Manchester City match programme has included regular articles focusing on the club's history. This has varied in length, but typically is three to four pages of content. During 2014-2015 a regular feature 'Talking City with Gary James' has featured interviews with former players, personalities and supporters connected to the club, alongside other historical material. That period, 1999 to 2015, also included commissioned articles for the *Times*, the *Manchester Evening News* and general football magazines, such as the *Footballer* and *Four-Four-Two*.

Television/Video

Researcher, writer and co-producer of the six part TV series *The History Of Football*, Channel M, 2007.

Researcher and script editor of the video *The Maine Road to Glory: the Official History Of Manchester City*, Fremantle, 2002.

Conference Chair/Panelist

Gary James, (chair at International Sports & Leisure History Symposium, Manchester Metropolitan University, Crewe, February 2015).

Gary James, (chair at Fan Oppositions, Football and Communities of Resistance, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, June 2014).

Gary James, 'Plenary Panel: Sustaining Football Communities' (panelist at the MMU Football Conference: Football, Community and Sustainability, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, June 2013).

Conference Presentations

Gary James, 'Manchester Football 1914-1918' (paper presented at the National Football Museum, Urbis, Manchester, March 2015).

Gary James, 'Manchester's Footballing Pioneers: A Collective Biography 1863-1904' (paper presented at the British Society of Sports History Annual Conference, Leeds Metropolitan University, Leeds, September 2014).

Gary James, 'Manchester Football Writing Festival: Debate' (chaired a debate with leading sports journalists as part of the festival at Waterstones Deansgate, Manchester, September 2014).

Gary James, 'Manchester A Football History: A City United' (lecture at the Booth Centre for the Homeless, Manchester, July 2014).

Gary James, 'Football in Lancashire at the Outbreak of War' (paper presented at the Sport and Leisure on the Eve of the First World War, Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, Manchester Metropolitan University, Crewe, June 2014).

Gary James, 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester, 1850-1904' (paper presented at the Football & its Communities, Manchester Metropolitan University Football Cluster conference, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, June 2014).

Gary James, 'Manchester's Footballing Pioneers: A Collective Biography 1863-1904' (paper presented at the Social History Society Annual Conference, University of Northumbria, Newcastle, April 2014).

Gary James, 'Manchester's Footballing Birth' (paper presented at the National Football Museum, Urbis, Manchester, March 2014).

Gary James, 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1850-1904' (paper presented at the Manchester Histories Festival, Manchester Town Hall, Manchester, March 2014).

Gary James, 'Researching Manchester's Football History' (paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University history research seminar series, Department of History, Manchester, October, 2013).

Gary James, 'How the FA Cup Gave Manchester its Footballing Identity' (paper presented at Football 150 Conference, National Football Museum, Manchester, September 2013).

Gary James, 'The Sporting Broads' (paper presented at the British Society of Sports History annual conference, Wychwood Park, Cheshire, September, 2013).

Gary James, 'The Boys in Blue: Manchester City on Film' (film show presented at Cornerhouse in conjunction with the North West Film Archive, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, April 2013). Repeated in May 2013.

Gary James, 'Joe Mercer' (lecture at the Goodison Park: 120th Anniversary symposium, Museum of Liverpool Life, Liverpool, November 2012).

Gary James, 'Manchester City 2003-2009: A Case Study' (paper presented at the International Football Institute: Football in Museums Symposium, National Football Museum, Manchester, September 2012).

Gary James, 'Manchester: A City United' (paper presented at the Manchester Histories Festival, Friends Meeting House, Manchester, March 2012).

Gary James, Manchester's Debate on Foreign Ownership' (chaired a debate with prominent Mancunian football supporters representing Manchester City, Manchester United, FC United and Dr. Dee Hynes, as part of the Manchester Histories Festival at Manchester Town Hall, Manchester, March 2012).

Gary James, 'The History of Manchester City' (a series of six presentations to the Manchester City Football Club Academy players and staff on aspects of Manchester City's history, including the formation of the club, the significance of supporters and similar themes; presented at the Manchester City Academy, Platt Lane, Manchester, and on visits to key locations in the series, August 2011 to March 2012).

Gary James, 'Researching a Club with "No History"' (paper presented to volunteers, historians, project personnel at 'Project Blue' - an initiative aimed at establishing a historical framework at Manchester City Football Club - at Etihad Stadium, Manchester, December 2011).

Gary James, 'The Development of Football in Manchester' (paper presented at the Manchester Histories Festival, Manchester Town Hall, Manchester, February 2011).

Gary James, 'The Twists and Turns of Manchester Football' (paper presented at a series of events marking the Manchester United-Manchester City game of February 12, 2011; presented at Waterstones, Deansgate, Manchester, February 2011).

Gary James, 'Manchester City's Birth' (lecture to the senior management team at Manchester City Football Club, Etihad Stadium, Manchester, October 2010).

Gary James, 'Joe Mercer' (lecture at the Everton Heritage Society, Goodison Park, Liverpool, September 2010).

Gary James, 'The Development of Football in Manchester' (paper presented at the Manchester Histories Festival, Manchester Town Hall, Manchester, March 2009).

Gary James, 'Manchester Central' (lecture at the People's Teams; Past and Present exhibition, Museum of the City, Urbis, Manchester, July 2008).

In addition to the above there have been in excess of thirty talks since 2005 at supporters clubs in Greater Manchester, West Yorkshire, Cheshire and New York; talks at local history societies in the Manchester region; and at primary, secondary and grammar schools in Manchester and West Yorkshire.

THE EMERGENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL IN MANCHESTER

STRUCTURE OF THIS SUBMISSION

This thesis provides a commentary on my publications and is organised into nine sections, commencing with an introduction outlining the field of study and providing background on my research career development. A section on methodology follows, before a section placing those publications selected for this thesis into context, and one considering their coherence. This thesis then highlights the original contribution to knowledge and the implications of the work presented. A further brief section considers how my research is developing and the activities currently undertaken, before the final section includes the sample chapters and published papers forming part of this submission.

In terms of the style of this thesis, all references are documented utilising the Taylor & Francis Reference Style H (British Chicago), although footnotes have been included instead of endnotes.¹ It should be highlighted that the writing convention for producing a PhD by Publication is to write a commentary in the first person of the candidate's publication record.² The tone and approach aims to appraise my output and consider its contribution and significance, highlighting the strengths, development areas, and central thread of the work. This approach results in a more personal account of the candidate's life story than a traditional PhD allows and provides an explanation and justification for the publications, positioning them and the period of research within a contemporary context. In the main, a PhD by Publication will consider either a writer's entire career, or will focus on articles, usually three or four, published in academic journals within the timeframe of the research, typically two to three years. Some, like this thesis, will combine recent peer reviewed academic journal articles with material produced over a career,³ although for ease of consumption a self-imposed restriction

¹ *Taylor & Francis Reference Style H*. Taylor & Francis. Available from: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/authors/style/reference/tf_H.pdf [Accessed March 13, 2015].

² *Guidelines for PhD by Publication and PhD by Practice* (Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University, 2013).

³ Theses reviewed for styling and approach include Ian McDonald, 'Critiquing Sport: Policies and Practices' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Brighton, 2007); Kelly, Stephen. 'An Oral History of Footballing Communities at Liverpool and Manchester United Football Clubs' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2009); Fred Vermorel, 'Biography & Identity, Celebrity & Fanhood' (unpublished PhD thesis, Kingston University, 2011); Melanie Julia Tebbutt, 'Making Talking and Walking: Changing Narratives of Gender, Class and Leisure' (unpublished PhD thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University, 2010); Peter Blundell Jones, 'A Forty Year Encounter with Hans Scharoun' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2013); Steven P. Carroll, 'Risk-Based Approach to On-Site Wastewater

has been placed on the quantity and volume of material enclosed. Nevertheless, the material selected provides a good cross section of research performed and writing activity to enable a proper assessment of the quality of research, writing, rigour and academic development achieved during the period under scrutiny. Within the pages of this thesis, I intend to demonstrate that my research is both original and rigorous and that I have progressed through various stages of development, adapting my writing style and academic delivery over time, leading to the present day where I am producing well-regarded material, presented in academic publications, presentations and lectures, alongside public engagement initiatives. My work is coherent and, from the beginning of my research to the present day, has been based on strong research methodologies with recent endeavours lifting my overall production to achieve high standards of academic rigour. When the full range of my work is considered, I believe my work has addressed significant omissions within the specific topic area of Manchester's social history and within the wider literature of football history. My work makes a distinct and original contribution to the historiography of sport and my recent endeavours have added considerably to our understanding of the origins of association football within the Manchester region, and the implications of this research for the national development of the sport.

Within this thesis, I outline the origins of my research and provide a commentary on my writing and research career alongside my personal development. I set my output within the context of the different stages of my career, both in terms of my previous business life and my formal academic engagement, where it should be stressed that each stage of my writing and, indeed every book produced, has built on the experience I gained during the production of the previous one. My desire to improve continually in terms of my own personal attributes and in the rigour and quality of my output has meant that each publication has helped progress my style and improved my research capabilities.

Treatment System Siting Design and Management' (unpublished PhD thesis, Queensland University of Technology, 2005); Richard Rodford Riddell, 'Submission for PhD by Publication' (unpublished PhD thesis, Bath Spa University, 2012).

INTRODUCTION

The publications which form the basis of this proposal for a doctorate by publication comprise chapters from four single-authored texts together with three refereed journal articles (one of which is currently under review) and a chapter within another academic publication, c.82,000 words in total. This published content focuses on the development of Manchester football as documented and researched over a writing career of some 25 years with this thesis providing a critical appraisal of these works, selected from a considerably wider body of work produced, including academic journal articles, academic book chapters, books, newspaper articles, footballing literature articles, television scripts and related writing. Sports history is an area of academic study that has gained wider prominence in recent decades, with football history in particular becoming a rich area for research, although the sport had received little attention until the 1980s when the first serious academic histories were produced. Tony Mason's *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*, published in 1980, is regarded as the first academic study into the formative years of the sport and, together with Kenneth Sheard and Eric Dunning's *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football*, published in 1979, has shaped the way social and sporting historians view the origins of the sport. Both studies remain seminal texts but, some of the views they contain, particularly on the origins of association football, have been challenged in recent years. This has led to opposing views within the academic community where some continue to support the 'orthodox' perspective, believing that the public schools played the lead role, while others subscribe to a 'revisionist' position, arguing that the public schools were not as influential as traditionalists believe and that the lower-middle-classes were more relevant to the game's ultimate development.⁴ This debate was comprehensively summarised in *The Association Game: A History of British Football* by Matthew Taylor, published 2007, but continues to attract attention in academic journals. While the debate has rumbled on, the history of individual football clubs has received significant attention in the publishing world, but academic studies of individual clubs and regional football have been less prolific. With Manchester in particular, there have been many popularist publications about the game in the region but these have tended to focus on the history of Manchester United, rather than on the other clubs or Manchester football

⁴ For historiography see Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, 'The Problem with Revisionism: How New Data on the Origins of Modern Football Have Led to Hasty Conclusions', *Soccer and Society*, 14, no. 4 (2013), 429-445; Peter Swain, 'The Origins of Football Debate: The Continuing Demise of the Dominant Paradigm, 1852-1856', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31, no.17 (2014), 2212-2229.

generally.⁵ From the earliest years of publishing on professional football, those writing about the sport in the North-West focused on their own clubs and, in particular, the central Lancashire professional clubs that helped to develop the Football League and, before that, the Lancashire Football Association.⁶ This meant that material on Manchester's formative years had been limited while historians of the game promoted the role played in football's development by their own clubs and, as Taylor commented when considering the same individuals' analysis of the history of the Football League, their approach had been to write 'uncritically and with no analytical perspective'.⁷ Taylor's words are appropriate as it was, primarily, the same men writing the history of Lancashire football as those writing about League football and they established uncritical analyses of their clubs, committees and social networks at the expense of those from outside of their sphere.⁸ These accounts set the tone for the accepted history of football within the North-West and were added to by a multitude of post-1945 publications on Manchester United together with a much smaller sample of Manchester City focused works. While these were interesting studies, and they have contributed to our knowledge in exposing some 'facts' about these organisations, they often lacked a critical analysis of the subject and many of these repeated, or even worse, established the myths that subsequently became regarded as Manchester's footballing story. The majority of these texts lack academic rigour and a methodological approach, which is absolutely necessary to enable a full understanding of the sport's wider social, political and cultural contexts within Mancunian society.

By the mid 1980s, Manchester's football history had become focused on, primarily, the exploits of Manchester United following the Munich Air Disaster in 1958, with the glamour of George Best and United's 1968 European Cup triumph central to the city's sporting folklore.⁹ This is where my own research came in, with my decision to research and publish in 1987. It is appropriate to note that my research career has

⁵ Examples include Percy M Young, *Manchester United* (London: Heinemann, 1960); Tom Tyrell and David Meek, *Manchester United: the Official History* (London: Hamlyn, 1988); Stephen F. Kelly, *Back Page United: a Century of Newspaper Coverage of Manchester United* (London: Queen Anne Press).

⁶ *The Book of Football* (London: Amalgamated Press, 1906); C.E. Sutcliffe and F. Hargreaves, *The History of the Lancashire Football Association* (Blackburn: Geo. Toulmin and Sons, 1928), 17-18.

⁷ Matthew Taylor, *The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football in England, 1900-1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), xxi.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xxi; *The Book of Football* (London: Amalgamated Press, 1906); C.E. Sutcliffe and F. Hargreaves, *The History of the Lancashire Football Association* (Blackburn: Geo. Toulmin and Sons, 1928).

⁹ The period from 1958 to 1980 saw an increase in publications on Manchester United from three 'lightweight' histories pre-1958 to a further 33 by 1980. These primarily focused on 1950s to 1970s United and included Frank Taylor, *The Day a Team Died* (London: Stanley Paul, 1960); Percy M Young, *Manchester United* (London: Heinemann, 1960); Roger MacDonald, *Manchester United in Europe* (London: Pelham, 1968); and Tom Tyrell, *Manchester United: the Religion* (London: Kaye & Ward, 1969). The United player George Best was also the subject of seven biographical works during that period, including *George Best: the Inside Story of Soccer's Super-star* (London: Clipper, 1969); David Meek, *Anatomy of a Football Star: George Best* (London: Arthur Barker, 1970).

seen three distinct phases, with the first phase coming between 1987 and 2002, at which stage I was employed by a large financial institution and I was an avid collector of football literature, with my research and writing being a part-time pastime. The second phase (2002-2009) can be summarised as a period during which I utilised my research and business strengths to raise my writing to new levels while also gaining widespread recognition as a leading football historian. The third phase (since 2009) culminates in the production of this thesis and marks a period when my career has become an academic one. During phase one, I produced my first publication, which was a pictorial history of Manchester City, and followed a similar approach to the existing literature, utilising those earlier publications as a foundation on which to develop my own research. Although my overall intention was not to publish widely, but to focus on one club, publication in 1989 encouraged me to develop my research further as I sought to make an original contribution to the history of Mancunian football. My focus widened over the years from, initially, the history of Manchester City, through to all aspects of the game's birth and progression in the region, providing a distinctive contribution to the history of the sport and the region, since I have always tried to put the football narrative within the social, economic and political context. The trajectory of my research increased and decreased according to personal commitments and employment developments throughout phase one of my research life with a growing family and demanding career meaning opportunity for academic development was limited. Nevertheless, the desire was there to progress in terms of quantity of material produced, quality of research and significance of writing undertaken, with my own archive of footballing publications increasing as I sought out and purchased a variety of historical and contemporary publications. My research strategy throughout phase one was to gain a thorough understanding of the newspaper sources available and the appropriate archives for my research. Although my works have focused on different aspects of the game's development since my first publication in 1989, each has utilised a strong methodological approach, drawing on archival research, including newspapers, football literature and ephemera, trade directories, attendance figures, census information, shareholder records and cost of living data, and qualitative sources such as oral testimony, the collection of which has enhanced my skills as an oral historian over the years.

Throughout phase one, and at each stage of my career since then, I have performed extensive literature searches to determine what existing material I could draw on, as well as to determine whether or not the subject was already well documented. My aim was never to replicate existing research, and I focused my energies on identifying gaps

in the literature or rediscovering material of worth and enhancing our knowledge with extensive primary research. For example, when the decision was made to research the life of Joe Mercer, I analysed all existing biographies on Mercer and his contemporaries and followed this with my own primary research on his life through the usual sources and by interviewing his friends, colleagues and family. Prior to my first Manchester City FC publication there had only been four books, excluding annuals and pamphlets, written on the club throughout its history with the single existing historical account being described as 'rather lightweight'.¹⁰ Similarly, previous texts had never considered the rivalry of Manchester's clubs or the history of the region's engagement with football prior to the *Pride of Manchester*, published 1991, or *Manchester: A Football History*, first published 2008,¹¹ and even the pre-Busby history of Manchester United, as noted earlier, was given scant coverage.

My research strategy has varied based on the publications and areas being investigated, although from the first publication in 1989 through to my most recent work the emphasis has always been on identifying, researching and acquiring primary sources. This was supported by my professional career as a business/systems analyst where quality of data and an understanding of processes was vital. The training and career development experienced professionally, which necessitated a thorough, investigative approach, aided my football research and supported my personal development. Those techniques contributed to my attempts at revealing and uncovering historical facts and aided my overall research and writing in my personal life, while also helping to develop skills that were transferable. Throughout phase one, my business career provided a good disciplined approach to investigation and provided strong analytic techniques. Although this may not be the preferred method for developing a writing career it did aid my contribution to football research and improve my writing techniques. The principles and skillset proved of immense use throughout, and also led to an understanding that audiences include people of differing experience, knowledge, expertise, commitment and interest. As a result, my own writing style and approach was continually adapted based on my audience's needs and levels of expertise, while the in-depth nature of my football research became recognised for its quality.

¹⁰ Peter J Seddon, *A Football Compendium: A Comprehensive Guide to the Literature of Association Football* (Boston Spa: The British Library, 1995), 68. Referring to Andrew Ward, *The Manchester City Story* (Derby: Breedon Books, 1984).

¹¹ Prior to *The Pride of Manchester* the only publication, other than regional annuals and handbooks, focusing on Manchester football was Derek Brandon, *The A-Z of Manchester Football* (London: Boondoggle, 1978). This was a small paperback providing sentences on simple facts, such as Attendances, for each letter of the alphabet. For details of all Manchester based publications see Seddon, *A Football Compendium*, 68-74.

The development of my business skills aided this approach, and I developed my knowledge of football history by considering a wide variety of primary sources, often searching beyond the material produced on the Manchester clubs to determine, for example, how events and games were perceived from an opponent's viewpoint. Initially, my research centred on the newspaper archives at Manchester Central Library and at the British Library's newspaper archive, together with traditional football literature, but this expanded to include many other archives and sources such as share registers, trade directories, diaries, correspondence and online ancestry/census material. I also carried out significant oral history research, gathering material from over 100 semi-structured interviews with supporters, administrators, players, officials and others with information and experience of the development of the game in Manchester. The skills required to perform these interviews, such as preparation, and the ability to make each interview productive, have developed throughout my career, and have added to my reputation. The oral testimony gathered has been utilised alongside archival research to add context to the narrative of my work and has aimed at developing a greater understanding of how the game was experienced by those participating as players, managers and administrators alongside those of supporters, journalists and the general public. Some of the oral history testimony gathered in the initial stages of my research has been revisited in recent years as my experience and skills have developed, allowing the significance of those phase one interviews to be reassessed alongside archival material that has subsequently become available. For example, interviews conducted in the early 1990s with Joe Mercer's widow Norah and son David have now been compared to, and considered alongside, recently uncovered archival material at the Army Physical Training Corps, to gain a greater understanding of Joe Mercer's army career and coaching development.

During phase one, my writing career and business life developed in parallel, and this period strengthened my approach, translating itself into an increasing visibility of my work with leading national magazines and newspapers seeking my involvement, including the production of several historically based articles for *The Times* on footballing matters, most, but not all, with a Manchester angle.¹² During this time I remained in full employment within the banking industry with research and associated writing occurring alongside the pressures of employment. Research had to be

¹² *The Times* articles appeared during the 2001-02 football season as historical pieces and included features on England-Scotland in 1946, Ipswich Town under Bobby Robson, the footballer Trevor Francis and the Munich Air Disaster, in addition to Manchester City related pieces.

performed at weekends and during the evenings at public and private libraries around the country, while writing had to be planned carefully to enable every free moment to be utilised. By the end of the 1990s I was keen to focus full time on my research and writing but, with a young family, the need for financial stability limited my options. Nevertheless, I saw an opportunity to move closer to my aim when, in 2001, I took steps to encourage Manchester City Football Club's chief executive Chris Bird and chairman David Bernstein to establish a museum at the new stadium being planned for the club. Working with City, I staged a test exhibition as a volunteer and created displays of football history and memorabilia.¹³ The success of this led to the club deciding to establish a museum, and from the summer of 2002 the chance came to combine my business expertise with my knowledge of historical research to project manage the creation of the museum and stadium tour for the club. This role signified the beginning of phase two of my career, as I had taken the decision to reduce my working week to approximately three days, during which I oversaw the development of the Manchester City museum, and to dedicate the other two days to my research and writing. It brought me into contact with academics researching football based at the National Football Museum and the International Football Institute, among others, but more significantly, it also brought a realisation that my writing was much closer in approach and style to academic histories and analyses of the game than I had thought. This period gave me confidence to focus on my research and for a period of almost seven years I managed my time effectively, spending three days per week at Manchester City and the rest focusing on my research and writing. A period of reflection came during 2008 culminating in the decision to leave the football club museum to focus solely on taking my writing into a more academic sphere and to developing further the related techniques and knowledge. The twenty years or so spent pursuing a career in business/systems analysis and project management had added skills, experience, understanding and rigour, with the level of research being consistent throughout. However, I recognised that the pursuit of an academic career would strengthen my abilities, quality and skills further with the opportunity to combine academic rigour with the business skills I possessed.

In 2008, I also suggested to Channel M, at that time a TV station established to broadcast primarily within the boundaries of Greater Manchester, the idea of writing a TV series on the history of football in the region. I went on to research, write and co-

¹³ The larger exhibition was staged in May 2002 and attracted over 10,000 visitors over two days. The exhibits included a variety of objects loaned for the occasion, together with chronological displays outlining the history of the club.

produce a six part series, which featured the history of the game via the stories of each of the region's League/former League clubs. I utilised the material I was researching for *Manchester: A Football History*, and delivered bespoke television interviews to add flavour and variety to each episode. During this period, I also wrote historical items for the *Manchester Evening News*, and continued to write historical pieces for the Manchester City match programme, something I had been doing regularly since 1999, as well as writing material for the Manchester United match programme.¹⁴ These commissioned articles, together with the television series, added to my experience of tailoring outputs for particular audiences, and gave further validity to my growing reputation as a football, rather than club-specific, historian, and came at a time when I was invited on to the judging panel for a *Times*' sports book award, alongside distinguished writers and broadcasters.¹⁵ The involvement in television production had followed experience of an earlier project from 2001 where I provided content and script edited a video for Granada TV on the history of Manchester City. Phase two ended when I chose to leave Manchester City in 2009, although it should be noted that I have continued to provide historical advice and direction to the club in the years that have followed and they continue to utilise my skills and regard me as their historical consultant, or historian, despite having a range of enthusiasts, historians and volunteers offering their services. Manchester United, the National Football Museum and regional county football associations have also consulted me on historical matters concerning their own histories during my academic career,¹⁶ with research discussions currently being held with the Manchester County Football Association, the Sheffield and Hallamshire County Football Association and FC United of Manchester.¹⁷

By the end of phase two, my Manchester-focused publications had provided a breadth of coverage of Manchester's footballing development, achievements, grounds, games, players and supporters. It is appropriate to record that these publications comprise of two main groups, with the first documenting the development of football within the city, considering the main clubs and activities without widespread interpretation, while the second group provides a more interpretive analysis of the sport's growth and early

¹⁴ From 1994 to 1999 Manchester City's match programme included occasional pieces, such as a four page pullout on the history of the Kippax Stand produced to mark the end of terracing at the stadium, but this became a regular series of history features from 1999 through to the end of the 2014-15 season. Both Manchester United's match programme and the *Manchester Evening News* published articles during 2007-08, primarily on the Munich Air Disaster and players involved.

¹⁵ 'The Electorate', *The Times Football Handbook Monthly*, April 14, 2001, 16.

¹⁶ Manchester United's curator, Mark Wylie, has frequently consulted me on matters such as the club's formative years, wartime players, and name change, while the Manchester County Football Association have sought my advice on their own formative years.

¹⁷ During 2015 I have been consulted by all three organisations who are keen to utilise their history on projects concerned with educating their staff, members and players.

development. The third phase of my career has seen my research approach develop with participation at conferences, both within the sporting academic circuit but also through presenting at social history conferences, and by lecturing to degree and foundation students. My approach has been to combine experience gained within the academic community with ongoing public engagement through activities such as talks at bookshops and supporters' clubs. These activities also demonstrate the impact and reach of my research. I feel it is important to engage with both the academic and non-academic communities as this aids my own development and ensures research can be disseminated. I have also lectured on football history to the Academy players of Manchester City Football Club and maintained my writing in football literature, including the match programmes of both Manchester clubs and those produced for FA Cup semi-finals, finals, and League Cup finals and Community Shield games, and have written articles for newspapers.¹⁸ Since embarking on PhD study during phase three of my career, I have ensured my writing has adopted high standards of academic rigour and have strengthened my methodological approach where appropriate. This has resulted in high impact papers being published in academic journals and publications and, when combined with my recent publications, these provide strong evidence of the depth and broad range of my research. Supporting my own published material, the last couple of years have seen my further academic development as I have performed lecturing to undergraduates and provided supervision of final year projects in sports history, where I have helped others focus on their own research projects. This thesis marks the end of phase three of my career, during which I have developed academically by presenting at conferences, publishing in journals and reviewing other academics' papers for journals,¹⁹ and the beginning of phase four, during which I intend to strengthen my academic career further with research into the wider area of sport history.

¹⁸ These include a series of articles for the *Manchester Evening News*, appearing during 2011, on City's previous FA Cup final players and previous FA Cup games.

¹⁹ I have recently started reviewing submissions for *Cultural and Social History*, the journal of the Social History Society, and during 2014 was invited on to the National Football Museum's voting panel for their pre-1945 inductees.

METHODOLOGY

My earliest writing and research adopted a traditional approach within sport history, following empirical and fact-based theories where primary material is researched, gathered and interpreted to develop a representation of that sport, individual, club or time period.²⁰ However, my approach has developed over time, particularly since focusing on academic study in recent years, to consider how this research can be placed within a broader cultural context in a manner suggested by Hill.²¹ The purpose of performing my research has always been to interpret the facts to establish the truth, and while my earliest efforts assumed facts could tell the 'real truth',²² research for my second publication in the early 1990s led to an understanding that primary sources, such as newspapers, would already have interpreted and presented their news based on the policies, politics and interests of the proprietor, editor or journalist. The research that led me to this conclusion came when I was analysing match reports for games played between Manchester City and Manchester United during the early twentieth century. I discovered that Manchester's two main nightly newspapers, the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* and the *Manchester Evening News*, gave different reports of the same game, reaching conclusions that were, in some cases, significantly different. Further investigation led to the discovery that one newspaper was biased towards Manchester United, due to the provision of an office for the newspaper at United's Bank Street ground, while the other newspaper was owned by the chairman of Manchester City.²³ That recognition of influence led to the decision to use multiple sources and, where possible, to seek out conflicting reports to help establish a 'narrative truth'.²⁴ I recognised that I was in a position whereby my own published outputs would be adding to our perception of history and that it was vital that I recognised the subjectivity of the original author or publication and of any subsequent interpretations of that source. During the first phase of my writing career I came to this decision through pragmatism as I was trying to document the history of the contests

²⁰ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow, *The Nature of History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004); Douglas Booth, 'Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 9, no.4 (2005): 429-483.

²¹ Jeffrey Hill, *Sport in History: an Introduction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

²² Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (London: Routledge, 2005), 83.

²³ This research was for a book providing match reports and background to every Manchester City-Manchester United competitive fixture: Steve Cawley and Gary James, *The Pride of Manchester* (Leicester: Polar Publishing, 1991). For clarification on the interests and impact of the local media on Manchester's football clubs see the chapter on media in Gary James, *Manchester A Football History* (Halifax: James Ward, 2008), 427-448.

²⁴ Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

between Manchester's two main clubs in a fair, balanced manner and realised that focusing on one newspaper would have given unfair attention to the club given prominence within that publication. As football clubs' supporters also form their own interpretations of an event, it was important to strip away prejudices and seek the truth.

By the time I was embarking on my PhD study during the third phase of my career, I was able to understand that triangulation of sources was vital and that searching for a narrative truth was an appropriate method of interpretation, and my approach began to develop further. During this period, I acted as a 'constructionist', seeking to understand sport while also using sport 'as a lens through which to understand the historical development of the wider society'.²⁵ This third phase has coincided with the arrival of digital newspaper archives, which have enabled keyword searches to be performed on a wide variety of regional, national and international newspapers. This has made the historian's work easier in some respects as it reduces the amount of time required to find evidence from the proverbial 'needle in a haystack' approach required on microfilm to, in some cases, a detailed search of keywords, dates and topics.²⁶ However, it has also created new concerns and issues that the historian needs to be aware of, such as the dangers of 'keyword blinkers', where the direct arrival at a source via a search may have bypassed its wider context.²⁷ A further concern is the temptation to accept that only digitised content is worthy of research and therefore the findings those online searches bring are given prominence at the expense of, potentially, more significant findings housed within newspapers not yet digitised. This is particularly relevant with my own sports and regional historical research where only a relatively small sample of the newspapers produced on sport in Manchester and for the region have been digitised. Key newspapers such as the *Athletic News*, *Umpire*, *Gorton Reporter*, *Manchester Evening Chronicle* and *Manchester City News* have not been digitised and even those within the region that have been, such as the *Manchester Courier*, are missing issues and, in some cases, whole years. In my own research I treat digitised newspapers as useful but not definitive, and always supplement findings in that environment with the more traditional forms of newspaper research. It is also essential to recognise that finding material within a digitised newspaper is only part of the historian's work and that digitised content cannot be 'treated as a mere bucket of words

²⁵ Richard Holt, 'Historians and the History of Sport', *Sport in History* 34, no.1 (2013), 2-3.

²⁶ Martin Johnes and Bob Nicholson, 'Sport History and Digital Archives in Practice', in Gary Osmond and Murray G Phillips (eds), *Sport History in the Digital Era* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 2015), 55.

²⁷ Adrian Bingham, 'The digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians', *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no.2 (2010), 225-231.

to be plundered for examples and evidence'.²⁸ Individual references do not provide the full story and triangulation and comparison of sources is essential.

The authenticity of sources has been important throughout my work, but alongside this I have also had to ensure my own independence and objectivity as a historian. It is vital objectivity is maintained and, as Holt comments, 'history is an almost inexhaustible source' of facts and from which 'any number of conclusions can be drawn according to the inclination of the historian'.²⁹ The need to read widely, critically and contextually is essential, and all of my publications draw extensively on primary and secondary sources, although it should be noted that my published books were produced within a commercial framework where restrictions were placed on conventions such as footnotes and endnotes. I have always insisted that bibliographies have been included where possible and have taken steps to reference material within the main text of my books and within an acknowledgement section as a matter of course. My research during the 1980s began with secondary sources, such as club histories and biographies, and a variety of primary sources. Initially, these were contemporary newspapers, but grew to include other contemporary publications, films, illustrations, diaries, trade directories, periodicals, share registers, census material, maps, church magazines, meeting minutes, reports and accounts, personal correspondence, diaries and football related ephemera such as tickets, programmes, posters, leaflets, fixture cards, postcards and photographs.³⁰ These have been supported by the use of secondary sources to add context to my work, and it should be recorded that each publication used a variety of sources with the quantity and diversity of sources utilised varying depending on the nature of the publication and/or subject, while my own skills as a researcher, writer, academic and oral historian have been developed in parallel. Often I have utilised a variety of primary sources to reach a conclusion, for example, via a letter in a 1914 newspaper article I was able to trace the lives of individuals through census material, trade directories, maps and match reports, and I was able to establish the precise location of Hulme Athenaeum's first pitch.³¹ This triangulation of sources also helped to clarify the date range of footballing activity at the site and

²⁸ Johnes and Nicholson, *Sport History in the Digital Era*, 71.

²⁹ Holt, *Sport in History* 34, no.1 (2013), 3.

³⁰ Examples of archives utilised include the family collections of Joe Mercer, Sam Cowan and Joshua Parlby, and the archives of Manchester City, Manchester United, Everton, Arsenal, Tranmere Rovers, the Army Physical Training Corps, National Football Museum, Public Records Office, The National Archives, British Library, Manchester County Football Association, Sheffield County Football Association, Rugby Museum, Lancashire Archives, and public libraries/collections across Britain.

³¹ 'Letter from J Warrington', *Manchester City News*, February 14, 1914, 6. This letter was compared with census material, maps of the area, match reports, trade directories and other primary sources.

continues to lead on to further research into this period of Manchester's football history.³²

Although archival research, triangulation of sources and the establishment of a historical truth has been my main method of historical research, it is important to stress that I have adopted multiple approaches in my research with another significant focus being that of performing oral research with the aim of gathering oral testimony. While researching the first edition of my biography on Joe Mercer I interviewed his footballing peers, players, family, boyhood friends, neighbours, journalists and colleagues with the aim of capturing every angle of Mercer's life and character. I planned interviews around a series of key questions but also allowed a degree of flexibility and established an environment that allowed the interviewee to feel confident and free to speak. At that time, I was not particularly aware of the method I was choosing and its own history as a valid research methodology, but in the years that have followed I have developed a greater understanding of the approach and have utilised it in the majority of my outputs since 1993. Articles on oral history began to appear in the 1960s, and by the 1970s debates were taking place on the appropriateness of the technique and its place within academia.³³ In 1978 Thompson argued that oral history enabled hidden histories of individuals to be uncovered and that it enabled democratic history-making whereby the stories of any individual could be recorded via an accessible technique.³⁴ Mitchell described the approach as a 'distinctly valuable source' and recognised its ability to direct researchers to other primary sources.³⁵ While performing oral research it is important to recognise that the interviewee may be taking a position which may exclude or silence voices, for example by focusing on a particular line of questioning or by ignoring some voices, and that memory itself is selective.³⁶ During my interviews with former footballers, I became aware that individuals choose what to recall and may not always discuss their real memory of the event and, even if they do discuss and recall every detail, it is possible that their memories have become distorted over time.³⁷

³² Warrington's letter referred to the club having to move due to the building of a church and row of shops, and separate investigations into the building work was able to narrow the date range of activity, and lead to the conclusion that Hulme Athenaeum were playing association football by that date. Triangulation continues on other topics featured in the letter, including the identification of opposition from within the Manchester area which may potentially confirm the existence of a second association football playing club in the region during the 1860s.

³³ Ellen D Swain, 'Oral History in the Archives: Its Documentary Role in the Twenty-First Century', *The American Archivist* 66, no.1 (2003), 142.

³⁴ Alistair Thomson, 'Oral History and Community History in Britain: Personal and Critical Reflections on Twenty-Five Years of Continuity and Change', *Oral History* 36, no. 1 (2008), 96.

³⁵ David J Mitchell, 'Living Documents: Oral and Biography', *Biography* 3, no.4 (1980), 284.

³⁶ Thomson, *Oral History*, 98-99.

³⁷ Kwa Chong Guan, 'Oral Histories in the Making of Our Memories and Heritage', *Asian Journal of Social Science* 36, no.3-4 (2008), 612-628.

To limit this triangulation with contemporary sources and gathering oral testimony from other interviewees with similar experience, allows comparisons of 'truth' to be made to establish a historical truth in the same manner as with other sources. I have utilised oral testimony in most of my works post 1991, especially in *Farewell To Maine Road* and in my biographical publications. The traditional biographical approach relies on the use of historical sources and oral interviews to construct a detailed and accurate narrative of the subject's life, while providing an understanding of the individual within a specific environment. This method enables the 'turning-point moments' of a life to be documented, while establishing the character and personality of the individual through anecdotes, interesting stories and life facts.³⁸ This is the approach I took with my biography of Joe Mercer, and the biographical material that appears in many of my other works, such as *Manchester City: Hall of Fame*, however I modified my approach for the final journal article within this submission. I decided to produce a collective biography of Jonathan Nall, Fitzroy Norris and Joshua Parlby. My aim was to establish the commonality between these different personalities to understand how they influenced involvement in the game.

Collective biography makes it possible to look at both the individual and the group without sacrificing the connection,³⁹ and allows researchers to identify cultural storylines and society threads via individuals' lives which, in football's case, includes consideration of the class of those involved as well as their accomplishments. It has been suggested that collective biography is open to various interpretations and, as a methodology, it exposes connections which can lead to false correlations,⁴⁰ although the approach utilised throughout my work has aimed at limiting this by the use of triangulation. It is important to remember though that, as Pfister has argued, 'a biography, even if it is based on numerous primary sources,' could never be a full picture of a 'real life',⁴¹ and inevitably, interpretation has occurred. However, as Bonde suggests, the advantage of thematic biographies is that they 'can create understanding for more general lines of development.'⁴² I had considered utilising a prosopographical approach, whereby data is utilised to investigate the features of a group, with the

³⁸ Norman K Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (London: Sage, 1989), 7; Sidney Lee, *Principles of Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 8-9.

³⁹ Charles Tilly, 'Family History, Social History, and Social Change', *Journal of Family History* 12, no. 1 (1987), 323.

⁴⁰ Tilly, *Journal of Family History*, 319.

⁴¹ Gertrud Pfister, 'We Love Them and We Hate Them: On the Emotional Involvement and other Challenges during Biographical Research', in John Bale, Mette Krogh Christensen and Gertrud Pfister (eds), *Writing Lives in Sport* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004), 142.

⁴² Hans Bonde, 'Gymnastics and Politics: Niels Bukh and the Biographical Genre', in John Bale, Mette Krogh Christensen and Gertrud Pfister (eds), *Writing Lives in Sport* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004), 51.

researcher asking a set of uniform questions to analyse and explore the group's common traits and values.⁴³ Although that approach could prove appropriate with a group such as the shareholders of an early football club, the members of a team or a community of athletes, I felt a collective biography was more appropriate for the three figures I was researching as it provided an understanding of the men, their position within Manchester's footballing community and the interconnections that enabled them to help the sport develop. To support this approach it was necessary to investigate the class structure of Manchester and the society these men were a part of. Much of the debate on the origins of football is based around class and I considered the research of Kidd, Hewitt, McKibbin, Bailey and others to understand how Manchester society was shaped at this time.⁴⁴ The nature of Manchester's development established a strong mix of classes and backgrounds, meaning that interpretation in terms of broad socio-economic classifications, class position is imprecise.⁴⁵ Class background is difficult to define but assumptions can be made based on the father's occupation and residential status,⁴⁶ while the role of mothers should also be considered, adding to the theory that class distinctions in a growing meritocratic city like Manchester during this time are not clear-cut.⁴⁷ Academics have warned against making broad interpretations when considering Manchester, whose social elite was a complex network of familial and business relationships.⁴⁸ McKibbin states that at this time the northern middle classes were more closely aligned with the working-classes than their equivalents in the south, adding to the complex nature of Manchester's class system.⁴⁹

⁴³ Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus* 100 (1971), 46.

⁴⁴ AJ Kidd and KW Roberts (eds.), (eds), *City, Class and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University press, 1985); John Seed and Janet Wolff, 'Class and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Manchester', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 2 no. 2 (1984), 48-49; Martin Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester 1832-67* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures, England 1918-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000); Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (London: Methuen and Co., 1987); Peter Bailey, 'The Politics and Poetics of Modern British Leisure', *Rethinking History*, 3 no. 2 (1999), 151.

⁴⁵ Seed and Wolff, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 48-49; Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City*, 64-65.

⁴⁶ Stephen T Casper, 'One Hundred Members of the Association of British Neurologists: A Collective Biography for 1933-1960', *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences: Basic and Clinical Perspectives*, 20 no. 4 (2011), 344

⁴⁷ Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City*, 64-65.

⁴⁸ Ibid.; Alan J Kidd, 'Charity Organization and the Unemployed in Manchester c.1870-1914', *Social History*, 9 no. 1 (1984), 47.

⁴⁹ McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 86, 101.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

This section follows the approach utilised in other PhD by Publication theses and considers each publication in turn chronologically, providing a critical reflection of each while also demonstrating the development of a theme encompassing the key aspects of the growth of football in Manchester.⁵⁰ It considers each publication's distinctiveness, content, individual research approach, claims to knowledge, processes, rigour, contemporary validity and ongoing significance to the area of research. It should be mentioned that each book documented within this section was written for a commercial market rather than an academic one, and that publishing conventions were often directed by the publisher adhering to their house standard although, after some of my earlier works had established my reputation, I was given an increasing level of freedom in style as my expertise developed. Each publication was edited by experts in terms of knowledge of the subject area and also in publishing books of this nature. The sample book chapters included in this submission are exemplars of these complete publications and as such should be considered in relation to the broader scope of these works and of my other outputs. The specific chapters are included as appendices.

Farewell to Maine Road, (Leicester: Polar Publishing, hardback, 2003)

Word Count: c.170,000

Book's Contents

*Farewell to Maine Road*⁵¹ provided a detailed history of the Maine Road football stadium and was regarded as the most comprehensive history of a League ground produced at the time of publication.⁵² With a print run of 3,000 copies this book sold out within twelve months and negotiations did take place to re-publish the book in 2005. However, the publisher went into administration and, although the interest and market remained in the years that followed, my increasing focus on other projects meant I delayed updating this book. *Farewell to Maine Road* documented the history of the stadium, along with a brief overview of the club's previous home, Hyde Road, and of the formative months of the club's current stadium, opened shortly before publication.

⁵⁰ Theses reviewed for this approach include Vermorel, 'Biography & Identity, Celebrity & Fanhood'; Tebbutt, 'Making, Talking and Walking'.

⁵¹ Gary James, *Farewell to Maine Road* (Leicester: Polar Publishing, 2003).

⁵² Reviews appeared in a variety of publications including *The Times Football Handbook*, August 9, 2003, 7; 'Buylines', *The Times*, January 19, 2004, 22; *The Independent*, October 4, 2003, 4; *Tameside Advertiser*, November 20, 2003, 33; *Manchester City Match Programme*, May 11, 2003.

Contained within it are chapters and featured panels combining evidence of the stadium's development, and social significance, alongside oral testimony of the stadium's relevance to those participating in and attending games and events held there from the 1920s to 2003. In terms of research methodology, *Farewell to Maine Road* supplemented my established approach of archival research with a strong sense of oral testimony. Some archival sources were inconsistent in their quality, with the club's own records being particularly poor, but this paucity of club material was overcome by a wide search for evidence that included the use of libraries across the UK alongside planning departments, construction firm collections and biographical accounts. This variety of sources provided a rich collection of evidence from construction photographs, planning applications, contemporary newspapers, official club publications, maps, match and event-related ephemera, film and letters, alongside the usual archival sources utilised in my writing. These were supported by a range of oral sources from bespoke interviews to filmed interviews from earlier generations, helping to document every period of the stadium's existence. This was an original approach at the time for a football stadium book, one which added to our historical knowledge and understanding of a leading football venue. Research for this publication considered the stadium from all angles, adding new perspectives, including those of administrators, officials, players, staff, tea ladies, supporters and residents who lived close to the stadium both before and after construction. *Farewell to Maine Road* became the most comprehensive history of a League ground yet produced. It is currently regarded as the definitive volume on Manchester City's venues, and has been cited in academic papers as well as the sporting commercial media.⁵³

Despite a wealth of popular footballing publications, the significance of many stadia and the fact that supporters discuss their ground's achievements as an extension of the perceived successes associated with their club, few texts had been produced prior to this publication focusing on the history of a club venue.⁵⁴ This book provided evidence of the stadium's 80 year history in an informative and captivating format, focussing on every period from planning stage through to the last moments of its existence. Naturally, the development of the stadium was covered extensively, but this work also provided evidence of the emotion and the logistics of attending games, including those of other clubs and nations staged at the venue. Supporting the main

⁵³ Simon Penny and Steve Redhead, 'We're Not Really Here: Manchester City, Mobility and Placelessness', *Sport in Society*, 12, No. 6 (2009): 755-764.

⁵⁴ The first club stadium history produced was Colin Benson, *The Bridge: the History of Stamford Bridge* (London: Chelsea FC, 1987), followed by *Leeds Road: Home of my Dreams* (Huddersfield: Huddersfield Town FC, 1994), and Simon Inglis, *Villa Park: 100 Years* (Birmingham: Sports Projects Limited, 1997).

text, the book contained a series of profiles of personalities associated with the stadium's development from the architect through to Rose Woolrich, the long-serving tea lady, to the matchday photographers. The oral testimony gathered for this book over a three year period was utilised to provide context and to establish the stadium's life via the stories of those who connected with it, and their vivid, emotional and entertaining stories provided a central thread, allowing the evolution of football attendance between 1923 and 2003 to be reported and considered alongside factual details of the venue's construction and physical development. There is a wealth of information explored thematically within features supporting the main text such as supporters' organisations, crowd control, demonstrations, chants and songs, the Ground Committee, cult heroes, religious festivals, pop concerts and similar. Familiar stories were challenged and references to a 'gypsy curse' and other longstanding folklore tales were explained and brought up to date. The stadium's use for other sports, such as tennis and rugby, was documented and analysed, while the book included approximately 600 illustrations to aid understanding of the stadium's layout, construction, stories and history. The majority of these were rare or previously unpublished, and only identified after public appeals and an extensive search.

Prior to *Farewell to Maine Road*, publications aimed at a commercial market tended to focus on football clubs' histories, player biographies and statistical records with only passing reference to each club's stadium. There had been some excellent publications such as the *Football Grounds of England and Wales* and academic works such as John Bale's *Sport, Space and the City*, that had influenced my decision to write this book, but there were no commercial publications that linked the stadium's story with the context of support and community.⁵⁵ The research for this book demonstrated that wider issues, other than match results and player achievements, are of relevance to supporters and that a football stadium is more than simply a venue. The book attracted national attention with a review in *The Times*, for example, highlighting my 'usual in-depth and thorough job' in conducting 'authoritative research and writing'.⁵⁶ Maine Road acted as a gathering place for diverse individuals attending with an expectation that this was to be a good experience, or even a memorable disappointment. My aim was to produce a rich analysis of all aspects of the stadium, match attendance and the venue's position within the community, and publication came at the start of the second phase of my career.

⁵⁵ Simon Inglis, *Football Grounds of England and Wales* (London: Collins Willow, 1984); John Bale, *Sport, Space and the City* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992).

⁵⁶ 'Buylines', *The Times*, January 19, 2004, 22.

In summary, this book set a standard for documenting the history of a football stadium, and demonstrated to those responsible for commercial football publications a method of documenting the social scene that surrounds the sport but is so often ignored. It supported the history of a major stadium by providing a broad spectrum of voices and sources from every era of the venue's existence and it is considered a seminal text, remaining the benchmark for a stadium history. In terms of areas for development, I am conscious, on reflection, that this book, produced during the transition from the first phase of my writing career to the second, was not a completely thorough assessment of the wider issues of society in relation to football. For example, there was consideration of the impact of the 1926 general strike and the 1950s-1970s slum clearance programme on supporters' opportunity to attend matches but, at this stage of my writing career, I was unable to properly pursue the theme in great detail, although this publication did encourage me to explore social and economic issues further. The history of a stadium can be as crucial to the development of the game in a region as the arrival of an entrepreneur or knowledgeable exponent of the sport as it provides the mechanism for the development or growth of the sport. Manchester City's move to Maine Road in 1923 heralded the beginning of a phase which would see Manchester's footballing activities recognised across Europe and, within 15 years of the move the club had found significant success, set English record breaking crowds in both the League and the FA Cup, and became established as a prominent club.⁵⁷ What the publication of *Farewell to Maine Road* taught me was that football, or indeed any sport, could not be properly researched and written about if the focus was solely on a team's story, and that the club's development had to consider the other aspects of that organisation's existence. It was also evident that, although the Maine Road stadium was clearly the home of Manchester City and the production of this book was commissioned because the club was leaving the venue after eighty years, its story was not simply about Manchester City. I realised that the history of other activities at the ground, most notably the enclosure's role as a semi-final and international venue, together with its use by Manchester United, and the staging of other events such as Rugby League and a professional tennis tournament in the 1930s, was essential in understanding the stadium's significance. In fact, it was the non-City use of the venue, together with seemingly peripheral activities, such as travel to the game, that had the greatest impact on my future direction as I was inspired to research further into these

⁵⁷ Within 15 years of the move Manchester City held the League record attendance, 79,491; the record attendance for an English club ground, 84,569; and had played the German national team in high-profile games at the Berlin Olympic Stadium and elsewhere. The details can be found in James, *Farewell to Maine Road*; Gary James, *Manchester: A Football History* (Halifax: James Ward, 2010).

areas. By publication in 2003 I realised that while Manchester City was my speciality, my interest lay in understanding the wider development of the sport in the region.

SELECTED CHAPTER

Chapter 'Going to the Match'.

c. 3,900 words

The sample section enclosed as part of this submission is a feature on how supporters travelled to games at the Maine Road stadium between 1923 and 2003. It is not a full chapter, but is typical of the many features included within the book covering topics including football chants, supporter organisations, turnstiles, crowd control and demonstrations, which support the main chapters documenting the full history of the stadium.

***Manchester: A Football History*, (Halifax: James Ward, hardback, 2008: updated 2010)**

Word Count: c.330,000

Book's Contents

*Manchester: A Football History*⁵⁸ examined the development of football in the Manchester region from 1608 to the modern era, focusing on those clubs that had at some point in their history been members of the Football League based within the wider Manchester conurbation, including the boroughs of Bury, Oldham, Stockport, Rochdale, Trafford, Salford and Tameside. It was the first detailed history of the game in the region and was regarded as an ambitious research project that culminated in, what was perceived at the time, as the definitive story of the game in Manchester,⁵⁹ although my own view is that this can no longer be regarded as definitive as a result of my subsequent research. As with my earlier works, I performed a review of all available literature for each of the clubs featured and the wider regional footballing community, and located appropriate local history sources on Manchester, leading reviewers to comment that this book was the result of ten years of dedicated research of an array of primary sources, alongside bespoke interviews.⁶⁰ By this point, there had been significant works on Manchester United and, including my own publications, several major books on Manchester City, but, apart from occasional annuals and an A to Z style paperback, nothing had been produced on the region's football history.⁶¹ Documenting the history of Manchester football was an ambitious, but important, project and revealed many interesting stories while recording the significant events that shaped the region's football development, as well as focussing on the League and former League clubs of the region. The book also considered all the local clubs who had at some point in their history attempted to join the League, or made a significant impact. The story of Manchester football is multi-faceted and includes many achievements that cannot be told simply by focussing on City and United, including Manchester's role in the national formalisation of the game, debates that crossed football and rugby about the renaming of Mancunian football clubs, attendance

⁵⁸ Gary James, *Manchester: A Football History* (Halifax: James Ward, 2008); Gary James, *Manchester: A Football History* (Halifax: James Ward, 2010).

⁵⁹ 'Book of the Week', *The Independent*, June 23, 2008, 44; Dave Russell, 'Long Reviews', *Manchester Region History Review*, 21 (2010), 179-180; Joyce Woolridge, 'Manchester: A Football History', *When Saturday Comes*, August, 2008; Alan Budd, 'Book Reviews', *Football Trader*, November, 2012, 32.

⁶⁰ Woolridge, 'Manchester: A Football History', August, 2008; Dave Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180.

⁶¹ From the early 1900s local media organisations produced handbooks and annuals on the game. These included publications by *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, *Manchester Evening News* and in the 1970s *Piccadilly Radio*, but these all focused on the headline news from a particular season. All historical works are documented in Seddon, *A Football Compendium*.

considerations and the formation of the players' union amongst many other aspects of the game in the region.

Manchester: a Football History is a unique record of the role football has played in a region's history, and provides a wide-ranging contribution to the understanding of the development of football in the conurbation by considering factual detail alongside analysis of the key events and progression of the game. For researchers publishing for a commercial market the focus is often on individual clubs, but the decision to research and write this book came from an increasing personal awareness that no football club's story could be told in isolation, particularly in a conurbation such as Manchester. As with *Farewell to Maine Road*, it was my desire to take the research and the story beyond that of simply recording match results and taking a 'whistle stop tour' through a club's history. Instead, I wanted to demonstrate that football's growth in Manchester, and indeed its ongoing existence, was part of a much wider story connecting multiple clubs, individuals, moments and themes. The social, emotional and physical development of Manchester's footballing growth deserved more focus and attention than club specific publications could provide with their tendency to consider only the significant successes of those clubs. This is a point I focused on when publishers and critics suggested the Manchester conurbation's story should be about Manchester's two prominent Premier League clubs because, they argued, City and United were the dominant clubs. I explained that although the two Manchester named clubs are dominant today, that was not always true. For example, Bury FC won the FA Cup twice before either of the Manchester clubs had reached a final and that fact alone demonstrated that the game in the region needed to be fairly and appropriately documented. This is significant in highlighting to a commercial audience the need for publications like this and was commented on positively in reviews, where it was described as a 'shrewd decision'.⁶² Sporting publications tend to be dominated in a similar way to celebrity culture by high profile, publicity centred individuals and clubs, and throughout my research I have attempted to create publications that, while attracting a wide readership, provide a more rigorous and much higher quality of research than the typical commercial football book. I have always felt that my writing should appeal initially through, perhaps, a few high profile stories or through the use of strong imagery, and then it is my hope that each reader delves further into the work encouraging an interest in the more significant areas of my research and writing. My intention is to encourage every reader to feel the same level of interest, excitement and

⁶² Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180.

desire to learn that I feel every time I conduct archival research. The aim, which was successfully met in this text, was to produce a volume in a manner that would appeal to a broad church of footballing readership, ranging from the avid fan to the more serious student of the game's history.

In terms of personal development, this book was researched towards the end of the second phase of my career, and it was while writing *Manchester: A Football History* that I made the decision to develop my academic ambitions. Although it took several years to find the right university and course, my ambition was to provide greater contextualisation and analysis within my works. Neither this book nor those that followed prior to formal embarkation on my course provided academic conventions such as footnoting, although there were greater elements of referencing than typical in commercial football works of this kind. Nevertheless, *Manchester: A Football History* was widely perceived as a serious tome and one that was situated as more of an academic work within the genre of football literature.⁶³ Regarded as a 'real achievement' and the first time Manchester's footballing history had been attempted,⁶⁴ the book was written in two parts with the first providing a chronological story of the development of football in the region from the manorial court's ban of the sport in 1608 through to the end of the 2009-10 season. The second section included chapters on related themes, such as supporters, media, and grounds. Within the chronological section of the book each chapter progressed the general story of the game in the region using one or two key issues or activities to explain and provide context to the sport's regional development, weaving each club's story into the general narrative. The final chronological chapters focused on the changing financial nature of the professional game for the region's clubs with 'an interesting section' on the rise of FC United and the takeovers at Manchester City and United, and financial woes of Stockport County.⁶⁵ The second edition of the book added to the content of the first edition with sections reviewed and strengthened based on further research and interviewing, and this, in turn, led to further coverage in the national media.⁶⁶ Taking everything into consideration the book provided 'by some way the most comprehensive synthesis of Manchester's footballing history yet produced.'⁶⁷ This 'superb book'⁶⁸ set

⁶³ Russell's comments included 'Those approaching the game from an academic perspective will find much useful information here.' Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180.

⁶⁴ Woolridge, 'Manchester: A Football History', 2008.

⁶⁵ Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180.

⁶⁶ For example 'Fergat it: Reds Planned Shock Exit From Old Trafford: Sir Alex blocked Utd move to Eastlands', *Sunday Mirror*, December 5, 2010, 47; 'The Day One City Nearly Became United', *Sunday Mirror*, April 14, 2013, 62.

⁶⁷ Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180.

⁶⁸ 'Abu Dhabi Empire Building Reaches East Manchester', *The Guardian*, October 8, 2008, 6.

the tone for the next phase of my career and helped my preparation for my development within academia, while this publication reinforced the view within the media and academia that I was a balanced and fair historian chronicling the sport, rather than the more typical fan writing commercially about their own club.⁶⁹

SELECTED CHAPTER

Chapter ‘For the Good of Manchester?’

c. 8,800 words

The sample chapter enclosed as part of this submission focuses on football during the 1920s and 1930s with particular emphasis on the development of Manchester Central Football Club, a team that was established to bring professional football back to East Manchester after stadium moves by Manchester United (1910, to Old Trafford) and Manchester City (1923, to Maine Road). This chapter is typical of the main chronological story featured where each chapter developed the general theme of Manchester football by highlighting appropriate stories from each period and by providing new angles and evidence supporting the game’s general progression.

⁶⁹ ‘Manchester: Today it can be one City United’, *Daily Mail*, April 16, 2011, 108; Russell, ‘Long Reviews’, 179-180.

Joe Mercer, OBE: Football With A Smile, (Halifax: James Ward, hardback, 2010)
Word Count: c.100,000

Book's Contents

This book,⁷⁰ originally published in 1993, was regarded at the time as one of the leading football biographies, and was based, in terms of style and approach, on John Harding's biography of Billy Meredith, one of the works that had inspired me to write during the mid-1980s.⁷¹ In the years between 1993 and this fully revised edition in 2010, modern football literature had grown in quantity, variety and quality with several contemporaries of Mercer being the subject of biographical research during the intervening years, much of which referred back to my original version of this biography.⁷² This proliferation of serious, quality football writing highlighted an improvement in the development of football literature, although it is appropriate to record that the quantity of low quality, sensational, tabloidesque footballing biographies with a lack of academic rigour had also increased. The media attention in association football had grown significantly leading to a spectrum of outputs ranging from the scholarly monograph to the populist, relatively 'lightweight' biographies of leading players, often produced quite early in their careers.

Alongside this growth in footballing literature was the resurgence of both Manchester City and, to a degree, Arsenal. These two clubs were prominent in the life of Joe Mercer but I felt that, whereas Mercer had been highlighted as Arsenal's greatest ever captain in the early 1990s,⁷³ his significance at that club, and the others he had been involved with, was no longer recognised, while acknowledgement of his achievements was diminishing.⁷⁴ I took the decision to bring the story up to date and, although the

⁷⁰ Gary James, *Football with a Smile: The Authorised Biography of Joe Mercer, OBE* (Leicester: ACL & Polar, 1993); Gary James, *Joe Mercer, OBE: Football with a Smile* (Halifax: James Ward, 2010).

⁷¹ The book received excellent reviews including 'Books for Christmas', *The Times*, December 23, 1993. The Meredith biography was: John Harding, *Football Wizard: Story of Billy Meredith* (Derby: Breedon Books, 1984).

⁷² In addition to biographies referring to this book in the years that followed, the national media continued to refer to it on occasion as an 'acclaimed work', such as *The Times*, December 8, 2001, 36. Examples include Jim Holden, *Stan Cullis: The Iron Manager* (Derby: Breedon Books, 2005); David Tossell, *Big Mal: The Life and Hard Times of Malcolm Allison, Football Legend* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2009); David McVay and Andy Smith, *The Complete Centre Forward: The Story of Tommy Lawton* (York: Sportsbooks Ltd, 2003); Tom Finney, *Tom Finney: My Autobiography* (London: Headline, 2004).

⁷³ Keith Fisher, *Arsenal Greats* (Edinburgh: Sportsprint, 1990).

⁷⁴ As a player Joe Mercer was a successful captain with Everton, Arsenal and England, winning three Football League championships, the FA Cup and the Football Writers' Footballer of the Year award. In later life he managed trophy winning sides at Aston Villa and Manchester City with his haul including a European trophy, the Football League Championship, the FA Cup, two League Cups and two Second

book was still aimed at a commercial audience, my approach was not to replicate the earlier book, or indeed the contemporary style of football biographies. Instead I chose to delve further into Mercer's career and, where possible, I aimed to identify the key influences. This depth of research was commented on positively in several reviews with one review opening by questioning the logic of updating a posthumous biography twenty years after the subject's death, before closing with confirmation that this was an appropriate reminder of a different type of leader than the modern day style of Jose Mourinho.⁷⁵ The fully revised and expanded book, with major rewrites to key chapters, investigated, for example, the impact of the Army Physical Training Corps (APTC) on Mercer's coaching career, and I supplemented the usual mix of oral testimony and archival research with a greater consideration of Mercer's life via discussions with, for example, a serving army sergeant fulfilling the same role as Mercer had at the APTC during World War Two. Similarly, I researched further into the life of Mercer's father, also a footballer, who suffered in a World War One prisoner of war camp and died while Mercer was a young boy causing financial instability within the family. This helped provide a deeper understanding of Mercer's actions at various points in his life and his need for stability.⁷⁶

The commercial needs of the publishers and book trade meant that I could not go as far as I would have liked, but the new, 'engrossing and expansive' version of the biography was published in 2010 during the third stage of my writing career.⁷⁷ The book details the highs and lows of Joe's life, from his birth in Ellesmere Port, through to his struggle with Alzheimer's Disease and subsequent death in 1990. It should be noted that shortly after the original book was published one publisher felt the style and tone were so refreshing for a footballing biography that he wanted a similar in-depth, quality work producing on the Newcastle United footballer Jackie Milburn and he attempted to commission me to research and write the book, and provided contact with Milburn's family. However, at that point in my writing career I did not want to embark on researching a life I had little emotional attachment to and focused instead on my continuing research into Mancunian football. Because the Mercer biography was heralded as a major addition to football literature, other opportunities came to write biographical publications, but I deliberately chose not to pursue other commercial proposals in the period that followed the publication of the fully revised edition in 2010.

Division titles. As England's caretaker manager he guided the national team to success in the Home International Tournament, where they were joint winners with Scotland.

⁷⁵ Ian Farrell, 'Football with a Smile', *When Saturday Comes*, September 2010.

⁷⁶ 'Joe Mercer: Football with a Smile', *The Evertonian*, July 2010, 33.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Instead, my recent biographical research has focused on consideration of connected individuals and the impact their particular circumstances have on their sporting lives. This enables consideration of how society develops, aiding our understanding of the group's contribution to the sporting life of a community. As my career develops this is an area in which I feel will add greatly to our understanding of sport's development. Once I completed this book I felt it was time to go back and revisit my writing on Manchester City. Much had changed since my previous history of the club, both in terms of my style and approach, and in the club's own history, that I felt the time was right to publish a new history of the club.

SELECTED CHAPTER

Chapter 'Restoring Faith'

c. 7,600 words

The chapter selected for this thesis is the first to record Mercer's involvement with Manchester City and adds to the general theme of this thesis. Mercer's managerial career in Manchester is documented within eight chapters, with this edition also including an assessment of Mercer's legacy and his significance to football and Manchester in the two decades that have followed his death.

***Manchester the City Years*, (Halifax: James Ward, hardback, 2012)**

Word Count: c.440,000

Book's Contents

This publication examines Manchester City Football Club, providing a full history of its existence, beginning in the years prior to the club's birth as a soccer club in 1880.⁷⁸ It is 'as detailed a history as anyone could conceivably want',⁷⁹ and has been described as 'elegantly written, beautifully illustrated...polished tome' in a Norwegian magazine⁸⁰ and as a definitive or exhaustive history in a wide variety of UK-based reviews.⁸¹ It developed the story of Manchester City further than my previous works, one of which had been described as the 'definitive history of the club',⁸² and was voted as one of the top ten football books of all time by a panel of experts at *The Times*.⁸³ The growth in football literature during the last couple of decades has seen an increasing volume of football club histories, often written by lifelong supporters, which are generally uncritical in their reflections. These can, and often do, perpetuate myths and legends, and act as hagiographies for the club and its personnel without considering the more unsavoury aspects of the club's existence. This is an approach I understand but is one I wanted to avoid with *Manchester the City Years* as my view was that a history of a football club should cover every aspect of that club's existence, 'warts and all', and, where possible, situate the club within a broader sporting, social and cultural context. It was important, however, to ensure that this approach was supported by a writing style that kept it accessible to the wider footballing community since the book was produced for a commercial market and had to appeal to a broad readership. This was achieved by performing a 'truly staggering level of research'⁸⁴ to provide an in-depth study chronicling every season in the history of Manchester City, alongside a large quantity of interesting and varied illustrations, synthesising material from a range of archival sources into a logical, descriptive narrative that is readable to a wide range of people from supporter through to dedicated historian. The text within this book, and indeed each of the books included in this thesis, is supplemented with a wide variety of illustrations, providing material evidence, which helps contextualise the story being

⁷⁸ Gary James, *Manchester The City Years* (Halifax: James Ward, 2012).

⁷⁹ Ian Farrell, 'Manchester the City Years', *When Saturday Comes*, February 2013.

⁸⁰ *Tips Football Extra*, October, 2012, 6.

⁸¹ These include *The Independent*, August 18, 2012; *Manchester Evening News*, October 12, 2012, 54; *Sunday Mirror*, August 19, 2012; *Sunday Mirror*, May 5, 2013, 64; *Football Trader*, September 2012.

⁸² David Hand, 'City 'til I Die? Recent Trends in Popular Football Writing', *Soccer and Society*, 2, no.1 (2010), 111.

⁸³ 'The Top Ten Football Books of all Time', *The Times*, April 4, 2001, 16.

⁸⁴ Farrell, 'Manchester the City Years'.

presented. For example, contemporary maps were included showing the geography of East Manchester during the club's formative years to help contextualise the type of housing and the conurbation that the club developed from. That a large quantity of imagery is included in these works enables the books to stand out visually and gives a level of historical focus that is not often available via academic works. The book was designed to allow readers to dip in and out as they wished or to take a more studious approach and read the text chronologically. The exploits of Manchester City are described from the actions in the mid eighteenth century that led to its development, on to its first known game in 1880, successes in the twentieth century and ends with the 2012 Premier League title win. The title success provided an appropriate end to the story, although, such was the scale of production, that, regardless of how the 2011-12 season ended, the book would still have been produced. This is significant since, unlike the majority of publications produced on Manchester City since 2011, this was not published to capitalise on the club's success.

As with the other books included in this submission, I blended the narrative history of the Club with first-hand accounts, told by supporters, players, managers, officials and chairmen, of City life from the nineteenth century through to the modern day. The research for this book had been conducted over a 25-year period with some of the earliest archival research accessed at Manchester library in 1987 proving of value in 2012, while some of that early activity was revisited and developed to ensure that my own experience gained during the intervening years could be utilised effectively. This was supported with over 100 in-depth interviews with figures connected with Manchester City since the First World War to ensure the appropriate story was told. Prior to this point, oral testimony was not possible, but significant focus on contemporary newspaper articles, gossip columns and the like, rather than simply match reports, was made to enable a more interpretive approach could be taken while also ensuring triangulation of sources. It is fair to say however, that, in some ways, the presentation of material for the period prior to 1939 is more scholarly in nature. In this earlier timeframe, I speculate and interpret, rather than merely describe events, because I felt a modern audience had less opportunity of understanding that period than later years. In a sense, these events were no longer part of our everyday knowledge and had fallen out of living memory, although it should be noted that a level of interpretation also formed part of later sections of the book. I was conscious that my 2003 publication *Farewell to Maine Road* had identified and explained many of the social issues surrounding football between 1923 and 2003 and I wanted to ensure that readers of both books recognised that the story of a football club and its stadium were

not the same thing. However, since publication I am now exploring in more detail the social situations and issues surrounding the history of the club. This includes analysis of owners, ticket holders and players, alongside the social significance of the sport within the community.

SELECTED CHAPTER

Chapter '1857-1880 Football Arrives'

c. 8,700 words

This sample chapter enclosed as part of this submission documents for the first time the steps that led to the creation of a football team in Manchester, providing evidence and challenging myths on the early years of the organisation that developed into Manchester City in 1894. Researching this chapter encouraged me to delve further into the birth of football and helped focus my attention on the game's formative years. This directly led to my research emphasis moving on to the specifics of Mancunian football's formative years and the next paper.

**‘The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840 - 1884’,
Gary James and Dave Day, *Sport in History*, 34, No. 1 (2014): 49-74.**

c. 8,000 words. (Percentage contribution 80%)

The first article in this submission explores the neglected academic topic of the development of football in Manchester prior to 1884, an area I was always keen to explore but due to the focus on commercial needs by my publishers I had not been able to document to the level of later periods. *Manchester: A Football History* paid some attention to this period but the nature of that book meant that the main focus was on the period from 1880.⁸⁵ As the first published academic output during the third phase of my career this has set the tone, style and focus for my ongoing work, and reflects the changing nature of my career well. It added academic styling, convention and rigour to my research and writing, although it was not an entirely new direction, rather an extension of my established interests. The paper’s significance, in terms of this thesis, relates to my academic development and motivation to reach a new level of research, focusing on and interpreting the social history aspects of football in Manchester. In terms of specifics, this paper focused on the birth of the game within the region, expanding on the material included in *Manchester: A Football History*. Association football had become a prominent part of Manchester’s sporting landscape by 1884, when the Manchester FA was formed, and this paper considered both how the game became significant in the city and how this development could be used to further the wider debate on the origins of the game. Using a range of archival sources, the paper provided an overview of Manchester’s footballing culture, focusing on the period 1850-1884, with particular reference to three of the city’s earliest organised football clubs. While the influence of each of these clubs during the 1860s and 1870s was transitory, they were linked spatially, chronologically and through key individuals, and their contribution was substantial, even if their existence had largely been ignored by historians. This paper added to the origins of football debate which has often been polarised into the orthodox and revisionist views, by using a regional study to demonstrate that the birth of association football is so complex that neither view of the game’s origins could fully explain its creation and development.⁸⁶ If the influences in one city such as Manchester were multifaceted and varied then regional studies may ultimately show additional influences that are particular to each individual region. In contrast to the idea that certain class groups were more influential than others, the

⁸⁵ Russell, ‘Long Reviews’, 179-180.

⁸⁶ Gavin Kitching, ‘The Origins of Football: History, Ideology and the Making of “The People’s Game”’, *History Workshop Journal*, 79, no.1 (2015), 127-153.

paper suggested that football's emergence during the Victorian period depended significantly on key individuals from varying backgrounds who provided the energy and enthusiasm for the game, rather than on specific class interests.

Following publication of this article, its findings received significant coverage in the media, particularly the revelation that Manchester had possessed a football club, Hulme Athenaeum, which survived for almost a decade prior to Lancashire's previously recorded earliest club Turton. This is significant, not simply from Lancashire's perspective, but for football's wider development as it demonstrates that, if a football team in a city the size of Manchester could be forgotten in this manner, then is it possible that many other regional football clubs may also have been forgotten or ignored by chroniclers of the game. This article was innovative in its approach to Manchester football since little academic work had been previously attempted on the city's footballing origins, and the sport had generally been assumed not to exist in the region until the creation of what became Manchester City and United fifteen or more years after Hulme Athenaeum's formation. The paper was also significant as it highlighted that Manchester's second prominent team comprised of several members of the Hulme side alongside former public schoolboys or university students, and, therefore, this research added significantly to the debate on the origins of football and helped raise awareness of the debate to a wider audience as a result of newspaper features, media interviews and talks.⁸⁷ It also helped shape my ongoing research, contributing to my emerging focus on the origins of the game, and, since the publication of this paper, other writers, many in the commercial world, have begun to utilise my findings to develop their own articles and to direct their own research into early football.⁸⁸ On a personal level this paper gave me confidence that my desire to position my work into more academic areas than previously was appropriate and it increased my commitment to perform ever-deeper research into Mancunian football, Manchester itself and the game as a whole.

As with my earlier works, I utilised a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, including rigorous archival research, but for the first time I included a significant volume of material produced by academics in my secondary source research. This paper is

⁸⁷ Considerable media coverage followed the paper's publication, for example: 'Hulme at the Root of it all', *Sunday Mirror*, February 16, 2014, 2.

⁸⁸ For example Stephen Wagg, "'That German Boy who Played for Manchester": Bert Trautmann – Biography, History and Politics', in Waite, Anthony and Naglo, Kristian, *On and Off the Field: Football Culture in England and Germany* (Berlin: Springer, 2014); Paul Toovey, *Manchester City: The Birth of the Blues* (Stockport: Paul Toovey, 2009); Andrew Keenan, *A Man's Game* (Marston Gate: Books & Doxey, 2013); Tom Clare and Iain McCartney, *The United Tour of Manchester* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2013).

included in this submission to demonstrate how my work has developed academically during this third phase of my career and, together with the sample chapters from my published books, demonstrates the trajectory of my work over the years, particularly since embarking on study at Manchester Metropolitan University with the guidance and support of experienced practitioners in the field of sports history. While I produced the research for the paper, my co-author guided me in academic styling and in the greater use of context, aiding my progression into the academic world. Within two months of publication this article was recorded as the most read for the journal and by February 2015 it had been downloaded on over 5,500 occasions.⁸⁹ It had also been covered in a variety of regional and national publications, alongside radio and television interviews.⁹⁰ This publication was always planned to be the first in a series of papers looking at different aspects of the game's development in the region. Through the journal articles featured during the third phase of my career I have focused on the emergence of the game in Manchester; the establishment of Manchester as a footballing city; and the individuals who propagated the sport. After setting the scene of Manchester's footballing birth the next paper moved the story on to the region's first successes.

⁸⁹ Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showMostReadArticles?journalCode=fsas20> [Accessed March 12, 2015].

⁹⁰ These included 'Oldest Football Team Found', *Manchester Evening News*, February 20, 2014, 35.

'FA Cup Success, Football Infrastructure and the Establishment of Manchester's Footballing Identity', *Soccer & Society*, 16, No. 2-3 (2015): 200-216.

c.8,300 words (Percentage contribution 90%)

This paper demonstrated a further development of my work by providing strong academic rigour to the period of 1884 to 1904 when football became established within Manchester. My research aim was to contextualise the growth of the game in the region by identifying how Manchester became regarded as a footballing city through actively examining the usual archival sources incorporated in my work, alongside Government employment statistics and food pricing. I researched the key events that led to the growth in participation in the sport at every level, through increases in match attendance, media coverage, local government involvement and related activities, and this represented a further increase in the scholarly nature of my work. While contemporary Manchester is recognised internationally as a footballing city, with both Manchester United and Manchester City acknowledged as prominent clubs, the city has not always been a force in the game, nor has the game always been important across Manchester's social spectrum. This paper examined how Manchester first became established as a footballing city, identified that success in the FA Cup in 1904 stimulated interest in the game, and discussed how the legacy of that victory enabled the game to develop in terms of participation, spectating and widespread interest in the sport. It also considered the social mix of attendees at professional games in the city, and closed by concluding that footballing success generated increased interest and was the catalyst for improvement in the infrastructure for both participation and attendance, thereby enabling Manchester's footballing identity to become established. The themes expressed in this paper and my ongoing research have been influenced by other academics at Manchester Metropolitan University and elsewhere, and it is with their support that my emphasis on interpretation, rather than pure narrative, has increased. Research into pedestrianism, swimming, coaches, and other areas of sports history by personnel at MMU encouraged me to examine the wider cultural issues of football and related activity, and my co-author on this paper supported my analysis by offering guidance and knowledge on academic conventions.

As with my first published paper, this research was well received and, again, attracted attention within both the academic community and the wider world of footballing literature. Tabloid articles focusing on various aspects of the research, including the identification that female football fans had the opportunity to buy discounted season

tickets throughout the early 1900s and the wide-ranging pricing structure that existed in 1904, were published based on this research and there was further media coverage both within the UK and overseas, adding to the global reach of this paper.⁹¹ The article concluded that Manchester's 1904 FA Cup success enhanced enthusiasm for football, while the subsequent infrastructure of facilities, for both participation and attendance, allowed those attracted to the game to become and remain involved, establishing an enduring footballing identity for the city. As with my earlier journal article, this paper was recorded as the most read for the journal within a short period of time, and by February 2015 it had been downloaded on over 4,000 occasions, generating interest from the media.⁹² Further detail on the impact of these articles is included within the Public Engagement section below.

During the production of this paper and its predecessor I recognised the significance of sporting communities. Those that propagated football were often also responsible for developing other sports, and this led me to consider others who crossed sports and I began to question how football's late nineteenth century growth recruited trainers, coaches and managers. My research led to a great awareness of transferable skills and individuals between sports and resulted in my next academic published material, on Jimmy Broad and his family.⁹³

⁹¹ These included features in the *Sunday Mirror* and for media companies in Turkey, Scandinavia and the USA. *Asian News International*, October 5, 2014; 'Gary Goes Down Memory Lane to Find the Pioneers', *Manchester Evening News*, October 9, 2014, 77.

⁹² *FA Cup Success, Football Infrastructure and the Establishment of Manchester's Footballing Identity*. Altmetric. Available from: http://www.altmetric.com/details.php?domain=symplectic.mmu.ac.uk&citation_id=2727862. [Accessed March 13, 2015].

⁹³ Gary James. 'The Sporting Broads', In *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day, (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014), 195-212.

'The Sporting Broads', in *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 195-212. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.

c.6,600 words

This chapter was published as part of a collection looking at the lives of pedestrian athletes during the nineteenth century and focused on the life of Jimmy Broad and his sons. Broad gained some attention as a successful footballing trainer in the early twentieth century after competing as a pedestrian earlier in his career, and his life story demonstrates how individuals had to adapt to prolong their sporting careers. It also provided focus to my writing during a period of transition from mainstream, commercial writing to academic styling, where I was supported by my supervisory team. This period encouraged me to consider the contextualisation of lives and brought a wider understanding of the role individuals can play across sports and how sports are inter-dependent. While considering Broad's footballing life in isolation is interesting, it is by increasing our understanding of characters like Broad that we gain a much greater understanding of the development of the game, and the wider sporting society. This provides a more accurate portrayal of the society as it developed and the part Broad, and others, played in helping Manchester achieve its first footballing success. This chapter demonstrates how my writing began to cross sports and shows the wider context of my recent work.

Alongside Jimmy Broad's life, this chapter explored the lives of his sons and this allows a greater understanding of the significance of sport to a family's existence. It demonstrates the precarious nature of professional sport in Britain during the period 1880-1950, and identifies how the patriarchal figure cultivated a reputation as a knowledgeable sage as his own career adapted, changing sports by necessity with the family overcoming the decline in one sport by focusing on another until the arrival of professional football gave the family a focus, employment and an enduring reputation. The chapter concluded that this research was important to those studying sport's development during the late 1800s and early 1900s, and provided an understanding of one of the influential figures behind Manchester's first footballing success.

‘Manchester’s Footballing Pioneers, 1863-1904: A Collective Biography’, submitted to *International Journal of the History of Sport*, currently under review
c.9,000 words

Throughout my research, particularly since embarking on my PhD, I have been determined to consider all aspects of the sport’s development in Manchester and while the clubs, their successes and failures are important it has always been my desire to understand how and why the game has grown. The first journal paper included within this thesis identified that Manchester’s footballing development had relied on individuals to promote and propagate the sport, but did not discuss the specifics of those individuals’ lives. This meant that commonalities, differences and connections were not explored and, therefore, I felt it was vital to consider further those individuals with reference to the origins of football debate. My research into these people and Mancunian football’s origins led to the production of this paper and the need to consider a different approach to my usual writing. After reviewing literature on sporting communities, in particular the works of Dave Day and Samantha Oldfield, I decided to construct a collective biography of three prominent figures.⁹⁴ As demonstrated in my paper on football’s identity, association football had become a prominent part of Manchester’s sporting landscape by 1904, when Manchester achieved its first national success, but its journey had been difficult, relying on the efforts of several key individuals whose relentless determination to widen the sport’s participation ensured the game succeeded. While my second paper submitted as part of this thesis focused on the circumstances surrounding the city’s first success and its impact on Manchester, this paper provided an analysis of three pioneering figures, John Nall, Fitzroy Norris and Joshua Parlby, who took the game from its formalised inception in the region through to those first national successes. Although each man was a crucial figure in the propagation of the sport locally, their achievements and endeavours, particularly those of Nall and Norris, had never been properly documented or highlighted. In this paper I considered their class, experience, shared history and connections, while analysing what these narratives add to the wider origins of football debate, before concluding that football’s emergence depended primarily on the activities of key individuals from varying backgrounds who provided the energy, enthusiasm and organisational structures necessary, while relying on cross-class connections, to establish the game

⁹⁴ For example Dave Day, ‘Jerry Jim’s Training Stable in Early Victorian Preston’, in Dave Day (ed.), *Pedestrianism* (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History 2014), 3; Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘The Manchester Milers’, in Dave Day (ed.), *Pedestrianism* (Crewe: MMU Sport and Leisure History 2014), 81; Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, *Narratives of Manchester Pedestrianism: Using Biographical Methods to Explore the Development of Athletics During the Nineteenth Century* (unpublished PhD thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2014).

within a region. This is evidenced through their biographies and their direct involvement in football, which took the game from its early 1860s activity through to Manchester's first national successes.

At the time of writing this paper is 'under review' so only a final draft is appended here but it has expanded on the biographical approach utilised in my chapter on the Broads and my earlier work on Joe Mercer and Frank Swift, and it is hoped the approach may lead others to embark on similar research on other regional figures.

THE PUBLICATIONS' COHERENCE

My publications provide a focus on almost every aspect of Manchester football, which is demonstrated by the sample chapters and papers submitted in conjunction with this thesis, within which I have documented players, managers, biographical evidence, stadia, supporters, media, identity and competition history, amongst other themes. This section refers to this output, focusing on the overall significance and contribution as a whole, and it will be argued that these articles, chapters and books make a distinctive and original contribution to the history of Manchester football, while also demonstrating my personal development. This broad range of research is representative of my published material and the context of its academic development since my first publication in 1989, while the publications submitted have a coherence based around two main themes characterising my output in recent years. The first of these is my determination to investigate, identify, document and interpret the development of football in Manchester as part of my ongoing desire to establish and interpret the story surrounding the sport's growth in the city. The second coherence is in the development of my work, with a clear progression demonstrated through the publications included and the supporting narrative, and illustrating how the improving academic status of my work has occurred alongside the three stages of my career, with each phase showing an increase in the status and positioning of my research.

These publications constitute a coherent investigation into the development of football in Manchester, including cultural issues, with the thread linking these publications focusing on the particular factors supporting and promoting the sport's development within the region, demonstrating football's impact and the people involved. They demonstrate the game's spread from an inconsequential activity through to its status as the major professional team sport and, indeed, Manchester's status as a leading footballing city. These publications contain oral testimony and examine the development of Manchester's football culture and its relationship with the game's national progression. Within this thesis I have submitted a history of a stadium, a manager's biography, a club history and a history of football in the region, alongside papers providing a collective biography, origins of the game and the establishment of Manchester's football identity, and a biographical chapter on an early trainer and his family. These books, chapters and peer-reviewed journal articles represent a much larger body of work whose underlying thread is the development of my research, presentation, public engagement, and writing abilities as evidenced via my

documentation of the development of football in Manchester. The range of publications researched and published provide an analysis of every aspect of Manchester's footballing landscape from the game's formative years through to the modern day. The papers published in academic journals have analysed and considered the emergence of the sport and identified the circumstances behind the game's establishment as a primary activity in the city, while *Manchester The City Years* documented the full history of one of Manchester's leading professional sides, from its roots in the West Gorton community of east Manchester through to Premier League success in 2012. The story of individual clubs is important and one which shows how an activity for young men within a Victorian urban landscape can lead on to the wider story of how football clubs evolved into major representatives of their conurbation on a national and continental stage. While this narrative is important, *Manchester: A Football History* tackled the story of the game within the wider Manchester conurbation and considered the key issues of the sport from a 1608 ban through to the modern era, thereby allowing the histories of perceived smaller clubs, as equal in value within my work as the more well-known teams, to be highlighted and revealed. This investigation into other clubs included the plight of Manchester Central, a team which had slipped from public consciousness and been neglected by modern day historians and football enthusiasts, with my research demonstrating the significance of Central during the inter-war period when Manchester's two leading professional clubs worked together to preserve their joint existence at the expense of the region's most prominent non-League club. Researching the existence of Central provided significant information and context to the histories of both United and City, and, indeed, the modern day development of FC United, that had been previously omitted.

In addition to researching and documenting the histories of the football clubs themselves, considerable research has been conducted on the venues utilised and the people who attend games. The most significant of my works focusing on these areas was *Farewell to Maine Road*, a detailed history of the stadium where both Manchester clubs have staged prominent League games and established record support. Consideration has also been given to the people influencing football's development in a biographical paper covering the lives of three figures who guided the sport from the 1860s through to the city's first major trophy success in 1904. While their lives are considered as a collective biography the life of another influential footballing figure in Manchester was considered in *Joe Mercer, OBE: Football with a Smile*, an acclaimed study of Mercer's entire life, a prominent part of which was as a manager at Manchester City. This book, as with the others, drew extensively on archival research,

oral testimony and analysis of biographies, autobiographies, army records, together with private and public documentation such as personal correspondence and share registers.

To appreciate how all publications and papers submitted are connected to each other and the field of study, it is helpful to consider their development and the trajectory of my academic progression during the three phases of my career. Every publication I produced during phase one of my career (1987-2002) was based on extensive research, combined with oral testimony from those involved in football's development within Manchester, and popularist, if specialised, publishers were identified to publish my work. As every publication had to be attractive commercially, I also became responsible for identifying, researching, captioning and inclusion of imagery, while academic style referencing became limited by publishing convention. Nevertheless, as this submission demonstrates these books were published based on high quality and rigorous research, even if they lacked a degree of methodological underpinning which could have added contextualisation in terms of social and political concerns. During phase two, I became more prolific and focused on my research and writing, and widened my experience by proposing, researching and writing a TV series for Channel M, at the time Manchester's own TV station, on the history of football in Manchester. This six part series was researched alongside *Manchester: A Football History*, and both the book and the television series raised my profile as an expert on Mancunian football rather than specifically a Manchester City FC enthusiast. It also marked my increasing desire to adopt a more academic approach to my work and, while the style was still descriptive, I attempted to contextualise the narrative.

Manchester: A Football History was first published in 2008, and the following year I concentrated full-time on my research and writing which had included, since 1999 a regular historical feature in the Manchester City match programme and articles for other non-academic footballing publications. This third phase of my work was characterised by my desire to return to study and, although it took some time to locate the right university and approach, I explored options, developed connections and spoke at conferences and other events culminating in my current research at Manchester Metropolitan University. In the three years prior to commencing my PhD, I performed significant updates to *Manchester: A Football History*, re-assessed and researched *Joe Mercer*, *OBE: Football With A Smile*, wrote *Manchester The City Years* and edited and contributed most of the content for two compilation style books on Manchester United and Manchester City. Throughout my writing I have improved my

academic rigour and style, developing on the rich detailed research performed throughout my career, and although my interest initially was to investigate and write about my own preferred football club, my academic interest expanded into exploring football history more regionally. This regional aspect was influenced by earlier research where it became apparent that there were many unknown areas of Manchester's footballing history, areas where myth and wild exaggerations flourished, and it became clear that understanding how any of Manchester's football clubs developed required extensive research of Manchester as a whole, without adopting a partisan perspective. During the last few years, my scope has increased further and participating in research via Manchester Metropolitan University has added to my understanding and approach, with my recent journal papers demonstrating my development and the scholarly influences I have experienced. A theme running throughout my work is the role the game played in the lives of ordinary Mancunians, as well as those employed within the sport, and it is their stories that helped to shape association football in the region. My work highlights individuals, whether through the biographies of founding figures in the sport's development, players, managers such as Joe Mercer, or the views of supporters and legislators throughout the late Victorian period, the twentieth century and recent years. Their stories and views help explain the growth and diversity of football throughout this period and demonstrate the impact of football on the region, a theme I have developed further during the third phase of my career. My work also considers the way football spread across the region, its dependencies, successes and failures, providing evidence supporting considerations on every aspect of the sport. It has always been important, in my view, to understand the contribution football has made to the life and culture of Manchester and that view permeates throughout my work.

The submitted publications demonstrate my increasing focus on academic development through the three phases of my working life. In phase one, pre-2002 I shaped my focus on football history, while the second phase saw my stature continue to develop as I became established as an historian of football in Manchester.⁹⁵ The third phase saw my writing become more academic and I began to focus more on the formative years for football in the region with the existing debate on the origins of football encouraging me to explore this area further, and I have considered in my recent work how a regional study could inform the debate. Together, these works provide a coherent examination of the factors that influenced the development and

⁹⁵ Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180; Wagg, 'That German Boy', 35.

expansion of football within the conurbation, while exploring the role of the sport in the establishment of a footballing identity for Manchester. If my works in their entirety could be published as one volume, within its pages would be a coherent, all-encompassing tome documenting research that has challenged perceptions of Mancunian football and highlighting a factual account of how the game was established in the region, how it grew, who was influential on its propagation and development, who attended, who played and how rivalries became established.

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The aim of my work has always been to add to our knowledge and understanding of the development of football in Manchester and the publications linked to this thesis represent an original contribution to knowledge and an advance in the study of football in Manchester, with implications beyond the boundaries of the city and the sport. My work has presented and disseminated knowledge and understanding of a subject on which there was very little literature beyond the standard hagiographies of the leading Manchester clubs, players and incidents. These works have helped to broaden our knowledge of Mancunian sport and have helped to add depth to studies of the region. For too long Manchester's football history had been characterised by a range of commercial narratives that paid little attention to the social history, development and people who promoted the sport in the region and my work, as a whole, has raised understanding of Manchester's footballing history to a new level and my efforts have brought attention to topics connected with the sport including ticketing, identity, media, urban culture, image and geographical considerations, such as the location of support within Manchester. It has changed the way we think about football in the region and has encouraged the reader to reconsider the history of the sport's development. My work has aimed at painting an accurate picture of football, as evidenced by my history of Manchester City, which tells the story, warts, and all, of the club with forgotten narratives, such as the period in the 1960s when a director of the club held discussions with Manchester United to consider merging the clubs, being highlighted. My work acts as a vehicle for documenting and interpreting the evidence and has been recognised for presenting the material without 'hype'⁹⁶ in a sport where hyperbole and over-promotion are the norm. For example, the formative years of both Manchester clubs have been presented often in recent years with 'legends' developing, which are often

⁹⁶ 'Book of the Week', *The Independent*, June 23, 2008, 44.

repeated in official works. Some reviews of *Manchester: A Football History*, for example, highlighted this aspect of my work, with that book including for the first time accurate details and dates for Newton Heath's rebirth as Manchester United in April 1902 and challenged the established views regarding the selection of the name 'United'.⁹⁷

I have sought to widen consideration of football history beyond match results and general historical material, as featured in earlier commercial works, and hoped to educate through the more popular titles, such as *Manchester: A Football History*, which led Russell to comment that 'James has a good eye for relevance' enabling my work to 'reach a wide audience and it deserves to do so.'⁹⁸ The works that comprise this submission have all been shaped and developed by a desire to accurately document and interpret the growth and development of association football in Manchester, and they were influenced by my own personal development in terms of methodology utilised, interpretation applied and experience in researching and writing. The trajectory of my career has paralleled a growing academic interest in the sport, with my first publications coming within a decade of Mason's landmark history of the formative years of the game.⁹⁹ This was still a time when football literature was not particularly regarded for its quality, integrity, rigour and academic worth. As I became more experienced and progressed through my writing career my own work contributed to the improving status of football literature with significant reviews in publications such as *The Times*, who commented that my work 'set new standards for complete club history books, standards which...have sadly not been matched. Well written, painstakingly researched',¹⁰⁰ and leading football magazines commented positively, such as 'in the future, this is how all football histories will be written'.¹⁰¹ Although my publications during the 1990s and 2000s were not written as academic texts they did add quality and rigour to the field at a time when football was hardly a topic welcomed into the field of history research,¹⁰² and they were recognised for their quality, as evidenced by book

⁹⁷ Woolridge, 'Manchester: A Football History'.

⁹⁸ Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180.

⁹⁹ Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915* (Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd, 1980); Gary James and Keith Mellor, *From Maine Men to Banana Citizens* (Nottingham: Temple Press, 1989); Steve Cawley and Gary James, *The Pride of Manchester* (Leicester: ACL & Polar, 1991).

¹⁰⁰ 'Brought to Book', *The Times*, August 10, 2002, 6.

¹⁰¹ *FourFourTwo*, April, 1998, 142. Similar sentiments were expressed in reviews in Manchester based publications and in national magazines such as *Goal*, April, 1998, 107.

¹⁰² Dave Russell, *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 236.

sales and several became bestselling books according to national broadsheet newspapers.¹⁰³

The subject of Manchester's football history was relatively underdeveloped when I commenced my research in the late 1980s, a time when consideration of Manchester City, the pre-Busby Manchester United, the venues, the founding personalities and the supporters were hardly discussed.¹⁰⁴ The publications included within this thesis helped to stimulate interest in the history of the game in Manchester while also filling gaps in our knowledge, with my own reputation developing alongside the quality of my work with one reviewer commenting 'anyone familiar with James's work will know the level of detail and dedication which goes into every book'.¹⁰⁵ From my first publication in 1989, I was determined to uncover or rediscover material and to provide evidence for a factual story rather than duplicate the hagiography style of football club writing prevalent at that time. I was fortunate that early in my writing career I worked with Julian Baskcomb, a publisher who shared my desire to take football literature seriously and, with a background in cricket writing, he believed that football could be taken to similar levels as cricket literature, perceived at that time to be of more value and more weighty in approach than its football equivalent.¹⁰⁶ With his support I was encouraged to tell the right story in my work, based on strong evidence, no matter what the word count or indeed the research time required. This behaviour was different to many publishers, and encouraged me enormously, allowing me to focus on content, and Baskcomb's approach led me to develop my skills and to gain an understanding of how quality could be achieved within a commercial footballing environment. Since then my writing and research has demonstrated the importance of football to the history of Manchester, and it has shown that the history of the sport is important as a subject in its own right. Some of the findings of my work, for example the social history of attending games as documented in *Farewell to Maine Road* and in the FA Cup success paper, clearly have importance to the wider sphere of cultural history.¹⁰⁷ This paper and my other academic articles have proved popular and have led to extensive

¹⁰³ *The Pride of Manchester*, Joe Mercer: *Football with a Smile* and *Manchester The Greatest City* appeared as either number one bestselling book or in the top ten on several occasions in the months that followed. For example 'Sports Books: Bestsellers', *The Daily Telegraph* January 7, 1994, 32; 'Bookshelf', *The Guardian*, April 4, 1992; 'This Week's Bestsellers: Books', *The Observer*, February 8, 1998, 10; 'This Week's Top 10 Sports Books', *Independent*, March 2, 1998, 11; 'This Year's Bestsellers', *The Observer*, November 22, 1998, 14.

¹⁰⁴ At the time I commenced researching for my first book there had been four lightweight histories of Manchester City, and a smaller number of similar publications on Manchester United's history prior to 1958. Seddon, *A Football Compendium*, 68-70.

¹⁰⁵ 'Book: Joe Mercer, OBE', *Manchester City Match Magazine*, October 5, 2013, 57.

¹⁰⁶ Seddon, *A Football Compendium*, xi-xvi.

¹⁰⁷ James, *Farewell*; Gary James and Dave Day. 'FA Cup Success, Football Infrastructure and the Establishment of Manchester's Footballing Identity', *Soccer & Society*, 16, No. 2-3 (2015), 200-216.

media coverage and, it is fair to assume, that my research is relevant and interesting to debates on the birth of football and the wider community. The material produced during the third phase of my career was the result of methodologically robust research, but even my earlier works were extremely well received and regarded as standard setters. This led to invitations to provide consultation to a variety of football organisations, including both of Manchester's Premier League clubs, the National Football Museum, and academic institutions including the North-West Film Archive and the National Fairground Archive.¹⁰⁸

My early works established the history of Manchester City that is known and understood today¹⁰⁹ and every researcher of the team since then, indeed the organisation itself and its various owners, has utilised my works to understand the club, developing their own interpretations and shaping policy.¹¹⁰ An invitation to write for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* came in 2007 as my reputation further developed, and the subsequent biographical piece on former England international goalkeeper and captain Frank Swift was published in 2007.¹¹¹ As my work on Swift and Mercer demonstrated, once the baseline was established my approach has been to explore further, not only the history of Manchester City, but also the history of Manchester football and its personalities, alongside the national and global game, with particular emphasis on the origins of the sport. These texts have brought global interest in my work with numerous television, radio, newspaper and internet interviews following their publication and I have been consulted as the expert on Manchester football and the related subjects I have explored, such as the life of Joe Mercer. During 2014 alone, I was approached by media organisations to discuss the impact of managerial change on Manchester's football history, the formation of Hulme Athenaeum in 1863, the Liverpool-Manchester United rivalry, the significance of LS Lowry's footballing artwork, the Manchester derby, the opening of Manchester City's new training complex and some of the specifics of my own publications. My expertise

¹⁰⁸ I acted as Guest Curator at the North-West Film Archive during 2011-14 and was consulted on regional aspects of the footballing footage of Mitchell & Kenyon by Professor Vanessa Toulmin at the National Fairground Archive, University of Sheffield.

¹⁰⁹ Wagg, 'That German Boy'; Daniel Taylor, 'A Modern and Moneyed Rivalry but Rich History too', *Guardian*, 8-9 sport section, January 31, 2015.

¹¹⁰ Thaksin Shinawatra, who purchased Manchester City in 2007, personally bought copies of *Manchester: a Football History* which were subsequently presented to the next owners of the club in 2008 during the Abu Dhabi takeover of Manchester City. This led to the new chairman, Khaldoon Al Mubarak, requesting a meeting with me in September 2008 during which a wide-ranging discussion on the history of City and Manchester football followed, and led to several follow-up sessions in the years that have followed.

¹¹¹ Gary James, 'Swift, Frank Victor (1913–1958)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

in association football's history has been called on by leading media organisations in the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States.

I believe my publications have made a distinctive contribution to the field of sports history and also to Manchester's social history, and, throughout my work, I have attempted to provide originality and rigour to my outputs, leading one journalist to comment 'Gary's devotion beyond the call of duty was well worth it'.¹¹² Most of the areas I have covered in my research, from the formation of Manchester's first known football club in 1863 through to the establishment of Manchester's football identity, on to the development of Maine Road, the appointment of Joe Mercer as Manchester City manager and then into the modern era, through exclusive interviews with those investing in Manchester football, have added value and context to the story of Manchester's football. I have sought to increase our knowledge and understanding of Mancunian football from my first publication through to my most recent article, and it should be reiterated that each of my works submitted here, together with the main body of my wider work, established our knowledge of the game in the region. The topics included in my work had not been researched in any depth at the time my studies were published, and many authors and media organisations have since utilised my research in their own publications, both directly and indirectly.¹¹³ The ability to engage with different audiences has aided my career development and has played an important part in my approach over the years, helping me develop my writing and interviewing techniques and research approach. I have actively sought public engagement opportunities, participating extensively in debates, talks and media activities, while also providing support to others within the academic community.¹¹⁴ This has led to me being perceived as Manchester's leading football historian.¹¹⁵ This is a role which confirms the nature of my contribution to the field as, prior to my work, football historians were generally perceived as general football experts or as club specific historians but not historians with expertise in the breadth of football in the Manchester region.

¹¹² Mike Barnett, *City Magazine*, unknown month, 1998.

¹¹³ For example Andrew Fagan and Mark Platt, *Joe Fagan: Reluctant Champion* (London: Aurum Press, 2011); Holden, *Stan Cullis*; Mick Collins, *All-Round Genius: The Unknown Story of Britain's Greatest Sportsman* (London: Aurum Press, 2006); Wagg, 'That German Boy', 35; 'The Day One City Nearly Became United', *Sunday Mirror*, April 14, 2013, 62; Toovey, *The Birth of the Blues*; Keenan, *A Man's Game*; Clare and McCartney, *The United Tour*.

¹¹⁴ See earlier breakdown of presentations and publications, while examples of recent academic support include Christopher Stride, Jean Williams, David Morr and Nick Catley, 'From Sportswear to Leisurewear: The Evolution of English Football League Shirt Design in the Replica Kit Era', *Sport in History* (2014), 35, no.1 (2015), 156-194; Wagg, 'That German Boy'.

¹¹⁵ Russell, 'Long Reviews', 179-180; Taylor, 'A Modern and Moneyed Rivalry'.

These publications, taken as a coherent whole, constitute a significant, rigorous and distinctive contribution to knowledge, aiding our understanding of the sport and its place in Manchester's history. Viewed over my entire career this body of research and publication history has made some significant and lasting contributions to the field of football research and also to the social history of Manchester.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE WORKS PRESENTED

My work is directly linked to the current state of knowledge and debates within sports history on the origins of football and is, therefore, a relevant area of study with significant potential, as can be evidenced by the success of my books and, more importantly from an academic perspective, the popularity of my refereed journal articles. Two of my papers are currently (March 2015) the most read in their respective journal's 'top ten' lists.¹¹⁶ In addition they have been rated in the top 5% of over 3.5 million journal articles tracked for the quality and quantity of online attention they have received.¹¹⁷ My research, particularly into the origins of the game, builds on the research of Mason, Russell, Taylor et al by adding direct focus to the situation within Manchester and, thereby, adding context that informs the wider debate on the game's origins.¹¹⁸ This research, and the support of leading academics within the sporting community and those focusing on social history, has proved important to my own trajectory, aiding my development and influencing my approach throughout. The historical publications which this synthesis presents illustrate changing scholarly

¹¹⁶At March 12, 2015, one paper had been downloaded on 5,794 occasions and the other had been downloaded 4,286 times. *Sport in History*. Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showMostReadArticles?journalCode=rsih20> [Accessed March 12, 2015]; *Soccer and Society*. Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showMostReadArticles?journalCode=fsas20> [Accessed March 12, 2015].

¹¹⁷ *The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840-1884*. Altmetric. Available from: http://www.altmetric.com/details.php?domain=symplectic.mmu.ac.uk&citation_id=2123438 [Accessed March 13, 2015]; *FA Cup Success, Football Infrastructure and the Establishment of Manchester's Footballing Identity*. Altmetric. Available from: http://www.altmetric.com/details.php?domain=symplectic.mmu.ac.uk&citation_id=2727862. [Accessed March 13, 2015]. These statistics rank the articles alongside over 3.5 million academic papers and all online articles for the respective journals. Both papers are ranked as first in their journals, out of over 100 per journal, while the global reach of internet mentions suggests about 50% of readers come from the UK with the rest spread around the world with, for example 2% in USA.

¹¹⁸ Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (London: Routledge, 2005); Adrian Harvey, *Football: The First Hundred Years The Untold Story* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005); John Goulstone, 'The Working Class Origins of Modern Football', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17, no. 1 (2008): 135-143; Dave Russell, *Football and the English* (Preston: Carnegie, 1997); Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008); Gavin Kitching, "'Old' Football and the 'New' Codes: Some Thoughts on the 'Origins of Football' Debate and Suggestions for Further Research", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28, no. 13 (2013): 1742; Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1998).

emphases since my first publication in 1989 while also demonstrating a raising in the quality of football writing and research as noted in an article on football literature which referred to my Manchester City history as 'a model for its genre'.¹¹⁹ As discussed earlier, prior to my first work, scholarly football publications were few and far between with the standard of football literature considerably lower than that of cricket and, although my works were not academic in styling, they were ground-breaking in terms of the quality of the research and depth of detail presented. My three publications in the 1990s were acclaimed as significant works, and as the standard others should meet, and these established a base level from which I felt I could expand.¹²⁰ It is my belief that every publication has to add to our knowledge and understanding of the subject by locating new material and establishing the detail, supported by archival research, to be presented in an open and easy to access manner. The aim is to inform, entertain and educate a readership that was not particularly well represented, and it was never my intention to repeat established 'facts' as I felt every publication had to add to our knowledge not repeat it. My research has helped to increase the visibility of football within Mancunian life, and I have taken opportunities such as the anniversary of the Munich air disaster, to explain to a modern audience how that disaster was viewed at the time by contemporary Mancunians regardless of partisan boundaries.¹²¹

Specific areas where these publications have made a difference and generated further discussion and a re-appraisal of football's history include the formation and existence of several football clubs including Hulme Athenaeum, Manchester Association, Bury, Manchester Central, alongside the history of Manchester City; the foundation of Manchester United; the history of a stadium, Maine Road; and the life of a manager Joe Mercer, including the role of the Army Physical Training Corps in football managers' career development. The three academic journal papers have questioned the constituency of crowds at Manchester's games pre-1914, adding to the wider debates on football attendance, and chronicled for the first time how the game developed from an inconsequential activity to the city's first successes and establishment of a footballing identity. They have also highlighted the influence of committed individuals on the game's progression. It should be noted that when considered as a whole my entire output makes a significant contribution to our

¹¹⁹ David Hand, 'City 'til I Die? Recent Trends in Popular Football Writing', *Soccer and Society*, 2, no.1 (2010), 111.

¹²⁰ Cawley and James, *The Pride of Manchester*; James, *Football with a Smile*; Gary James, *Manchester: the Greatest City* (Leicester: Polar Publishing, 1997).

¹²¹ *Manchester United Match Programme*, February 10, 2008; *Manchester Evening News*, February 5, 2008.

knowledge of this field and demonstrates my own intellectual development over this period.

PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

Supporting my media output throughout each phase of my career I have also developed an excellent record of public engagement with my work. During phase one this tended to be media work, public talks, supporters' meetings and book launches aimed at promoting specific publications. This developed during each phase of my career with the circle of activity increasing by 2008 to include talks to Women's Institute branches, local history societies, primary and secondary schools, sports history groups and football related audiences. As I moved towards the latter stages of phase two, I was gradually asked to speak to a more academic audience and this was part of the process that led to me deciding to embark on developing academically.

During the third phase, I have become a regular speaker at conferences and at themed lecture series and have attempted to bridge the divide between lecturing to a pure academic audience in a university setting and presenting academic content to a wider audience in locations such as the National Football Museum, Everton Football Club, the Manchester Histories Festival, and the Booth Centre for the homeless. It is significant to note how the variety, quality, and approach taken, encourages interest from the wider public. This is important as I am a firm believer in using quality research and findings to enthuse the general public about the value of academic endeavours while discussions surrounding these talks can often provide further opportunities for learning and sharing of ideas. Through my talks, presentations and media interviews, significant interest has been encouraged in Manchester's football history and in the wider subject of sport and Manchester, and it has been an aim of mine to ensure as wide an audience as possible is able to understand the significance of the sport on Mancunian life throughout the last 150 years.¹²² It is essential to engage in dialogue

¹²² My research and knowledge has appeared in a variety of newspapers and media outlets, including Sky Television's sporting channels, the BBC's national and regional radio stations and the BBC Worldservice. During the last few years the newspaper coverage has included 'Manchester: Today it can be one City United', *Daily Mail*, April 16, 2011, 108; *The Times*, August 6, 2011, 94; 'Manchester Forever Divided', *Belfast Telegraph*, April 24, 2012, 60; 'Ferguson Takes New Line on City Rivals', *Irish Times*, April 30, 2012, 5; 'Welcome to Manchester's New Rivalry', *The Guardian*, April 30, 2012, 4; 'Tradition Means Nothing When Money Talks', *The Observer*, May 13, 2012, 9; 'A City United in Pursuit of Title', *Belfast Telegraph*, August 18, 2012, 62; 'A Bit Messi at Etihad!', *Sunday Mirror*, August 19, 2012, 67; 'John Bond Obituary', *The Times*, September 27, 2012, 55; *The Sun*, October 13, 2012, 37; *Independent on Sunday*, October 28, 2012, 8; 'Ridiculous to Sublime', *Manchester Evening News*, February 14, 2013, 54; 'Billy

with the audience and to listen to their ideas, experiences and knowledge as part of a process of collaboration, which can influence further research ideas and opportunities. The talk at the Booth Centre for the Homeless, for example, promoted lively debate on the significance of football to the wider community and proved that, no matter what background or situation, academic endeavours can be made accessible to a diverse audience. The approach has to vary depending on the location, environment and audience but the presentation of academic research material can be managed in such a way that it is accessible and engaging across the social spectrum.

As an individual, unaffiliated researcher, I saw the value of public engagement in establishing my position and reputation, but while I have been researching for this PhD and representing MMU I have understood the significance of opening out the university to the public and adhering to the university's Public Engagement Strategy.¹²³ I believe we have the ability, as academics, to help influence debates, discussions and understanding within the community, whether that be our local region or the international community.¹²⁴ My recent television interviews concerning LS Lowry's footballing paintings, Manchester's footballing birth, the Maine Road site and the wider history of Mancunian football have allowed my work, as a MMU representative, to be broadcast in Turkey and Scandinavia, as well as in over 100 countries around the world as part of the Premier League's overseas television service with some of these interviews performed on site at MMU. This has helped my own development and has provided greater awareness of the university's activities, for which I have won a MMU award, 'Making an Impact with Research'.¹²⁵

FURTHER RESEARCH

While the production of academic journal papers and other publications has focused on Manchester's footballing history the scope of my research has been evolving over recent years as my development has progressed through phase three of my career. My

Whizz, City Hero of 1904 FA Cup', *Sunday Mirror*, May 5, 2013, 64; 'George Smith Obituary', *The Independent*, August 6, 2013, 42; 'Images of 1976', *The Guardian*, February 28, 2014, 4; *Irish Independent*, May 10, 2014, 70; 'Joe Mercer: A Man Who Made Football Smile', *Sunday Mirror*, August 10, 2014, 65; *The Guardian*, January 31, 2015, 8; 'Sport Songs that Inspire', *Express*, December 12, 2014.

¹²³ *Manchester Metropolitan University Public Engagement Strategy* (Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University, 2008).

¹²⁴ In addition to a wide variety of British based newspapers and magazines, in recent years I have been interviewed, quoted and have supported overseas sporting publications including the French football magazine *So Foot*, *Sport Magazine* from Belgium, and the Norwegian magazines *Tips Fotball* and *VG*.

¹²⁵ Making an Impact with Research Competition, Manchester Metropolitan University, Available from: <http://www2.mmu.ac.uk/graduate-school/for-research-students/noticeboard/> [Accessed March 2, 2015].

emphasis changed to the region during the late 2000s, and in recent years the focus has moved on again to the emergence of association football in its own right, with the birth and development of the game of particular interest. Much debate exists on the origins of football and research on Manchester alone has identified footballing activity in the conurbation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These tend to focus on the negative aspects of what appears to be groups gathering or individuals causing mischief while playing football,¹²⁶ but are an indication that enough people were participating in the activity to ensure it continued in one form or another. My efforts are currently aimed at researching further into the period before 1850 using Manchester as a case study, to assist in the determination of an overall philosophy for the development of the sport. This entails exploring the concept of the 'Longue Duree' and how this is relevant to football's development.¹²⁷ As with the idea of focusing solely on Manchester's two Premier League clubs, our ideas can be limited if we concentrate only on the game's development through events, such as the formation of the FA or the establishment of a set of rules. The theory I am developing considers football at three different levels – the Longue Duree of the game which establishes that kicking ball games have existed for centuries; 'l'histoire conjuncturelle', a period of activity such as the Industrial Revolution which, in a footballing context could be a period characterised by the growth of professionalism; and the history of events, or the 'Eureka' moments, such as the formation of the Football Association or the establishment of the World Cup.¹²⁸ I am currently writing a paper on this theory and see this as being as much of a defining period in my career as the publication of *Manchester A Football History*.

My research has widened as my experience has developed through the three phases of my career with the growing awareness that what establishes and causes a football culture to evolve is not simply the history of one or two clubs, governing bodies, local leagues or promoting schools, but that it is a conglomeration of all of these. Most significantly, it is also the story of people and society. By tracing the individuals and societal groups, as I have done with John Nall and Manchester's other footballing

¹²⁶ *William Peploe's Letter*, November 25, 1726, held at Lancashire Public Record office, Reference: 17261125 DDKE2548; Craig Horner, *'Proper Persons to Deal with': Identification and Attitudes of Middling Society in Manchester, c1730-c1760* (unpublished PhD thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2001), 153.

¹²⁷ Fernand Braudel, 'History and the Social Sciences: the Longue Duree', in Lee, Richard E., *The Longue Duree and World Systems Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York, 2012), 241-276.

¹²⁸ Fernand Braudel, 'History and the Social Sciences: the Longue Duree', in Lee, Richard E., *The Longue Duree and World Systems Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York, 2012), 241-276; Immanuel Wallerstein, *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 136-139.

pioneers, it is possible to map the game's full development.¹²⁹ Similarly, those individuals make up a society which progresses over time at varying rates depending on circumstance, and the concept of the 'Longue Duree' is being explored because, as an approach, it seems more appropriate for the development of football throughout its history than existing theoretical positions. If my research continues to develop in the manner anticipated it is possible that a new paradigm could be established shaping the way football history is considered and may, in fact, result in an approach that could be applied for all sport. I accept that there is some way to go before we arrive at that point, but believe that through my continuing involvement with the Sports & Leisure History cluster at MMU this will be achieved.

There is still much work to be performed, my motivation remains and my research continues as I progress through my academic career, while maintaining a strong interest in publishing works for a broad readership. I want to help make sports history accessible to all and, as my past endeavours have shown, I believe there is a great deal to be gained by researching academically while making works open.

¹²⁹ Gary James and Dave Day. 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Victorian Manchester', *Sport in History*, 34, No. 1 (2014): 49-74; Gary James. 'Manchester's Footballing Pioneers, 1863-1904: A Collective Biography', under review for the *International Journal of the History of Sport*.

PUBLICATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THIS THESIS

The following sections provide the sample chapters and articles supporting this thesis. Where possible these appear as they originally appeared when published in their respective journals or books.

'Going to the Match' from *Farewell to Maine Road*, (Leicester: Polar Publishing, hardback, 2003)

Farewell to Maine Road is now out of print. Here is a link to the British Library record of it:

[http://catalogue.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=moreTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=BLL01008840897&indx=1&reclds=BLL01008840897&recldxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=1&scp.scp s=scope%3A%28BLCCONTENT%29&frbg=&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1435929950953&sr t=rank&mode=Basic&vl\(488279563UI0\)=any&dum=true&tb=t&vl\(freeText0\)=%22Farew ell%20to%20maine%20Road%22&vid=BLVU1](http://catalogue.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=moreTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=BLL01008840897&indx=1&reclds=BLL01008840897&recldxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=1&scp.scp s=scope%3A%28BLCCONTENT%29&frbg=&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1435929950953&sr t=rank&mode=Basic&vl(488279563UI0)=any&dum=true&tb=t&vl(freeText0)=%22Farew ell%20to%20maine%20Road%22&vid=BLVU1)

'For the Good of Manchester?' from *Manchester: A Football History*, (Halifax: James Ward, hardback, 2008: updated 2010)

Manchester A Football History is now out of print. This link provides the Manchester Metropolitan University library reference detail:
<http://capitadiscovery.co.uk/mmu/items/2091815>

'Restoring Faith' from Joe Mercer, OBE: Football With A Smile, (Halifax: James Ward, hardback, 2010)

The following links to my biography of Joe Mercer at Amazon:

http://www.amazon.co.uk/Joe-Mercer-OBE-Authorised-Successful/dp/0955812747/ref=tmm_hrd_title_0

'1857-1880 Football Arrives' from *Manchester the City Years*, (Halifax: James Ward, hardback, 2012)

The following links to the *Manchester the City Years* record at Manchester Metropolitan University library:

<http://capitadiscovery.co.uk/mmu/items/2093277?query=%22manchester+the+city+years%22&resultsUri=items%3Fquery%3D%2522manchester%2Bthe%2Bcity%2Byears%2522>

**'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840 - 1884',
Gary James and Dave Day, *Sport in History*, 34, No. 1 (2014): 49-74.**

This links to the article via the journal's website:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17460263.2013.873075#abstract>

'FA Cup Success, Football Infrastructure and the Establishment of Manchester's Footballing Identity', *Soccer & Society*, 16, No. 2-3 (2015): 200-216.

This links to the article via the journal's website:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14660970.2014.961378?src=recsys>

'The Sporting Broads', in *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 195-212. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.

This link provides a link to the book:

<http://capitadiscovery.co.uk/mmu/items/2123630?query=%22pedestrianism%22&resultsUri=items%3Fquery%3D%2522pedestrianism%2522>

'Manchester's Footballing Pioneers, 1863-1904: A Collective Biography', submitted to *International Journal of the History of Sport*, accepted for publication.

This is a link to the article on the journal's website:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09523367.2015.1055727>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Following convention for this type of thesis, this bibliography refers to publications utilised within this document and not the supporting material for the specific books, articles and chapters featured as part of this submission.¹³⁰ Those publications included their own references, bibliographies and acknowledgements at the time of publication and based on the house standards of those publications at the time. The author's own publications have not been repeated below, as a full list is included within the opening pages of this thesis.

Archives

British Library, Boston Spa & London
British Newspaper Library, London
Huddersfield University
Lancashire Record Office, Preston
Manchester Central library, Manchester
National Archives of the UK: Public Records Office, Kew
National Fairground Archive, University of Sheffield
National Football Museum, Manchester and Preston
North West Film Archive at Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester

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¹³⁰ For example Kelly, 'An Oral History'.

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