A HISTORY OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL

IN ENGLAND DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

VOLUME I

DISSERTATION

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By

John Ross Schleppi, B.Sc., M.A.

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Approved by

Charles L. Ward
Advisor
Department of Physical Education
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VITA

December 10, 1938 . . . . Born - Columbus, Ohio
1961 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B.Sc., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1962-1963 . . . . . . . . Graduate Assistant, Department of Physical Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1963 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1963-1966 . . . . . . . . Lecturer, Department of Physical Education, University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio
1967-1969 . . . . . . . . Assistant Professor of Physical Education, University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio
1969-1971 . . . . . . . . Graduate Assistant, Department of Physical Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1971-1972 . . . . . . . . Assistant Professor of Physical Education, University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Physical Education

Studies in History of Sport and Physical Education. Professor Bruce L. Bennett

Studies in American History and Methods of Historical Research. Professor Francis P. Weisenburger
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INTRODUCTION

An unknown writer for The Manchester Guardian stated in his column on Saturday, August 31, 1940, as the second wartime season of soccer began,

When the time comes to write the history of this war, it may not pass unnoticed by the chronicler that as the Battle of Britain developed the Football League launched a season of competitive football. It is, at all events, no small act of faith and temerity on the part of 68 of the League's flock of 88 to embark on this new war-time enterprise in circumstances obviously more difficult than those last winter and early spring.

So be it! It was for this purpose that this "chronicler" set out to rectify the absence of research on sport in wartime, to chronicle what this columnist thirty years ago thought would be noticed when the war ended. It was in this vein and spirit that this task was undertaken.

Sport during wartime is not a new phenomenon. It was part of the military life of Greek and Roman soldiers as an occupier of time and as training for battle. The ancient Greek games carried on even during times of war. In other times throughout history, as during the American Civil War, troops participated in sport as did the civilian population, especially in the North.¹

¹The Manchester Guardian, August 31, 1940, p. 3.

Up to the twentieth century a great percentage of the civilian and working population was not affected by actual battle. Granted certain areas, such as the South in the American Civil War, were heavily damaged and nearly devastated. However, nothing approaching the scale of the war damage of this century, when several countries at a time were affected, was seen.

However, this, of course, changed as World War I progressed and changed even more drastically with the onset of World War II. This occurred with the intermeshing of the civilian and military populations and when the industrial-military effort spread over a great percentage of the globe. The involvement with war production, home support positions, such as air raid wardens, auxiliary police and firemen, the possibility of enemy action of a great magnitude in the industrial areas, psychological bombing for demoralization purposes in historical or non-industrial areas, the effect of rationing, the move to shelters, blackouts and the general disruption of one’s typical life, produced the total war concept. The limiting or modifications of cultural and leisure time activities affected vast numbers on all levels of the socio-economic strata as never before in history. Thus, it is in this context that the search for the role of sport was begun.

For clarification for those unfamiliar with the workings of English sport, the following terms are defined.

1. The Football Association is the ruling body of soccer, both amateur and professional, in England. (F.A.)

2. The Football League is the major professional soccer
league in England, composed of 92 teams in four divisions. (F.L.)

3. Rugby union is the 15 aside, amateur version of rugby.

4. Rugby League is the 13 aside, professional version of rugby, confined to the north of England. There is also amateur competition in this game.

5. The F.A. Cup is an annual competition open to all members of the F.A.

6. Test match is an international cricket match.

7. County cricket is the major professional league of cricket.

8. A friendly is an exhibition game.

The monetary data in this paper is given in the old English system of pounds–shillings–pence. There are twenty shillings in one pound, and twelve pence in one shilling. Three forms of notation are standard for this system. They are (a) £ 3-4-10, which is read "three pounds, four shillings and ten pence," (b) 2/6, which is read "two shillings and six pence," or "two and six," and (c) 3s. 2d., which is read "three shillings and two pence," or "three and two." There is also another common unit in this system, the guinea, which is 21 shillings, or £ 1-1-0. For purposes of comparison the rate of exchange for the pound from September 11, 1939, to January 11, 1947, was $4.03 U.S. The first major devaluation after the war occurred in September, 1949 when the pound was revalued at $2.80 U.S.3

Chapter 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Very little has been formally written concerning sport during the Second World War. "If any history of sport exists about the Second World War, I did not find it," stated Henry Longmate in his recent book, concerning the British home front during the war. The six volume series by Winston Churchill contains no reference to sport in wartime. Angus Calder's book, The People's War, gives only a few pages to the total sport picture during the war. General war histories concentrate on political, military, and industrial views of the war. It is only recently, signalled by the above definitive works by Calder and Longmate, that a social view of the war was given.

Even encyclopedias and histories of sports dismiss the wartime sports period in Europe, because the records and competitions were not official. Club histories and biographies of sports participants generally give only a cursory treatment of the period. These will be dealt with in detail in the section concerning related literature and in the main body of the study.

From the small amount of formally recorded information,

such as in general history books of the war period, histories of sports and biographies, one can draw the conclusion that (1) there was little or no sport, or (2) that sport did exist to some unknown extent and it has not been compiled and recorded. Whatever the situation, it has not been given adequate treatment.

The British situation was chosen for investigation over the United States as this was the area more affected by the war's physical stress. Several sports were examined initially to see if a study of this period in sport was feasible. That is, was there actually enough sport played to warrant examination and recording. The four volume set of Association Football, virtually an encyclopedia and perhaps the most definitive work of the game in England, devotes only scattered paragraphs to the wartime game. The Encyclopaedia of Rugby League Football gives slight attention to this period with the records of the wartime honors of each club, but enough to indicate that competition continued throughout the war. The various club histories examined, as stated previously, show only scant reference to the 1939-45 accomplishments of the clubs.

However, when one examines the newspapers of the time, sport maintains a position on the pages although the amount varies greatly from time to time as newspapers became smaller as the war progressed. This and official game programs from events, such as soccer, indicate that an extensive amount of organization and effort went into making sport survive.

The sport of association football, soccer, was selected from several sports as the topic for this dissertation for the following
reasons:

1. A general history of sport in the various combatant countries or even in one country during the Second World War would be beyond the scope of a dissertation.

2. The sport of soccer is one of the national games for both players and spectators and probably the most extensively covered and publicized by the mass media. Thus it is representative of the thoughts of the culture concerning sport. To further develop this point, the sport draws heavy interest from the working class. This was especially evident until the last few years during which even the upper classes began to identify with it. Thus soccer was a part of the life of that group which was so heavily affected in England by the Second World War. Also, it has a complete geographical distribution, large city or small town, and this aids in its national view. This cannot be said of Rugby League, as an example, which is confined almost completely to the north of England. Soccer also has a long season, August to at least early May. This gives it an almost year around interest capability. In contrast, cricket is a summer activity and a game affected much more by the weather than soccer.

3. English soccer was chosen versus a sport in another country for the following reasons:

   a. Records are available in sufficient numbers to make the study worthwhile.

   b. There is no language barrier.

   c. The country was totally affected by the war.
d. The game and its structure and the country are familiar. My background in soccer includes playing and coaching it in the United States, study of many tactical and historical books of the game, observation of many professional matches in Great Britain, and completion of the Football Association's Preliminary Coaching Award, while living in England in 1966-67.

4. Professional versus amateur soccer was chosen because the records of amateur organizations are not usually as complete as professional ones, nor are they as meticulously kept. Also, many amateur organizations ceased to function during the war.

5. The Second World War was studied rather than the First World War as there were only two divisions in the Football League totaling 40 teams prior to 1921. These were limited primarily to the North and London area. At the outbreak of World War II there were four divisions in the Football League, if the Third North and the Third South are classified separately, with 88 teams total. The geographical distribution was more complete and soccer was more of a national game. Also, interest, as shown by the more sophisticated newspaper sports coverage, sports magazines, and radio lent soccer a more national view.

PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

The purposes of this study are to examine the following aspects of soccer in wartime England:

1. Records and information of the period.
2. The extent of the competition and participation in the
professional game.

3. The importance of soccer to the society, the ritual and procedures and the feeling of normalcy.

4. Influence of the government on the game and on its existence.

5. The organizational modifications of the League and clubs required to carry on soccer during this period.

6. The approval and disapproval of the continuance of the game by the general public.

7. Relationship of the military to selection of players for representative matches.

8. Sketches of players, officials, supporters, and selected teams to gain perspective as to how and why the interest in the game went on despite extensive war conditions and what it was like to play in and attend these matches.

In addition it is hoped this dissertation will lead to further understanding, as well as further questioning and study, of the position sport plays in various cultures, particularly in the times of war.

LIMITATIONS

1. Only the English Football League will be studied, as it is the "major league" of English soccer.

2. The game as it related to the general population will be covered. That is, League matches, charity matches, friendlies, inter-command matches, especially when they include professional
players, will be the areas studied and the matters pertaining to them. These are the games of interest followed and attended by the general population. Those matches played for the military's entertainment will be discussed in relation to their purposes and the inclusion of professional players.

3. The availability of records and materials pertaining to professional soccer for 1939-45, will limit this study. Certain teams lost records through enemy action and thus secondary sources, such as books, will be used when necessary.

4. As mentioned, this study will be confined to professional soccer. Other sports events will be mentioned only as they offer contrast, clarification, or emphasis of particular points.

5. The period to be studied is August 1, 1939, to September 1, 1946, when peacetime League schedules resumed.
Chapter 2

RELATED LITERATURE

No definitive work or publication concerning either sport in general or soccer in particular during World War II could be found. The existence of any such work is doubted concerning England or any other country for that matter. People who have been closely associated with English football through the years, such as players, club representatives, and newsmen, knew of no definitive work in the area. Researchers of the social history of World War II, such as Angus Calder, give only cursory observations on sport in general. Therefore, the main literature available was game and club histories, annuals and encyclopedias.

The only publication found concerning soccer during World War II was Victory Was the Goal, Soccer's Contribution in the War of 1939-1945. This 48 page booklet was published by the Football Association just after the war, and highlights the activities, organization and administration of the F.A. It includes some now rare pictures from the competitions. Angus Calder's book, The People's War, basically a social history of the English homefront devotes less than five pages to sport in general during the war. His bibliography for sport used mostly record books of the various sports. Also, Longmate's book, How We Lived Then, used record books and "personal information." Neither of these authors does any study
in depth through primary sources on this subject.

Reference books or histories of soccer vary in their reference to World War II. *The Football League Jubilee Book* by Ivan Sharpe, published in 1963 on the 75th anniversary of the Football League, covers the period 1938-63. Sharpe dismisses the war years in one phrase, "then the upheaval of the Second World War," between a review of the 1938-39 season and the 1946-47 season.¹ There is some scattered information and incidents, but little enlightenment of the period. This is somewhat in contrast to *The Story of the Football League*, the 50th anniversary publication in 1938. Here about ten pages are devoted to activities of the Football League, its adjustments and work during the First World War. This mentions League structure and especially charitable work of the League, the Football League Relief Scheme Fund and pictures the two ambulance cars presented to the Red Cross during the war.²

Another official F.A. publication, *100 Years of Soccer in Pictures*, has two pages of wartime photos. These include Eisenhower at the 1944 Cup final, a picture of the England versus Wales international at Wembley in 1943, and two pictures of the game and crowd, some even sitting on the roof, at the Chelsea


versus Moscow Dynamo match in 1945.\textsuperscript{3} Delaney's book, \textit{A Century of Soccer}, gives only casual notice of the war with reference to play in the late thirties and forties regretting the loss of the war playing years for such a promising group of players.\textsuperscript{4}

\textbf{The History of the Football Association} by Green devotes a few pages to the war period, giving some of the major events concerning the F.A., such as formation of the War Emergency Committee and grants of money to the Army for football equipment. He mentions the F.A.'s involvement with the Central Council for Physical Recreation in the "Fitness for Service" scheme whereby 190 centers throughout the country set up conditioning and games under experts. Many were at football grounds. Also, Green explains that the F.A. worked to maintain youth football and ran the Inter-Allied Cup.\textsuperscript{5}

\textbf{The Encyclopaedia of Association Football} by Golesworthy gives records of both World War I and II, the League Cup, top scorers of major competitions, and a list of wartime internationals.\textsuperscript{6} However, the commentary is brief because it is an encyclopedia.

Signy's book, \textit{A Pictorial History of Soccer}, has practically

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{3}100 Years of Soccer in Pictures (London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1963), pp. 82-83. (An official F.A. publication.)
  \item \textsuperscript{4}Terence Delaney, \textit{A Century of Soccer} (London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1963), p. 141.
  \item \textsuperscript{6}Maurice Golesworthy, \textit{The Encyclopaedia of Association Football} (London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1967), pp. 203-204.
\end{itemize}
nothing about World War II. King's *A Popular History of Association Football* gives nothing to the war years. R.C. Churchill's book *60 Seasons of League Football* also says nothing about the war periods, dividing its history into three sections 1838-1915, and 1919-1939, and from 1946. Another book by R.C. Churchill, *English League Football*, is a conglomerate of records of the Football League standings and club events with no mention of wartime activities. Reynolds' book, *The Story of The First Division*, a souvenir magazine published in 1949, makes no reference to World War II, except that the war interrupted football. *A History of Football* by Marples is a general history of football and rugby. However, the emphasis is on the pre-twentieth century. Percy Young's *A History of British Football* devotes only a few scattered lines to World War II. *Football All Around the World* by Alaway mentions the author's experiences with personnel of the Football Association during the war. However, he recommends further *Victory Was the Goal*.

*Association Football: Scotland v. England (1872-1947)* by Chalmers Anderson is a booklet which includes a review of each England - Scotland match. The wartime unofficial matches are listed with little comment except that this was a very successful period for England.\(^7\) *The Official History of the F.A. Cup* by Green naturally leaves out the war years as the Cup competition was suspended. But the author quotes a London newspaper, whose name was not given, of

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January, 1941, that the F.A. Cup was being kept in storage in a bank in Portsmouth for the duration of the war.® Portsmouth was the last winner in 1939. There are several versions of the Cup's whereabouts during the war and these will be discussed later.

Other publications, while not concentrating upon the war period, do give some insight into the thesis that sport, especially soccer, continued in Europe. Two French publications provide interest. "La Coupe a 50 ans" covers the French Football Association Cup from 1918 to 1968. It is interesting to note the football championships were played throughout the war with the occupied zone meeting the non-occupied zone in the final, or three zones (interdite zone, the third) were involved in the playoffs.9

"Rugby 68" reviews French Rugby League champions, but gives none for World War II.10 This was explained because "the game of Rugby League football was outlawed by the Germans and by the Vichy Government during the occupation of France in the 1939-45 war."11 Whether this was done because Rugby League was not a German game is not specifically explained, but the article somewhat implies this fact.

Czechoslovakia's first division continued through the war

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as Joseph Bican was the top scorer from 1939-47, scoring the all
time high of 57 goals in 26 league matches during the 1943-44
season.12 Germany also continued football during the war. The
league was divided into regional leagues with continual reorganiza-
tion. The competition was reorganized immediately after the war on
a national scale. There is also mention of the championships
during World War I.13

Italy, too, played first division soccer at least until
mid- 1943 as the league was analyzed in World Soccer, December, 1968.14
Another booklet by Perel, Football in the U.S.S.R., provides some
interesting notes on the Russian championships. Competition was
stopped only from 1941 through 1944. A league championship was
held in 1944-45 in that greatly damaged country.15 Moscow Dynamo,
the team which toured Britain in 1945, stayed strong through
the war as they won the 1940 title and then the 1944-45 league.16
The Russian F.A. Cup was also played for in 1944 and was won
by Leningrad Zenith.17

The Irish F.A. held its cup competitions during the
First World War. After the division into two countries in the
early twenties, they function separately. The Second World War

12 "Many Problems in Evidence," World Soccer, June, 1969, p. 34.
15 A. Perel, Football in the U.S.S.R. (Moscow: Foreign
16 Ibid., p. 17.
17 Ibid., p. 25.
found the Irish F.A. (Northern Ireland) continuing their cup competition. Some review of the wartime matches is given in Volume Four of Association Football.18

As mentioned the four volume set of Association Football devotes little to wartime soccer. However, brief mention is made of the Lancashire, Midland and London competitions during World War I.19 The F.A. News, journal of the Football Association, has occasional articles in which wartime soccer is covered as an indirect topic in the story. As examples here, the F.A. News of October, 1969, alludes briefly to eight specially appointed wartime Football Association committees for postwar football. A brief discussion is given to youth football organization, which was begun in 1944-45.20 The July, 1969, issue mentions the friendly match between Dynamo and Cardiff City in 1945.21 The July, 1970, issue discusses Mr. Fred Howarth, long time secretary of the Football League, whose tenure included World War II. (Article is by his nephew, Eric Howarth.) There is some reference to the period especially the procedures from the F.L. office when war broke out and the


opposition to the pools immediately after the war. The F.A. News also ran a series between October, 1969, and July, 1970, on great players at the various team positions, included, where applicable, was a synopsis of the individual’s wartime record.

A glance at other prominent professional sport in England, mainly Rugby League and cricket, was made. Rugby League continued as county competitions and the Challenge Cup competition was held in each year except 1940. There were also home internationals with Wales in 1940, 1941, 1943, 1944, and 1945. Keith Macklin discussed staffing and financial problems of wartime rugby, as well as highlights from championships and friendly games in The History of Rugby League Football. In neither of these publications is any competion given for World War I. The Encyclopaedia of Rugby League Football does give some brief coverage of both wars, such as records of champions.

County cricket, the major professional competition, seems to have suffered most as most of the counties closed because only a few were able to field teams. These fell to practically nothing as the war went into its last half. Those that survived generally

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played single day charity matches versus military or civilian groups. At other times the grounds, such as Lord's, were used for charity representative matches.

While these sources are somewhat limited, and in many cases incidental or secondary, it is still evident that enough competition existed to warrant study and research into primary sources.
Chapter 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The methods and procedures used follow the basic historical research procedures for gaining secondary and primary sources and subjecting them to internal and external criticism. Major primary sources included club and governing body records, and interviews with people involved in football as players, administrators, referees, newsmen, and supporters, during the war period. Of interest also were the wartime game programs and annuals. Parliamentary records and government papers were examined, also. Newspapers, and related literature, previously discussed, were the major secondary sources used. These were all subjected to cross checking.

Newspapers of the period, August 1, 1939 to September 1, 1946, were examined to gain a background of the period. Each daily issue of The Manchester Guardian was read for the war period primarily to gain a general knowledge of sport, particularly soccer, during the war, to gain dates and events which would warrant further study, evidence of the League structure, commentaries on games and the types of competition. This was done so that when primary sources were investigated specific questions could be asked or researched. The sections of the papers examined were the sports section, war news, especially the front page, editorials, and letters to the
editor and notes on the parliament. The sections other than sport were examined to see what was going on with the war at the time sports events were taking place. What thoughts the newspapers and interested populace held concerning sport at times was examined in the editorial area and the parliamentary comments, especially concerning sport. The Manchester Guardian was chosen over The Times of London after examining both newspapers. Both are fine quality papers with excellent reputations for sound reporting and both are available on microfilm at The Ohio State University. However, The Manchester Guardian maintained somewhat more soccer reporting during the war. This may be due to its geographical location in the heart of professional football.

For a general background of the English homefront during World War II Angust Calder's The People's War was read. He examined the social setting of the war, areas or cities damaged, and to what extent. Some information on this point was also obtained from newspapers. This book was extremely helpful in considering interpretations of the political, economic and social setting in England. Calder covered areas ranging from industry, rationing, and newspaper reporting to government directives on entertainment and related matters. Its very fine bibliography lead to other sources.

The history of the Second World War was examined through Winston Churchill's six volume history of the war. It was not especially helpful as he devoted much time to overseas campaigns. Virtually any reliable history of World War II that I used gave
dates and extent of the London Blitz, bombing in provincial
cities, V-1 and V-2 rocket bombing and the effects on the population.
The books had to be used for more accurate dates of events, as
newspapers did not give specific dates, places, or extent of
damage of many raids until well after the event, since this
information could have proved beneficial to the enemy. Voluntary
censorship or control was done by the newspaper industry as a
whole.¹

After the previously given sources, related literature,
newspapers, and histories of the war and homefront were examined,
correspondence with selected teams was initiated requesting
permission to examine their records and minutes. These teams
were selected on the following bases:

1. geographical location
2. affect of bombing or lack of it upon the community
3. whether the club operated throughout the war, closed
operation altogether, or was inactive for only part of the war,
as well as the club's success on the field of play.

More than one club from each area was selected to allow for
refusals, lost or destroyed records, or no response. Since
each club is a limited company they are autonomous and can
grant or withhold access to their records. It should be noted that
no effort was made, nor was it the purpose of this dissertation, to

¹Angus Calder, The People's War: Britain 1939-1945 (New York:
investigate all teams in the Football League. Those finally selected serve to represent investigation into those areas listed previously and give a picture of what occurred during World War II.

The following teams granted access to their minutes or other records, such as programs, handbooks, newsclippings, annual reports or similar items, for investigation. Also, some stated that individuals associated with the club at this time, such as managers, trainers, supporters, and groundsmen, were involved in football during the war and could possibly help through personal interviews. The clubs finally selected, sixteen in all, were Arsenal (London), Aston Villa (Birmingham), Bournemouth & Boscombe Athletic, Brentford (London), Charlton Athletic (London), Fulham (London), Huddersfield Town, Lincoln City, Liverpool (to interview manager, Bill Shankly, a wartime player), Manchester City (to interview manager, Joe Mercer, a wartime player), Norwich City, Portsmouth, Sheffield United, Southend United, West Bromwich Albion, and York City.

The major governing bodies of professional soccer granted access to their records. The Football League, governing body of the major professional league, offered its minutes and records of the period. The F.L. offices are located in Lytham St. Annes, Lancashire. The Football Association made its records and minutes available. The F.A. offices are located at 22 Lancaster Gate, London, W. 2.

In addition to these clubs and governing bodies interviews
were arranged with the following people. These people were selected because of their involvement in soccer during the war period.

1. Fred J. Archer – a member of the Aston Villa administration in several capacities for 49 years.

2. Miss Dorothy Atkinson – supporter of the Brentford F.C. since the mid-thirties.


4. Henry Cockburn – present trainer for Huddersfield Town, player in late war years, and later an international.

5. Denis Compton – presently a sports writer and director of a representative firm, a former cricketer (Middlesex) and wartime footballer (Arsenal).

6. P. Firth – fifty year member and several time president of Huddersfield Town Supporters Club.


8. Charles Hall – present Charlton Athletic physiotherapist and wartime player with Charlton's youth team.


10. Eric Howarth – Assistant Secretary of the F.L., and worked in football in the war period, and nephew of wartime F.L. Secretary, F. Howarth.

12. L.J. Latham - presently with Aston Villa and a long-serving administrator.

13. George Male - present travel manager with Arsenal and wartime player with Arsenal.


17. Roy Peskett - wartime sportswriter, founder of the Football Writers Association, member of the editorial board of Rothmans Football Yearbook, author of several football books, and freelance journalist.


20. David Robertson - present groundsman with Southend United and on the staff as a player or groundsman since 1927.

21. Robert Robinson - groundsman and long-time active member of the York City Supporters Club.

22. George Sands - sportswriter with Middlesex Chronicle, a weekly paper, since 1933.

23. Bill Shankly - present manager of Liverpool F.C. and wartime player and representative for Scotland.
24. Mrs. Gladys Smith - catering lady at Portsmouth F.C. for past 41 years and spectator at every home match, including the war years, during that period.

25. George Teasdale - secretary of the York City F.C.


27. Walter Winterbottom - prewar lecturer at Carnegie College, Leeds in physical education, wartime director of the R.A.F. physical training, and first English national-international soccer coach, selected immediately after the war.


These interviews were arranged through clubs, references from other interviews, and knowledge of the individuals' backgrounds. Questions were formulated for each club or individual in relation to the club's or individual's wartime situation.

Other individuals who were contacted for information regarding the people involved in the war period included:

1. Peter McIntosh - Senior inspector of physical education for the Inner London Education Association, historian of British physical education, and with a background of the war period.

2. Mr. Carr - F.A. office clerk whose knowledge of the whereabouts of individuals proved very helpful.

Other sources investigated included:

1. Correspondence was initiated with Angus Calder, author of *The People's War*, to trace documents which are footnoted in his book.
2. Correspondence was made with the Public Records Office, Chancery Lane, Holborn, London, to obtain a reading card, to examine records of such offices as the Ministry of Home Security, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Food, Board of Trade and others, which had varying influence on sport.

It should be noted that many of these records still have a thirty year limitation, that is, they cannot be examined until thirty years from the issue date. So documents after 1940 were still restricted at the time of this research. However, since directives emanating from these offices were public and issued to the F.L., the F.A., and the clubs during the war, they were often available in these offices' various files. These directives in full or in synopsis appear from time to time in the various organisational records and thus allow investigation of the more important ones that affected football.

3. The British Museum was used to examine soccer books (copies of all books published in England are held there) that would relate to the war years, such as histories of leagues, clubs, and biographies of the period. The British Museum reading card also allows usage of the British Museum newspaper library at Colindale, north of London. It was here that London and some provincial newspapers were examined to see what extent reporting of sport continued through the war.

4. The Army F.A. records and minutes were made available by the Army Sport Control Board and their offices. These were used especially to examine the Army's involvement and policies
concerning professional football and footballers.

5. Game programs from the period were purchased and borrowed for examination.

6. An investigation of the British Parliamentary papers of the Second World War was made for reference and attitudes toward sport, soccer in particular.

7. The British Information Service, 845 Third Avenue, New York City, was contacted for addresses of pertinent public services and the procedures in using them.

8. Mass Observation, located in Hammersmith, London, a group begun under Tom Harrison in the late thirties to do contemporary sociological surveys, was contacted to view any of their studies relating to sport. All of these files have been moved to the University of Sussex, Brighton. The files are closed to the public for at least one year for the purpose of cataloging. However, it is believed from secondary sources that few Mass Observation surveys dealt with sport after 1940, that is less than six, and these were not indepth analyses in this area.

From the above methods and procedures an itinerary for visitations to various clubs, individuals, and museums was developed. These sources were investigated in England during March, April, May, and June, 1971.
Chapter 4

WORLD WAR I

The extent of sport in World War I was researched, and some of its workings considered, as background for the investigation of sport in World War II. The administration in particular of the Football League was reviewed. Other sports were considered as they served to illustrate a particular facet of wartime soccer.

The professional soccer league schedule was played with little hindrance during the 1914-15 season. The F.L. at that time consisted of only two divisions of twenty teams each. The Southern League was also a powerful force at that time, as the acceptance of their first division en masse to form the Football League Third Division South for the 1920-21 season attests.

There were, however, some protests against the continuance of football during wartime. A letter to the King appeared in The Times of London from the temperance leader F.N. Charrington, about the disgrace of playing football during the war. The King responded that he was following the F.A. closely, since he recognized contract obligations were important.¹ At a Fulham match that season, Mr. Charrington was set upon by two officials of the club, drug down the gangway and ejected after he had risen to speak on

¹The Times [London], September 8, 1914, p. 4.
military recruiting at half time. He had been given permission to speak by the F.A., so summonses were issued for the club officials.\(^2\) Enthusiastic support of the war was evidently less than complete at this time. Also, the same day The Times reported

The management of the Football Association has unanimously adopted the following resolution. In view of the request from certain people to stop football, the Management Committee have taken counsel with their clubs. The Committee are even more decidedly of the opinion that in the interests of the people of the country football ought to continue.\(^3\)

The Times two days later carried three columns of horse racing results.\(^4\) The question arises as to whether Mr, Charrington or others protested this activity, too. Previously, the Football Association had offered to stop football and place their grounds at the disposal of the War Office. The War Office commended this. However, they did not feel that this action was necessary at that time. They suggested the clubs could impress spectators with the need for recruits and donate part of the gate receipts to war charities.\(^5\) A competition, The London Cup, was arranged for 1914 and appears to have been in aid of charities.\(^6\) The Times reported in September that the Football League and the Southern

\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Ibid.
\(^4\)The Times [London], September 10, 1914, p. 3.
\(^5\)The Times [London], September 14, 1914, p. 4.
\(^6\)The Times [London], September 24, 1914, p. 12.
League felt that to finish the season players' wages would have to be reduced.  However, no further discussion of this could be found.

An interesting advertisement or appeal appears in the newspapers of the day indicating that it was a very different world in 1914-15 with its old world attitude toward war and its relationship to the athlete. The Times has nearly a half page in December, 1914, for a "Call to the Sportsmans Battalion Royal Fusiliers, Colonel-in-Chief-The King." They wanted huntsmen, golfers, and cricketers, every kind of sportsman. "All Varsity men, Old Public School Boys—men who are hardened to the soldier's life by strenuous pursuit of sport should enlist at once in this splendid corps. Ages 19-45." The feeling that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton still persisted. Another appeal is for the Public Schools Battalion of the Royal Navy directed at Old Boys of Harrow, St. Paul's, and schools of that calibre. Offering free kit and food, it stated "Varsity Men desiring Commissions in this or any corps will find service in this Battalion a short and pleasant way to Promotion." Again there is a feeling of an elitist officer corps.

7 The Times [London], September 29, 1914, p. 12.
8 The Times [London], December 8, 1914, p. 12.
9 Ibid.
10 The Times [London], February 11, 1915, p. 6.
One group which took the Sportsmans Battalion's appeal was Hearts of the Scottish League. On August 5, the day after war was declared, the players met at Tynecastle and marched as a body along with many of the team's supporters to a nearby recruiting office and volunteered as a group to the Sportsmans Battalion. Many did not return and a monument near the club's offices at Haymarket Cross attests to this.\textsuperscript{11} Also, there is mention of a Footballer's Battalion being formed in 1914, but nothing could be found of its make-up.\textsuperscript{12}

Soccer proceeded along during the 1914-15 season, but the war was bearing down upon the game. Only a few hundred were at Lincoln for a third round second replay F.A. Cup match with Norwich City and Bradford City, as it was supposed to be behind closed doors. This was done to prevent luring men away from armament production at nearby factories.\textsuperscript{13}

Also, during 1915, the Cup Final was played at Old Trafford, Manchester and the Entertainment Tax was applied to soccer as a temporary measure. It stayed until 1957.\textsuperscript{14} Thus the 1914-15 season came to a scheduled end.

During the summer of 1915, it became evident that the war


\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
situation was reaching and would reach deeper into the lives of the civilians. On Friday, July 2, 1915, the Football League Management Committee meet in Blackpool to discuss the situation. Mr. J. McKenna, president, the other nine members and Mr. T. Charnley, the secretary, were present. The secretary was instructed to point out that a player was called up for service and unable to carry out his contract with the club that contract was at an end. Thanks were voted by the Committee to those involved who had worked on the relief scheme. 15

The Conference of the Football League, Scottish League, Irish League, and Southern League at the Winter Gardens, Blackpool, on Saturday, July 3, 1915, adopted the following resolutions unanimously.

1. This conference, having carefully considered all the arguments in favour of and against the continuance of the game, are satisfied that the best interests of the nation and those engaged in the war and preparing munitions of war, as well as a considerable number of people who are by various reasons unavailable for the purposes of the war, will be best served by the continuance of the game.

2. Having regard to the varying conditions experienced by the Leagues here represented, the Conference is of opinion that each League should be left to carry out such programme as may be thought advisable in such a way as shall best commend itself to the League concerned.

3. That each League consider the desirability of approaching its national governing Association to discontinue the registration of professional players during the ensuing season, and that for such period all professionals be made amateur players, as in the

case of professionals who had joined the Army and Navy, and who thereby automatically become amateurs.

4. That in view of the possibility of some Leagues deciding upon a class of football inconsistent with the Competitions hitherto provided by such Leagues, the parties to this Conference, on behalf of their representative Leagues and Clubs, hereby agree to treat all players of Clubs connected with any League other than their own as retained players and not to sign or attempt to sign any such players without the consent in writing of the Club for which such players were registered or listed on April 30th last.

5. That the question of Inter-League matches be left to the respective Leagues concerned to be dealt with.

The meeting of the F.L. Management Committee resumed on July 3, after the Conference of the Football, Scottish, Irish, and Southern Leagues. The following statement was adopted.

In view of the present unsettled state of affairs and the pressing need for recruits and workers capable of engaging in the supply of munitions of war and in the hope that every eligible young man will find in the service of the nation a higher call than playing the game of football, the Committee strongly recommends that the League competitions for the next season shall not be proceeded with.

The Committee unanimously shares the view of the Conference that is is not to the best interests of the country that football should be abandoned altogether. For the purpose of giving effect to that opinion they recommend:

1. That the Annual Meeting of the Football League shall be held on July 19th next, at the Connaught Rooms, London, at ten o'clock, to transact the usual business.

2. To elect two clubs in place of the two bottom Clubs in last season’s competition.

3. To decide whether the usual Competition shall be played or what games shall be substituted, if any.

An explanatory statement will be issued to the Clubs along with the notice concerning the Annual Meeting.

If at such meeting it is decided to play games in any way other than that prescribed by the Rules of the League, it will be necessary to adopt Special Rules for such purpose, and an

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The letter from the Management Committee to the Football League members and the special Rules were sent out in July. They follow here.

To the members of the Football League, Gentlemen:

The Management Committee of the League, in accordance with your wishes, have carefully considered the present state of International affairs, and have taken counsel with representatives of the Scottish League, the Irish League, and the Southern League thereon. We enclose copies of the Resolutions adopted at such Conference.

We have also taken counsel with the friends of the game, and tried to fairly estimate the opposition of those who desire its discontinuance. We are confident that it would be an unfair and disastrous policy to seek to continue the usual League Competition for the following reasons:

1. Many professional players have enlisted.
2. Many more are engaged on munition work, and their work must not be interfered with.
3. Some Clubs have been so largely depleted that a competition providing for promotion and relegation would be grossly unjust and would produce the greatest hardship to those who have made the greatest sacrifice, and would favour the Club whose players have failed to realise their higher duty to the nation.
4. Long railway and overnight journeys are impossible.
5. The financial strain of last season makes it impossible to attempt anything so disastrous as League football.

But whilst strongly advocating the abandonment of the usual League Competition, we feel that we owe a duty to the game and to those who perform must stay at home.

Football has always been a healthy winter sport. It is the mental recreation of the great masses of the workers of the country. It is to our mind unthinkable that the game should be played to the hindrance of recruiting or the interference with work. We have therefore given careful consideration to the form in which football may be played so as to prove helpful in bringing the war to a speedier conclusion and without further taxing the finances of the Clubs. There is a limit to physical and mental strain; and football has proved a great mental relief, and in recommending the regrouping of the 40 League Clubs in three geographical sections we think the game would answer helpful and useful purposes.

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17 Min. FLMC, Blackpool, July 3, 1915.
This Competition would last for six months, and would not involve any football which would interfere with work. With two months of the football season still unprovided for by such competition, we suggest seven smaller groups to play on the League principle to the end of the season. After the two Clubs have been elected, a list of the proposed groups for the principal and secondary or supplementary competitions will be submitted to the Annual Meeting for approval, and the fixtures as approved by Mr. Fletcher will also be submitted.

If it is decided to abandon the League Competition and accept the suggested ones in lieu thereof, the enclosed Rules will be submitted to the Annual Meeting for adoption.

SPECIAL RULES FOR SEASON 1915-16

The Management Committee will move the suspension of all Rules and portions of Rules as are inopportune or inconsistent with the football provided by the Clubs of the Football League during the season 1915-16 and with the Rules approved and adopted at this Meeting as governing the games to be played, and will submit the following Rules to govern the season's football:

1. A list of retained players and players open to be transferred shall be forwarded to the Secretary on or before the 26th day of July, 1915.

2. All players on the retain lists of any Club, and those on the transfer lists if re-signed, shall be eligible to play for such Club.

3. Players on the list of any other Club can only be registered after transfer in the form provided for by the Rules of the League.

4. All players taking part in the Competition can only be played under such terms and conditions as shall be approved by the F.A.

5. Thirteen Medals will be presented to the winners of each Sectional Competition on the lines laid down in Rule 17 of the Football League.

6. In case of postponed matches, the Clubs shall have 14 days in which to mutually rearrange the date, failing which the Management Committee shall fix the date. The terms governing such postponed match shall be as set forth in Rule 16 of the Football League.

7. All the Clubs taking part in the Competition shall if they so desire remain members of the Football League, and the Clubs shall revert to membership of the same divisions as they occupied prior to the institution of these Rules.

18. Letter from FIMC to F.L. members, July 5, 1915, signed by J. McKenna, President, and T. Charnley, Secretary, for the Management Committee. Records of the F.L.
8.—Rule 15 of the Football League as to Inter-League games shall apply.

9.—The Committee shall have full power to deal with offences against these Rules and such of the Rules of the Football League as remain in operation, and to make any necessary call upon the Clubs to meet the expenses of the League.

10.—The fee for Referees shall be 10/6 and third-class railway fares; if the match is postponed and no gate taken, 5/- and third-class railway fare; and Linesmen, 5/- and 2/6 respectively, with third-class fares.

11.—Except as hereby varied or negatived, the Rules of the Football League shall remain operative.

The games to be played under these Rules are such as shall be approved at the Fixture Meeting held immediately following the approval of these Rules.  

The Ordinary (annual) General Meeting of the Football League took place at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, London, on July 19, 1915. Here the usual business, especially finance was discussed. Medals were given to Everton and Derby County champions of the First and Second Divisions, respectively. Leicester Fosse and Stoke were elected to the vacant positions in Division Two, even though all knew a regular schedule would not be played in the upcoming season.

It was in the F.L. Management Committee Meeting that the upcoming difficulties were discussed. The president, Mr. J. McKenna, was hopeful that all would freely express their views, and that no meeting ever had more loyal feelings to the country and no matter how much they loved the game it was country first, football second. The proposal that League football be suspended until its resumption could be justified, as had been discussed at the meeting in Blackpool.

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19Special Rules for Season 1915-16, distributed to the F.L. members by the FLMC, July, 1915.
was approved.\textsuperscript{20} A proposal that no matches would be under F.L. supervision and that clubs could play whenever they desired was defeated in a vote, 17 for, 21 against.\textsuperscript{21} A motion passed that the Management Committee could try to arrange several competitions, but a club could refuse to participate if it so desired.\textsuperscript{22} On the proposal of whether players should be paid, 21 of the Committee were for payment, 19 against.\textsuperscript{23}

The president read and then the Committee adopted the F.A. resolution that:

1. No international matches of domestic cup matches were to be played next season.

2. Local or regional competitions without awards would be arranged to fit local conditions and above all not to interfere with the population involved in war work.

3. Clubs may join any combination of clubs which are convenient for them.

This one is important to note. If this (3) had been adhered to in World War II, much difficulty between the London League and the Football League would have been eliminated. This will be referred to again during World War II.

4. Matches were to be played on Saturday afternoons, holidays or early-closing days.

5. No players were to be paid, or registered. Clubs were

\textsuperscript{20} Min. FLMC, London, July 19, 1915.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
subject to these rules as of April 30, 1915.

6. Any agreement with players calling for services after April 30, 1915, were suspended.\textsuperscript{24}

"The President observed that clubs could suit themselves with regard to grouping until the ordinary conditions returned, and then they could go back."\textsuperscript{25} The following proposals were passed:

1. That all rules and portions of rules as are inappropriate, inopportune, or inconsistent with the football to be played, during the coming season shall be suspended.

2. A list of retained players and players open to be transferred shall be forwarded by each club to the Secretary on or before July 26th, 1915, and such lists shall be regarded and recognised as the operative lists of the clubs respectively until the completion of the next regular League Competition.

3. All players on the retained and transfer lists of any club shall be entitled, without transfer, to play for any recognised club except in a League competition outside England, but shall revert to the ordinary rules governing the League Competitions when the players shall automatically revert to the club holding the League registration. But no player can change his old club except as a matter of convenience of work or residence.

4. Players taking part in football games in which League clubs participate, can only play under such terms and conditions as shall be approved by the F.A., and the games shall be subject to the rules, regulations, and resolutions of the F.A. for the time being in force and operation.

5. League transfers can still be effected under by rules of the League.

6. In all games in which League clubs shall take part, the fee payable to a referee shall not exceed 10s. 6d., and third-class railway fares.

7. No Inter-League matches shall be played during the continuance of the present European war.

8. That clubs having extended agreements with players can make no further payments to such players until the F.A. shall again arrange the registration of professional players.\textsuperscript{26}

To clarify the third clause players could play in any

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{25}Ibid. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{26}Ibid.
locality as they were playing for the "love of the game," not for money.  

27 The only general restriction was that in a city with more than one team a player could only be with one club.  

28 Some clubs under clause five were able to pay for players and if in need could effect a transfer.  

29 The previous resolution concerning payment of players was rescinded.  

30 It was thought that everyone wanted some football, but that everything should be under F.L. control. Mr. Sutcliffe strongly objected that if the eleven London clubs banded themselves together, they should be under the control of the London F.A. 

The Arsenal said they had not the slightest objection to the suggestion, but pointed out they were already competing in the London League, and it would only be a case of playing a so-called first team instead of reserves.  

31 The Management Committee met again in London in October. Here general approval was given for English players to appear in Scottish games as long as no payment was made.  

32 Also, a player from Derby County was refused permission to play for the club since he was receiving money from them for other services.  

33 At this meeting also the following resolutions were decided upon concerning payment procedures for players and insurance ramifications.

REGULATIONS FOR PAYMENTS TO PLAYERS

1. No payment of any kind can be made to a player for services in any capacity in connection with the club.

2. If a professional is engaged by the club for any service apart from football he is not eligible to be played in


Ibid.
this season's competitions.

3. No recompense can be made to a player for broken or lost time.

4. Railway fares properly payable are third-class fares actually paid.

5. A professional who is not engaged in any other employment should not be played. If this regulation is broken suspicion would at once be aroused in the public mind. This season we want all players to be workers.

6. Whenever possible all payments on behalf of players should be made by the club direct, and not through the players.

7. In away matches it will be much better for the club to arrange and pay for all meals.

8. We conceive, however, that the demands of work make it impossible for players to have all their meals at the time and place arranged for by the club. In all such cases the amount paid by the club to any player shall not exceed 2s. 6d. per meal, unless the meal is obtained in a luncheon or dining car, or at an hotel, in which case a voucher for the amount must be obtained by the player and handed over to the secretary at the time of payment.

9. In connection with all matches the allowance for meals shall not exceed 2s. 6d. per meal.

10. In connection with some clubs, players are required to train in the evenings. If this necessitates the player obtaining tea away from home, he may be paid for the same not exceeding 2s. 6d.

11. It is permissible to pay for cabs or taxis to enable players to catch a train. If the amount is paid by the player, he should get the driver to initial a voucher for the amount paid.

12. Players must submit a detailed account of all expenses, and on receiving the same must give a formal receipt thereof.34

INSURANCE FEDERATION (1915-16)

In case of injury to a player the club should at once notify the Secretary of the League, and if the player is likely to be off work for a week or more, such notification should be accompanied by a doctor's certificate stating the nature of the injury and the probable period of incapacity for work. An Employer's certificate should also be forwarded showing the player's weekly earnings.35

An interesting directive is given by T. Charnley, the

34 "Regulations for payments to Players," minutes of FLMC, October 4, 1915.

35 "Insurance Federation (1915-16)," minutes of FLMC, October 4, 1915.
secretary, on December 15, 1915. "Whereas on January 1st there will be shortage of light, the regulation allowing for an 80 minute game and no interval will apply."  

Thus did football begin its adjustments. The Football League split into three actual divisions in 1915-16, a Midland Section, Lancashire Section, and a London Combination, which included the London Football League clubs and several Southern League teams. Thus the patterns of regional leagues was begun in World War I.

Clapton Orient fielded a team composed entirely of soldiers on September 13, 1915, defeating Watford 2-0. The first all guest team of World War II did not occur until January, 1943, but the period of the "phony war" and the fact that many troops were stationed on the Island to guard against invasion meant that many players could still appear with their civilian clubs.

Results of 1915-16 show the Midland and Lancashire sections played 26 games and Nottingham Forest and Manchester City were the respective champions. The London Combination played 22 games with Chelsea winning. Thomson of Chelsea scored 39 goals in 31 games. However, in the 1914-15 season, regularly scheduled

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36 Notice to Midland and Lancashire Sections from the Football League, December 15, 1915. Records of the F.L.

37 The Manchester Guardian, September 6, 1915, p. 3.

38 The Manchester Guardian, September 13, 1915, p. 5.

fixtures of the Football League, Divisions 1 and 2, and the Southern League, Division 1, totaled 38. During the 1915-16 season each of these teams ran some subsidiary competition. In the Southwest Combination, Portsmouth won in 12 games. There were also Wearside and Tyneside competitions and a Lancashire Combination. Celtic won the Scottish League playing 38 games.  

The Northern Union, Rugby League, also opened with Lancashire and Yorkshire sections. Although formed in two sections, they showed a combined standing in the newspapers. Dewsbury won the Rugby League championship on percentage. Each team played between 13 and 36 games. Leeds finished second. The Northern Union was to be unprofessional and it was hoped gate receipts would meet normal club expenses.

This financial success is to be hoped for, because the renewal of this game in war time promises to be justified on the ground of recreative necessity. The large number of war workers, service men and wounded soldiers who watched the games on Saturday was sufficient evidence of that. In its conduct the game had undergone a striking change. The players played as if they enjoyed the game. Therefore, the spectators enjoyed the game. Rules were reasonably relaxed and even the referee had a good time. Some clubs even pooled their gate receipts and then shared them to help poorer teams survive.

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41 Ibid., p. 57.


This longing for the spirit of amateurism is also found in the newspapers regarding soccer. A columnist noted that the clubs were unofficially and unprofessionally constituted.

This means that a sport which has long lain under a suspicion of being, at least partly, worked stands now to be wholly played — that is, to be a sport again. Gates will decrease, but the true sportsmen will remain, and the war workers of the country will have a chance of proving how far an English game can be enjoyed without gaining.\^44

The old amateur spirit still resented the professional. The newspapers could not change public opinion which for the most part accepted the professionals' skills as the game grew before the war and especially in the early twenties. The professional was there to stay.

It should be noted that clubs dropped and were added during the war years as finances, players, and management availability dictated the team's destiny. The F.L. contributed over £3000 on the season to various war charities.\^45

The papers also report a baseball game between the Americans and Canadians that was played at Lord's cricket ground in September, 1915, for the benefit of Canadian orphans. The players who participated were not reported.\^46

The 1916–17 season opened with several additional teams. Blackburn Rovers and Burslem Port Vale were added in the North,

\^44The Manchester Guardian, September 6, 1915, p. 3.

\^45The Football Annual for 1916–17, p. 35.

\^46The Manchester Guardian, September 13, 1915, p. 5.
Birmingham and Chesterfield in the Midlands, making sixteen teams in each area. Derby County dropped out. Results of the season found Leeds City winning the Midland, and Liverpool winning the Lancashire section. Each section played 30 game schedules and played a subsidiary tournament. The London Combination was won by West Ham United. The Combination played 40 games. In Scotland, Celtic again won the championship. It is interesting to note that with all the wartime difficulties Celtic were undefeated in 63 games until April 21, 1917, when they were beaten by Kilmarnock at Parkhead 2-0. E. Simms, noted Luton Town player, obtained 40 goals from 29 matches in the London Combination on the season. The various other competitions of the previous season disappear from the record.

The Rugby League added Warrington, Wakefield Trinity and Widnes. A strong summer youth program had aided in supplying clubs with players, and it was stated the play would not be competitive [paid?]. The borrowing of players figures prominently as the great Wagstaff of Huddersfield appeared for Hull in September, 1916.

49 The Football Hall of Fame: Souvenir Programme, p. 25.
50 Golesworthy, p. 204.
52 Ibid.
Dewsbury won the Northern Union League again on percentage, Leeds again second. The teams played between 13 and 31 games.\footnote{The Football Annual for 1917-18, p. 35.}

The Manchester Guardian lists Dewsbury and Leeds as co-champions for the season 1916-17, but this discrepancy probably occurs due to the very small percentage separating the top two teams. The Encyclopaedia of Rugby League Football\footnote{A.H. Gaulton, The Encyclopaedia of Rugby League Football (London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1968), pp. 33, 87.} agrees with The Football Annual for 1917-18.

Soccer opened the 1917-18 season along the same lines as the previous year. The Lancashire section (30 games) was won by Stoke who scored 109 goals with only 27 against them. Leeds City won the Midland section (28 games). Each group played a subsidiary competition. Also, the two sections played off for a championship. Leeds beat Stoke on aggregate in the home and away series 2-1. Rangers won the Scottish League.\footnote{The Football Annual for 1918-19 (London: The Athletic News, 1918), pp. 33-34.} S. Puddlefoot gained 40 of West Ham United's goals (103) during the season,\footnote{Golesworthy, p. 204.} but Chelsea won the London Combination which played 36 games.\footnote{The Football Annual for 1918-19, p. 34.} The Football League continued their National War Fund for players killed or injured and their families.\footnote{Ibid., p. 31.}
The Rugby League played but had difficulty in fixing a schedule since the clubs were undecided about whether to close down for the duration of the war. Huddersfield, a great prewar power, withdrew from competition due to problems in obtaining players.59 The rugby teams also decided to play with twelve players (there are normally 13), using only two threequarters.60 Barrow won the championship with Dewsbury second. The clubs played generally between 19 and 31 matches although Rochdale Hornets managed only seven.61

With the 1918-19 season, sports reporting becomes very meagre. The newspapers were then printing only four to six pages due to the shortage and conservation of paper. The Rugby League faced slim competition due to the lack of players.62 After mid-September, 1918, very few scores are given in either The Times or The Manchester Guardian on Mondays, the normal day for reporting results. However, the game continued. Everton won the Lancashire Section with a fabulous 27-1-2 record. Nottingham Forest won the Midland Section, also playing 30 games. In the playoffs Forest won on aggregate 1-0 over Everton. Brentford, then still a Southern League side, won the London Combination, playing 36 games. In London at Highbury, Chelsea defeated Fulham 3-0 in a London

60. The Manchester Guardian, September 17, 1918, p. 8.
Victory Cup match. The other leagues and combinations, absent since early in the war, reappear in the standings and in the Scottish League, Celtic were again champions. There is no overall championship given for Rugby League Northern Union. Hull is listed as the Yorkshire champion, and Rochdale Hornets for Lancashire.

Little has been mentioned of cricket. The newspaper coverage is not as extensive as for football during the war. However, the county championships were suspended during the war years. Most professionals tried to gain leave or passes to play in the Bradford League which paid "big money" for those able to participate.

All sports returned to their normal league championships for the 1919-20 season. Soccer made rapid gains immediately after the war. The two divisions of the Football League expanded from 20 to 22 teams each in 1919-20. For 1920-21, the F.L. took in the whole Southern League's first division to form the Football League Third Division South and by 1921-22 added a Third Division North, thereby more than doubling the size of the League in three years. Thus did football function and generally flourish, between

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64. Ibid., p. 239.
the wars until the actions of war began again in the late thirties. The Football League and the Football Association had some established policies from the First World War which could have been drawn upon as the Second World War began. These were primarily the practices of guest players, transportation, regional leagues, and a general philosophy or viewpoint as to why the game should continue during wartime.
Chapter 5

THE WAR NEARS

There were certain events taking place in England which
effected soccer as the advent of the European conflict developed.
The Department of Air Raid Precautions (A.R.P.) under the Home
Office discussed plans for closing entertainments at the onset
of war in June, 1938. In these minutes theatres, cinemas, and
sporting events were discussed, especially those held within
buildings. It was thought even then that all proprietors should
be ready to close down at short notice, but circumstances, however,
could permit an early reopening. It was proposed in the attached
memorandum

...that in all populous areas public places of entertainment
should be closed down during the first week of war. The Chief
Officer of Police should have discretion to vary the regulations.
After the first week whatever the period of intensive air attack
might be, there would be no general regulation for closing, but
the Chief Constable could have power to close on discretion.

In September, 1938, the Consultative Committee of the Football
Association decided that in the event of war a meeting would be
convened comprising the officials of the Football Association and

1"Places of Entertainment in War-Time," Minutes of the
Thirteenth Annual Meeting of Heads of Divisions Council, A.R.P.
Department, Home Office, June, 1938. Records of the Home Office
Great Britain, Records office reference HO 45 18141.
the Management Committee of the Football League for the purpose of
deciding the course of action to be taken with regard to the game.
This was embodied in a directive entitled, "Football in the Time of
War."

During the ensuing period little is mentioned anywhere
about any impending crisis or what would be done if such a crisis
as war arose. This is no doubt related to the feeling of probable
peace through the "Munich Agreement."

An exception in this area would be the Army Football
Association. The first significant step was taken in June, 1938,
at the War Office in London. An Emergency Committee was formed,
but no specific duties were outlined. However, the impending
Czechoslovakian situation must have played some part in its
formation. At the Annual General Meeting of the Army F.A. held
the same day Army Cup rules were amended

...for a player to play for a civilian professional club
a copy of such permission shall be forwarded at the same time
that it is sent to the civilian club concerned also to the
Honourable Secretary of the Army Football Association."

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2 Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Football Association
and the Football League, London, September 8, 1939. Records of the
Football Association, London.

3 Minutes of the Army F.A. General Committee Meeting, London,
June 14, 1938. Records of the Army Sport Control Board, Ministry of
Defence, London.

4 Minutes of the Army F.A. Annual General Meeting, London,
June 14, 1938. Records of the Army Sport Control Board, Ministry of
Defence, London.
Clubs were limited to no more than five such players during the season and in the Army Cup competitions professionals were to be excluded. The preceding statements show there were some anticipated player difficulties and the probability of more men, including professional footballers, being called up. Another meeting of the Army F.A. took place on November 1, 1938, and it covered routine business. The most significant item was that it met under the direction of the Emergency Committee, as did all succeeding meetings. This is far ahead of the outbreak of war and soon after the Munich Agreement on September 30, 1938.

Through the first half of 1939 the Emergency Committee's business consists of the usual plans for competitions, cup games, and similar items. The first major hint of hostilities and the possibility that Army football was going to have to be revised came in June, 1939, when reservists and militiamen were called to the colors. It was decided at the meeting on June 13, 1939, that the question as to whether and under what conditions these individuals could participate in Army competitions would be discussed at a later date. However, the Army F.A. did not meet again until

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5 Ibid.


November 16, 1939, after the outbreak of war.

During the summer of 1939 the Football League and the Football Association held their annual meetings and no mention of any possible war adjustments were reported. At both meetings the usual business of scheduling of international matches, fee payments, transfers, appeals of players and clubs were acted upon. The Football League Handbook: Season 1939–40 gives no procedures to be followed if a war emergency arose. The only hint of uncertainty is given in the F.A.'s International Selection Committee Meeting. The possible match with France in Paris, scheduled for May, 1940, was deferred.\(^8\)

However, there was a strong feeling of possible war even late in the previous season. A football supplement in the London Evening Standard discussing the improvements at the then First Division Brentford's ground and a resume of the club's activities and players has tucked away in the lower corner of the last page this note, "National Service. All the Brentford players have joined the War Reserve Police. They attend classes which are conducted by police officers at the ground."\(^9\) This happened with other clubs and was evidently publicized to show footballers

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\(^8\)Minutes of the International Selection Committee of the Football Association, Torquay, June 23, 1939. Records of the F.A.

as an example for others to follow, as well as to answer any of the public's questions as to what soccer was doing for the potential war effort. However, in late July more attention was paid to possible war as reservists were called up. The Football League decided clubs were under "no onus to pay players called up for military duty unless they were available for match days."\(^{10}\)

During August, 1939, sport continued in an almost whistling in the dark atmosphere. The sports pages were just as full of cricket, yachting, and news of the upcoming rugby and soccer seasons as usual. Americans and Finns, and even some Germans, were in Britain for a series of track meets in the middle of the month and as late as August 20, England lost 93\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 42\(\frac{1}{2}\) in athletics (track and field) to Germany in Cologne.\(^{11}\) On August 21, the F.A. waived Rule 33, which stated "that no player serving in His Majesty's Forces could be registered as a professional footballer."\(^{12}\) They also stated that no club or person could entice a member of a club in the forces to play for another club without a fourteen day notice.\(^{13}\) The Football League meeting the same day in London

\(^{10}\)Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meeting, Ilanudno, July 27-28, 1939. Records of the Football League Ltd., Lytham St. Annes, Lancs. Hereafter cited as Min. FLMC.

\(^{11}\)The Times [London], August 21, 1939, p. 5.


\(^{13}\)Ibid.
made small mention of war matters and scheduled their next meeting for September 11, at Crewe to select a side to play the Scottish Football League. 14 They also decided to act with subcommittees of the F.A. and the services to study the problem of player call-ups to the militia and reserves. 15

During the week the potential war situation became obviously more tense. The newspapers announced on the day before the opening of the 1939-40 season, August 25, "Unless the International situation takes a more serious turn, tomorrow's Football League programme will be carried out." 16 Elsewhere in The Times a caption under a picture of Helsinki harbor reads, "Space is being reserved for a number of passenger vessels bringing foreign visitors to the Olympic games next year." 17 On Saturday, August 26, the season began in good weather. However, the newspapers of that day also show pictures of precautionary shelters being built, drills practiced, and people boarding ships for the United States. 18 Undoubtedly many teams saw the same headline as did Brentford in Liverpool after their opening draw with Everton at Goodison Park, "There Will Be No War!" 19 But it was certainly shaky confidence, for while the

14 Min. FIMC, London, August 21, 1939.
15 Ibid.
16 The Times [London], August 25, 1939, p. 5.
17 Ibid.
18 The Times [London], August 26, 1939.
coverage of the weekend's matches, which were attended by over 600,000, gained much attention. There were pictures of a fine crowd at Chelsea mixed with another series of photos of sandbagging in London.\textsuperscript{20}

It is doubtful if most people knew that on the same day the Air Raid Precautions (A.R.P.) Department of the Home Office was forming its directive on the requisitioning of premises for Civil Defence purposes. It was under this circular that uses of premises for Civil Defence were authorized through the Home Office. It also stated that the cost of compensation would be met by the Exchequer.\textsuperscript{21} It was through this directive that football grounds were taken over and late in the war and after the war that monies were given for renovation after the use by the government. It was left to a directive in the following month to outline the method of compensation based on previous state of the property, percentage used by the governmental agency, and how heavy the use.\textsuperscript{22} Thus grounds such as Bramall Lane in Sheffield benefited after the war from this and were able to redevelop their facilities.

Games were played on August 29, and August 30, in the League and on Friday, September 1, it was announced, if there was any

\textsuperscript{20} The Times [London], August 28, 1939, pp. 3-5.


doubt, that the games scheduled for tomorrow were on.\textsuperscript{23} This was at the same time that the evacuation of children from London began.\textsuperscript{24}

Saturday, September 2 — Poland Invaded! County cricket matches in progress, which were three day matches, were either abandoned or cancelled immediately. Further greyhound racing at various sites in London was cancelled until further notice. The London to Brighton Walk was cancelled. Certain theatres closed and radio changed to only two wave lengths.\textsuperscript{25} However, a bulletin from the Home Office concerning soccer stated that the situation did not warrant cancelling matches. Thus a full schedule was played in the Football League.\textsuperscript{26}

What was the day like? What were the feelings of those who attended the games that day? Very little relating to possible war could be found in a number of game programs of that day, such as the Albion News of West Bromwich and others. The Brentford game program carried the usual club news on new admission prices, the draw for the London Challenge Cup, and a note that the loudspeaker system had been paid off. The writer stated, "Well, it seems to me September the second is just a little early to prophesy the results of April, 1940. A lot of water will run under the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{23}The Times [London], September 1, 1939, p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{24}Ibid., p. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{25}The Times [London], September 2, 1939, p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{26}Ibid.
\end{itemize}
bridge before then."

How right he was! On the last page there is the only hint of worry. An editorial-type drawing shows a man beginning to walk through the turnstile, there is a notice on the wall, "First League Match vs. Huddersfield." The man is looking over his shoulder with a scowl at a storm cloud entitled "crisis." Under the picture is the caption, "Let's forget our troubles for a couple of hours and see an honourable fight." The club and supporters must have felt crisis close at hand as T. Cheetham, the center forward, had just been called up by the reserves.

Spectators and players felt this to be the last League football for a long time.

I can remember it very, very well. Everyone enjoyed it and I had the feeling we were clutching at the passing minutes, almost every movement on the field, and wondering how long it would be before we would attend a League match again. And I'm quite sure the crowd at Brentford that afternoon and at Fulham the same evening didn't really believe it would be all those long years before League football was resumed. There was a spirit of optimism that a war couldn't go on all that long, that common sense would prevail. How wrong we were!

The very unusual late Saturday kick-off of the game at Fulham, the last League match before the war, was rescheduled as explained in The Cottager's Journal, the official program of the Fulham F.C.

Owing to the evacuation scheme coming into force and the operation of one way traffic on certain roads up to 5 o'clock

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28 Ibid.

29 Sends, interview.

it was realised that some supporters would have difficulty in travelling to the grounds and therefore it was decided to alter the time of the kick-off to 6:30, instead of 3:30 p.m. 31

On Sunday, September 3, 1939, war was declared against the enemy and everything related to entertainment came to a full stop as outlined previously in the Air Raid Precautions Department circular of June 1938.

Chapter 6

THE WAR YEARS: SEASON 1939-40

From this point forward, the organization and administration of football during the war itself will be examined. In particular, the emphasis will be on the functions of the governing bodies, the Football League and the Football Association. Consideration is also given to the Army Football Association. The relationship of the game to the war directives of the Ministries of the national government is considered. Thus activities revolving around the game itself, players, transportation, scheduling, economics, and related areas are developed.

The month of September, 1939, saw a great collection of meetings to decide the course football would take in wartime. All was done in the uncertain light of what enemy action could bring at any time.

The reaction of some soccer fans at the declaration of war must have paralleled that of a long-time lady supporter of Brentford, "My goodness, there goes my football!"¹ She was not concerned that one could be bombed tomorrow. Such was the hold of

the game on many persons in Britain. No doubt most were more subdued in their concern, but still wondered immediately what was going to happen to soccer.\footnote{Statement by Leslie Yates, personal interview, May 10, 1971.}

On September 5, the Football League president, Mr. W.C. Cuff, announced that clubs should retain their players under contract, to stand by, as a result of the government’s order to close places of entertainment. Contract suspension was at issue and the Management Committee was to meet at Crewe tomorrow.\footnote{The Times [London], September 5, 1939, p. 10.}

Thus an Emergency Meeting of the Management Committee met on September 6, to make necessary immediate decisions. After discussions the following points were decided upon.

1. The advice to the clubs to keep players standing by was cancelled today and the clubs were liable to pay players through September 6, 1939.

2. Sign-on bonuses and removal expenses were to be cleared immediately.

3. Season ticket refunds could not yet be given, but must be made uniform.

4. Those matches already played in the League were to be counted as cup ties and if the regular schedule resumed later the return matches would be played on similar terms.

5. Injured players were to follow end-of-season procedures
when making claims.

6. Proposed Inter-League games with Scotland and Ireland were cancelled.

7. Any alternate schemes for competition when soccer resumed were deferred.

A subcommittee headed by President Cuff and Messrs. Brook Eirst, Barcroft, and Tempest were elected to carry on League business during the suspension of the game.4

On September 8, 1939, a meeting of the Football Association was called in London in accordance with the decision of the Consultative Committee in September, 1938. The Management Committee of the Football League was also present for the purpose of deciding the course of action to be taken in regard to the game. Their first action was to act in accordance with the government's proclamation and Rule 27 of the F.A. Rules; all football under their jurisdiction was suspended until further notice.5 This resolution did not apply to services' football. Other important decisions included:

1. In the event that the permission of the Home Office was gained, the secretary, Mr. Stanley Rous, should announce that friendly matches, which would not draw large crowds, may be played provided permission is first obtained from the local police head-

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quarters.

2. Clubs employing professional players should be notified in writing that agreements be suspended as of September 8, 1939.

3. Registration of players with the F.A. is to remain effective in order to bar players from playing for teams other than those teams registered with the F.A.

4. All arranged representative matches for 1939-40 season are suspended until further notice.

5. It was agreed to spend £1,000 on footballs and equipment for the Army. Also the secretary had talked with the G.O.C. Home Forces concerning use of the F.A.'s resources, in particular a panel of coaches, trainers, and masseurs. This was well received and under consideration. Also, several clubs offered their facilities so that troops could participate in recreative exercise. A list would be made up and sent to the War Office. 6

It was with this meeting that the War Emergency Committee of the F.A. began to function, taking over the interim controlling powers of the Consultative Committee. Mr. Frowde chaired this Emergency Committee. Mr. Stanley Rous was the secretary. Mr. W.C. Cuff also served. It totaled 15 members and included representatives from the armed forces. Thus did the first historic wartime meeting of the F.A. end. 7

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.
On September 9, the Queen's Park Rangers off-duty players were to play an Army team at the Rangers' stadium. There would be no public admission. Why this match was arranged could not be found as this match was four days before the government announcement that allowed friendly matches. The government, undoubtedly due to the absence of bombing or other overt hostilities, decided to permit soccer to restart on a limited basis. Mr. Rous duly conveyed this to the Association, its clubs and membership, on September 13, 1939. The major points were that

1. friendly matches could be arranged except in areas banned by the Home Office, provided permission was first obtained from the local police headquarters.

2. professional clubs should consult the league in which they participate in regard to the payment of players and insurance, and,

3. in neutral and reception areas, where it is found that practicable prewar fixtures exist, these may be played on schedule but are to count only as friendlies.9

The newspapers announced the same day that many professional clubs had made arrangements for friendlies for Saturday, September 16. Certain clubs, such as those in the London area, were forced to travel outside the restricted areas, where potential bombing or


defence complexes were located. The games included Arsenal at Cardiff, a long traveling distance, Q.P.R. at Aldershot, Millwall at non-League Guildford City, and Bury at Manchester City among the many scheduled.

September 14th the F.L. Management Committee met in Preston to summarize events to date and plan future events, as was possible. The problems of insurance and match wages resulted in (1) no payment being made to players until a decision was reached by the War Emergency Committee of the F.A., and (2) the Federation will cover all players' insurance during friendlies upon the levy of two percent of the club's share of the gate.

The president proposed

...that the Management Committee request the War Emergency Committee of the Football Association to take all steps to enable the Management Committee of the Football League to arrange a Sectional Geographical Competition, in order to provide much needed relaxation for the general public.

This was, of course, seconded and passed. The conditions of this competition were then outlined, as follows:

1. Players registered or retained by clubs as of September 5, 1939, were to be in force until further notice.

2. All players on the list of any club could play for any other club within reasonable distance of his work or residence.

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10 The Times [London], September 13, 1939, p. 4.  11 Ibid.

12 Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meeting, Preston, September 14, 1939. Records of the F.L. Hereafter cited as Min. FLMC.

13 Ibid.
3. All players in League sanctioned games must abide by its rules and regulations.

4. Professionals could be paid a maximum of £2-0-0 for each match. (Later it actually was reduced to a maximum of £1-10-0). Only twelve players were to be paid.

5. Proceeds of each match were to be shared between the two clubs according to the F.A. Cup Rules.

6. Each team was to pay the League two percent of its share of the net gate receipts for all F.L. controlled matches for League expenses and insurance of players under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

7. Home clubs were to appoint referees and linesmen, whenever possible from the season's League handbook. Fees were to be a guinea for referees, and 10/6 for linesmen. No club report on officials was deemed necessary.¹⁴

Two non-League teams, unnamed, wished to take part in regional competition. There was also the agreement that clubs should send to the League a list of the players in each match, and the result, on forms already provided for League competition.¹⁵

During the same period meetings were held between representatives of the Home Office and the F.A. These meetings held during the period of September 13 to September 21 formed the initial guidelines on which soccer could be resumed. These included the limiting of crowd size at games, as resultant damage and loss of life

¹⁴ Ibid.
¹⁵ Ibid.
would endanger morale. The limit would be stringent in restricted areas and those attending would have to spread themselves over the whole facility. There was concern for air raid shelters at the grounds and how warnings were to be given. This was discussed as well as as a feasible method of crowd count. The problems of Police and Transport authorities with arriving and departing spectators was examined. If a competition did develop, similar guidelines as had been used for the 1915-16 season would be initiated. Subject to local police authority matches would be played on Saturdays and public holidays. It was hoped a definite arrangement concerning match payments and players appearing for clubs other than their own would be decided shortly.\textsuperscript{16}

The first set of friendly matches were played on September 16, with crowds ranging from 2,000 to 9,000, and a total of 117,000 for 28 matches involving League sides.\textsuperscript{17} The Scottish League decided to resume activities with fees to be given to players and visiting teams.\textsuperscript{18}

Germany announced she would honor her international schedule, playing Hungary on September 24 at Budapest and Yugoslavia on October 15, at Belgrade. Switzerland had cancelled her match with Germany but the Germans hoped to reschedule the August 17th

\textsuperscript{16} "Football in Time of War," President's Report, Min. FIMC, Crewe, September 20, 1939.

\textsuperscript{17} The Times [London], September 18, 1939, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
cancellation with Sweden. 19

A meeting of a special subcommittee of the F.A. on September 18, decided to let players participate for clubs other than their own. It suspended the Amateur Cup Competition, and voted that the F.A. should give 500 guineas to the Lord Mayor of London's Red Cross Fund. Concerning wartime payments to the F.A. staff, it was decided that the difference between military wages and normal pay would be made up by the F.A. Further it was decided that competitions could be sanctioned by the county F.A.'s. 20

The F.L. Management Committee met again on September 20. Here some normalcy begins to occur at the meeting as some usual business of transfers, registrations, and removal expenses are given attention. Late arrivals of referees and teams to matches (a problem to haunt the matches the rest of the war) in August and September were approved. 21 The Committee stated it was not incumbent on clubs to give a refund on season tickets when an alternate competition had been arranged. However, this was still an individual club matter. Clubs were to notify the F.L. if they were to participate in a competition. 22

At this meeting a directive was read from the secretary of the F.A. stating that the Home Office had agreed to allow both

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19 Ibid.


21 Min. FLMC, Crewe, September 20, 1939. 22 Ibid.
friendly and competitive football to be played on a local tournament basis only. The important features of the directive included:

1. Local police authorities were to decide in all cases ground regulations. As a guide, in evacuation areas the limit was 8,000 spectators or one half the capacity, whichever was less.

2. In neutral or reception areas all arrangements must first be reported to the local police.

3. In grounds over 60,000 attendance may possibly be up to 15,000. It was hoped these would be ticket only, purchased a day ahead, to prevent a buildup of people at the turnstiles. People were always to be distributed around the facility.²³

However, this procedure of selling tickets in advance did not work in London. A conference was held with the police commissioner by Mr. Allision of the Arsenal F.C. and Mr. Hewitt of Millwall F.C. It was decided that grounds in London which could handle 15,000 spectators would be permitted to sell tickets on the day of the match.²⁴ Note also those localities classed as evacuation areas included many areas of London, Nottingham, Portsmouth, Southampton, Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Bradford, Leeds and many others.

Also at the September 20th meeting in relation to the F.A. Memorandum #3 on player fees, the F.L. decided upon a 30 shilling match payment with no additional payments for travel.


²⁴The Manchester Guardian, October 7, 1939, p. 4.
to home matches. West Ham decided to pay all of its players 30/- per match, whether they appeared for a game or not, so as not to work a hardship on those on duty. This affected about 24 men in all. However, this policy applied only to players who had joined the Army prior to September.

Further the F.L. ruled that travel to away matches be limited to approximately 50 miles and that there be no match bonus payments, nor championship medals or trophies. The minimum charge at the gate was to be one shilling with the military, boys, and ladies excepted. The secretary was to develop a competition along the lines of the 1915-16 rules and allot suitable geographical areas for clubs, subject to Committee approval. Therefore, fixture making was in the hands of the secretary of the F.L.

Reaction to the new competition is given by the sportswriter of The Times who felt that with new, low pressure competition footballers would be free to experiment with skills and thus advance the game. At no time is there any question of payment of players or an editorial longing for amateurism as there was during World War I. All eleven London clubs decided to participate.

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25 The Times [London], October 11, 1939, p. 15.
26 The Manchester Guardian, October 12, 1939, p. 2.
27 Min. FLMC, Crewe, September 20, 1939.
28 Ibid.
29 The Times [London], September 23, 1939, p. 2.
in regional leagues. They were also allowed to play home games.\textsuperscript{30}

Clubs began to evaluate whether they would participate in the regional leagues. The fifty mile travel limit was amended so that matches could be played if the round trip could be made in a day. This allowed clubs such as Portsmouth and Southampton to play London clubs. Newcastle could play in Yorkshire and clubs further out such as Barrow and Carlisle could play in Lancashire.\textsuperscript{31}

The city of Birmingham illustrates the differences in procedures that occurred even in the same area because of the autonomy and authority of the local police. They were denied the use of their ground and thus had to play all their matches away. Aston Villa was not affected since they decided not to enter the regional leagues. However, West Bromwich Albion, located just outside of Birmingham and under the constabulary of Staffordshire, were allowed to play.\textsuperscript{32}

The second weekend of friendlies were played on September 23, and in London there were crowds of 8,000 at Brentford and Millwall.\textsuperscript{33} The following week it was reported that the Scottish Football League would divide into eastern and western leagues and were to begin competition on October 14th.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{31}The Manchester Guardian, September 26, 1939, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{33}The Times [London], September 25, 1939, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{34}The Times [London], September 27, 1939, p. 3.
It was announced on September 28, that the pools which had gained such popularity before the war, would not be resumed. The pools are commercial betting, placed by mail, on a series of soccer matches. The Sporting Record, which was a betting form sheet, as well as a sports informant, gave its vested interest arguments in favor of the pools, suggesting that pools coupons be placed in the newspapers, thus eliminating the postal step. They argued that the pools gave the government tax revenue, kept people working, and at any rate were "harmless amusement" for millions.

On the third Saturday of wartime friendlies an average of 3,000 attended the matches, but only two matches drew the limit of 8,000. This occurred at Reading, who played Arsenal, an attractive strong side seldom seen in that third division city, and at West Ham's local derby with Fulham.

In addition it should be noted that nearly 20 amateur matches were reported. The Home Security report made these possible as "arrangements have been made with the appropriate controlling bodies for limited numbers of people to attend sporting fixtures at football grounds and greyhound racing tracks."

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35 The Times [London], September 28, 1939, p. 5.
36 The Sporting Record, October 4, 1939, p. 2.
37 The Times [London], October 2, 1939, p. 2.
Cinemas, theatres and other entertainments may remain open until 10:00 p.m., except in central London where a 6:00 p.m. closing time was fixed.\textsuperscript{39}

The following week The Manchester Guardian reported that the Lancashire F.A. would restart their combination competition with 12 or 14 clubs.\textsuperscript{40} On October 2nd the F.L. Management Committee agreed on an eight regional league competition, with each having eight to twelve teams. Eighty-two of the 88 League teams were to compete.\textsuperscript{41} The clubs not participating were Aston Villa, Sunderland, Derby County, Exeter City, Ipswich Town, and Gateshead.

Other points emerging from the F.L. Management Committee meeting then were:

1. It was decided not to admit non-League clubs to the competition.

2. Since it was believed that broadcast games brought relaxation to the worker, it was agreed to put the games on the Forces and Home Service radio, subject to the agreement of both clubs.

3. Clubs closing down were not immune from injury claims by their players participating with other teams, but players were covered by insurance when playing with other League clubs.

\textsuperscript{39}Tbid.
\textsuperscript{40}The Manchester Guardian, October 4, 1939, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{41}Min. FIMC, Crewe, October 2, 1939.
4. Members of the F.L. staff called to military would be "paid their regulation salary less the amounts received from the service."

5. A proposal for a London section of the eleven London teams plus Southend, Luton, Reading, Aldershot, and Watford was vetoed. 42

This latter London club difficulty was to be a constant irritation to the Football League and many clubs for many coming months.

In addition to the previous announced regulations governing the new competition, the following were also endorsed.

1. Any prewar regulations not applicable would be suspended.

2. Travel expenses equivalent to third class rail and 2/6 meal money for both home and away matches would be paid, but no expenses for training would be paid.

3. Only players of League clubs would be eligible for insurance.

4. The usual League point system of two points for a win, and one for a tie, would be in effect.

5. Players could participate for only one team unless permitted by his registered club. 43

The Arsenal, whose grounds were requisitioned by the A.R.P., and Birmingham were to play all games away. Arsenal played at Tottenham's ground on alternate weeks.

42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
The London clubs, however, were unsatisfied with the Football League's splitting of the London clubs into two sections for the competition and even met to protest this action. But after what was believed to have been pressure by the F.A., they decided not to break away from the League.\textsuperscript{44} It is believed this protest centered around added travel for the London clubs and loss of certain attractive local derby matches. The London area clubs were to play their two section competition by February 3rd and fill the remainder of the year with a second competition.\textsuperscript{45}

On October 9th the schedule for the first day of regional league competition, October 21, was given.\textsuperscript{46} This indicates the continuance of soccer on an organized basis. Furthermore, a headline on October 14, stated "Winter Sports in their Stride. All Branches Busy."\textsuperscript{47} suggests other sports are active, too. At this juncture a view of other sports' activity during this period will be given so that soccer's position in the general realm of sport can be seen, as well as the overall sports picture in the early war period.

All sport and various entertainments came to a full stop upon the outbreak of war. The following is a synopsis of the happenings in some selected activities. Greyhound racing began planning for restarting at Brighton, Southend, and Wembley less than two weeks

\textsuperscript{44} The Manchester Guardian, October 5, 1939, p.2.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{46} The Manchester Guardian, October 9, 1939, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{47} The Manchester Guardian, October 14, 1939, p. 5.
after the war began. In this connection corridors under the stands at Wembley Stadium were approved for air raid shelters. Rugby union had seen many of its clubs heavily hit by enlistments in the Territorial Army since 1938, but by October 14, 1939, the schedule was up to fifty percent of the previous year. The Australian team who had arrived at Plymouth for a series of matches and found a war were instead sand bagging Torquay.

By early October the sports pages note that cycling road races have resumed as well as golf club competitions, and amateur soccer shows a great number of Saturday matches as does field hockey. Boxing also reopened in Liverpool on a weekly basis. One also sees American baseball scores still appearing with regularity. These were no doubt due to the great numbers of American businessmen and tourists, who even at that time, were in abundance in London.

The Rugby League began its friendlies on September 16, and plans for its county championships, rather than a full league championship, began at once. One of the most unusual contracts given a player came in this sport. A clause in it was

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48 The Times [London], September 12, 1939, p. 4.
49 The Times [London], September 13, 1939, p. 4.
50 The Manchester Guardian, October 14, 1939, p. 5.
51 The Times [London], September 8, 1939, p. 10.
52 The Times [London], September 16, 1939, p. 3.
53 Ibid.
inserted into the transfer of O. Morris, the Hunslet standoff, when he was signed by Leeds just before the outbreak of the war in 1939. It was agreed that payment of the full fee of £1500 was conditioned upon the player surviving the war. Unfortunately he failed to do so. 54

Morris was killed in Italy in 1944. No other contract of this type could be found during the investigation of other sports.

The Rugby League Council decided upon a fee of 20/- per match and admission of one shilling. Clubs could also pay their players an additional 5/- for lost work time when traveling to the distant clubs of Barrow and Hull, and these two clubs could pay the additional fee for their away games. 55 Thus the Rugby League was under way on a competitive basis by mid-October.

Therefore, the sportswriter on October 14, could be optimistic in his column, but even he was amazed at the greater rate of progress "than seemed probable or even possible in the first week or two of confusion caused by the outbreak of war." 56 The following week would see the regional soccer leagues begin and thus along with the Rugby League county competitions, "the institution of these represents a great step towards something like normal play." 57 It also notes that clubs in most sports "are finding shortage of players the least of their obstacles in resuming play." 58

55 The Manchester Guardian, October 12, 1939, p. 2.
56 The Manchester Guardian, October 14, 1939, p. 5.
57 Ibid. 58 Ibid.
Thus was the position of sport in mid-October. A very fine recovery had been made aided greatly by the decisions of the government and the public, which was receptive to its continuance. Of course, the major factor was the lack of hostilities on the home front with the enemy action confined to the Continent. But in this early war scene one sees bits of irony beginning to emerge. Saracens, a fine London rugby union club, had built a new pavilion on their ground just prior to the war. This was requisitioned by the Army as a Sports Centre. Saracens were to play this Army XV and thus had to return to their own ground at Southgate as guests.\(^{59}\)

Just prior to the beginning of the new regional league competitions an evaluation of professional soccer to this point was given in *The Manchester Guardian*. The correspondent believes the regional plan to be the best available arrangement and while London clubs may grumble at being split up there are enough extra dates to book attractive friendlies, which is what must also be done in soccer-packed Lancashire. Also, if the smaller clubs such as Aldershot and Southend had been left out, it would have deprived their supporters of attractive football. It would be grossly unfair not to include the F.A. Cup winner, Portsmouth, at any length.\(^{60}\)

Another factor concerning the type and quality of the games was discussed. It had been hoped by many observers, as those of the press, that through the system of friendlies and the

\(^{59}\)Ibid., p. 3. \(^{60}\)Ibid.
attendant less competitive strain on the players that there might be more experimental and less hectic style of football. The writer lamented that this certainly had not happened to that point as while some matches had shown promise in this direction, there have been reports "of players being sent off the field — an ironic comment indeed on the title of the games." Evidently a player cannot abruptly change his competitive attitude just because a game is classed as a friendly.

On October 18, the first representative football match for the Red Cross and St. John's First Aid War Fund was played at Aldershot. The 'shots were normally a homely, small Third Division South club struggling to survive. But the military base there expanded immensely when war broke out and many famous players were stationed there for various periods of time giving the local club a tremendous pool of players from which to draw. Thus it was this day as an Aldershot and Army team lost 0-1 to an F.A. XI picked side, which drew 10,000 spectators. There were fifteen internationals in the combined lineups that day. Only five were regular Aldershot players.

October 21st saw the opening of the competitive regional leagues and several teams drew between 6,000 and 8,000, but the crowds were moderate in most areas. The following Wednesday,

61 Ibid.


63 The Times [London], October 23, 1939, p. 3.
an early closing day in most areas, saw the first midweek matches played, which included a proportion of friendlies. 64

Players at this time probably did not experience too many difficulties in getting to games. The Ministry of Transport stated since there had been no bombing or other destruction that "the improvement of long distance passenger services, together with the re-introduction of a limited service of restaurant cars and improved sleeping car facilities has done much to meet the criticism of these services." 65

After the rush of emergency meetings, the Football League settled to more regularly scheduled gatherings. In late October their meeting reviewed the following:

1. Substitution of players would not be allowed in matches.
2. There would be no objection to a limited number of midweek matches.
3. The suggestion that for away matches payment for lost work time be made was voted down.
4. No players were to play in the Irish League unless a transfer was obtained.
5. Insurance of players would include only matches in regional competitions and friendlies between first teams of League clubs.

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64 The Times [London], October 25, 1939, p. 3.

65 War Cabinet, Home Security Report. Fortnight ended October 29, 1939. Records of the Home Office, Great Britain. These were paragraphs relating the work of the Ministry of Transport.
6. Results of matches were to be reported with players' names, and in the case of guests the report was to include the club with which he was registered, to the League office within three days of the match, and the League's percentage of the gate was to be sent within six days.

7. The B.B.C. assured the Management Committee that wartime broadcasts would set no further pattern. They also reported the Blackpool-Manchester United game on the 14th of October had been picked up by a French station and relayed to troops.

8. The president noted that he had been invited to represent the League on a committee, later called the Duke of Gloucester's Red Cross and St. John's Appeal, to organize sports' efforts on behalf of the Red Cross Fund. The first endeavor was the F.L. XI v. an All-British XI at Everton on November 4. The teams were selected and approved.

Few lineups will be given in this study because there were so many changes in selected teams, right up to game time, due to last minute leave cancellations, poor transportation, and a myriad of other reasons. So total accuracy in recording is impossible. Thus teams will be given only for a particular or illustrative reason.

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67 *Min. FLMC, Manchester, October 25, 1939.*
The meeting of the F.A. the last of October set several aspects of policy.

1. The F.A. would bear the expenses of representative matches for the Red Cross.

2. It decided that the grant of £1,000 of September 8, 1939, should be divided among the three services, and not just go to the Army,

3. It sanctioned the F.L. competition for this season.

4. They felt they still could not recognize Sunday football even in wartime, but would appoint a subcommittee for further investigation.

5. Several matches were sanctioned for charity. The F.A. XI to play the Welsh F.A. on November 11, 1939, was chosen by W. Brown, and the return game on November 18, was chosen by W.C. Cuff. Both were members of the War Emergency Committee. 68

This pattern of choosing representative teams by the F.A. and F.L. continued. There were great numbers of these games and selection by a committee would have been too time consuming. Those in charge made their selection upon the advice of those who had seen League games, as the selector himself could see few games, and upon player reputation. As the war progressed, who was available and off duty was also a prime consideration and many last minute replacements were commonplace. 69


69 Statement by Ernest Miller, personal interview, May 18, 1971.
The Disciplinary Committee was concerned with several situations of misconduct of players, even though many of these matches were friendlies. A Colchester United (Southern League) player was suspended for one month, and players in the Doncaster versus Notts County were suspended for 14 days.\textsuperscript{70} Again showing players were still competitive even though the games were not.

The guidelines for arranging benefit matches in behalf of the Red Cross were given. They were as follows:

1. Ground must be free of charge.

2. Players fees will be met for Saturday matches. F.A. will advise for midweek matches.

3. Expenses and fees of attendants, groundsmen, gatemen, and the like will be met.

4. Insurance of players will be made.

5. Normally all spectators must pay, but servicemen at half price.

6. Teams will be called "a F.A. XI" or "a F.L. XI."

7. Sponsoring clubs can apply for exemption from the entertainment tax as gross receipts are for charity.

8. To augment receipts collection points should be placed around the ground.

9. The match program should detail the work of the fund and the sports subcommittee of which Mr. Wigram is chairman.

10. Receipts will be paid within seven days.

\textsuperscript{70}Min. FAWBC, London, October 30, 1939.
11. Place, advertising, press facilities, travel arrangements, film, dressing rooms, and half-time refreshments are further concerns to be dealt with. 71

Another important activity was also updated at this same meeting, that of the Army Physical Training Corps. Personnel from the coaches and players on the panel and register of the F.A. were taken into the Army as groups of about twenty and underwent a physical training course at Aldershot. Arrangements were made for a number of men known to the F.A., who had enlisted as privates in the Territorials, to be specifically transferred to the P.T. Corps at Aldershot. Each course was to be of three weeks duration and the syllabus would include military etiquette, drill in the barrack square, practice in duties of the non-commissioned officer, theory and practice of the Army's "daily dozen," work in the gymnasium, hygiene, and recreative physical training. Talks by the F.A. staff on recreation were given periodically and football matches were arranged with teams in the vicinity. Each man received a 2/- daily allowance and those passing the course were given the rank of Sergeant-Major and allowances appendant to that position.

It was hoped a similar program could be started in the R.A.F. 72

Many famous players served in this P.T. Corps, including Joe Mercer, and Walter Winterbottom, who headed the R.A.F. physical training corps. Denis Compton, who felt at that time he was never

71 Ibid. 72 Ibid.
more fit, was also among the many who were in this group.\textsuperscript{73} It also afforded these players many opportunities to participate in matches due to home duty.

There were some criticisms from the public and other areas, such as the political, of the heavy use of footballers and other athletes in the P.T. Corps and the resultant easy duty. The Inspector of Physical Training, Col. T.H. Wand-Tetley, answered these in the press. He felt that these men were serving the nation well, working long hours to provide recreation for the troops and

...recreational instructors are some of the hardest-worked men in the Army....By their experience gained from sport these instructors know the best P.T. methods to adopt. Irreparable damage can be done to recruits if the training is too severe. In the last war there were many cases of heart trouble caused by instructors who did not know their business.\textsuperscript{74}

Many from the P.T. Corps played in a great number of representative games during the war and their presence without question stimulated people to go to the charity games and thus contributed to the war effort. But one must wonder how much of an expert a player can be on the physiology of exercise after a three week course.

In November, the football betting pools resumed. This pastime had a huge following just prior to the war. Begun in the thirties, this form of low wager - high pay off betting on soccer

\textsuperscript{73}Statement by Denis Compton, personal interview, April 13, 1971.

\textsuperscript{74}The Manchester Guardian, January 18, 1940, p. 2.
was obviously inviting.75 One weekly sports paper had attacked the Football League for trying to crush the pools, stating that a poll at several grounds favored the pools by 90 percent.76 A rather biased sampling to say the least, but it was indicative of their popularity. The League had indeed not been in favor of the pools at that time. They did not want any association with gambling interests to touch the sport. League fixtures were not copyrighted at that time and thus the private pools companies could use the announced schedule as they saw fit. In a letter to the Home Office in late September Mr. Rous stated his concern about pools restarting again. He was afraid they would lead to "undue excitement" and make it difficult to maintain control over the game. He also feared an unwholesome atmosphere in military camps if pools were permitted there.77

The powerful Football Pool Promoters' Association made up of member firms, through Parliament and consultations with the Postmaster-General developed a plan whereby the pools could operate. Under this the Unity Pool was developed to save paper and cut postal handling. An advertisement coupon was printed in the newspaper. This cut the home mailing step. The investor then mailed the coupon to an address closest to his home, where it was


bagged and sent to Liverpool to the two administrating companies, Littlewoods and Vernons. “Soon sizable wins, eleven thousand pounds for a penny in one case, were being recorded again, and were evoking indignation among the moralists.”

The Unity Pool was popular, but there was a drop in participation due to war conditions and more men going abroad. This released many women coupon checkers who went to work on barrage balloons. Even the Littlewoods' buildings were used for rubber dinghy manufacture and boxing vehicles for the war zone as the war progressed. Thus there was a contribution by the pools to the war effort. Unity carried on only a short time after the war and in 1946, all companies resumed separately.

Football was beginning to set itself into a routine at least, even if there was not what could be called normalcy. The F.L. XI versus an All-British XI at Liverpool on November 6, tied 3-3 and drew 15,000 to Goodison Park. In Cardiff on November 11, England and Wales drew 1-1 before an unrestricted crowd of 28,000. The return match at Wrexham the following week saw England defeat

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80 Fabian and Green, Association Football, III, p. 445.

81 The Times [London], November 6, 1939, p. 2.

82 The Times [London], November 13, 1939, p. 2.
Wales 3-2 in which 17,000 persons paid a total of £1,060 to view a good game. During this time the regional leagues functioned as scheduled.

In rugby an important decision was reached. Rugby League players would be allowed on rugby union teams during the war period. These two groups had had little interchange between them to this point as the amateur-professional attitude differences were too strong.

In mid-November the Army F.A. held its first general meeting since war began. Major Anderson was the chairman and the secretary reported that at the outbreak of war, instructions had been received through the Army Sport Control Board that all associations were to close down for the duration. Accounts were closed and funds were given to the Control Board for safekeeping until the war was over. The important decisions reached at this meeting included:

1. A War Emergency Committee was appointed to control the Army F.A. as long as necessary, with Major M.A. Green as chairman.

2. For the duration examination of referees for third class would cease. Applications for promotions will be considered by the

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83 The Times [London], November 20, 1939, p. 2.
84 The Times [London], November 14, 1939, p. 4.
Emergency Committee.

3. Any game in which the title "an Army Team" or "an Army XI" was to be used must be referred to the Committee for approval.

4. A match versus the French Army in Paris was deferred.

5. In games involving an Army sanctioned team a percentage of the gate was to be paid to the Army F.A. War Emergency Committee. The book Games and Sports in the Army was published in spite of the war by the Army Sport Control Board. The Army F.A. manual for 1939-40 ceased publication, however.

The game was settling into enough of a routine for the Surrey Football Combination to be formed in late November. This included nine teams from the Southern and Isthmian Leagues. Even the draw for the London Senior Cup (amateurs) was held. The Southern League had resumed operation on November 4, with a reduced number of teams, five in the Eastern Section and eight in the Western Section. Each played a separate home and away schedule. This limited operation was the final season until 1945-46 for them. Another of the now-proliferating representative charity matches

86 Ibid.
87 The Times [London], November 17, 1939, p. 10.
88 The Times [London], November 28, 1939, p. 8.
89 The Times [London], November 30, 1939, p. 3.
was played on November 25, and an F.A. XI defeated the Army at Reading 4-1.\(^1\)

The F.L. Management Committee met in late November and acted on the following:

1. Charlton Athletic was fined for payments in excess of 30/- to players in friendlies in late September. They had been previously warned.

2. The Players Union pressed the question of £2 per match. The Management Committee after examining November's attendance figures voted it down.

3. As some clubs were using officials not on the League list, it was reemphasized that they should try to do so.\(^2\)

Other usual business of player payments, general transactions and venues for Red Cross games were conducted.

As the Russians invaded Finland in early December 1939, regional games and representative matches still flourished. England defeated Scotland 2-1 at Newcastle before 15,000 as both sides fielded almost full-international level teams and the great Stan Matthews had another excellent game.\(^3\) The increased call-ups to the military and work in civilian defence took their toll though, as one notes more guest players for teams and clubs loaning players to the opposition so that they would have a full complement.

\(^{91}\)The Times [London], November 27, 1939, p.2.

\(^{92}\)Min. FIMC, Manchester, November 22, 1939.

\(^{93}\)The Times [London], December 4, 1939, p.3.
It was announced by Count de Baillet-Latour on December 4, that the Olympic Games for 1940 were cancelled and that plans in Finland were abandoned, although not officially renounced by Finland until April 1940. In announcing their decision the Finnish minister of Education and Propaganda mimiced the typical British understatement. After the Finns had been brutalized by the Russians his country declined to host the Olympics "due to the abnormal situation between the Great Powers." 94 The United States’ offer to organize the games was rejected as Europeans could not cross the Atlantic. Germany had previously renounced her right to the Winter Games at Garmisch as the Olympic Committee would not award the games to a belligerent country. 95

In soccer, one can see how some clubs stayed strong, at least early in the war. The Arsenal, the dominant force in English soccer in the thirties, could still put virtually all of their prewar team on the field each week. Many Gunners had enlisted in the A.R.P. until Army induction and were stationed at or near the Arsenal, since Highbury had been converted to an A.R.P. post. 96 Thus the Arsenal drew larger than usual crowds, especially at grounds where they would not normally be seen in League competition. This is also why the club could take on an Army team at Aldershot.

94 The Manchester Guardian, April 4, 1940, p. 3.
95 The Manchester Guardian, December 4, 1939, p. 2.
and win 1-0. In the Army team one notes the great number of Physical Training Instructors such as Cullis, Holly, Musgrave, and Edelston.

Older players also appear in games, although not nearly to the extent as seen in American wartime baseball, as Walker, who had first appeared for Aston Villa in 1914 and was a prominent player after World War I. He played for Notts County against Stockport County in a friendly match.  

The F.L. met in mid-December and decided the following:

1. It rescinded the Charlton club's fine of the previous meeting, as other clubs had overpaid players in error. No further action was taken.

2. Players could be insured only when traveling with the club party, not as an individual.

3. The court ruled for the Bolton club in the case of Dilworth vs. Bolton Wanderers. Here an individual was trying to recover his money for a season ticket purchased before war broke out. The decision was based on the similarity of the Coronation cases when King Edward the VII's coronation was postponed due to his illness.

That normal business could now be transacted was illustrated when

97 The Times [London], December 14, 1939, p. 2.
98 The Times [London], December 16, 1939, p. 3.
99 Min. FIMC, Manchester, December 19, 1939.
several Crystal Palace Football Club authorities were suspended for irregularities in 1936-37.\textsuperscript{100} It should also be noted that the issue of overpayment of players was not dead. An editorial in The Sporting Record in January 1940, hints at some malpractices when it condemns the illegal high fees, £3, paid to some players for matches. However, the editorial feels that the clubs could pay more as many are doing well at the gate.\textsuperscript{101}

The Christmas-New Years period saw the usual set of holiday games played. However, the holiday season also saw the beginning of some of the worst winter weather ever experienced in Britain. The newsmedia were not allowed to give weather forecasts or review the weather until well after it happened for security reasons. But when a full schedule of scores should have been reported and only a few results appeared, it was easy to surmise what had happened. In many cases this could be done by looking out the window! Thus many games were not played due to fog on December 23.\textsuperscript{102} During the holidays Rugby League played its first wartime international with Wales defeating England 16-3. A F.L. XI beat an all-British XI 3-2 on Boxing Day at Wolverhampton. In this match Cullis, after missing a train connection, came on as a substitute 15 minutes into

\begin{footnotes}
\item[100] Ibid.
\item[101] The Sporting Record, January 10, 1940, p. 1.
\item[102] Min. FIMC, London, January 21, 1940.
\end{footnotes}
the game. 103

January 1940, proceeded fairly well until the weather became extremely bad in the latter half of the month and postponements mounted quickly through February due to heavy snow and frost. 104 Rationing, which would affect clothing, materials, paper, petrol (gasoline), food and about all other areas of life to an increasing amount through the war, also began in January. It would, of course, affect soccer.

Difficulties that were eventually to become routine were seen. Postponements or abandoned matches were creating a backlog to be played and it was the League's discretion as to whether any abandoned match should be counted or replayed in full. This situation was further complicated as midweek games were at a minimum and Saturday dates full. The Millwall team had been an hour late arriving in Norwich and they agreed to play 35 minute halves to get the game played. However, they still had to abandon the match in the second half. 105 Still there is no mention of weather as the reason!

Wartime provided some chances for the unusual as in a game with Tranmere Rovers, where Everton won 9–2.

After Everton scored their ninth goal, Sager, the goalkeeper, was called on to take a penalty kick. After running the length of the field he had the shot saved. The ball was

103 The Times [London], December 27, 1939, p. 2.
104 Min. FLMC, Manchester, February 26, 1940.
swept away the other end and Sager got back only just in time to prevent Tranmere scoring.  

The type and quality of soccer was the subject of an editorial. The previous year the average number of goals was three per match. One year later the average was between six and eight and this could be an all time record. Whether that be so or not there is little doubt about the entertainment value of this football in which the word 'stalemate' seems to be obsolescent. But goalkeepers, qualifying for those pictures which all tell stories as they strain their backs picking up the ball for the umpteenth time must be questioning the wisdom of Dr. Johnson's preference for being attacked rather than ignored.  

The question of how players could arrive for games, move into a lineup in which they knew few, if any, of the other players and play at least creditable soccer arises, as well as how a game conducted in this fashion could even resemble soccer. This was answered in several interviews with Denis Compton, Henry Cockburn, George Teasdale, Les Yates, and Roy Peskett. The players at that time could be more individualistic as there was very little emphasis on tactics. The most advice a team might get before a game might be to go out and "get stuck in." In fact it was not until Walter Winterbottom became national coach in 1946 that players ever practiced before an international match together. Prior to that time, those selected did not come together until the night before

106 Ibid.

107 The Manchester Guardian, January 1, 1940, p. 6.
in a hotel or not even until the day of the match.\textsuperscript{108} Thus during the war period players had a common understanding of the game.

Several meetings of the controlling bodies occurred during January. The Football League disclosed that the railways would give cheap travel arrangements to parties of four or more players and that players could be paid for postponed matches, if they were already at the ground or on their way to play. Many postponed matches were rearranged and several charity matches were scheduled.\textsuperscript{109} Another example that routine business could be transacted is illustrated by the fact that Fulham and West Ham United were given permission to give wedding presents to players.\textsuperscript{110}

At their meeting the Football Association decided to

1. retain the registration of professionals with the F.A.,

2. review the bulletin of the Ministry of Home Security of December 19, 1939 which stated that special matches may have more than the regular limit for 60,000 capacity stadium, if tickets were sold ahead and the F.A., not the club, applied to the local police,

3. turn down the game of the London League versus the Paris League in March, 1940, but approved the British Army versus the French Army in three French cities in February, and


\textsuperscript{109}\textit{Min. Flmc}, London, January 21, 1940.

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Ibid.}
4. poll the clubs, before planning the organization for next year. Many more F.A. XI representative matches were approved and teams selected. The Disciplinary Committee had its usual share of misconducts to handle. It was duly noted that football equipment donated to troops, some through F.L. clubs, totaled 456 soccer balls, and 424 pairs of boots.\footnote{Min. FAWEC, London, January 22, 1940.}

The progress of the Physical Training courses in the services was reviewed. The Physical Training Instructors course at Aldershot was going well and the third group had just completed work. The R.A.F. Physical Training was getting underway under the direction of the recently commissioned W. Winterbottom of Manchester United and Carnegie College, Mr. Kilkenny, the Yorkshire amateur, and T. Whittaker of the Arsenal Football Club. They selected forty men from a prepared list of players and officials from the F.A. and would commence training in January. The Royal Navy was still in the process of developing their course.\footnote{Ibid.}

The Army F.A. met on January 24, and decided the following:

1. Arrangements were made for inter-allied matches. These should be even further encouraged and representatives of the various allies contacted to schedule these.

2. They would encourage close cooperation with civilian sports groups.

3. The War Emergency Committee of the Army F.A. will
control Army football during the war. It included Lt. Col. Sharp, the present chairman, and various command representatives and co-opted members Stanley Rous and Mr. Whitty of the F.A.

4. Regulations for representative teams were given. Only those selected by the Committee can be designated "Army." All others are to be called "an Army XI." The F.A. (English) offered cooperation with grounds and match aid.

5. Players selected for representative matches will be given traveling expenses, officers in first class, all others third class.

6. In regard to professional players in the Army and civilian teams it was decided that these players are primarily with the Army and then their units. "Permission to play in any match for their registered clubs is dependent upon the consent of their commanding officer and it is to them that request for permission to play should be addressed."¹¹³

In this regard, the commanding officer had absolute authority on permission to play.¹¹⁴ It is understood that some commanders were more avid football supporters than others when it came to giving players leave to play for civilian teams.

By January, some clubs playing began to feel financial


difficulties. It was speculated that the two Bradford clubs would have to amalgamate due to small gates and a heavy rental at Bradford Park Avenue. If this merger occurred they would play at Valley Parade, the home of Bradford City. Southend United decided to continue through the season instead of closing down at the end of the regional competitions on February 3, and will continue in the second Southern competition.

Weather still played havoc with the schedule in January and February. January 27 saw only seven of 59 scheduled matches played in what was the coldest weather since 1894, and the frost, snow, and fog had caused hundreds of deaths. On February 3, only one of 56 was played, but it was a lively match as Plymouth Argyle beat Bristol City 10-3. The backlog of games became so heavy that the Management Committee of the Football League spent most of their meeting in late February rescheduling matches, as it had been previously decided that all matches should be played.

In mid-February the British Army XI went to France for a three game tour against the French Army. This saw a 1-1 draw at Parc des Princes (Paris) and British wins at Rheims' Stade Municipal, 1-0, and at Lille, 2-1. The newspapers announced undoubtedly for

115 The Manchester Guardian, January 11, 1940, p. 2.
118 Min. FLMC, Manchester, February 26, 1940.
security reasons, on February 12 that they could no longer make announcements of cancelled or about to be cancelled sporting events.

At Leeds on March 1, a meeting of all League clubs was called to formulate plans for the remainder of the season. A director of Preston North End voiced the concern of many clubs. He felt that because of the coordination of the various government regulations due to so many directives, taxes, and rates that the teams "nearly needed a Red Cross Fund of their own." The pressure for an extended season due to the weather was put forth and adopted, subject to F.A. approval. This was to include a knock-out competition, that is, a single elimination tournament. Other decisions included:

1. The knock-out tournament would include all who were presently competing. The competition would be regional first, with winners moving to the national.

2. No players were to appear for more than one team in the tournament.

3. For the tournament the match bonus would be restored, that is, £1 for a win, and 10/- for a draw.

It was advocated that the F.A. should use its influence to gain use of its ground for Birmingham, the only one restricted under the Public Entertainments Restriction Order. As a West Bromwich

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120 Minutes of the Special General Meeting of the Members of the Football League Ltd., Leeds, March 1, 1940. Records of the F.L.

121 Ibid.
official stated

First class football undoubtedly supplies a very necessary relaxation to thousands of workers engaged on National Service, and this Meeting earnestly hopes that the Birmingham Club will be able to use its ground in the near future. 122

Three days later, the F.A. approved an extension of the season to June 30, 1940, an extremely late date. The season was extended because of the weather difficulties of the winter. This did not meet with enthusiasm from cricket interests and the F.L. had many letters from cricket groups, but the matter was left to individual clubs in any clashes. 123 The F.A. also announced that their Red Cross Appeal and soccer's contribution to the Lord Mayor's Fund now totaled £ 9,138. 124

The Management Committee of the F.L. in March then decided
1. to extend the professional season through June 8, 1940,
2. to give a trophy at the end of the season tournament to the winner of this competition entitled "The Football League (War) Cup" with medals awarded to the finalists, in spite of the decision in September against awards,
3. to have the third division play the preliminary round,
4. to permit only League clubs to participate, including Sunderland and Gateshead who did not participate in the League

122 Ibid.
123 Min. FLMC, Manchester, April 27, 1940.
124 Min. FAWEC, London, March 4, 1940.
5. to give 35 percent of the proceeds to each club in each match and 30 percent to the League pool for distribution at the end of the season.\textsuperscript{125}

It is also interesting to note that the Football League Cup while popular during the war years was not revived until 1960 and then with only moderate enthusiasm. Not until the late 1960's was it accepted as a major competition.

Another sign of the times was the use of youths in matches. Wolves fielded six teenagers in a match against Leicester City,\textsuperscript{126} as more seasoned players were called to the services. Besides call-ups to the services, another difficulty faced by some of the more prominent clubs was the great number of charity matches and the resultant use of their players in them. Manchester City protested to the F.A. concerning the frequent use of their players called to these games. With many of their players also in the military they had difficulty in fielding a team.\textsuperscript{127} Many of the lineups for these charities were drawn regionally for supporter interest and thus heavily affected local clubs.\textsuperscript{128}

The Army F.A. decided to sponsor an Inter-Allied knock-out competition in May. Since the Army and R.A.F. had so many professional

\textsuperscript{125}Min. FIMC, Manchester, March 11, 1940.

\textsuperscript{126}The Manchester Guardian, March 9, 1940, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{127}The Manchester Guardian, March 21, 1940, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{128}The Manchester Guardian, March 30, 1940, p. 5.
footballers they would be seeded until the semifinal. The venue
for the final would be on a London ground.\textsuperscript{129}

At the Easter period a question arose in the House of
Commons by a Labourite from St. Helens. He asked the Minister of
Labour to check a tube manufacturing company in Oldbury as it
appeared there were from 12 to 18 West Bromwich Albion players working
in munitions there. Experienced men in the firm had had to meet
their military obligation and footballers with no knowledge of the
work were employed. Was this preferential treatment and would the
Minister please investigate the allegations? Mr. Brown, the Minister
of Labour, said he would make enquiries.\textsuperscript{130} This charge was replied
to in the Albion News, the official program of the West Bromwich
club. It stated that when war began players were on their own to
obtain employment outside football and "the conditions of circumstances
of their employment are entirely a matter between themselves and
their employers, and the Albion as a club had no say in them."\textsuperscript{131}
The writer stated as soon as a Parliamentary statement was given he
would reply. Unfortunately no statement could be found from Parliament
nor a reply in the Albion News, as only a short period remained in the

\textsuperscript{129}\textit{Min. Army FAWEC, London, March 15, 1940.}

\textsuperscript{130}\textit{Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates...5th ser.,
Office, 1940). This volume is cited as 440 H.C. DEB. 5s.}

\textsuperscript{131}\textit{The Albion News, West Bromwich Albion F.C. Official
Programme, March 30, 1940.}
season. In the 1940–41 season the program became a single sheet which included only game essentials and advertisements. Where, how, and why this episode ended could not be found.

Players, especially the outstanding ones, presented a problem to clubs who would have liked to have guested them on short notice if only adequate insurance coverage could be attained. A scheme was devised whereby a telegram could be dispatched to the League immediately before a match to gain this coverage. The rate averaged 12/6 per match for £ 1,000 coverage in regional matches and the War Cup. 132

April 8.—Germany invaded Denmark and Norway and trade with Scandinavia stopped completely. This affected the Lancashire woolen and finished goods industries. 133 Work difficulties seem to have had no effect on attendance in the area as other entertainments were at a minimum and admittance charges to soccer grounds were small.

Make-up games, various cup games, internationals, and the return of decent weather all combined to make April a very busy football month. The international at Wembley drew 40,000. The largest crowd since war began saw B. Jones’ goal give Wales their win over England. Players were paid £ 4, referees £ 2-2-0, and linesmen £ 1-1-0 for the game. 134 Many dignitaries were present, as the Earl of Athlone, the new Governor of Canada, Princess Alice,

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132 The Manchester Guardian, April 4, 1940, p. 2.
133 The Manchester Guardian, April 11, 1940, p. 12.
134 Min. FAWEC, London, April 12, 1940.
Princess Helene Victoria, and Lady Abel Smith.\textsuperscript{135} This game became a center of controversy with the F.A., Everton, and the prominent player, Joe Mercer. Everton had informed the F.A. they would not release Mercer for the Wembley match as they were to play Liverpool in the semifinal of the Lancashire Cup the same day. The loss of Mercer and T.G. Jones for Wales would detract support.\textsuperscript{136} The F.A. informed Everton that Mercer must play at Wembley. The Welsh F.A. did approach T. Jones due to play in the Lancashire Cup match.\textsuperscript{137} However, Mercer no doubt with club pressures in mind played in Everton's 4–1 win over Liverpool.\textsuperscript{138}

This, of course, brought action and a hearing by the F.A. The position of service professionals had been clarified in early April. The Army reiterated that the commanding officer had the sole authority.\textsuperscript{139} On the other hand, the R.A.F. was more explicit saying that the English F.A. would have priority if there was a simultaneous call on a service player.\textsuperscript{140} The F.A. enquiry met at Crewe on April 22. On reviewing the case it was brought out that

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{135}The Manchester Guardian, April 15, 1940, p. 2.  \\
\textsuperscript{136}The Manchester Guardian, April 2, 1940, p. 2.  \\
\textsuperscript{137}The Manchester Guardian, April 13, 1940, p. 11.  \\
\textsuperscript{138}The Manchester Guardian, April 15, 1940, p. 2.  \\
\textsuperscript{139}Correspondence of the Army F.A. to the Football Association, April 15, 1940, from the Min. FAWEC, London, April 12, 1940.  \\
\textsuperscript{140}Correspondence of the Royal Air Force F.A. to the Football Association, April 11, 1940, from the Min. FAWEC, London, April 12, 1940.
\end{flushleft}
the Everton officials had openly defied the F.A. Rule 41, which
obligated players to appear in representative matches, and had
pressured Mercer into playing for the club, and that they were
aware of the ramifications. As a result two directors were suspended
and the club was made to pay the cost of the enquiry.\textsuperscript{141} The
club had been "severely censured" as the newspapers phrased it.\textsuperscript{142}
Mercer was absolved of all blame. Even today the club versus the
country call has not been worked out to everybody's satisfaction.
And while wartime football was supposed to be a pleasant diversion
from war worries, it was certainly taken seriously by the people at
many levels as this indicates.

Due to the lack of enemy action, the F.A. after consultation
with the Home Office announced that all amateur and professional
teams will be permitted an attendance of half of the holding
capacity for crowds at their grounds.\textsuperscript{143} But the enemy action in
Norway was affecting sport and the reporting of it in England. The
attack on Norway cut the supply of wood pulp for paper, and thus
newspapers had to decrease their size.\textsuperscript{144} This begins to show in
editions within the next few weeks. The effect this had on sports
sections will be dealt with later.

\textsuperscript{141}``The F.A. Report of the Commission of the F.A. appointed
to enquire into and deal with alleged misconduct by Everton F.C. and
A Sgt. Instr. J. Mercer'' meeting at Crewe, April 22, 1940, from
Min. FAMEC, London, May 20, 1940.

\textsuperscript{142}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, April 27, 1940, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{143}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, April 19, 1940, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{144}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, April 18, 1940, p. 4.
With still little action during the "Quiet War," the Scottish League hoped to return to normal league organization of two divisions with promotion and relegation and increase the match fee to £ 2 per week.\textsuperscript{145} At the Scottish Cup final 75,000 were in attendance.

As the English season was coming to a close plans were being formulated for 1940-41, some rather strange in organization. One suggestion was for four regional leagues, but left out many clubs due to extra travel,\textsuperscript{147} a rather poor excuse as some were in the heart of an area of several teams and would have had to play a schedule of friendlies. Plans were developed as the early summer came.

However, the war situation now stepped up its pace as Germany moved into Belgium and Holland, and as the Monday Bank Holiday was cancelled Churchill replaced Chamberlain as head of the government.\textsuperscript{148} This had no effect on soccer as Saturday's full schedule was played and England (Welsh) and Scotland (Dougal) drew 1-1 before 75,000 at Glasgow. The same day the Wembley Sports Arena was taken over by the government to accommodate Belgian and Dutch refugees.\textsuperscript{149} Motorists were warned to take distributor caps

\textsuperscript{145} The Manchester Guardian, May 2, 1940, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{146} The Manchester Guardian, May 6, 1940, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{147} The Manchester Guardian, May 10, 1940, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{148} The Manchester Guardian, May 11, 1940, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{149} The Manchester Guardian, May 13, 1940, p. 2.
out at night to prevent cars being taken by the enemy parachutists. 150 The next day Germany began massive attacks into France.

Still even at this point very little seems to affect soccer's schedule. Huddersfield made a nine hour motor trip to London for the War Cup, as the Germans reached the French Coast at Boulogne. 151 Even Fulham and West Ham United set an evening time (6:40 p.m.) for their War Cup semifinal on Saturday to allow more war workers to attend. 152 Mr. Harold Nicolson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information, warned that shortly "the Germans may land thousands of Men in Britain." 153 As the Dunkirk evacuation was in progress West Ham United beat Fulham 4-3 and drew 32,797 at Chelsea. Blackburn drew 14,238 in the other semifinal with a 1-0 win over Newcastle. But it had been a long season and many teams out of the running drew less than 1,000 spectators. The various leagues had survived. Even the Lancashire Combination was won by the Rochdale Reserves. 154 The fact that a reserve side could function was certainly a test of fortitude itself.

Why did soccer and other sport continue at this grave

150 The Manchester Guardian, May 17, 1940, p. 5.
154 The Manchester Guardian, June 3, 1940, p. 2.
time? One view is given in Calder's book.

From such sights as this following during the Dunkirk evacuation the myth of the perfidious English drew great strength. Returning to London after handing out tea and chocolate to two long trainloads of French poilus at Guildford station, Mrs. Robert Henry observed that 'all along the line young men in flannels were playing cricket in the sunshine on beautifully tended fields shaded by stalwart oaks and popular trees.'

Calder is quick to point out all were not of the same feeling of the situation as letters to the Radio Times were indignant about the B.B.C.'s reporting of sports results in these grave times.

On the eve of the War Cup final something of the "fluidity" of teams could be seen. The majority of the Arsenal were to appear for West Ham United against Charlton in a regional match.

On Saturday, when Arsenal met Southampton one of the West Ham directors went into the Arsenal dressing room and persuaded Hapgood, Drake, Curtis, Joy, L. Jones, Bastin, Scott, and L. Compton to play at Charlton....The Welsh international L. Jones expects to turn out for four clubs this week. He promised to help Fulham last night, West Ham tomorrow, Southampton on Thursday, and is free for anyone who wants him on Saturday!

In the case of West Ham, they wanted very much the "wartime double" of winning the League Cup and the South C Regional League for their manager, C. Paynter, who was completing 40 years with the club. This did not happen as West Ham finished second in the South C Competition.

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155 Calder, p. 111. 156 Ibid. 157 The Manchester Guardian, June 4, 1940, p. 2. 158 Ibid.
The first War Cup final, which all hoped would be the last, drew over 50,000 for the evening game at Wembley. West Ham (Small) winning 1-0 over the Blackburn Rovers. The Cup and medals were presented by Mr. A.V. Alexander, The First Lord of the Admiralty. The attendance of royalty and government officials at this and other important matches supports the heavy backing of soccer and its part in the war effort. The wounded troops, all admitted free, drew "a deep-throated roar which expressed the universal homage." Roy Peskett remembers this incident.

Right in the middle of the Dunkirk evacuation, I can remember during that match the request, 'Will you all listen at half time, I have a very important announcement to make!' Of course, I thought either they'd landed or something like that. He said, 'There are six heroes here today. Men who have just come back from Dunkirk, been to the depots, and got refitted and come here to watch the football match!'

The broadcasting fee for this match for the B.B.C. was five guineas which by today's standards is amazingly low.

The regional leagues were also finishing the same day and Newcastle United participated in two games in the same day defeating Leeds 3-1 away and tying Bradford City 4-4 at home. Newcastle fielded two separate teams that day. While this did not become common practice several other instances did occur during

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159. The Manchester Guardian, June 10, 1940, p. 2.

160. Ibid.


162. Min. FIMC, Harrogate, June 22, 1940.

the war. Sometimes one team would play two others or, as happened at holidays the teams played each other home and away the same day.

The distribution of the League's pool money, not to be confused with the Unity Pools, to the participating clubs in the War Cup averaged about £160 per club. The Management Committee met in London at the time of the Cup final and were able to dispense with major business in suspending several Leicester City directors for irregularities over a period of years and the club received a heavy fine.

This end of the active season saw other sports as cricket at least moderately active. Cycling, golf, rugby union, and even speedway (motor cycle racing), and dog and horse racing were going well. The Rugby League, although having financial problems, as it does even in peacetime, still finished well as Swinton won the Lancashire League and Cup while Bradford Northern topped the Yorkshire League. Featherstone won the Yorkshire Cup on the late date of June 22. There is also reporting of schools' cricket during the summer.

When assessing the first full wartime season some things were important for the continuance of soccer in the even more trying times to come. These points include the following:

1. Soccer was given governmental backing to restart

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164 The Manchester Guardian, June 11, 1940, p. 2.
165 Min. FIMC, Harrogate, June 22, 1940.
166 The Manchester Guardian, June 24, 1940, p. 2.
and continue as a vital part of recreation for war workers and the military. The presence of dignitaries at games also gave added support.

2. Soccer also provided a means of raising funds for various war charities.

3. Professional players provided their skills through the Army and R.A.F. Physical Training Corps.

4. Organization for a war-based game had been set up which would allow the game to continue in the even more trying times in the near future. The lack of war on the home front must be credited with providing time for this development, as a combination of bombing and the winter weather would have certainly wrecked the game.

Even an editorial at this time questioning some leisure activities during the war made no reference to competitive sports, such as soccer and rugby. The attacks were against dog and horse racing as questionable sporting activities and the resultant amount of petrol used by spectators to get to race meetings.167

Many, if not most, clubs lost money in the 1939-40 season. As examples, Port Vale lost £2,200; Sheffield United, £6,440; Bury, £4,300; and Middlesbrough, £8,400.168 Aston Villa, who did not compete in the League, participated in the Birmingham area, and

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167 The Manchester Guardian, June 14, 1940, p. 4.
168 The Manchester Guardian, June 18, 1940, p. 2.
lost £ 11,751. Others lost varying amounts, even the F.A. lost £ 13,000 on seasonal operations. These amounts are not surprising on examination of the records. The clubs still had the usual prewar expenses for grounds, repairs, equipment, transfer fees and other usual expenses outstanding when war broke out and the wartime admissions were small. As the war continues these huge deficits decrease because of the 30 shilling per match salaries, minimal ground staff, reduced travel expenses, make do equipment and almost non-existent administrative wages. Even with expense cuts some clubs could not continue. Smaller leagues were also in difficulty. The Northern Midweek decided to be dormant for the war, but the Lancashire League wished to continue as long as possible. The Scottish League found it could not return to normal operations and retained its regional operation for the remainder of the war.

Late June saw enemy aircraft beginning raids in the Northeast, Southeast and South of England and as the last men return from Dunkirk Churchill believes the "Battle of Britain" is about to begin. Many theatres are again closing. But soccer continued undaunted. A program entitled "Fitness for Service"

169 The Manchester Guardian, June 20, 1940, p. 2.
170 The Manchester Guardian, July 8, 1940, p. 7.
171 The Manchester Guardian, July 1, 1940, p. 7.
172 The Manchester Guardian, July 24, 1940, p. 2.
173 The Manchester Guardian, July 2, 1940, p. 4.
was begun and developed very fast through the efforts of the Central Council of Physical Recreation, the Football Association, and several military and governmental agencies. Here amateur and professional club grounds were used for evening fitness courses. Full equipment and instruction was provided. In the first weeks over 190 training centers had been set up across the country and at the end of three months more than 40,000 men had participated in the program.174

In mid-July rationing became more stringent, especially with foodstuffs, which, of course, affected refreshment sales and half time refreshments for teams.175 Taxation also jumped in July on income, luxuries, estates, and entertainments. This one hit heavily at football.176

As the summer meetings of the governing bodies organized, several suggestions appeared such as clubs scheduling their own games, reducing the number of regional leagues, returning to amateur status as in World War I, and adding Sunday play. Manchester City and others advocated Sunday as a professional playing day. They felt if English teams could play on the Continent on Sunday, there was no reason why they could not do so at home.177

174 *Victory Was the Goal*, p. 13.
175 *The Manchester Guardian*, July 9, 1940, p. 5.
177 *The Manchester Guardian*, July 17, 1940, p. 2.
Chapter 7

THE WAR YEARS: SEASON 1940-41

At the Annual General Meeting of the Football League at the end of July, the President noted the upcoming season would be very difficult due to possible invasion attempts, population evacuation, transport difficulties, player shortage, ground requisitions by the government and the Home Office could make no recommendations concerning these. However, the Management Committee urged continuance of the regional competition. Only one club voiced dissent.\(^1\) The following points were decided for the 1940-41 season:

1. Goal average would decide records of the clubs, since the number of games scheduled by each club may not be the same. Abandoned games may have to stand with the score as fully played.

2. Clubs would make their own schedule and turn it into the League.

3. There would be only two sections, North and South, but clubs would schedule teams closest to them for their schedule and

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try to play at least 20 games. The motion that the League should return football to an amateur status was voted down 26-13. These decisions were made and Dover was attacked that night.

Some clubs were making weekly allowances to their players who joined the forces in the same way as other business concerns. This, of course, eased the financial situation of the service footballer. While some clubs were closing down, Liverpool was planning to run a first team and a Reserve XI. Many of the teams, whether functioning in the League or not, ran a youth team in local leagues during the war. This put them in very good position in the years immediately following the war. Preston North End, Charlton Athletic, Aston Villa, and Wolverhampton Wanderers are examples of these clubs. Even the Lancashire F.A. began a junior competition in 1940.

Many teams had to switch grounds in order to keep going. Preston, whose ground was taken by the government and eventually used for a prisoner of war camp, moved their grounds to the Leyland Motors F.C. ground four miles from Preston. Arsenal continued to use the Tottenham ground on alternate Saturdays and

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2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
Southend United moved to the Chelmsford ground. Since Southend was the point where enemy planes turned to go up the Thames and bomb London, it was a major defence area and football was restricted in the area. Many other grounds such as Blackpool and Sheffield United had their grounds used for storage by various service units.

The F.L. meeting in mid-August announced a schedule of matches for 34 teams in both sections. Midweeks would be played only in accordance with local early closing days and late kick-offs would be permitted so as not to interfere with industry and not to "encourage men to ask for special concessions with regard to working hours to enable them to play in or watch a match." The Rugby League decided to continue after a communication from the Ministry of Labour which stated "that the Government desired that football clubs should do their utmost to provide sport entertainment and relaxation during the coming winter." All but two clubs were to start in the separate Lancashire and Yorkshire competitions.

The Battle of Britain was stepping up in coastal area cities, such as Portsmouth and Southampton, in the industrial areas, and, of course, in London. In spite of this, the new soccer season opened in the midst of the blitz. Seven hundred enemy planes had

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8 Statement by David Robertson, personal interview, April 5, 1971.

9 Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meeting, Manchester, August 12, 1940. Records of the F.L. Hereafter cited as Min. FLMC.

10 The Manchester Guardian, August 8, 1940, p. 2.
been reported over England the previous day in daylight raids.\textsuperscript{11} An editorial noted this starting under such difficult conditions, but the games' recreational value for both player and spectator, its non-interference with the industrial war effort, and its light claim on public transport make it all worthwhile.\textsuperscript{12} As for the prospects for the coming season, the writer thought the season should have been delayed about a month in opening as the winter weather should diminish the enemy attacks. But it is here and it was hoped that players would be released for civilian teams "as they were last season with wonderful regularity."\textsuperscript{13} Everton and Liverpool looked strong again and "Merseyside, whose interest in the games sometimes borders on the fanatical, and is not damped by a mere war, should continue to have rollicking times."\textsuperscript{14}

A new problem confronted clubs for on game days there were now air raid warnings. The League, through Mr. Howarth, issued instructions as received from the Ministry of Home Security to be followed at the advent of an air raid siren.

1. Match was to be suspended until the "raiders past" was sounded.

2. Management will advise spectators to take the provided shelter on the ground or they are at liberty to go home.

3. Match will not be abandoned unless the warning comes shortly before the end or no shelter is available at the ground.

\textsuperscript{11}The Manchester Guardian, August 31, 1940, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 3.  \textsuperscript{13}Ibid.  \textsuperscript{14}Ibid.
4. Local police may modify any of these regulations.\textsuperscript{15} The major problem with the above regulations was that "nuisance planes" were seen, the alert system sounded and the games interrupted when no real danger existed in the area. This eventually led to stationing of spotters on the roof tops to warn of real danger. Clubs felt they were discriminated against since the government had encouraged them to continue, but now advised undue precautions, and this regulation did not apply to crowded theatres or congested shopping areas.\textsuperscript{16} It was not until December that an "efficient spotter system" was allowed, which satisfied the clubs.\textsuperscript{17} The clubs did not feel they could give consolation tickets once play had started and spectators had to take the risk with the club, since the players had to be paid even if the game was abandoned.\textsuperscript{18}

No firm figures could be found concerning the number of games abandoned due to enemy action, since scores stood as finals even when the matches were abandoned in many instances. Many were interrupted, especially in heavily hit London, but the vast majority resumed the competition, and as the system of spotters developed, and the Battle of Britain subsided, fewer were stopped, especially when the raids were a distance away. This statement is made after

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 7.

\textsuperscript{16}The Manchester Guardian, November 7, 1940, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{17}Minutes of F.A. War Emergency Committee Meeting, Nottingham, December 16, 1940. Records of the Football Association, London. Hereafter cited as FAWEC.

\textsuperscript{18}The Manchester Guardian, November 1, 1940, p. 2.
examining results of the number of games played and many interviews with players, spectators, officials, and newsmen, who were active during this period.

Amazingly enough, though the docks area and East End of London were literally mauled by the bombing, clubs in the area, such as Millwall, West Ham, and Charlton's youth team continued. Charlton's first team discontinued for a short period because of low attendance due to evacuation of the area, not as a result of enemy action.\(^1\) Perhaps the spirit of the area was characterized by Low's editorial cartoon in which a German bomber, drawn as Göring, drops a bomb on East London, but the bomb bounces off a huge "Cockney Heart."\(^2\)

War conditions did affect clubs, however. Queen's Park Rangers cancelled their game at Norwich City for September 14, because they could field only three players. The rest were in the police, munitions, or other work and could not return to London in time for the night shift.\(^3\) But the top players were available in a game between Notts County and an Army XI. Eighteen internationals were present.\(^4\) At this time to give some coordination to their efforts the rugby union teams set up a bureau for soldiers who

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\(^1\) Statement by Charles Hall, personal interview, May 4, 1971.

\(^2\) *The Manchester Guardian*, September 12, 1940, p. 2.

\(^3\) *The Manchester Guardian*, September 13, 1940, p. 2.

\(^4\) *The Manchester Guardian*, September 23, 1940, p. 2.
wanted a game when in London. One F.L. official had suggested placing a person in charge of a region to act as a "clearing house" to be sure players knew of games available. Nothing came of this, however.

The Football League met in late September and

1. Again approved the broadcasting of selected matches.
2. Affirmed that matches abandoned due to war conditions were to stand as results. All of these were in the London area.
3. Suspended several amateur players for up to a year for accepting payments. Professionals were suspended and clubs fined for faulty registering of players.

Another example that people who attended and played still took the game seriously, even though in the midst of the bombing, occurred when the referee ordered both teams to the dressing room briefly at Crystal Palace in their match against Millwall following an incident with players and crowd. In another match Liverpool and Stockport fans had several fights. But in given areas, as in the South, the competitions were not arousing much public enthusiasm due to many interruptions and a standings based on goal average.
Admissions were raised by the League in mid-October to 1/1 to offset the raise in the entertainment tax levied on October 6th.\textsuperscript{29} Some clubs hoped to absorb the increase, which had been 2d. on the shilling, without raising prices of admission.

The Football League who had adopted a "wait and see" policy concerning the second half of the season decided upon a knock-out tournament for the competition beginning in February with the winners from the North and South meeting each other in the final. All games were to be on a home and away basis. Those clubs eliminated in early rounds were to form their own games and competitions.\textsuperscript{30}

The Football League in order to accommodate this competition extended the season to May 3, 1941.\textsuperscript{31}

At the F.A. War Emergency Committee meeting it was announced that the rationing problem would be eased for clubs because the Ministry of Food had authorized "the issue of permits to enable clubs to provide refreshments for the players taking part in matches."\textsuperscript{32} Another decision which clarified an earlier decision by the F.A. affected Sunday football. The Association would have no objection to war workers playing football on Sunday, provided that the works team had gained permission from the county F.A., that the club could not possibly play on any other day, that no gate was taken,

\textsuperscript{29}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, October 10, 1940, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{30}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, October 21, 1940, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{31}Min. FLMC, Nottingham, October 21, 1940.

\textsuperscript{32}Min. FAWEC, Nottingham, October 21, 1940.
and that the teams be restricted to members of the works club. 33
This limited approval was the first step in the vast Sunday programs
seen today in Britain. No Sunday football had existed prior to the
war and many in the F.A. vowed it would never occur, but the war
forced changes that had lasting effects. 34

Another change that appeared during the war according to
Leslie Yates, a free lance journalist, was the handshake after the
game. 35 This was very seldom seen prior to the war, but it is the
custom today. Players were thankful for having made it through
another week of the war as well as the uncertainty of each others
future seems to have brought this about.

The F.L. Management Committee met in Blackburn in late
November for routine business. The F.A. met in Nottingham in
December with two significant decisions.

1. During the war period referees will be able to officiate
   with glasses. This would include a re-registration of referees who
   from 1937-38 had to wear spectacles.

2. Leicester City had applied for a loan on its damaged ground
   but was told to go to the local authorities who had the power to
   make grants under urgent circumstances. 36

The latter evidence that football's entertainment and morale value

33 Ibid.
34 Statement by Ernest Miller, personal interview, May 18, 1971.
36 Min. FAWEC, Nottingham, December 16, 1940.
to a community was very important.

As the Battle of Britain subsided, what may be termed the "Battle of London" began. The London clubs during October and November made it known to the F.A. and F.L. they were not happy with the arrangement of leagues and scheduling as concerned them and wished to form their own section, stating that travel and transport were their main difficulties. Attendances at away matches could not have been a major complaint, as clubs such as Reading and Aldershot out drew most London teams.\textsuperscript{37} Clubs, such as Portsmouth and Southampton, needed the London clubs for attractive fixtures, as did small clubs like Brighton, Bournemouth and Southend. At a series of meetings, excluding any other clubs, the London clubs decided to continue under the League structure until the season ended in December and then to decide what direction to take.\textsuperscript{38} The activities of the London clubs will be followed through the next year as their disagreement with the F.L. progresses.

Two clubs outside of London were heavily affected by the bombing. In mid-November the bombing of Coventry necessitated cancelling the remainder of their season's schedule.\textsuperscript{39} And in early December Sheffield, where the United ground was bombed, were able to continue by transferring their games to other grounds.

December holidays were cut seriously. Clubs could play

\textsuperscript{37}The Manchester Guardian, November 8, 1940, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{38}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39}The Manchester Guardian, December 3, 1940, p. 2.
only on New Years Day or Christmas, not both, as the war work was
to continue through the holidays, and the government did not want
to have workers drawn away from the defence plants. Clubs were to
schedule according to the official holiday in their area. 40

The Canadian forces had reached such proportions that
84 teams had entered the Canadian soccer tournament in six sections
with a final scheduled for March. 41 And there were enough good
players in England from other countries to play an Inter-Allied
tournament among the Czechoslovakians, Belgians, Norwegians, and
Dutch on a round-robin basis during February and March. 42

Another situation developed at this time with the London
clubs. This group, except Charlton, who had had to close down,
decided to continue through May and play a London Cup, which
included Reading and Aldershot, but excluded Luton, Southend,
Portsmouth, Watford, Brighton, and Norwich. These excluded clubs
then protested to the F.L. Management Committee, who suggested the
Cup be expanded with two sections, one of the non-London clubs.
This was not what the London clubs wanted and the other clubs stated
there would not be enough attractive fixtures if they ran their
own competition. 43 However, the London clubs' wishes prevailed.

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40 The Manchester Guardian, December 6, 1940, p. 6.
41 The Manchester Guardian, December 7, 1940, p. 4.
42 The Manchester Guardian, December 31, 1940, p. 2.
The Christmas holiday games produced some unusual situations. Norwich City smashed Brighton 18-0, as Chadwick scored six goals before 1,416 spectators and Norwich scored 31 goals in 3 matches.\textsuperscript{44} Clapton Orient lost their tenth game in a row, with 25 goals scored against them in their last three matches.\textsuperscript{45} Crowds averaged between three and four thousand, up from the previous weeks.

Probably the most involved match was at Stockport County's ground where Manchester United hosted Blackburn. United's ground was out of service due to bombing. This probably shows the human side as much as any other game. At game time Blackburn was four players short so the press-gang went around the ground asking for volunteers. Evidently those who found boots that fit were given positions. The hero of the day from the crowd was "little Hallam" who missed kicks and was knocked flat, but his challenges of the big United line earned first laughter, then cheers for his doggedness. United won 9-0 but to Hallam

It was something to have worn the colours of one of the most famous clubs in football history for an afternoon; a club whose fighting tradition suits well the character which the Stockport worthies served out to you 'By heck, but 'e were gam!'\textsuperscript{46} Other matches also show the accommodations which occurred to keep the game going.

\textsuperscript{44} Wartime records of the Norwich City Football Club, see entry for December 25, 1940.

\textsuperscript{45} The Manchester Guardian, December 30, 1940, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
There was a happy spirit of give and take; West Ham, winners of the League Cup last winter, played for twenty minutes with only nine men at Brentford. Brentford lent them a man after a tenth West Ham player appeared and the visitors went on to a victory by two clear goals.\textsuperscript{47}

This was the same weekend of the bombing of Hamburg and the memorial services in the recently bombed out Coventry Cathedral.\textsuperscript{48}

The Millwall-West Ham United tie was notable for the fact that "Millwall's manager W. Voisey, now fifty years old, filled a last minute vacancy in the team at outside right. West Ham a man short until halftime won 2–1."\textsuperscript{49} Probably one of the more complicated and humorous arrangements of guest players occurred in the following situation.

\begin{center}
Comedy of Two Clubs
\end{center}

Stoke City have given permission for four of their players, Westland (D.), Challinor, Kirton, and Antonio to play for Nottingham Forest against their own club at Nottingham on Saturday. Mr. Walker, the Forest manager, also desired permission for the same four players to assist the Forest against Stoke on the Stoke ground November 2. Mr. R. McGerty, the Stoke manager, however, has objected, and permission for this game has been refused.

As the first competition drew to a close at the end of the year, and a new series of fixtures were arranged for 1941, generally they were scheduled as each club desired. The standings were to be carried on over into the New Year and the standings were to be kept as before, Manchester City was leading in the North and West Ham in the

\textsuperscript{47}The Manchester Guardian, November 18, 1940, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{48}Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{49}The Manchester Guardian, January 6, 1941, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{50}The Manchester Guardian, October 30, 1940, p. 2.
South at this point. The year came to an end on the war front with President Roosevelt asserting the "U.S. must be the arsenal of democracy." London was still being bombed.

Early January saw the League Cup competitions as well as various other Cups, such as Lancashire, Midland, West Riding and London, the last of which the Football League would not recognize due to its closed admission. Games played in the cups would also count in League North and South competitions. During the first three weeks of January games in the League Cup would be qualifiers. The top 32 clubs in each section at the end of that period would go into the Cup proper. All games in the competition proper would be on a home and away basis. Again these cup games would count in the total standings. Since the standings were based on goal average three excellent games and three very poor ones could see a club jump or drop several notches. This was further complicated by Bolton and Blackpool, who did not play the first half of the season, but were to play in the preliminary round along with the winners of the games between the bottom six in the North. There were no seeded clubs. A rather involved situation even considering the difficulties of wartime.

The F.I. reluctantly approved the London Cup competition, because in September, 1939, the F.A. had given control of competitions

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52. Ibid., p. 5.
to the county F.A.'s and the London County F.A. had approved the London Cup. As a result a new competition for the clubs left out was organized for the second half of the season. The Football League South competition was scored on points basis, rather than on goal average, and it included Brighton, Bournemouth, Portsmouth, Southampton, Watford, and Southend United.

The F.L. met in mid-January to sort out matches abandoned due to war conditions in the Midlands and because of snow in the North. Certain players, by consent of the Committee would be sanctioned to appear for a second club in the Cup, and Southampton was permitted to play all their games away due to war conditions.

Later in the month the F.L. secretary Howarth announced that four savings certificates would be awarded to the winners, three to the losers in the final of the War Cup "because we think it unpatriotic to use gold for medals at the present time." The League also sanctioned Birmingham's entry into the Cup in place of Coventry City, who had had to close down because of the bombing.

In February Scotland defeated England 3-2, one of their only war time losses to Scotland, at Newcastle before 25,000 spectators. On the same weekend Les Compton scored 10 goals for Arsenal in their

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54 Min. FIMC, Sheffield, January 18, 1941.
55 The Manchester Guardian, January 9, 1941, p. 2.
56 Min. FIMC, Sheffield, January 18, 1941.
57 The Manchester Guardian, January 30, 1941, p. 2.
58 Ibid.
15–2 defeat of Clapton Orient. 59

Some fine crowds were seen in mid-February, such as 15,000 at Blackpool and 10,000 at Brighton in their game against Arsenal. 60

So the Cup games definitely increased interest over the drearisome goal average method of the League standings. But Blackburn Rovers chairman had to appeal to townspeople for better support or they would have to close down. 61

It should be mentioned here that other sports were proceeding along as sports columns give skeleton results of club lacrosse matches, field hockey, boxing, which had begun again in London and Liverpool, rugby union and collegiate swimming during these months. At this time Rugby League reached a point of near collapse. The Lancashire Cup was abandoned. Wigan and Oldham, the only survivors, went into the Yorkshire Cup. 62

In soccer Leicester City was following a program that a number of clubs began during this period. They were looking for boys 15 and older upon which to build the club after the war was over. They used a scheme of

Coaching with Employment

Scouts attached to the club are being asked to forward details of any boys of football promise in their areas who are anxious to take up work of national employment and be

60 The Manchester Guardian, February 17, 1941, p. 7.
taught a trade or profession while, at the same time, they are coached for possible football eminence.  

Football as mentioned earlier in this study was carrying on in the other war involved countries in Europe. The International Football Association met diplomatically in Zurich. There Germany was found pressing for allowing charging by players as long as they were going for the ball. The English, who did not attend the meeting, merely looked on this as Germany's attempt to impose the new order on sports and would not alter the British interpretation of the rule. 64

In the period that London was getting the 500th air raid alert, the F.L. sanctioned fully the Western League, which had begun after the break in competition at the Christmas holidays. For the first time non-League teams were admitted, three, in order that there would be enough teams for Cardiff and Bristol to play in the far-flung West Country. 65 The non-League clubs had to gain permission from a League team before guesting their players. 66

Attendance held up well with those clubs who advanced in the Cup competitions. There were crowds of 12,000 at Everton v. Manchester City (1-1) and West Ham had 14,000 against Arsenal (0-1). Crowds went well above 15,000 in the quarterfinals, but fell in many areas where meaningless regional matches were played. One cup match in the second round provided an unusual result. Barnsley and

64 Ibid.
65 Min. FLMC, Preston, March 8, 1941.  
66 Ibid.
Grimsby drew their first game, and in the return game were tied again in the 161st minute, total time, when the referee had to retire to go to military duty. Thus the game had to stop at that point. Due to the crowded schedule no further replay could take place. The League awarded the match to Barnsley, as they stood higher in the League table at that time. Grimsby protested but to no avail.

In late March Brighton, the resort city on the south coast, became a banned area. "No visit may be paid anymore to Brighton," in the words of the Home Office statement, "for the purposes of a holiday, recreation, or pleasure." This did not have much effect on football as supporters were not traveling to away games. The football team at Brighton was providing local entertainment only. The visiting team had to obtain passes to enter Brighton for games played there.

Another decision in the heart of wartime occurred in an off-field judgment. Several players appealed a decision whereby the money accrued from benefit matches was taxed. They felt these to be purely gifts in nature and not related to salary or type of employment. The judge ruled otherwise stating that while benefits were not mandatory, they were expected and were in relation to one's performance in employment. The decision affected over 130 eligible

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67 Min. FIMC, Blackpool, April 5, 1941.
69 The Manchester Guardian, March 25, 1941, p. 10.
professional soccer players. Here again soccer is so ingrained in the culture that it can act upon such things as benefits in the midst of a war.

The Easter period saw all sports having a good weekend for attendance. The Nottingham horse races saw crowds large enough to overflow into the gangways. (It seems all the editorials and criticisms of racing were of little avail.) All was not in a holiday atmosphere however, as indicated by the picture of "Anti-Aircraft gunners, with gun pointed skywards, on duty during a Canadian soldiers football match [at an unidentified League ground]. They are ready for any machine gunning day raiders."

In the Inter-Allied Service Cup match at Millwall, L. Compton, a prolific wartime scorer at times, scored 8 times as the Civil Defence Services defeated the Free French Forces, 17-3. In the League War Cup Arsenal beat their rivals, Spurs, before 25,000 spectators. Here the famous Arsenal back, Hapgood, played goal as Marks failed to arrive from his R.A.F. station in the Midlands. Arsenal also had to play a man short as G. Male was hurt. England beat Wales before a modest crowd of 13,000 at Nottingham with a

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71 The Manchester Guardian, March 27, 1941, p. 6.
72 The Manchester Guardian, April 15, 1941, p. 2.
73 The Manchester Guardian, April 12, 1941, p. 3.
74 The Manchester Guardian, April 25, 1941, p. 2.
75 The Manchester Guardian, April 14, 1941, p. 2.
score of 4-1. The following week England beat Scotland 3-1 before 75,000 at Hampden Park, Glasgow.

The governing bodies met in Glasgow in conjunction with these international matches. Both organizations carried on with many routine functions, such as financial business, reports of matches, benevolent funds, and representative matches. However, they did deal, of course, with many non-routine problems, too. As an outgrowth of a Chelsea-Brentford match in March, the Brentford Captain was censured for not insisting one of his players accept the referee's decision and resume play. It was decided that clubs under F.A. jurisdiction be told a "Team Captain is responsible for the collective conduct of his players and failure of this will lead to disciplinary action against he and the club. Clubs are to inform their Captains." Clapton Orient were suspended on April 22, for failure to meet "certain obligations." They were reinstated on April 26, after rectifying these. This must set some sort of record for putting your house in order. They had previously been rebuffed for ignoring regulations about gaining players from the crowd.

The War Cup final on May 10, at Wembley was an all-ticket match with a 60,000 limit. The 40,000 standing tickets were gone

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76 The Manchester Guardian, April 28, 1941, p. 2.
78 Min. FAWEC, Nottingham, April 26, 1941,
79 Min. FIMC, Glasgow, May 2, 1941.
within 24 hours after going on sale. An excellent final was provided with Preston and Arsenal, as Preston led in the North and Arsenal was in the top four in the South. The final was a 1-1 draw. So it was replayed on May 31. The evening of the tenth saw Westminster Abbey, Parliament and the British Museum in central London bombed in a reprisal raid. Thus the times in which the War Cup was being played were critical. The only criticism of the playing of the Cup was an editorial bemoaning the use of petrol that some people thought they needed to get to the game. At the great risk petrol was being brought to England and the mass of public transport available to the average masses made motoring to the game deplorable, and this abused the "reason why games should go in the ordinary way, provided that no excessive risks are run, for they give variety and refreshment to a life that in these days is harsh enough." Another editorial concerning the masses and recreation saw the Manchester City Council opening parks for Sunday games, which would provide more interaction among social classes and be of great benefit to the poor with their limited entertainment opportunities.

The replay of the Cup final was held at Blackburn on May 31, and could not be played sooner as the Civil Defence, Army, and R.A.F. had calls on the finalists' players for the Inter-Allied Services Cup.

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80 The Manchester Guardian, May 7, 1941, p. 2.
81 The Manchester Guardian, May 12, 1941, p. 2.
82 Ibid., p. 4.
semifinals on May 24. In the War Cup replay, Preston defeated Arsenal 2-1. A. Beattie of Preston, who played against the Gunners in the final, had played for them the previous week against Millwall in a London Cup match. Players received savings certificates in lieu of medals in the final. The clubs participating in the Cup competition will receive about £ 150 each.

Various other competitions were drawing to a close, too. (See appendix for results.) Preston won the North Championship, Crystal Palace, the South. Finishing out the international season, England defeated Wales 3-2 at Cardiff, the first week of June.

The F.L. met on June 9th for their annual meeting. The past season was covered mechanically by the president, Mr. W.C. Cuff, and he defended the goal average method as the only possible way of determining standings of the past season. However, the League decided to return to the points system to determine champions next season. Also the F.L. decided that

1. A qualifying round would be played prior to the War Cup competition, still a knock-out competition.

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84 The Manchester Guardian, May 14, 1941, p. 2.
88 Minutes of the Ordinary Annual Meeting of the Shareholders of the Football League Ltd., Nottingham, June 9, 1941. Records of the F.L.
2. The first half championship would be played to Christmas, then a second championship to the end of the season.

3. Only a League North and South would operate. It should be noted, however, that leagues in London and the West also in fact functioned. Teams will play generally within their geographic regions.

4. The gate charge next season would be 1/1 to absorb the tax increases. 89

Charlton, Sunderland, Gateshead, and Birmingham expected to rejoin the League and Birmingham wanted to share a ground with Coventry at Leamington. 90 The League South schedule for 1941-42 had the four West London teams playing as far away as Cardiff and Swansea, which raised considerable protest. 91

On the weekend of the replay of the League War Cup final rationing of clothing with coupons began. 92 The clubs hoped an appeal to the Board of Trade would bring them concessions as uniforms were vital to the game's operation. At this time jerseys and shorts took five coupons each, stockings three and boots seven. 93

The sports pages at this time were giving three to four columns to sports as golf, track and field, speedway, horse racing,

89 Ibid.
90 The Manchester Guardian, June 10, 1941, p. 2.
91 Ibid.
92 The Manchester Guardian, June 2, 1941, p. 2.
various university and school games, cricket (again protesting soccer's late season), and the wind-up of the Rugby League season. This saw Bradford Northern win the Yorkshire League and Cup. Leeds won the Rugby League War Cup over Halifax. The Scottish Southern teams were to play a summer cup competition for June and July to keep the game going in that region.

Many clubs still lost money during the season such as Sheffield United, Middlesbrough, Stoke, Everton, Bury, Wolverhampton, and others including the F.A. The F.A. lost £ 9,000, including £ 1,000 in equipment given to the armed forces. However, some clubs were able to turn modest profits, generally in relation to their success in the several cup competitions. Blackburn made over £ 600, Leicester City nearly £ 500, and Preston showed a profit of £ 2,488 with their War Cup and League North double championship. In all 14 clubs showed a profit. Preston's success was traced to having several good youth teams just prior to the war and many of the teenage players were still there to give depth and continuity to the club.

Thus did the second wartime season come to an end. In review,

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95 The Manchester Guardian, May 19, 1941, p. 2.
96 Ibid.
98 Ivan Sharpe (ed.), Athletic News Football Annual 1941-42 (London: Athletic News, 1941), pp. 6, 42. (War issue incorporating the Empire News Football Annual)
99 Ibid.
1. The League competition had survived extremely well under very heavy enemy attacks and destruction with minimal disruptions.

2. The previous season's organization had aided the League's survival.

3. The game was certainly entrenched as part of the wartime culture as it was encouraged by the general population, the government and the news media.

4. The goal average system was not popular for determining standings and a return to the points system was necessary. Lack of spectator acceptance and unusual scores tended to detract from it.

5. Some clubs began to show a profit as wartime administrative procedures began to trim costs.

6. The League was generally flexible enough to live with the stringent forms of taxes, travel restrictions, and food and clothing rationing that were put into effect by the government. With two very trying years behind them the soccer clubs were at least holding their own.

One could pause here and see other sports making striking changes, which would carry over into peacetime, due to the war. The hallowed fixtures and select gatherings at Lord's cricket ground were undergoing quiet change. The schedule on the scorecard revealed games among the Home Guard, Civil Defence, firemen, and a multitude of other groups. "The gates of the Temple are open nowadays to all who serve their country."\(^{100}\)

100. The Manchester Guardian, June 30, 1941, p. 4.
Chapter 8

THE WAR YEARS: SEASON 1941-42

During the summer leading up to the start of the season, the conflict between the London clubs and the Football League became more tense and involved. The four London clubs who protested the long journeys to the West were joined by the other metropolitan London teams, who were against traveling any real distance out of London. Following an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the F.L. to sanction a London league, the London group then withdrew from the League South. The eleven London clubs, plus Aldershot and Reading, left throwing the schedule into chaos. Norwich, Southend, Portsmouth, Bournemouth, Southampton, Brighton and others were again left in poor position for travel by train with schedules among themselves and were looking to the League for guidance.¹

The League met on July 24, and informed the London group of the increased travel and loss of attractive fixtures for the other southern teams and the hardship this would bring upon them. The League also stated that if the London teams did not follow the Football League schedule they would "cease" to be members of the

¹The Manchester Guardian, July 23, 1941, p. 2.
organization. The London clubs met following this expulsion threat and feeling they could still not meet the F.L. schedule formed their own league, which also included Aldershot, Reading, Brighton, and Watford and eventually Portsmouth. They intended also to appeal to the F.A.

The League met immediately and "ceased" their membership and forfeited their entrance shares. It was a black day for the Management Committee as it had to also suspend Derby County officials and fined the club £500 for irregularities in payments and registration from 1925 to 1938.

Secretary Mr. Howarth came back immediately with an explanation of the fine line between "ceased" membership and "expulsion." They were actually members with no privileges, as the Management Committee could not expel clubs, only a General Meeting of the League could do this. Crewe also "ceased" to be a member, when they refused to play in the League South which was a tremendous distance for them. There were no restrictions on the London group guesting players from any League club and their players may also do the same. Mr. George Allison, the Arsenal manager, and general spokesman for the London...

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2Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meeting, Preston, July 24, 1941. Records of the Football League Ltd., Lytham St. Annes, Lancs. Hereafter cited as Min. FLMC.

3The Manchester Guardian, August 2, 1941, p. 4.

4Minutes of a Special Meeting FLMC, Preston, August 5, 1941.

5Ibid.

6The Manchester Guardian, August 7, 1941, p. 2.
group throughout the period, took the position that the F.L. was not properly constituted during the war period and thus had no authority to deprive any member of privileges under these circumstances.\(^7\)

The government through the Ministry of Transport warned the League on possible excess travel and looked at the London clubs' plight in this regard. The government wanted no interference with war traffic.\(^8\) The Football League disputed these challenges stating the clubs would average only 434 miles travel under the F.L. schedule versus 427\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles under the London system.\(^9\) So the situation continued to move back and forth.

This, of course, triggered the withdrawal of clubs from the League South, such as Norwich City, Southend, and other dependent clubs, as well as reappraisal by West Bromwich, who had to move to the Southern competition. Southampton proposed an extension south by the London League, but this was rebuffed through Mr. Allison, who was opposed to any further travel.\(^10\)

It was hoped a peace meeting in mid-August held at Derby at the time the F.A. met concerning clothing coupon allowances by the

\(^7\) Ibid.

\(^8\) *The Manchester Guardian*, August 8, 1941, p. 8.


Board of Trade, would resolve the London clubs–F.L. conflict. But it ended with a compromise along those suggestions previously given, nothing more. Even the press, who initially rebuked the Football League for their scheduling, complimented them on their sensible compromise and felt it was now the London group’s turn to face reason.\textsuperscript{11} That meant that the London League should add more southern teams. Still the London clubs would not relent. The F.A. decided to sanction the London War Cup competition and the issue came to an abrupt end.\textsuperscript{12}

The season began on August 30, with the Northern Section, a Southern Section, which was primarily Midland clubs, Bristol City and Cardiff, and the London League. The newspapers again could see youth gaining a great opportunity for experience and clubs benefitting after the war. Charlton, Sunderland, and Wolverhampton rejoined, while Birmingham joined Aston Villa in local leagues.\textsuperscript{13}

While 131,000 watched 32 matches on opening day the fans at Bury received a real surprise.

Two thousand cheering football enthusiasts left Gigg Lane, Bury on Saturday after the first game of the season — and shed tears. Warning had been issued by the Civil Defence Committee that a gas test would be held on Saturday, but the times and places were not divulged. Fully half the spectators were caught maskless.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, August 25, 1941, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, August 27, 1941, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, August 30, 1941, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, September 1, 1941, p. 2.
Another decision by the government placed an additional burden on the clubs for the season. The Board of Trade turned down the clubs' request to purchase uniforms without coupons. They would allow clubs to canvas for loose coupons among their supporters, however.\footnote{Minutes of the F.A. War Emergency Committee Meeting, London, October 3, 1941. Records of the Football Association, London. Hereafter cited as Min. FAWEC.} Still none faced the situation of the Leigh Rugby League club. Struggling to survive, they acquired another ground (Hindsford's Association Football Club ground) in which to play their games and then were refused acceptance for the season's competition by the Rugby League Committee, though the League itself was struggling to survive, because their new ground was not up to Rugby League standards.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, August 27, 1941, p. 2.} Such were the wartime decisions.

Sport in general proceeded with fewer interruptions at this point. Crowds were good at soccer grounds. The St. Leger (flat racing) moved from Doncaster to Manchester and drew the largest crowd ever to Castle Irwell Track.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, September 8, 1941, p. 2.} Soccer continued producing rather "normal" events. L. C. Finch was given recognition before the R.A.F. v. Metropolitan Police Professional match for having appeared in 100 representative matches. Finch, an amateur, was the first player so honored in this way.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, September 11, 1941, p. 2.} And the Scottish League closed Celtic's ground until mid-October due to the scenes following
the recent fiery traditional battle with Rangers. 19

The Inter-Allied Cup was to again be held on a knock-out basis the second half of the season. It would be expanded to include eleven clubs. 20 The Navy is noticeably absent as so many would-be players are at sea and this is why they make so few representative appearances.

The procedures of the War Cup which would begin the last week in December were outlined. The North and South sections would merge for the ten game qualifying round. Each club would play five teams home and away. These would be selected by the League. The top 32 teams would go into the competition proper. All games played in the Cup and others would count in a League standing for the second half of the season. 21 All during this period further negotiations were going on between the F.L. and the sixteen clubs in the London group to resolve their differences. C.W. Brown, B.A. Glanville, and H.J. Huband represented the Appeals Committee of the F.L. and G.W. Summons of Spurs and G.A. Allison represented the London group. 22

On October 4, England defeated Scotland 2-0 again at Wembley before 60,000 spectators. Premier Churchill attended a match for the first time since the war began. (Soccer is the only

19 The Manchester Guardian, September 8, 1941, p. 2.
21 Min. FLMC, London, October 3, 1941.
22 The Manchester Guardian, October 4, 1941, p. 9.
wartime sports event the writer could find that Mr. Churchill attended on a formal basis.) He shook hands with the players prior to the game. Messrs. H. Morrison, E. Bevin, A.V. Alexander, C.R. Attlee, Lord Woolton, and the King of the Hellenes also came to this well-played game. Many other representative matches occurred during this period for charity, including the Football League (3) versus the Scottish League (2) in mid-October. Also during October the F.A. appointed Stanley Rous chairman of the Civil Defence Sports Council, through the work of the Ministry of Home Security and Civil Defence, and extended Sunday football from intraworks games to games between neighboring works clubs. The relaxation later included Civil Defence workers and the Home Guard.

The war situation in mid-October saw the Nazis moving toward the Moscow Siege and the situation in the Far East was worsening. As General Tojo was forming a new cabinet, American merchantmen were ordered out of Asian waters.

England then played Wales at St. Andrews, Birmingham, before a sell-out crowd of 25,000 and won 2 (Hagan, Edelston) to 1 (Hopkins). This was the first international ever played there. In December Arthur Rowley was scoring at a great rate for Manchester United and Derby County, after nearly two years absence, was ready

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23 The Manchester Guardian, October 6, 1941, p. 2.
24 The Manchester Guardian, October 17, 1941, p. 2.
26 The Manchester Guardian, October 27, 1941, p. 2.
for competition again. In an unusual move, based on availability of players, the F.A. chose a Scottish international, A. Beattie, for their team against the R.A.F. in mid-December.

December 7, 1941. The United States enters the war. This had little immediate affect on the stringencies of the war in England.

The first half of the season finished at the end of December. Blackpool won the North Regional League on goal average over Lincoln City, as both clubs had 29 points from 18 matches. All the clubs in the North played 18 games. Leicester City won the League South on 26.4 points! This was done because clubs played between 8 and 18 matches. Points were calculated on the basis of projected wins and losses, as if all eighteen games had been played.27

There were still the difficulties of teams getting to matches. Two of three cars of the Bristol City team did not arrive at Southampton by game time, due to motor trouble. After a delay of an hour Southampton loaned Bristol five players and three volunteers, the Southampton trainer, Gallagher, who had not played for years, a soldier, and a schoolmaster. The rest of the Bristol team arrived 20 minutes after the start and too late to reorganize the sides so they had to watch as spectators as Southampton won 5–2. Gallagher got one of the goals against the Saints.28

Transportation difficulties would undoubtedly get worse.


28 The Manchester Guardian, December 27, 1941, p. 3.
before they got better, stated Mr. Hill, Deputy Director General of the Ministry of War Transport.\textsuperscript{29} At a meeting with officials of the F.L. and F.A., the soccer group hoped more road transport could be allotted teams, including amateurs. However, low petrol supplies, lack of drivers, and limited coaches would allow no relaxation. Also to be considered was the United States' reaction, who was sending great quantities of petrol to Britain and rationing petrol themselves, to the use of petrol to transport footballers.\textsuperscript{30}

The War Cup competition began immediately and crowds averaged about 4,000 compared to 3,000 on usual League Saturdays. The twenty-five opening matches were watched by 114,000 including 10,000 at Sheffield Wednesday. A crowd of 16,000 saw Arsenal beat Spurs in the London League 2-1.\textsuperscript{31}

While the war was heavy on foreign fronts, England and particularly London, was not being hit, and some sandbagging disappeared and even hotels were crowded at times.\textsuperscript{32} Thus sport was benefitting from the relaxing of tension on the home front.

On the eve of the England-Scotland match both the F.A. and the F.L. met for business meetings. The F.L. announced its offices in Winckley Square, Preston, had been requisitioned by the government and that they would move to 102 Fishergate, Preston.\textsuperscript{33} January 17 was

\textsuperscript{29}Min. FIMC, Preston, December 18, 1941.  \textsuperscript{30}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{31}The Manchester Guardian, December 29, 1941, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{32}The Manchester Guardian, January 3, 1942, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{33}Min. FIMC, London, January 16, 1942.
"Footballers Day" and on all rugby and soccer grounds collectors were taking donations for charity. Mrs. Churchill and King Peter attended the game at Wembley, which was for Mrs. Churchill's "Aid to Russia Fund." The result found England winning 3 (Lawton 2, Hagan) to 0 over Scotland. 34

In late January the League also decided that whenever possible they would save footballers fruitless journeys by cancelling games 24 hours in advance, when playing conditions are questionable. 35 The London League and the F.L. again looked close to settlement [details not given] in late January but again no conciliation took place. 36

One of the very few reports of stealing was reported by Southampton, when a quantity of their uniforms and equipment was taken. The manager said the loss was compounded by the fact that they had no clothing coupons to replace them. 37

Snow played havoc with matches in late January and into February. The season would have to be extended again, but the competitions did progress. At Arsenal versus West Ham match, the "Internationale" was played for the first time at a British ground, signifying a bond that would become stronger in coming years. 38

34 The Manchester Guardian, January 19, 1942, p. 3.
36 The Manchester Guardian, January 23, 1942, p. 2. 37 Ibid.
Also the Arsenal, hearing of the Canadian team's difficulty in obtaining kit, lent them white shorts, stockings, and the famous red shirts on which the maple leaf crest was sewn over the field gun emblem. Aid continued to come from unexpected sources to avert a new uniform crisis.

In order to relieve the acute shortage of football jerseys, George Stevenson, the former Motherwell and Scotland forward has made a present of his eleven international jerseys to the Scottish F.A. He has, however, retained the badges. The Scottish F.A. will welcome similar gifts.

With the fall of Singapore, another shortage faced football, the ball itself. Rubber controls now limited manufacturers to 25 percent of the prewar production. This coupled with the natural limitation of leather supplies meant balls had to be used for more than one match. So another adjustment in playing conditions had to be made. In 1942, however, a suggestion was made by the West Ham manager that the pregame custom of "kicking about" be abolished to save "wear and tear on footballs." There is no evidence that his suggestion was followed.

Rugby, this time in amateur union, had to make adjustments. Players' wives made jerseys out of flour bags for the Hartlepool Rovers. They even changed the color from pink to white. And in

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cricket there were adjustments, too. Cricket bats were not nearly affected as much, since willow was not used for rifle stocks or other war materials.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, February 12, 1942, p. 2.} It is interesting to note that no information could be found to suggest that soccer had to regulate distribution of equipment for equitable usage, even in 1945-46 when the game returned with a rush. Cricket, however, did have to regulate the distribution of balls in the first postwar year to gain equality. This will be referred to later.

It was in the Commons in late February that Sir Stafford Cripps gave a vicious attack on the "business or pleasure as usual" attitude of some selfish groups. "...Dog racing and boxing displays" among these are "completely out of accord" in these trying times.\footnote{Great Britain, Parliament. Parliamentary Debates...5th.ser., Vol. 378, Third Volume of Session 1941-42 (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1942), p. 314. (This volume cited as 378 H.C. DEB.,5s.)} However, football received no criticism in the attack or resultant editorials or letters to the editors. At this time betting receipts were double those of 1940, but less than 1938. There was an increase in off-track betting, especially with dog tracks. Football betting was down due to postal restrictions on coupons.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, April 10, 1942, p. 4.}

The Football League censored Liverpool for playing one player in place of one who had already obtained leave to participate in that particular match against Blackpool. The R.A.F. stated if
this occurred again they would release no more players to Liverpool. Liverpool formally regretted their action to the F.L. and to the R.A.F. It was also decided that Cup fixtures should take precedence over League matches since there had been so many postponements.

"There is no North and South section of the League now and all League games will be known as League championship matches." 48

March was a month for further austerities. Newsprint was further reduced due to shipping difficulties. The Home Secretary, Mr. Morrison, announced elimination of petrol for pleasure motoring. Fewer courses were open for dog racing and these on Saturdays only. Horse racing was reduced to selected tracks and boxing limited. 49 Since soccer, and theatres and cinemas, already conformed to government regulations no additional restrictions were made at this time.

Mr. Morrison can quote powerful precedents for allowing football, theatres, cinemas, and dancing to continue. Neither Germany nor Russia, the two nations which have most fully developed a total war economy, has curtailed evening entertainment to any extent and the Germanized countries, at any rate, a good deal of sport still continues. 50

Travel difficulties occurred at this time for the National Fire Service soccer teams. The Chief of the London Fire Service prohibited use of N.F.S. vehicles for any non-official use. They were not to be used for transporting sports teams. A full investiga-

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47 Min. FIMC, Preston, February 20, 1942.
49 The Manchester Guardian, March 13, 1942, p. 5
50 Ibid., p. 4.
tion was made of all sporting fixtures of the N.F.S. This carried on for a month with Secretary Morrison dismissing two N.F.S. officials after one had absented himself to travel with a team from the Bolton N.F.S. to Dumfries by motor coach, over 275 miles. After much bantering, debate and charges in the Commons, it was finally decided in favor of Mr. Morrison's decision of dismissal.

And in March still further austerity programs were announced affecting coal, gas, automobile tires, electricity, and clothing. Since the initiation of newsprint controls sports reporting had changed to small print to take advantage of the available space.

The March F.L. meeting in Blackpool noted the season had been extended by the F.A. to May 30. Other business included the following:

1. Individuals were cited for long service. Medals were to be awarded at a "more appropriate time."

2. Players could play with only one club in the Cup competition proper.

3. Some concern was expressed regarding clubs who used so many guests. Nottingham Forest had used guests on 75 occasions. Northampton Town, who had won the Cup Qualifying Competition, had used guest players on 95 of 99 occasions. Only two of their own

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51 The Manchester Guardian, March 17, 1942, p. 5.
53 The Manchester Guardian, April 14, 1942, p. 3.
54 The Manchester Guardian, March 18, 1942, p. 5.
55 Min. FIPC, Blackpool, March 27, 1942.
players had ever appeared. 56

It was unfortunate that the strong Blackpool side had to withdraw in the first round of the Cup because their R.A.F. players could not gain leave. The club's secretary said that no reason was given by the R.A.F. authorities. 57 It was later found that travel restrictions had prevented the servicemen traveling that weekend, but Blackpool could have fielded enough players to play the game. However, Blackpool thought the game would be a fiasco. The Management Committee still decided to convey their displeasure to Blackpool on the incident. 58

Another sign of player shortage was shown in the selection of G.W. Mason (Coventry) for the England team to play against Scotland. He had never even appeared in a trial match before. 59 In the match at Hampden Park, England lost on 4 (Lawton 3, Hagan) goals to Scotland's 5 (Dodds 3, Shankly, Liddell). 60 Attendance stayed good in the War Cup as a total of 110,000 saw eight Cup games with 35,000 at Everton. 61

It was decided to raise admission charges from 1/1 to 1/4 after May 10, to counteract the increased entertainment tax. 62

56 Ibid.
57 The Manchester Guardian, April 4, 1942, p. 5.
58 Min. FIMC, Glasgow, April 17, 1942.
59 The Manchester Guardian, April 11, 1942, p. 3.
60 The Manchester Guardian, April 20, 1942, p. 2.
61 Ibid. 62 Ibid.
This was later dropped to 1/3. It had been thought a reduction of the admission to 7d. might solve revenue problems, as there was no increased entertainment tax on that amount. As a League official stated, "One and fourpence is a big price for the public to pay for wartime football." However, this suggestion was not followed.

In April it was finally announced that the London clubs and the F.L. had repaired the rupture which had existed between them since June 1941. The London teams agreed to write regret letters, withdraw their appeals and would pay £10 fine each, for which they would be reinstated and the F.A. would supervise these arrangements. Both parties agreed to the settlement, Mr. Cuff for the F.L. and Mr. Allison for the London League. Crewe was also reinstated at the same time. The London clubs again decided to propose a regional concept and the London clubs would join whatever competition they wished. This was welcomed by the F.L. The F.L. further clarified that it was not this they objected to, but the fact that the London teams went against the majority's wishes the previous year. The final result was that the 16 London area clubs would form the F.L. South competition with the approval

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63 The Manchester Guardian, April 16, 1942, p. 2.


65 Minutes of the Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the F.L. Ltd., Nottingham, June 29, 1942. Records of the F.L.
of the F.L. for the 1942-43 season. Thus did a very trying situation within the League come to an end.

As the season drew to its end the war front saw Corregidor fall to the Japanese and the air raids reopened on England with Exeter, York, and Norwich hit in reprisal raids.

A crowd of 40,000 at Stamford Bridge saw Brentford and Arsenal draw in the London Cup semifinal. In the quarterfinal of the War Cup Everton lost to West Bromwich in front of 34,000. In the Lancashire Cup the Lancashire F.A. ruled that since Everton could not play off their postponed semifinal in midweek, they had to forfeit their place in the competition. Thus Blackpool and Blackburn moved to the final, which Blackpool won 7-1 on aggregate. In the international at Cardiff, Wales defeated England 1-0 with Lucas getting the goal.

On the eve of the Wolves-Sunderland War Cup final tie, the Wolverhampton manager was philosophical over the prospects of his players gaining leave for the game. It would be a "nice gesture" by the authorities as so many Sunderland players are stationed near their home. The first game ended in a draw before 35,000 at

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66 Min. FIMC, Nottingham, June 27, 1942.
69 The Times [London], May 11, 1942, p. 2.
Roker Park and in the return match Wolves defeated Sunderland 4–1 for the League War Cup. A somber sidelight was not revealed concerning this match until a while afterward due to security reasons. A trainload of spectators, mostly ship yard workers who had worked through Thursday and Friday nights at their wartime jobs in order to get the time off to go to Wolverhampton, were machine gunned, presumably by air, and several were killed or wounded. However, this did not deter the rest of the group from going to the Molineux ground to see their team win the Cup.

The last major competition was the London War Cup in which Brentford defeated Portsmouth 2–0 on two goals by Smith. The crowd of 72,000 on May 29 saw Mr. A.V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, present the trophy. The game was skillful throughout and at the "last whistle the ball vanished into the crowd to be carried away by some excited airmen who no doubt now have the trophy settled in an honoured place." Each club in the London competition realised £300 from their pool.

A match was then arranged for the King George's Fund for

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71 The Manchester Guardian, June 1, 1942, p. 2.


74 Roy Peskett, clipping of an article published in an unidentified London Sunday newspaper from the collection of Miss Dorothy Atkinson, London.

Sailors between Brentford and Wolverhampton, showing the breach was healed within the F.L.\textsuperscript{76} This game drew only 20,000 at the Chelsea ground and ended in a 1-1 tie. However, it did raise £2,000 for charity.\textsuperscript{77}

Referees were warned by the F.A. that war conditions were not to be made an excuse for laxity in the execution of their duties.\textsuperscript{78} This followed injuries to Cullis (Wolves) in a match while playing Fulham. The F.A. will investigate any deliberate infringements, but will not discipline in this case.\textsuperscript{79}

With Manchester United winning the second half of the F.L. competition and Arsenal the London League, the season ended. Other sports were still functioning. Leeds won the Rugby League Cup final over Halifax, and Dewsbury won the League and play-offs.\textsuperscript{80} The M.C.C. (Marylebone Cricket Club with headquarters at Lord's) announced that 89,612 spectators had seen 49 matches there in 1940-41. Only 52,555 had attended in 1940.\textsuperscript{81} A two day match which drew 7,000 started a tentative 40 game schedule for the summer 1942 season. Most of these

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\textsuperscript{76}Chelsea F.C. Official Programme (Wolverhampton Wanderers v. Brentford, play-off between the two Cup winners), June 6, 1942.

\textsuperscript{77}The Times [London], June 8, 1942, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{78}The Manchester Guardian, May 23, 1942, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{79}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{81}The Manchester Guardian, April 22, 1942, p. 4.
were charity matches held by many different groups.  

Several soccer teams showed a profit on the 1941-42 season.  

Everton, Blackburn, Newcastle and even tiny Gateshead had a profitable year. However, many clubs still showed losses. Bury, Manchester City, and even Wolverhampton all showed losses of £1,000 or over on the season’s operations. Many of these losses were on depreciation of grounds. It is interesting to note that the Rugby League troubled by the closing down of most of its Lancashire teams, still "broke even" for 1941-42 and had a positive balance of £22,000 in its treasury.

In summary the football season had seen

1. The clubs survive stringent rationing regulations.

2. Wartime football so well accepted that it was not mentioned in attacks by members of Parliament as other sports of less repute were.

3. The League and country were functioning better, even with weather difficulties, since the war fronts had shifted to the Continent and Asia.

4. The year long difficulties between the F.I. and the London clubs were finally resolved.

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84 The Manchester Guardian, July 2, 1942, p. 2.
Chapter 9

THE WAR YEARS: SEASON 1942–43

The Football League's Annual Meeting at Nottingham held the last of June was opened by standing in silence for 25 personnel who had died the previous year. This included four players from Luton Town and four staff of Arsenal.¹ This was a large number in comparison to other years. Pertinent activity at this meeting included:

1. Review of previous year and the move to new quarters.
3. Inviting non-League clubs to help make up competition in isolated areas, such as Cardiff, Bristol, and Norwich.
4. Discussion of a possible committee for postwar football.

The president did not believe the Management Committee would need an advisory group.²

This is the first mention of postwar football and thus there is some optimism, even though the war front did not yet reflect this. It should be noted that members of the Management Committee again

¹Minutes of the Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Football League Ltd., Nottingham, June 29, 1942. Records of the Football League Ltd., Lytham St. Annes, Lancs.

²Ibid.
had nearly 98 percent attendance at its sixteen meetings over the previous year. This is quite good under any circumstances.

The Football Association and its War Emergency Committee held their meeting at the same time in Nottingham. The group reelected the Earl of Athlone, president. A major task of the F.A. had been the raising of over £34,000 for the Red Cross. As another service, the F.A. had aided greatly in training referees for the many armed forces games. The F.A. War Emergency Committee cited a Ministry of War Transport directive raising no objection to next season's regional schedule, subject to war conditions. Regional commissioners would have discretionary powers to allow road transport for professional teams to places within a fifty mile radius.

The League was to function in three regions, North, South, and West. In the North, the games were to be scheduled within smaller regions of the North, but the games were to count as one total League North. Players' wages remained the same, but referees' wages rose to one guinea. Aston Villa, Derby County, Notts County and Birmingham

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3 Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meeting, Nottingham, June 27, 1942. Records of the F.L. Hereafter cited as Min. FLMC.


5 Correspondence from Minister of Home Security, June 22, 1942, from minutes of the Football Association War Emergency Committee Meeting, Nottingham, June 29, 1942. Records of the Football Association, London. Hereafter cited as FAWEC.

6 The Manchester Guardian, July 1, 1942, p. 7.
all hoped to rejoin the League competition.\textsuperscript{7} However, Darlington and Hartlepool closed down as did Norwich and Bournemouth. Preston North End was having difficulty fulfilling Lancashire Cup obligations and decided to enter a team in the Preston and District League and forego F.L. competition.\textsuperscript{8} As the new season neared the Lancashire Combination stated it would operate again in the upcoming season.\textsuperscript{9} And the League South found it necessary to raise admission from 1/3 to 1/6.\textsuperscript{10}

The Army F.A. reiterated its resolution and decision that professional footballers would receive no match payments when playing for Army teams and also amended the priority on calls to country first, Army second.\textsuperscript{11} Representative and command matches were again extensively arranged and every effort was to be made to avoid clashes with other local clubs, especially in those cities with more than one professional team.\textsuperscript{12}

Another sign of football's organization taking a firm hold in wartime was the announcement by the officials' organization

\textsuperscript{7}The Manchester Guardian, June 30, 1942, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{8}The Manchester Guardian, July 3, 1942, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{9}The Manchester Guardian, August 24, 1942, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{10}The Manchester Guardian, August 1, 1942, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{12}Min. FIMC, London, July 24, 1942.
in the North that they were now capable of assigning referees and linesmen to scheduled games, thus taking this task and responsibility away from the clubs.\textsuperscript{13}

The League competitions opened again on August 29, with the organization at its strongest since the war began, and with the League South which included the London clubs. Over 150,000 attended the opening matches, including 15,000 at Villa Park to see Aston Villa return to competitive football.\textsuperscript{14} In the early season Saturday attendances ranged from 130,000 to 160,000 for the League schedule. Scores remained higher than in peacetime.

Another sign of the war was the heavy influx of American troops into Britain. The American unit baseball championships were scheduled for mid-September at the Oldham Rugby League Ground between the "New York Yanks" and the "California Eagles" with the proceeds for charity.\textsuperscript{15} Games of this nature became part of the English sport scene for the remainder of the war. The B.B.C. also scheduled fifteen minute commentaries on the World Series and at 7:00 p.m. a five minute daily American sports bulletin on the Forces network of the B.B.C. was aired.\textsuperscript{16}

One of those "special occasions" occurred when Bury were allowed to go by coach to Blackpool for a League match. Only five

\textsuperscript{13}Min. FIMC, Leeds, November 6, 1942.

\textsuperscript{14}The Manchester Guardian, August 31, 1942, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{15}The Manchester Guardian, September 2, 1942, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{16}The Manchester Guardian, September 24, 1942, p. 2.
seats were available on the train and other transport could not be used since the players were in essential war work and could gain only minimal time away from their jobs.\textsuperscript{17} Thus at least some accommodation was given to football clubs.

In September the Army F.A. took a touring team to Northern Ireland, appearing as the British Army, and played in Belfast against the Irish F.A. They then went on to Dumfries to play a Scottish XI. The tour was very successful and crowds averaged about 30,000.\textsuperscript{18} Also at this time the Scottish F.A. was entertaining thoughts of developing a committee to study postwar football.\textsuperscript{19}

A small disagreement occurred between the F.L. and Aston Villa, who were charging 1/6 without charging 1/3 for a certain percentage of the admissions. The F.L. secretary informed the team only the League South had permission to charge the higher rate.\textsuperscript{20} Originally the Villa had also been charging less than the minimum rate of 10d., especially for servicemen.\textsuperscript{21} The arguments carried on until November when Aston Villa bowed to the wishes of the F.L.\textsuperscript{22}

The F.L.'s meeting in Manchester in late September produced the following actions.

\textsuperscript{17}The Manchester Guardian, September 9, 1942, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{18}The Manchester Guardian, September 14, 1942, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{19}The Manchester Guardian, September 10, 1942, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{20}The Manchester Guardian, September 18, 1942, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{21}Min. FIMC, London, October 9, 1942.
\textsuperscript{22}Min. FIMC, Leeds, November 6, 1942.
1. Many representative matches of F.L. XI's against a variety of teams were approved.

2. The explanations of why various clubs had played individuals before registrations were actually recorded by the League were accepted.

3. Manchester United's request to present momentoes to mark the Northern League championship was turned down.

4. A long service honor for a Darlington official was denied because he did not qualify yet as the club had not functioned the past two seasons.

5. They agreed that members should inquire locally among silversmiths and report on the cost of suitable trophies, since the costs of trophies for the 1942-43 season had risen tremendously with purchase tax about 67 percent. Suitable trophies had gone from £10 to £25.23

On the eve of the season's first big international, England versus Scotland, which ended in a 0-0 draw at Wembley on October 10, both the F.L. and the F.A. met in London. The Management Committee acted on the following.

1. It made notice of several instances of players being paid in excess of expenses and warned all clubs that violators "will be severely dealt with."24

2. Stockport County wanted Bradford City to use one player

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23 Min. FIMC, Manchester, September 23, 1942.

24 Min. FIMC, London, October 9, 1942.
as a wing half only, as a condition of loan. The secretary thought
the times made the condition unreasonable and thus could not be
insisted upon.

3. Arsenal reported they could not get official elliptical
goal posts as the firm making these had "apparently ceased to
function."25

4. The Management Committee proposed an early meeting to
discuss postwar plans and problems.26

The F.A. Committee dealt with the now routine matters of
disciplinary matters, representative team selections, reports,
charity work, and similar business matters. The Committee reported
it had also received cablegrams from the Soviet Information
Bureau and the Soviet F.A. concerning soccer activities in Russia
during the early part of the current season.27 The extent of this
activity was not given, but it is certainly amazing in light of the
fact that this was the period of the Siege of Stalingrad and the
fighting in the streets between the enemy and the Russians.

Another Russian athletic feat amazed the English press. A
Moscow runner named Vanin had broken the world's record for the
20 kilometers. Where had he gained the time and energy for training
and the food to maintain a championship diet? English athletes were
content to play below their best as military or war work made full
training impossible. "Vanin must be an exceptional athlete if he

25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Min. FAMFC, London, October 10, 1942.
can combine record-breaking with total war as the Russians understand it.\textsuperscript{28} It appears that more Soviet sport existed during the World War II than has been formally recorded.

At this time some clubs, such as Wolverhampton, hoped to ease their financial difficulties by pressing other clubs for prewar debts, mostly transfer fees. The Football League hoped the parties would get together to solve their problems, but little relief was expected as most clubs were just able to survive at this point.\textsuperscript{29}

The next representative match saw England playing Wales at Wolverhampton before 25,000 spectators and the Welsh used two goals by Cumner to counter England's one by Lawton.

The man who got both goals for the winners, appeared until a few days ago unlikely to play any more football this season. This was H. Cumner, the Arsenal left outside forward, who received severe burns while on duty with the Royal Navy and five weeks ago lay seriously ill in hospital.\textsuperscript{30}

The F.I. met again in November and this meeting saw the following actions taken.

1. More "footballer days" would be held for collections for the P.O.W. Fund. The money was to go to the League office.

2. After December 26, 1942, the officials' association will take over the appointment of match officials for the Northern Qualifying Competition War Cup.

\textsuperscript{28} The Manchester Guardian, September 25, 1942, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{29} The Manchester Guardian, October 15, 1942, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{30} The Manchester Guardian, October 26, 1942, p. 2.
3. South clubs were told to use more officials on the League list, not just a few as they had been doing.

4. A Victory Cup was purchased for competition after the cessation of hostilities, a War Cup for the present season, three championship trophies, one for each half of the North competition, and one for the West, notably none for the South, and three other cups to be kept in reserve and would be returned if not needed. The prices ranged from £9 to £36 for the Victory Cup. There was some informal discussion of postwar problems and this must be taken as an optimistic note when even a Victory Cup was purchased.

Another sign of normalcy, or adjustment, is shown as all but one of London's theatres still standing are open again. Business is picking up in London because of the return of the evacuees and the influx of troops in the area. Optimism is shown in other areas in articles on social, economic and city rebuilding after the war. The sports pages also report school matches being played, especially Repton, Malvern, and similar schools. This is understandable as these exclusive boarding schools would find it much easier to keep their students together than the typical day city public (American definition) or private school.

During the first half of the season a great number of representative matches were played. The teams in these matches

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31 Min. FIMC, Leeds, November 6, 1942.

32 The Manchester Guardian, October 31, 1942, p. 4.

33 The Manchester Guardian, November 7, 1942, p. 3.
represented a great many diverse organizations, showing that players were certainly being made available for participation.

The games were still hard fought as rough incidents were reported in the League North. The League South scheduled return games with a long interval between games. The North for ease of scheduling played their games back to back in consecutive weeks. This latter policy seems to permit animosities to be carried over to the next week. In one instance five players were sent off in one weekend by officials. Scoring remained high. A total of 225 goals were scored in 39 matches the first weekend in December in the League North — a new record.

The F.L. meeting in Sheffield delivered the following decisions.

1. If circumstances warrant a player could play in both the North and South Cup competitions.

2. It accepted a multitude of explanations by clubs for playing individuals before registration was completed.

3. The prewar Jubilee Fund was still plodding along, still trying to collect back funds from clubs.

4. Chelsea was given permission to purchase a wedding gift for a player, Walter Winterbottom.

5. A statement would be issued in the future concerning postwar football.

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36. Min. FIMC, December 11, 1942.
Another significant decision was reached through the Army Sport Control Board. It was decided that for the remainder of the war professionals in the services would be paid a match fee in games played against professional civilian teams. These games were to be sanctioned through the Army administration.  

The first half championship finished officially on Christmas Day as 261,000 attended League matches including 35,000 at the United-Wednesday match at Sheffield. Blackpool won the League North and Lovell's Athletic, the Welsh works team, won the six team League West. Both Leagues played 18 games in their schedule. The League South did not break but continued on through to the end of February.  

The F.L. still took few excuses for postponed matches. Swansea Town felt the lack of transport within their town and the factory's work meant they should not play their home match versus Cardiff. This was not considered valid and would have been entirely different had Cardiff been unable to make the journey due to restrictions.  

The clubs, excluding the South, plunged immediately into the War Cup competition on Boxing Day as 323,000 saw the opening games. The competition included all North and West teams, including

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non-League Lovell's, Aberaman, and Bath City. The second half League North competition included qualifying round games and others scheduled.

Due to very tight scheduling and midweek restrictions two games in the openers had to stand as final results even though they were abandoned after 29 and 70 minutes respectively.41 Huddersfield and Bradford would play only nine qualifying games after having to cancel their first game. They were not allowed to play two games in one day to make it up as local authorities would not take too kindly to this. "With such an attractive match some people would be staying away from essential war work,"42 especially for a morning game. The New Year brought continued interest in the Cup competition and generally good attendances, at least to the survivors.

One interesting factor concerning cricket found its way into the December newspapers. The Advisory County Cricket Committee stated that "thanks to members subscriptions, most of the counties are better off financially than in 1939."43 Of course, their expenses were down too due to lack of competition expenditures. Had they been functioning to the extent football clubs had been, it is very doubtful this financial picture would have been the same.

The F.A. decided to reprint 5,000 copies of the referees

chart, showing a renewed interest and expansion of the game, as the war's fortunes began to turn toward the Allies.44

The Football League in their January meeting dealt with the following:

1. They congratulated Stanley Rous of the F.A. on being awarded the O.B.E. on the recent honors list.

2. They gave 25 guineas to Mrs. Churchill's Aid to Russia Fund.

3. The Committee believed there should be a "transitional period" before normal competition resumed after the war. This competition would be freer, without promotion or relegation. If possible a scheme would be proposed at the Annual General Meeting.

4. No trophy would be awarded to the League South Competition, but there would be savings certificates for the Cup competitors.45

The soccer situation had reason to move toward optimism in January and February. The Siege of Leningrad ended, and while there were some raids on London the heaviest by far were falling on Berlin, and Hitler gave no speeches on his tenth anniversary in power. While the remaining enemy posts at Stalingrad were being crushed, Churchill and Roosevelt met at Casablanca.

Another first time occurrence came about at this time when a representative rugby union side met a like Rugby League team, under union rules, at Leeds on January 23. This was about the only time

44Min. FAWEC, Nottingham, January 11, 1943.
45Min. FLMC, Nottingham, January 9, 1943.
the amateurs and professionals ever met on the field of play. The result saw the League side winning 18-11 in an excellent match. It had been hoped that both codes would work for better cooperation in the postwar era, but this has never been fully realized.

The F.I.L still took few excuses for cancelled games. Doncaster complained of Grimsby's cancellation due to extremely poor train connections on a match day from Grimsby. Doncaster wished some compensation for this inconvenience. The Management Committee felt Grimsby could have asked for their possible help and raised the question also of why Doncaster had not aided with guest players in their area for the visitors. Thus was Doncaster actually adverse to the cancellation? Further inquiries were to follow but little occurred following this initial query.

While this study deals primarily with professional football, there were some notable efforts to keep amateur teams functioning.

Determined to keep the club going pending the return of younger players in the forces, four middle-aged members of Chester Nomads Football Club turn out regularly. Their combined ages are 173 years [sic]. They are F. Weaver 45, R.L. Lloyd 45, E. Regan 43, D. Keay 39. Their club has won all eleven of its games this season.

The Birmingham Football Club made some proposals on certain

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49 Min. FIMC, Nottingham, January 9, 1943.
aspects of postwar football, as did other clubs. They hoped to see
the limitation of teams to £10,000 in transfer fees in one year,
retaining a League pool for distribution at the end of the season,
retaining referees for exclusive use of the League, and the moving
of the League offices to a more accessible city. These as
many others just did not come about.

Cup and representative matches abound in the second
half of the season. "Fighting" France defeated Holland 5–4 at
Dulwich Hamlet (London). Farago scored all 5 goals in 55 minutes!
The player had traveled from South America to join DeGaulle's forces
and found himself playing representative soccer, also.

Late in February England again met Wales at Wembley. Tickets
for this game had been on sale for a month at Wembley and at
London agents, again a sign of normalcy, from 2s. to 21s. The
game was played for the Aid to Russia Fund. The King and Queen
attended, as did the King of Norway and many other dignitaries,
including Mr. Maisky. The festivities surrounding the match reads
like any peacetime international. From 2 to 2:30 p.m. the Central
Band of his Majesty's Royal Air Force played. At 2:45 p.m.
Squadron Leader Learoyd said a few words in support of the Wings
for Victory national savings campaign to be launched throughout

the country the following week. At 2:50 p.m. the teams came onto
the field. At 3:45 p.m. the half time began. At 3:49 p.m. a R.A.F.
plane flew at a height of 500 feet over the stadium and released six
Royal Signal pigeons in containers attached to parachutes. On
landing in the area the pigeons were collected and released carrying
messages in connection with the Wings for Victory campaign addressed
to prominent people. The pigeons were released by Signalman Taylor
of the Canadian Army, who at Dieppe was responsible for releasing
the two pigeons which gave the first detailed news of the famous
raid to the headquarters of the combined operations in England. 54
England won 5 (D. Compton 3, Carter 2) to Wales' 3 (Lowrie). 55
England also played a Rugby League international at Wigan against
Wales the same day. Before a crowd of 18,000 England also defeated
Wales 15-9. 56

In February the F.L. meeting produced the following actions.

1. The benevolent fund was used to pay removal expenses for
the effects of a late Brentford player to Sunderland. He was presumed
lost at sea after escaping from Singapore.

2. They were still trying to sell the jubilee book, Story
of The Football League. It was still available at the prewar price
of 10/6. Clubs could advertise in their programs to this effect.

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54Official Programme of Association Football Match, Wembley,
Empire Stadium (England v. Wales), February 27, 1943.
56Ibid.
3. The Cup winners North and South will play off for the King George's Fund. 57

Attendances at the Cup matches remained good. "Followers of Association Football, who are considerably more numerous than a year ago, should find good games." 58 Two hundred thousand attended 16 North War Cup matches that weekend and attendances remained high. So popular were the Cup matches that receipts were double those of last year. 59 The four quarterfinal games drew over 100,000. 60

The F.L. met again in March in Sheffield and acted upon the following.

1. They wished further representation on the F.A. War Emergency Committee.

2. Since Cup games also count in the League North championship the result after 90 minutes is the result. Goals scored in extra time only count for a Cup result.

3. Postwar discussion concerning transitional period would hinge on relaxing blackout restrictions, transport, attendance restrictions, guest player limitations, no promotion or relegation, and like administrative matters. No action was taken. 61

57 Min. FIMC, London, February 26, 1943.
60 The Manchester Guardian, April 5, 1943, p. 2.
61 Min. FIMC, Sheffield, March 12, 1943.
The League received another blow, however, when taxes on non-essentials were raised. Non-essentials were tobacco, wine, spirits, telephones and entertainment for all seats above 1s. in cost. In spite of the government's other encouragements of football during the war, virtually nothing was done by way of tax relief for clubs.

There were still some fine matches to be played as the season neared completion. "One of the best England teams in recent years...before a record war-time crowd" in Glasgow helped England maintain its dominance over Scotland with a 4-0 win. Scorers for England were Carter 2, Westcott, and D. Compton. Cricket results also appear in quantity this weekend as witness results from the Lancashire League and the Bolton Association.

London also experienced some light raids during this period. None the less the Easter weekend saw the windup of League North second half championship with Liverpool taking 32 points from 20 matches. Clubs had played anywhere from 10 to 20 matches in the second half tournament. Arsenal had won the League South in February.

Despite official warnings of transport difficulties, trains

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63 The Manchester Guardian, April 19, 1943, p. 2.
64 Ibid.
were packed this weekend and Blackpool resorts and entertainments had their biggest weekend since the war began. The Inter-Allied Services Cup final at Stamford Bridge, Chelsea, saw the R.A.F. and the British Army draw 2–2. King Haakon of Norway was in the crowd of 31,000. The United States Army had entered a team in the competition for the first time and were promptly mauled by the British Army 11–0. The Rugby League also saw good attendances at their Cup championship games at this time. Crowds of 12,000 and 16,000 saw the home and away games which Dewsbury won over Leeds on aggregate 16–15.

On the last day of the season, one hour after the last game, the main stand seating 2,000 at Millwall burnt to the ground. The secretary said the club would carry on next season but did not know if the stand could be replaced. In the autumn Millwall moved their games to Charlton's ground at the Valley and Charlton's reserves went to the New Cross ground, pending construction of a temporary stand. Millwall did receive permission from the authorities to erect this stand and it was hoped it would be ready by November 1943. It

66 The Manchester Guardian, April 24, 1943, p. 7.
67 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
actually was not ready until March 1944. Chelsea had also been allowed to erect a new temporary stand following damage and they opened the facility in September 1943.73

Although the F.L. ended the first of May, clubs were at liberty to extend to May 15 for friendlies and charities if they informed their county associations.74

Arsenal defeated Charlton 7-1 at Wembley before a good crowd and Blackpool tied Sheffield Wednesday the first of May.75 May 8, 1943 was an eventful day as Blackpool won the War Cup over Sheffield Wednesday 4-3 on aggregate and Wales (Lowrie) and England (Westcott) drew 1-1 at Cardiff.76 The same day an American football game was played at White City Stadium, which was well covered and explained in the press. Noting the Field Artillery beat the Engineers 19-6, the game had little excitement for the 25,000 present. The game was too long, 2½ hours, and while there was some good passing and running "the policy of working to set prearranged plans tended to minimize incident and variety."77

The F.L. and the F.A. both met on the eve of the Arsenal-Blackpool game at the Chelsea ground. The Football League proposed the competition for 1943-44 be similar to the past season. They

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73 Ibid.
74 The Manchester Guardian, April 28, 1943, p. 2.
77 Ibid.
also hoped to add Bournemouth and Norwich City to the competition. Mr. Allison of Arsenal was to be contacted concerning this matter. And probably the most important point was that the War Cup pool share would be £389-9-1 per club including the three non-League clubs in the West. \(^{78}\) "The 54 Northern clubs contributed £17,724 and the 18 Southern clubs £10,316." \(^{79}\) It should also be noted that the Glasgow Charity Cup, won by Celtic, realized its biggest take, £5,130, since 1931. \(^{80}\)

The press noted that many clubs were pressing for a decision concerning the use of guest players during the transitional period. Opinion ranged from gradual elimination to a clean cut immediately at the start of the period. \(^{81}\)

The Football Association's business was very routine with the most concern centering around asking E.A. Hapgood's (Arsenal) wife for advice on an appropriate gift for her husband in recognizing his long service as player and captain of the England team. The first time was in 1934. \(^{82}\)

The play-off game saw Blackpool defeat the Arsenal 4-2. The gates closed well before game time with 55,195 present. \(^{83}\) The

\(^{78}\) Min. FIMC, London, May 14, 1943.

\(^{79}\) The Manchester Guardian, May 28, 1943, p. 3.

\(^{80}\) The Manchester Guardian, June 23, 1943, p. 7.


\(^{82}\) Min. FAWEC, London, May 14, 1943.

\(^{83}\) The Times London, May 17, 1943, p. 2.
Arsenal played with no guest players, quite a feat in these times. A token trophy was given the winning seasiders and war certificates presented to participants. 84

Other sports were moving along well into their seasons. Cycling, speedway, athletics, rowing and cricket were well under way, and gaining mention even in the reduced newspaper space. Rugby League finished in mid-May with Dewsbury winning the League championship play-off on aggregate 33-16 over Halifax. 85 Wigan won the League, but the League championship was declared void as Bradford Northern had used an ineligible player in the semifinal and Dewsbury had done the same in the final, both informing on each other. 86 Cricket crowds grew considerably. Twenty thousand were at Lord’s for an England team versus a West Indies group. 87 The R.A.F. versus the Army drew well on the same ground in mid-June. 88

There was more optimism at the end of this season than any previous one, but this might be expected. By June Churchill had been to Washington, victory was imminent in Africa, and Berlin announced fears of an allied European invasion. 89

89 The Manchester Guardian, May 14, 1943, p. 5.
To summarize the 1942-43 season are the following:

1. It was probably the best organized thus far as the League and the F.A. had experience now in the war problems and weather did not disrupt the schedule as in previous seasons.

2. Thoughts for postwar period were becoming prominent in early 1943. This was a definite sign of optimism for a return to normalcy in the postwar years.

3. The need for a "transitional period" for the early postwar seasons began to become evident. Its length was not yet determined.

4. Plans were formulated for the 1943-44 season. It was to move along under the same basic organization as this season had.

To say that those obstacles due to war were completely overcome would, of course, be fantastically untrue. But the fact remains that, to the great benefit of the nation as a whole, club football did go on in spite of everything.

In proof of this, it may be stated that as a result of a survey of football activities throughout the country, undertaken in 1943 by the F.A. at the request of the Government, it was found organised football was being carried on in 39 of the county areas, and that 6,570 clubs were active.

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90 Victory Was the Goal, p. 35.
Chapter 10

THE WAR YEARS: SEASON 1943-44

The summer meetings of the governing bodies took place in late June. The F.L. Management Committee honored those with long service to the League and in general recapped the season. They also turned down Carlisle United's request to compete in the upcoming season, because they were too far removed from the other clubs.¹

The General Meeting of the Football League was held at the same time in London and included the following:

The president reported that

1. Ten of the deaths of League personnel were due to the war.
2. All compensation claims for the season had been paid.
3. The Jubilee Fund was dormant.
4. A thank you was extended to the services for continued release of players, and the League would show appreciation by more F.L. XIs versus command teams for charitable purposes.²

Other business included:

1. Next season's competition in the North would be


²Minutes of the Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Football League Ltd., London, June 28, 1943. Records of the F.L.
virtually identical to the 1942-43 campaign.

2. In the South each club would play 30 games, and for the cup would divide into four sections with each team playing six games. The four winners would play off.

3. Bournemouth and Norwich were to be left out of the South competition as matches with them involved too much travel by the other teams. This decision was made by vote and nearly created another F.L.-London breach.³

4. Payments to players was raised to 40s. and limited to 14 players per club. Third class rail expenses and 2/6 meal money were permitted where applicable.

5. Referees and linesmen must be from the League list. If this was not possible, they must still be a senior official and the hiring club must notify the League office.

6. The Management Committee proposed a "transitional period" after the war to study all proposals for the postwar period, then a "postwar period" to move back to normal. During the transitional period a "Victory Cup" would be played for. A "postwar period" was never needed after the "transitional period."

7. All outstanding transfer fees from the prewar period must be dealt with by the involved clubs, not the Management Committee who were "not debt collectors."⁴

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³The Manchester Guardian, June 29, 1943, p. 2.

⁴Minutes of the Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Football League Ltd., London, June 28, 1943. Records of the F.L.
The Management Committee met again in late July and reached the following decisions.

1. Fixtures for the upcoming season were approved.

2. Referees in the North, South, and West would be assigned to games through their area officials' association. This is certainly a sign of the movement toward postwar normalcy.

3. Bournemouth and Norwich City were granted a full share of last season's Cup pool for financial relief after being left out of next season's South competition.

4. Some Southern clubs felt their Cup pool should be shared only by those clubs, not in a total pool with the North. The League remained firm on a total pool, however.5

The F.A.'s War Emergency Committee covered general matters of finance, discipline, and a memorandum to the Annual meeting on postwar policy, as well as a promise of further study of Sunday football.6 The F.A. still maintained sound assets of £120,000 at this point. The interest on the F.A.'s war stock was £32,400, and this was ceded to the government.7

However, the major happening was the Football Association Council meeting, the first since the war, and another sign that

5Min. FLMC, Liverpool, July 23, 1943.


the war had certainly turned the corner. It was of such importance that the Earl of Athlone, president of the Football Association, and then Governor-General of Canada, conveyed his congratulations on its reconvening and its efforts as the world moved toward peace. "We may be able to take up our great position in the football world the same as before the war." 8

Mr. A. Brook Hirst, chairman of the Council, presided at the meeting. A brief review of the changes in personnel since they last met in August 1939, was given including deaths, registrations, life membership qualifiers, and other routine business. Following the reading of the minutes of the August 1939 meeting, the Council gave a heart felt thanks to the War Emergency Committee and the job it was doing. 9

The general business discussed included policy, matches in the close season, extension of the season when applicable, and the entertainment tax.Probably the most important piece of business was the Post War Development Memorandum put forth by the War Emergency Committee. The more salient points of this document were:

1. Introduction. The War Emergency Committee has gained experience and contacts during the war, which should enhance postwar development, especially on the governmental level. The close


associations with the services has aided in knowing influential people whose interest in the game is more than temporary. While nothing was specifically stated here it was strongly implied that the game should gain influential support in its recovery after the war.

2. The opportunity of being of service to foreign countries, especially with troops in England, may make the war a favorable contributor to the future of the game in the area of postwar international soccer.

3. Also, the spirit of the game seems higher than in prewar since the players seem to have a better perspective on the game, as a recreation rather than as a profession. If both amateur and professional could maintain this view after the war the game would be enhanced.

4. While much is uncertain at this point, it is obvious that many restrictions on travel, equipment, clothing, catering, and similar difficulties will prevail and dictate how fast the game can return to normal.

5. Regarding players the F.A.'s aim is to make it possible for every man and boy who wishes to do so to play football. Some schools force rugby on boys and thus courses in coaching soccer should be given teachers at all levels to impart the game. Youth clubs and groups should be aided in gaining qualified instruction. Guidance should also be available to clubs, industrial firms, the Y.M.C.A. and similar adult groups.
6. Also, study should be made of the employment of full and part-time professionals, awarding of bonuses, the transfer system and boy professionals.

7. Local authorities should be made aware, perhaps through the National Playing Fields Association, of the building and re-building requirements of football.

8. Relations in general should be improved with governmental bodies as well as national voluntary organizations, such as the Central Council for Physical Training and the Boys Brigade.

9. Regarding coaches, a system of training and employment should be developed. F.A. courses, a scale of fees for coaches employed by school and other organizations would be part of this scheme. It is hoped that coaches and referees who were demobbed, discharged, would be absorbed into the game.

10. The F.A. should publish its own periodical and issue statements of policy from time to time to the press.

11. Since the pools were so firmly established with the populace, the F.A. should approach the appropriate governmental departments (not given) with the idea of developing a central agency to distribute a percentage of the profits to developing sport facilities nationally along the Swedish lines. It appears the F.A. was more liberal at this juncture than the Football League on the topic of pools.

12. Other matters to be taken under advisement were employment of prewar players, the benevolent fund to include a scholarship scheme,
formation of a Sunday F.A., the players' union, a union of secretaries and managers, additional representatives to the F.A., revision of F.A. rules, including a change in the name to the English F.A.  

The secretary of the F.A. reported that whatever direction the game took after the war it must be prompted by ideals above reproach, as only then could the game contribute its maximum to the welfare of the nation. The Emergency Committee adopted these points at the June 28th meeting, and in turn the Council, as their basis for future discussion. The Annual General Meeting at the same time covered the remaining routine business.

The F.L. at its meeting in September, reaffirmed their opposition to postwar football on Sunday, and to the pools. The pools, however, are a vital part of professional soccer today, but the F.L.'s opposition to Sunday football is still effective.

The F.A.'s pragmatic view toward the pools received several cutting attacks in the press. An editorial in The Manchester Guardian noted the complete reversal of the F.A.'s once strong stand against the pools, but now that a "rake-off" was possible from the profits, it would be against the postwar memorandum's call for actions with "ideals above reproach." Another editorial lashed at those who supported the football pools, since "it would


11 Min. FIMC, Liverpool, September 3, 1943.

be hard to find a rampart phase of predatory commercialism than pool promoting. They also published the Lancashire F.A.'s stand that suggested, contrary to the F.A., that the pools should be legally repressed.

While the newspapers may have been crusading against the pools, they obviously did not reflect the thinking of a vast majority within the populace who supported the pools. The die was already cast for the great postwar growth of the pools. One interesting facet of the subtle change in attitudes towards the pools that occurred was the appointment by the F.A. of the committee to study the pools. It included two members from the Football League, because the Management Committee had expressed their negative thoughts on the pools.

Another proposal for the postwar organization of football was given on the eve of the season's opening. The chairman of Chester F.C. hoped that all the football, at least Third Division level, would be all amateurs and part-time professionals. He did not believe "that after the war the country would be able to afford to let all her fittest and best citizens go into what was after all a blind-alley occupation." He proved to be wrong.

Arrangements for several international matches were in

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14 The Manchester Guardian, August 5, 1943, p. 2.
motion for the upcoming season. "Apart from their importance from a recreational standpoint, the social and political value of these and other games arranged by the Football Association were now widely recognized and appreciated." The King and Queen and other royalty attended frequently as did many Cabinet ministers and military leaders.

One group closely related to sport, the sporting goods manufacturers were faced with great difficulties. Slazengers Annual Report stated that the restrictions or prohibition of certain raw materials, labor and shipping restrictions meant that production was limited to the needs of the forces and official agencies. (Does this refer to the F.A. and F.L.? The company hoped, however, to play a large role in the postwar production and expansion of the industry, including the export trade.

Other matters also required soccer's interest. The (Home) International Football Board at the meeting in Troon moved to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer "to receive a deputation from the four associations on the question of having football included under that section of the entertainment tax embracing 'living performances.'" The Board also agreed to ask the Board of Trade

17. *Victory Was the Goal*, p. 19.
18. Ibid.
to receive a similar deputation about football equipment. Another area of importance was boy football player releases. These amateur registrations normally ceased at the end of a season but due to the exigencies of wartime, clubs recorded them without resigning. The British Associations pointed out that this was incorrect and a player need only apply to his local body for his release.\textsuperscript{21} Furthermore, regulations were also tightened on guest players appearing for another British Isles country other than his own. If in the military, he could guest for that country only if he was stationed in that country, not just on leave there. If a civilian, he could guest only if employed there, not while on holiday there.\textsuperscript{22} Finally, the Army F.A.'s meeting decided to maintain its pay policy for professional footballers. While no specific action was taken, they recommended that the number of physical training corps instructors be limited in representative matches.\textsuperscript{23}

As the start of the season drew near, England had a more optimistic view of life. Italy was nearly beaten. The holiday at the end of July had seen many holiday-makers traveling. Theatres were open. Great crowds at Lord's saw good cricket, as there were 25,000 for the England versus the Dominions match.\textsuperscript{24} And the King

\textsuperscript{21}The Manchester Guardian, July 12, 1943, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{22}The Manchester Guardian, July 13, 1943, p. 2.


\textsuperscript{24}The Manchester Guardian, August 13, 1943, p. 2.
and Queen even attended Ascot on the Bank holiday. The weekend after Bank Holiday had seen 22,000 at Wembley to witness an American baseball game.

The Football League opened on August 28, with the same type of competition as the previous year. Crowds were good, over 200,000 and one notes a sprinkling of foreign players appearing as guests for League clubs. These included DeBasser, a Belgian, who appeared for Queen’s Park Rangers, and Dazajna Stankowski, the Polish international goalkeeper, who appeared for Brighton. A Spaniard, Emelil Aldecas, who appeared for Wolverhampton, was an evacuee from the Spanish Civil War and now made his home in England. Wolves had hoped he might join their team after the war. J. Scott Lee, a Chinese graduate of Manchester University, also appeared for Everton.

To again illustrate that legitimate sport had strong governmental support consider the Barrow Rugby League club. The Barrow Trade Council petitioned through Mr. Ernest Bevin to the Admiralty for the release of their players from work for games, pointing out that recreation would be provided for war workers if the club could resume in the Rugby League, and requesting the release of players for away games. The letter

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25 Ibid.
26 The Manchester Guardian, August 9, 1943, p. 2.
was referred to the Admiralty, which now states that arrangements have been made to grant leave to employees selected to play in away games. Home games are played on the works 'off' Saturdays. 30 Whether this ever occurred for a soccer club is unknown.

The Army undertook another trip to Northern Ireland in September, losing 4-2, and winning 5-1, over the Irish League. 31 September also saw the first of the year's home internationals at Wembley between England and Wales. England (Carter 2, Walsh 3, Hagan 2, D. Compton) defeated Wales (Llowrie 2, Powell) easily 8-3. The crowd of 80,000 were treated to a unique happening in English soccer internationals. Stan Mortensen, a player who had developed tremendously over the previous year and was destined for postwar greatness with Stanley Matthews at Blackpool, was selected as the substitute for England. During the game the Welsh player Ivor Powell broke his collar bone and Mortensen replaced him for Wales. 32 This was Mortensen's first international appearance, and the only time a player picked for a national team appeared for the opponents! What were Mortensen's reactions then?

They shouted down and said, 'Get stripped and get on the field,' I was so excited. This was, of course, the time before substitutes. I was so excited, I took off my tunic in the middle of Wembley, on the side of Wembley football ground. I was so excited I was taking my uniform off on the side of the field. 33

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Such were the exigencies of war that A.W. Roxburgh, with just fourteen prewar first team appearances and a full-time fireman in Blackpool during the war, was selected in goal for England in his first international appearance.\textsuperscript{34} Why he was selected over so many other available individuals could not be found.

As happened many other times the F.A. and the F.L. met in conjunction with the international match. In addition to the usual business of schedule approvals, representative matches, and finances, the F.A. War Emergency Committee acted upon the following:

1. A testimonial of \textsterling 100, mostly in war bonds, to be given to E.A. Hapgood, the long-serving England international.

2. Payment of \textsterling 3 to players in international matches.

3. Another approach to the Board of Trade, concerning clothing coupons for football equipment for civilian clubs, such as amateur teams.

4. An approach to the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the heavy entertainment tax.\textsuperscript{35}

5. A review of a report on the views of the services on payment of professional players in some representative matches. In summary, the R.A.F. and Civil Defence were in favor of the payment of professional players. The Navy was against such payment and the Army was to continue its present policy of payment only when matches

\textsuperscript{34} The Manchester Guardian, September 14, 1943, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{35} Min. FAWEC, London, September 24, 1943.
were against civilian teams. The chairman, Mr. Huband, asked the
services to form a uniform policy.36

The F.L. also met the weekend of the England-Wales match and
covered their usual business of transfers, finances, and similar
items. It noted that

1. There is still some "friction" between the Southern clubs
and the F.L. Mr. Allison of the Arsenal felt the situation was still
in hand, and the matter rested there.

2. The services commands were staging so many matches and
therefore preventing players from participating in civilian soccer.
The services were to be contacted to resolve this problem.37

As Italy declared war on Germany, England won another "war"
with Scotland by a record 8-0 before a sell out crowd of 60,000 at
Maine Road, Manchester. Scorers were Lawton (4), Hagan (2), Carter (1),
and Matthews (1).38 England completely dominated the out-classed Scots
from the opening moments enroute to their victory.39 Crowds for
League matches continued well over 200,000 into October and the
weather stayed good. At this time the Rugby League showed optimism
toward the postwar period by announcing it had contracted to play
the Cup final in Wembley Stadium for at least five years after the

36"Minutes of a Meeting of Representatives of the F.A.,

37Min. FAWEC, London, September 24, 1943.

38The Manchester Guardian, October 18, 1943, p. 2.

39Ibid.
war. These actually began in 1946.

It should be noted that the cold facts of war were still about the same as there were some light raids on London for three nights in a row. As these night raids continued, the postwar planning committee of the F.A. met in Manchester the day before the October England-Scotland match. And it was noted that the government could not give any relief on the entertainment tax for football. The F.A. was also concerned about the fact that not enough of the money taken at some charity matches was going to the worthy causes. As one example, "a match between Essex Home Guard and Eastern Command yielded only twenty percent of the gross takings to the welfare funds of the units." The F.A. wished to stipulate that no more than twenty percent of the intake could be used for match expenses.

Another situation the Football League had to resolve concerned benefits. Benefits are testimonial matches arranged "with the consent of the Management Committee...on behalf of any player who has completed 10 years or more in the service of a

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40 The Manchester Guardian, October 14, 1943, p. 2.
41 The Manchester Guardian, October 19, 1943, p. 2.
42 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
club. The question now was whether wartime service counted toward years in service with a club. The secretary pointed out that it did in World War I, but that nothing had been decided in this war. As a result clubs would have to decide this for themselves. Until then benefits would be given only on the basis of pre-war service. This had been the policy on those benefits, nearly a dozen, sanctioned thus far during the war.

There was one bright happening at this juncture, however, As a result of the F.A.'s representation to the Board of Trade, it was decided to allot 40,000 coupons for clothing for distribution among the professional clubs of the four British Football Associations. The probable distribution "would be based upon the number of clubs in membership with each association." League clubs also decided to issue complimentary tickets to repatriated P.O.W.s upon request and in some instances provided half time refreshments.

The Players and Trainers Union presented their thoughts on the postwar development of football in a 1,000 word document of their proposals. In April 1939, prior to the outbreak of war, the Union had presented a series of demands to the Management Committee. Before an in depth discussion could take place the war

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46 The Manchester Guardian, November 2, 1943, p. 2.

47 Ibid., p. 3.

intervened. These prewar points included the following:

1. An increase in the maximum wage to £ 9 weekly. The Management Committee felt it could not do this as some clubs did not have the resources.

2. A minimum wage of £ 4 weekly or a free transfer to be granted.

3. Playing season to commence when called up for training.

4. Agreement for services from first Saturday in August to last Saturday in July.

5. Increased compensation for injured players.

6. An accrued share of benefits to be calculated at 100 percent.

7. A share of transfer fees and increase in bonuses and talent money.

8. A representative of the Union on the Jubilee Fund.\(^\text{49}\)

In 1943, many of these proposals were again brought forward with some modifications. These included

1. An abolition of a maximum wage or a substantial increase,

2. A superannuation scheme for retirement should be initiated.

This would help do away with benefit matches.

3. Removal from the League of clubs not paying the minimum wage. In spite of a £ 208 per annum minimum wage rule some clubs pay less under the "reasonable wage" section.

4. Players should have a representative on all committees

\(^{49}\)Min. FIMC, Manchester, April 26, 1939.
which affect their welfare.\textsuperscript{50}

These issues were to be hard-fought through the rest of the war and the early postwar period.

The Football League met in early December in Huddersfield. In addition to the usual business, they acted upon the following:

1. Derby County was fined 10s. for not having a results sheet in on time.

2. Bath City was fined £2\textsuperscript{nd} 2\textsuperscript{nd} 0 for being late for matches at Aberaman and Cardiff.

3. A former player, age 75, applied for a grant under the benevolent fund. Since there was a bill in Parliament to raise old age pensions, there was no grounds for the grant.

4. The president reported that he had corresponded with the Army F.A. concerning the many calls by the military and the resultant depletion of the civilian clubs. Brig. Green of the Army F.A. replied that he would try to help, but doubted if anything could be done "since the men concerned were primarily at the call of the Service and were under the control of the individual commanding officers."\textsuperscript{51}

The first half of the season was nearing its end. Many representative matches, especially through the services, had been played for charity. Further "Footballers Day" collections at the grounds had added to the charity monies. The results of the first half

\textsuperscript{50}The Manchester Guardian, November 30, 1943, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{51}Min. FLMC, Huddersfield, December 10, 1943.
of the season showed Blackpool winning the League North Championship over Manchester United. Lovell’s Athletic had another success in the League West. 52

However, a sports paper puzzled over Aldershot’s lack of success. It seemed especially surprising in view of the large number of quality players available to them. 53 Brian Glanville recounts playing at Aldershot and remembers that “during the war, they were strong enough to have won a First Division Championship, and the Cup, to boot.” 54 They had Lawton, Britton, Mercer, McCulloch, Cullis, Hagan and Swift. But why doesn’t their ability show in the record? At no time did the ‘shots place above the middle of the standings in any of their wartime competitions and in some of the seasons they were lower. Nor did they progress in the Cup competitions. In conclusion, the Aldershot wartime strength seems to have been vastly overrated.

Attendances were very good at the holiday as 320,000 viewed matches on Christmas Day and 440,000 watched the opening of the Cup matches, as well as the continuing League South matches on Boxing Day. 55 In Rugby League earlier, the Yorkshire Cup final saw Bradford Northern defeat Keighley on aggregate 10-7. Over

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12,000 had seen the final game at Keighley.\(^{56}\)

On the warfront a Soviet-Czecho-Slovakian pact had been signed and the German battleship Scharnhorst had been sunk as the war moved slowly toward victory for the Allies.

As the season moved into the year 1944 attendances were good as crowds averaging 6,000 watched 28 League North matches and over 40,000 were at White Hart Lane to see Spurs, leading the South, beat West Ham United 1–0.\(^ {57}\) Abandoned or postponed matches in the Cup competition would not be made up due to limited playing dates. As a result teams with games cancelled would gain a percentage of points and uncompleted games would count as a final result.\(^ {58}\)

The F.L. meeting in January made the first half standings official, accepted the donations from "Footballers Days" and acted upon several questions regarding club's use of players from other teams without proper notification.\(^ {59}\)

It was in this period that the Scottish international, C. Napier, was suspended sine die (for an indefinite period) for the second time. This is the only time the League has done this. He had first been banned while guesting with Falkirk on February 13, 1941. After being reinstated in August 1943, he was involved in an

\(^{56}\) The Manchester Guardian, December 6, 1943, p. 2.

\(^{57}\) The Manchester Guardian, January 3, 1944, p. 2.

\(^{58}\) Min. FLMC, Sheffield, February 25, 1944.

\(^{59}\) Min. FLMC, Sheffield, January 14, 1944.
incident while playing for Wednesday in October 1943. He thus was again suspended *sine die* on January 13, 1944.60

As the Inter-Allied Cup was planned the Navy decided not to participate, and the Army and R.A.F. fielded only amateur sides.61 This seems to indicate that the services were moving towards peace-time organization of their sports. In fact, all entrants except the National Fire Service were amateur for this competition in 1944.

The Cup matches for the North clubs proceeded without too many weather hazards and this aided attendances. The weekend of January 29, saw over 300,000 at matches, including 45,000 at Goodison to see Everton drop their game to cross-park rivals Liverpool.62 The multitude of services representative matches continued.

On the warfront the war again came close to home as raids increased over southeast England. On the eve of the England-Scotland match at Wembley the heaviest fire raid since 1940 occurred on London.63

The F.A. met at this time and this meeting included the following decisions:

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63 *The Manchester Guardian*, February 19, 1944, p. 5.
1. The 1943–44 season would not be extended.

2. The Disciplinary Committee warned players, two in particular, to avoid "reckless" and "unduly robust play." 64

3. A committee studying Sunday football reviewed a short history of the relaxing of Sunday play rules during the war. They concluded football would be played on Sunday after the war, but the demand would vary among areas. They also felt there would be an "aversion" to "gates" on Sunday and that the F.A. would run the competitions. The Committee believed other organizations, as the theater, who were moving to Sunday events should also be studied. 65

In spite of the increased heavy raids on London that weekend a sell out crowd of 80,000 at Wembley watched England again dismember Scotland. England won 6 (MacCauley, o.g., Hagan 2, Lawton, Mercer, Carter) to Scotland's 2 (Dodds, 2). 66 Many dignitaries attended that game and the contest realized £18,000 for charity, the largest single charity contribution from a sports event ever in Britain. 67 The Rugby League was also doing its part for charity, although, of course, drawing from a much smaller base. The international at Wigan saw England and Wales draw 9 each. The 16,028 supporters realized £1,277 for charity. 68

64 Min. FAWEC, London, February 18, 1944.  
65 Ibid.  
A crisis of sorts was approaching the main English summer sport, cricket, at this time. The fellers, cutters, of willow trees from which the bats were made, were too few so trees for cricket bats were left uncut. The had to be cut soon or the pliant trees would become too firm, and the crop would be lost, another toll of the war.  

Another event which characterized both an optimistic turn in the war as well as the British attitude toward certain sports, was shown in the Waterloo Cup. This event near Liverpool for coursing (greyhounds after rabbits) attracted its biggest crowd since the twenties. A news editorial noted this went on when theatres were abandoned for the war, villages evacuated for battle schools, the Derby moved to Newmarket, and football and cricket curtailed.  

"We are in many ways a remarkable [read odd] country."  

There was heavy snow in the North in late February but it did not prove to be a great impediment to the North Cup matches. The F.L. meeting on February 25, found all of the Committee present except Mr. Cearns, whose premises had recently been bombed in the continuing air raids on London. The main item of business was the continued complaint of some clubs of the excessive calls by the services for representative matches, which were seriously altering the clubs' prospects. The matter was to brought before a representa-

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committee of which clubs were members in due course. The Cup
competition, lead by Wrexham, finished its qualifying rounds and
the 32 clubs now went into the competition proper.

While several clubs were making profits in soccer none
appeared more surprising than Coventry City F.C. In spite of
tremendous damage in that community, City showed a profit of £ 1,740
last season and £ 1,431 the previous year. The surplus carried
forward gives a credit side surplus of £ 11,684.

Attendance remained good as 130,000 watched eight North
Cup matches in late March. And it was announced that from April 1,
a long coastal strip from the Wash to Land's End would be off limits
to visitors. This, of course, meant that the European invasion
was forming up and would be followed by broad travel restrictions
within the near future.

The F.L. met at this time and covered routine business.
Concerning League West teams, it was noted that Aberaman had admitted
men from the local works at less than the League minimum and this
had been investigated. It was ruled that since non-League clubs
did not share home gates or take a share when away they were not
required to charge the minimum rate. The clubs, however, indicated

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71 Min. FIMC, Sheffield, February 25, 1944.
72 Ibid.
73 The Manchester Guardian, March 7, 1944, p. 2.
75 The Manchester Guardian, March 21, 1944, p. 2.
they would abide with the minimum rate in the future.  

Raid were still heavy in the Southeast as the Cup competition reached its halfway point. In a recent raid the F.A. offices in Lancaster Gate were hit by incendiaries. Mr. Rous, the secretary, and his wife had helped to fight the fire.  

The weekend of April 17th saw the League South Cup final at Wembley with 85,000 spectators to see Charlton defeat Chelsea 3-1. Charlton was beginning what was to be several successful years. Much credit for this success was due to their wartime youth program. Another team beginning a successful run was Aston Villa, who drew 45,000 in their Cup semifinal win against Sheffield United the same day. The demand for tickets was so great it took weeks to return the money to the disappointed applicants.  

The following weekend saw another England-Scotland match in Glasgow. The game at Hampton Park drew the unbelievable figure of 133,000 and saw England (Lawton 2, Carter) gain three goals to Scotland's two (Caskie, Cullis, o.g.). The F.L. met at this time also in Glasgow and covered general business. In other action the same weekend Belfast City won the Irish Cup and Bath City beat Aberaman Athletic in the West 16-3, for the largest single game goals

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76 Min. FIMC, Manchester, March 24, 1944.
77 The Manchester Guardian, March 25, 1944, p. 5.
78 The Manchester Guardian, April 17, 1944, p. 2.
79 Ibid.
80 The Manchester Guardian, April 24, 1944, p. 2.
total in the war. The Rugby League also finished their Challenge Cup final as Bradford Northern won 8–3 on aggregate over Wigan. The final game drew 30,000 at Odsal in Bradford.

The season rapidly drew to a close with a myriad of Cup finals. The last international of the season in Cardiff had England (Lawton, Smith) defeating Wales 2–0 in a ragged game in which the lineups were unsure until game time. £25,000 was gained from the season's internationals for charities and £60,340 total to that time. At the same time Aston Villa won the North Cup on aggregate over always strong Blackpool 5–4, with over 50,000 present at the second game in Villa Park. Villa the following autumn gave the North Cup to the Red Cross who auctioned it off for charity. Bath City capped their most successful season in history. They won the League North's second half championship on goal average over Wrexham. Both teams gained 34 points from 21 matches. They also won the League West Cup. That same weekend Tottenham Hotspur were declared League South champions. While the sports media congratulated tiny Bath City

81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
84 Victory Was the Goal, p. 19
86 The Manchester Guardian, October 17, 1944, p. 2.
on their successes, it must be remembered that this was done entirely with guest players. 88 Mr. Howarth, the F.L. secretary, estimated that each club would realize about £ 420 from the cup pools this season for 74 clubs. 89 May 20th signalled the end of virtually all football for the season. Wigan won the Rugby League championship and Aston Villa and Charlton drew 1-1 in their Cup winners game at Stamford Bridge. 90

The two governing bodies of soccer also met in conjunction with the Cup winners game in London. The F.A. covered routine business. The F.L., after consulting with the F.A., and in line with the government's wishes to avoid all but emergency travel, decided to postpone indefinitely the Annual General Meeting scheduled for July. 91 The postponement was related to the impending invasion.

When reviewing the 1943-44 season, three points emerge.

1. The most significant factor was that the machinery was set in motion for the postwar period - a "transitional" time and an early return to normal League competition. This was done in spite of renewed bombing in England.

2. There were definite signs of the revival of clubs and other leagues in the near future.

3. Despite the optimism over the approaching end to the

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91 Min. FLMC, London, May 19, 1944.
war, it was obvious that many problems were going to get more difficult. The shortage of equipment and transportation would be more acute as peacetime demands in the culture increased. There were also the pools, the Players' Union demands, the entertainment tax, and the return of aging players to their civilian clubs. Finally the Army F.A. had to decide the role of the professional player inducted at or near the end of the war.
Chapter 11

THE WAR YEARS: SEASON 1944-45

The early summer of 1944 saw cricket flourishing as Old Trafford (Manchester) reopened and a one day match between Australia and England at Lord's drew 25,680 to see the home side win.¹ This occurred as the Allies were taking Rome and less than a week before the invasion of France. Sport was headed for peacetime and not even the largest invasion in history was to slow its gathering momentum.

On the other side of the Channel, however, the impending invasion was taking some toll. "According to German-controlled Vichy radio, quoted Reuter, racing in France has been cancelled until further notice 'owing to the present situation.' Thursday's meeting at Maisons-Lafitte was not held."²

As the invasion progressed, the Management Committee met in Blackpool. There they

1. decided to operate the League for the next season on the same lines as in 1943-44,

2. approved Preston North End and Hull for competition in 1944-45, (Preston had been operating the past two seasons with youngsters in the junior leagues.)

3. turned down Barrow and Carlisle's applications as the travel distance would be too great,

4. passed Bournemouth and Norwich City's applications onto the Southern Area Committee, where they were again turned down, and

5. hoped to use the Cup pool funds to pay off the £29,000 still outstanding by clubs in transfer fees. Each club would loan its share of £410 in the pool to the League interest free. Those clubs not owed or owing would be helping the League. The indebted clubs would then owe only one creditor, the F.L., and those needing the funds from transfer fees would be aided. 3 The September meeting showed enough votes could not be mustered to support this recommendation and the pools shares went to each club. 4

Summer programs saw the Scottish Summer League Cup in action and clubs in England began preparing for peacetime programs. As an example, Leicester City adopted Middlesbrough Swifts as their nursery club. 5 It was noted that many clubs retained huge numbers of amateurs

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3 Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meeting, Blackpool, June 17, 1944. Records of the Football League Ltd., Lytham St. Annes, Lancs. Hereafter cited as Min. FLMC.

4 Min. FLMC, Liverpool, September 15, 1944.

5 The Manchester Guardian, June 10, 1944, p. 7.
on their books, as Wolverhampton who had 105 amateurs out of 189 players. The clubs will weed out these youngsters for postwar competition. This was, of course, a cheap way to look at and develop players during the war period.

But while the Allied invasion was going well, summer saw the dreaded pilotless bombs wreak havoc in the Southeast of England, primarily London. The initial attacks brought little response by the government, who had knowledge of these bombs as early as April, 1943, and feared mass panic on the part of the public. This, however, never really developed. June through August saw heavy V-1 attacks. There was some evacuation of London, but much damage occurred in the south London area, Croydon. Thus many of the essential public utilities in London were not affected. Even though many bombs came in daylight, the summer holiday traffic was heavy, even at the August Bank Holiday.

The bombs had only a small effect on soccer. On the back of a single sheet Fulham program of November 4, 1944, just under the fixtures and results appears this notice.

Danger from flying bombs. Spotters will be stationed to give warning of imminent danger and a flag will be displayed on the scoreboard on the riverside and also on the main stand.

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On such warning being given the game shall be suspended at once. Those present being advised to take cover under the stands or nearest available place.

The heaviest attacks were over by the season's opening. Also the bomb alley of Sussex and Kent had few League teams, while in the Midlands and North, where most of the League teams were, only isolated bombs fell, these in Yorkshire and Lancashire. So London, again, "could take it." However, as the invasion wiped out the V-1 bases, the V-2s came into operation and were a strong threat until the end of 1944. Scattered incidents occurred after that time. Vast numbers of residences were destroyed, workers were drafted in from the provinces and men were released from the military to go into greater London to aid the rebuilding. Many of these were quartered in venerable Wembley Stadium during the building period.

The sports pages during the summer, however, show increased sports activity as in cricket and golf. Tennis matches were being played at Wimbledon and Hurlingham, which shows "normalcy" slowly returning to sports life, in general. There was also a note in The Sporting Life. It felt the idea of full-time referees at £ 10 per week was ridiculous for 90 minutes of work. They were well paid.

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11 Calder, p. 562.
12 Calder, p. 563.
at present 3 guineas and travel expenses. 14

The financial situation of the clubs for the past season was reported now. While clubs such as Bury lost £ 149, paying £ 1,323 in entertainment tax, 15 and Wolverhampton dropped £ 3,585, as much had gone into players' benefits, 16 Aston Villa's successful season netted them a profit of £ 3,574 after expenditures. Some of Aston Villa's expenses were £ 3,647 for income tax, £ 3,522 for players' benefits, £ 18,437 for entertainment tax, £ 11,617 for visitor's gate percentage, and £ 3,781 for the F.L.'s percentage. Their income included £ 44,720 from admissions, £ 6,285 from away gates, and £ 410 from the League Cup pool. 17 Thus were the finances of one of the more prosperous teams dispensed. Clubs like Leicester, Tottenham, Coventry, Darlington, and Doncaster showed profits of over £ 1,000.

The Management Committee meeting in July approved the upcoming season's schedule and approved Accrington Stanley and Port Vale for competition. 18 The Post-War Planning Committee of the League met afterwards for a short period. 19

The Rugby League became the first body to announce it would

18 Min. FIMC, Leeds, July 14, 1944.
19 The Manchester Guardian, July 17, 1944, p. 2.
remove its match fee restrictions. The League also decided to dispense with its 15s. and 25s. maximum player payments in the upcoming season. Each club would make its own arrangements. They would also decide themselves the matter of insuring players. 20

The August Bank Holiday weekend saw sport and recreation literally bursting out all over the country. Soccer reappeared with the British Army XI playing in Dundee and Aston Villa journeyed out that way to Edinburgh to play a representative side as the Scottish season was to open the following week. 21 There were 16,000 spectators at Lord's where England defeated Australia. These teams obviously picked from whoever was in the area. 22 There were large crowds at Ascot where the loudspeakers stated that warnings would be broadcast if any flying bombs were sighted in the vicinity. 23 Also, the south coast resort areas were heavily crowded, even Bournemouth and Brighton, which was still a banned area. However, there was no police check in the area. 24 This could be a sign of everyone wanting to enjoy a pressure-free holiday. Restrictions were lifted anyway later in the month at Brighton and Southend. The newspapers also reported that food supplies were adequate even for these large gatherings of people.

21 The Manchester Guardian, August 7, 1944, p. 2.
22 The Manchester Guardian, August 8, 1944, p. 2.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
As the new soccer season in England was about to begin the Allies were advancing toward Germany. It was during one of these maneuvers that one of those human moments of the war occurred. Lt. E. Spicer, the Liverpool F.C. halfback, then in the medical corps, wrote his mother of the following incident while in Normandy.

A German Medical Corp sargeant-major surrendered to him shouting 'Don't shoot, I am a Soccer international.' 'He spoke perfect English,' said Lieutenant Spicer, 'and said he was a professional footballer back in the Fatherland and had played against several English touring clubs. He mentioned many well-known English players including Callaghan, of Aston Villa, against whom he said he had played in 1937 and with whom he corresponded for a time. We had quite an interesting chat while he was being patched up, and you would have thought we were the best of friends!'

The season opened on August 26, amid the happiest circumstances since the 1938 season. Paris was being liberated and all could see the war's end coming. But even though days were better, football was being played under some of its most difficult wartime circumstances.

Owing to the tremendous volume of military traffic between Britain and the Continent, transport problems were greater than ever, whilst among the increasing shortages of goods and materials which affected the community generally, the difficulty of maintaining the barest minimum of essential football equipment for civilian clubs was intensified. Only the closest co-operation between the Football Association, acting on behalf of the four British Associations, and the Board of Trade, prevented the whole of the manufacture of football cases and bladders being swept into channels which would have left none for civilian organizations not directly under a government department. 25

The F.A. benefitted when the Board of Trade deputed it to issue the priority certificates for footballs and equipment and up to

25 The Manchester Guardian, August 16, 1944, p. 3.

1945 "over 650 clubs were assisted to purchase football clothing, through special facilities granted by the Board of Trade, no reasonable application having been refused to a club within the Association's orbit." Cricket lacking the involved administrative structure of football later developed through the M.C.C. and the Board of Trade a scheme in which some clubs in each county would be "parent clubs." Those private cricket clubs outside a recognized league could apply to the parent club for allotted available cricket equipment. 28

Also the demise of the war's first major competition was seen, that of the Inter-Allied Cup, because so many of the Allied Forces were departing for overseas duty in 1944. The F.A. and all concerned felt it had achieved its goals extremely well. Its charity games had raised over £ 6,000. To show their appreciation the Allied countries involved presented a banner upon which were affixed the flags of each participating country to the F.A. General Daufresne de la Chevalerie presented this banner to the chairman of the Association on the occasion of the England-France match at Wembley, May 26, 1945. 29

Early in the season, as a result of the invasion and players in the services, clubs experienced the upsetting of game lineups that was seen in the early war. Scores were also high averaging

27 Ibid., p. 20.


29 Victory Was the Goal, p. 20.
between seven to nine goals per match.\textsuperscript{30} In September, the Army sent a Combined Services team to Northern Ireland as it had in August to the Highlands and both were considered a success.\textsuperscript{31}

As the blackout was being relaxed to half-lighting, the resumption of international sport began to glimmer. The Dutch government was very receptive to resumption of amateur competitions between cities. Hull adopted Rotterdam and Liverpool, Amsterdam. Birmingham and Brussels also hoped to make some sporting arrangements.\textsuperscript{32}

While many troops were going to the Continent there was a trickle of others returning. Fitzgerald of Q.P.R., a submarine stoker, returned after two years on patrol and scored twice in his initial contest. Gage, the Fulham goalkeeper, a parachutist, looked good on his return to football.\textsuperscript{33} But grim reminders of war were still present. The Twickenham Rugby ground in London was struck by a flying bomb in mid-September.\textsuperscript{34} The first international of the season drew nearly 40,000 to Liverpool to see England (Carter, Lawton) and Wales (Dearson, Lucas) draw 2-2.\textsuperscript{35}

Not only were the professionals functioning this season, but there was also a great increase in the amateur leagues, such as

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{30}]\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, August 28, 1944, p. 2.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}]\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, September 11, 1944, p. 2.
\item[\textsuperscript{32}]\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, September 8, 1944, p. 7.
\item[\textsuperscript{33}]\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, September 11, 1944, p. 2.
\item[\textsuperscript{34}]\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, September 15, 1944, p. 7.
\item[\textsuperscript{35}]\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, September 18, 1944, p. 3.
\end{itemize}
in Lancashire, Cheshire and the Home Counties around London. Also, a national under-18 competition was begun under the jurisdiction of the F.A. and 36 of the 41 County Associations provided representative sides for this County Youth Championship. The eventual champions were Staffordshire with Wiltshire the runner-up. Thus the peacetime competitions were already developing.

In September as the British Forces reached the Rhine, the F.A. received invitations from the military authorities and the Football Associations of France and Belgium to send a strong representative side to play representative teams in those countries. Players were drawn from the Army and R.A.F. to form a F.A. Service XI. The fourteen players who had been involved in many wartime games included the stalwarts, F. Swift, W. Barnes, G. Hardwick, W. Hughes, N. White, M. Busby, B. Joy, J. Mercer, F. Soo, S. Matthews, H. Carter, E. Drake, M. Edelston, and J. Mullen.

These games were played at the beginning of October and the first game at famed Parc des Princes, Paris, drew 35,000 as the F.A. XI (Carter 3, Edelston, Drake) defeated a French team 5-0. In all fairness it must be stated that several of the better French players were still away in the war effort. Mr. Duff Cooper, British Ambassador, and General Koenig, Commander of the F.F.I., attended the game. The team then moved on to Brussels and won 3-0 (Barnes,

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36 *Victory Was the Goal*, p. 20
37 *The Manchester Guardian*, October 2, 1944, p. 2.
38 Ibid.
Drake, Smellinckx, o.g.). The Rugby League at their meeting in Leeds also were speedily renewing relationships with the French officials. They hoped to send a team to France in the near future.

The early season games went well without interruption and the second international of the season at Wembley drew 90,000 persons to watch England maintain her mastery over Scotland. Behind at half time England (Lawton 3, Goulden, Carter, Smith) scored 6 to Scotland's (Milne, Walker) 2. The King of Norway, the Chiefs of the Allied Staffs and several cabinet ministers were present.

Various tax problems still found their way to the fore. The secretary of the Birmingham F.C. stated his club was negotiating with the Treasury concerning benefit monies paid to players under the 1938-39 scale when a lower tax rate prevailed. Very little came of this, however. The Management Committee meeting was informed of another new tax procedure in October. A letter from the Principal Collector of Taxes announced that the new P.A.Y.E. (Pay As You Earn) tax structures would cover footballers, if they were a regular with a given club. Guest players for a single match were not included. The F.L. Post-War Planning Committee reported to the clubs at this

39 Ibid.
41 The Manchester Guardian, October 16, 1944, p. 2.
42 The Manchester Guardian, October 10, 1944, p. 3.
43 Min. Special FIMC, Preston, October 18, 1944.
period and proposed a wage increase of £1 in both the playing and
close season.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, October 19, 1944, p. 2.}

On October 30, the Annual Meetings of the F.A. and the F.L.,
postponed earlier in the year due to transportation restrictions
related to the invasion plans, were held in London. The Football
League's opening remembrance to those who died in the past year
covers a staggering two pages. Thus while these were optimistic
times, they were also very sobering ones, too. Mr. A. Paine missed
his first shareholders meeting in 23 years due to illness and
Mr. Fred Everiss of West Bromwich was congratulated on completing
two twenty year periods with that club.

In major business of the meeting, the following were
brought forth:

1. The President's report stated that he had hoped this
season would be the transitional one, but the military setbacks
at Arnheim prevented this. Thus wartime conditions still prevailed.

2. A report of the Post-War Planning Committee concerning
the transitional period was made. It included the following:

   a. If the war ends between May 1, 1945 and September 30,
      1945, a Victory League and Cup competition would start as soon as
      possible.

   b. If the war ends between September 30, 1945 and May 1,
      1946, the existing competitions would remain and there would be
      Victory competitions the following season.
c. The period of transition was to be determined by the Management Committee.

d. Clubs would regroup as per September 1939, with no promotion or relegation.

e. The number of guest players would be limited to six, and this will be gradually reduced.

f. There were to be no agreements by clubs with players during the transitional period.

g. A maximum of fourteen players may be paid per match. The maximum wage would be £ 4.

h. The visiting club would receive one third of the gate. In Cup matches the home team, the visiting club, and the League would each take one third. 45

The War Emergency Committee of the F.A. also met at this time, discussing the following:

1. The F.A. decided to investigate an appeal by a Lancashire headmaster that professional teams were approaching boys in school.

2. The Post-War Committee also gave an interim report. It set up eight subcommittees as follows: (a) school boys and youth football, (b) amateurs and professional football, (c) football and amenities, (d) international relationships, (e) training of coaches, referees, and trainers, (f) publicity and literature, (g) F.A. rules

45 Minutes of the Ordinary General Meeting of Shareholders of the Football League Ltd., London, October 30, 1944. Records of the F.L.
and regulations, and (h) the pools and association football. Concerning
the pools the F.A. stated it would not be a party to pools promotion.

3. Concerning the professionals and their clubs, the
subcommittee involved should recommend that clubs aid players in
gaining vocational skills and that clubs are obligated to release
players under the Educational Act or other acts, which allow players
to gain these skills.

4. The subcommittee on Sunday football recommended that games
should be friendly (non-league), not draw crowds, and there should be
no professional games played. Anyone playing Sunday football would
not lose his F.A. membership, but no one should be compelled to
play on Sunday. A letter from the Secretary of the Church of England’s
Mens’ Society had influenced the above recommendations. The sub-
committee then encouraged the formation of teams through church
groups.46

5. A report of the recent tour of France and Belgium by
the F.A. XI was given.

The main objectives were, in Paris to assist the people
of France to resume their normal sporting activities after five
years interruption, and in Brussels to entertain the many thousands
of British troops. Both matches also served to re-open in happy
circumstances the sporting relations between the English and
their friends the French and Belgians.47

46 Minutes of the Football Association War Emergency Committee
Meeting, London, October 30, 1944. Records of the Football Association,
London. Hereafter cited as FAWEC.

47 Ibid.
Proceeds of the matches went to the war charities in the host countries and so £4,000 would be distributed. It was also noted that the standard of refereeing was "higher than... before the war."\textsuperscript{48}

From this it should not be inferred that professional soccer disappeared in France during the war. In fact the French F.A. Cup competition continued throughout the war period, and counts in the records today. However, it was modified so that the finalists were brought from the occupied and non-occupied zones, later termed north and south zones, for the championship. In some years finalists also came from an intermediate zone.\textsuperscript{49}

The F.A. also held its postponed Annual General Meeting at this time and reviewed the activities of the 1943-44 season. It noted that through the cooperation of the Board of Trade coupons for equipment aided clubs greatly.\textsuperscript{50}

Assessment of the meetings of the governing bodies of the F.I. and the F.A. by the news media brought most of the comment on the pools. The F.I. Management Committee supported the F.A. in not wanting to become involved in the pools. The Manchester Guardian and others editorialized again against the postwar development of

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{49} "La Coupe a 50 ans," Les Cahiers de l'Equipe, XXX (1968), 107-108.

the pools. However, probably the most realistic sentiment was voiced by Mr. G. Allison of the Arsenal F.C.

If the football authorities believe there is any possibility of the government's stopping football pools all well and good. But if the Government refuse to interfere and permit the running of pools as a perfectly legitimate business sanctioned by law, then it does seem a pity that the medium which professional football provided for the running of these pools should not benefit one iota.

Many representative matches were again played in the first half of the season, the vast majority again with service teams. The F.L. meeting in late November at Leeds covered only routine business.

At this time as many educational reforms were taking place, such as through the Butler Act, a report by the Research Board for the Correlation of Medical Science and Physical Education had as its goal "improvement of the average player of national games, inclusion of physical education as a degree subject in universities, and greater co-operation between the governing bodies of sport." The Board felt it was "high time that physical education took its place alongside the other subjects in the university." However, little happened in these directions after the war and only in the late sixties could advancements be seen in these areas, especially in the granting of a university degree.

51 *The Manchester Guardian*, November 1, 1944, p. 4.
52 *The Manchester Guardian*, November 2, 1944, p. 2.
54 Ibid.
The lower division clubs met in London in mid-December. This group turned down a suggestion for forming a Third and Fourth Division from the Third Division North and South. Instead they wanted four clubs, instead of the traditional two, promoted and relegated with the Second Division.55 The latter has remained the same, and it was not until 1958 that a Third and Fourth Division were formed.

The first half of the season was rapidly drawing to a close. Crowds had remained good, as an example 30,000 saw Spurs beat Arsenal 3–0. A. Gibbons, the England amateur international, scored all three goals, although only a short time before he was on the danger list with malaria overseas.56

As the first half of the season ended on December 23rd, Huddersfield Town earned 31 points from 18 matches and won the League North with Derby County the runner-up. Cardiff City won the League West on goal average over Bristol City since both had gained 27 points in that competition.57

The clubs went immediately into the Cup Qualifying Competition. The League West clubs again merged with the northern clubs for this competition. However, a heavy fog and frost during the holiday week

caused postponement of many of these initial matches.\textsuperscript{58}

One unfortunate incident also occurred in this period. The chairman of Crystal Palace was suspended permanently by the F.A. following an inquiry concerning statements in the club's game program, which attacked the capabilities of the F.A. Council and the F.L. Management Committee.\textsuperscript{59} In light of no further details this was indeed a strong penalty.

As the New Year began, over 300,000 watched the Cup and League South matches.\textsuperscript{60} In fact Mr. Howarth of the F.L. stated that attendances were up 40 percent over last year.\textsuperscript{61} Also several touring sides from the services were being selected to play on the Continent. The Scots Services XI spent a weekend in Brussels and Bruges and both games drew more than capacity crowds as the enthusiasm for football was tremendous.\textsuperscript{62} Another aspect of international recognition was given when Flgt. Sgt. B. Nieuwenhuys of the R.A.F. (Liverpool F.C. forward and captain) was awarded the Czechoslovakian Medal of Merit in recognition of services rendered to the Czech Fighter Squadron with whom he served as an instructor for a long period.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{58}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, December 27, 1944, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{59}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, December 21, 1944, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{60}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, January 1, 1945, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{61}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, January 13, 1945, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{62}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, January 10, 1945, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{63}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, January 9, 1945, p. 2.
The F.L. meeting in January served to review the first half of the season and reschedule a great number of the postponed games from the first stages of the League Cup competition.\textsuperscript{64}

One must pause at this point to give recognition to one of the war’s greatest winning streaks — this in rugby union. The Coventry Rugby Union side lost on January 20, 1945 to St. Mary’s Hospital 8–3. This ended a 72 game unbeaten period beginning in December, 1941. During this period the Coventry team outscored the opposition 1,712 points to 254.\textsuperscript{65} Considering the exigencies of the war already shown in depth concerning soccer and other sports, this record is nothing short of phenomenal.

The Rugby League were attempting to have the Toulouse club tour England during Easter. The French team hoped to do so if travel could be arranged. No decision had yet been reached as to whether England would tour Australia immediately after the war.\textsuperscript{66} In another move the Rugby League accepted newly-formed Workington into competition for the coming season.\textsuperscript{67} Thus virtually all sports fronts were racing toward peacetime structure.

Interest in racing at this time was also very high and some very questionable use of petrol for the Windsor meeting is noted. Racegoers hired over three hundred taxis in London on Saturday,

\textsuperscript{64} Min. FIMC, Liverpool, January 12, 1945.
\textsuperscript{65} The Manchester Guardian, January 22, 1945, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{66} The Manchester Guardian, January 18, 1945, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{67} The Manchester Guardian, January 25, 1945, p. 2.
February 10, for the twenty mile trip to Windsor. Most of the taxis then waited the five hours for the return trip. Fares varied from £1 per person to £10 per cab for the round trip. 68 Considering the amount of petrol and fuel needed at home and in the war it is surprising that this could go on unchecked.

In soccer, however, the weather in January again caused many more postponements, and so a movement for an extension of the season began. The weather, however, did not interfere with the next international at Villa Park on February 3rd. The F.A. also met in Birmingham in conjunction with the game to cover routine business.

The game itself showed some "rousing play, but short of top class" due to the needs of the services. 69 The crowd of 66,000 contributed £17,000 for charity and England (Brown, Mortensen 2) defeated Scotland (Delancy, Dodds) 3–2. 70 One other significant event saw Tom Lawton score his 400th first class goal in a 9–2 win over Stockport County. 71

The F.L. was able to extend the season by three weeks to May 26th.

Abandoned matches included as results in the qualifying table will be deleted in view of the replay decision. The Management Committee have decided to forego the League’s

70 Ibid.
2½ percent from all matches as from January 27 with the exception of the outstanding abandoned and postponed games.72

The financial arrangement was undoubtedly due to the loss of revenue by the clubs. The extension period was to be used for rescheduled and official charity matches. No new competitions or friendlies could be arranged.73

The F.L. meeting in February found more clubs indicating a desire to return to competition next season. Clubs were also reminded that they must follow regulations which require them to always field the strongest available team.74

As the football season progressed, the war was still close at hand. The first piloted aircraft bombing since June 1944, occurred in March in East Anglia.75 Some bombing also occurred in the North, but there was, of course, much more in Germany now. Soccer seemed to move almost oblivious to these annoyances and the pools again came into discussion. The Kent County F.A., as had the Liverpool, London, Leicestershire, Berks., Bucks., and Herts. F.A.s, supported a control board for the football pools, whereby the "pools may be regulated and the profits shared by the football interests for the benefit of the game generally."76 The reasons

72 The Manchester Guardian, February 6, 1945, p. 2.
73 The Manchester Guardian, February 9, 1945, p. 6.
74 Min. PILC, Manchester, February 23, 1945.
75 The Manchester Guardian, March 5, 1945, p. 5.
76 The Manchester Guardian, March 9, 1945, p. 6.
given were that pools are popular with the public and that the government probably will not prohibit them after the war. 77

The F.L. meeting in mid-March announced the 32 clubs qualifying for the League North Cup. The 60 clubs each played ten games in the qualifying round. The regulation against clubs retaining amateurs on their books at the close of the season would be in effect. All amateur registrations then ceased, and if a club still wished to retain the player he must sign a new registration form. 78 Attendances stayed very good in the Cup matches with 290,000 viewing the 16 opening matches in the North Cup, including 40,000 at Goodison Park as Liverpool defeated their cross-park rivals Everton 1-0. 79

The Rugby League's international at Wigan also drew its biggest war attendance as 23,000 watched England defeat Wales 18-3. 80 Another interesting article appeared concerning rugby union, this time in France. It was noted there were now 600 clubs and about 25,000 players which was about the same as in prewar France. After two early years "in a coma" the game came alive in the occupation and the Germans let it alone. 81 With this and the previous mention of the continuance of the French F.A. Cup throughout the war, it

77 Ibid.
78 Min. FIMC, Liverpool, March 17, 1945.
80 The Manchester Guardian, March 12, 1945, p. 2.
81 The Manchester Guardian, April 2, 1945, p. 2.
seems reasonable to suggest that the war did not disrupt French sport to the extent it did in England.

The first major cup final of the English season was the League South Cup held on April 7, at Wembley. This had progressively become a more popular competition. The total receipts were £ 29,000 for the 90,000 tickets. Of this £ 13,300 went for the entertainment tax, the largest amount ever from a Wembley event, £ 4,000 to each of the finalists, Chelsea and Millwall, £ 4,000 to the League pool and £ 2 to each player for the game fee. In addition, £ 30,000 had to be returned to unsuccessful ticket applicants.\(^{82}\) The game itself was poorly played due to the extensive use of guest players on both teams. The King, Queen and Princess Elizabeth saw Chelsea (McDonald, Wardle) defeat Millwall 2-0.\(^{83}\)

The next big event was just a week later in Glasgow as England (Carter, Matthews 2, Lawton, Brown, Smith) again beat Scotland (Johnstone) 6-1 at Hampden Park.\(^{84}\) The Management Committee took the occasion to meet and discussed the pools promoters offer of £ 100,000 to the League for use of the League schedule and cooperation. This and the tax ramifications of the offer were to be discussed in the future.\(^{85}\)

\(^{82}\) The Manchester Guardian, April 4, 1945, p. 7.

\(^{83}\) The Manchester Guardian, April 9, 1945, p. 3.

\(^{84}\) The Manchester Guardian, April 16, 1945, p. 2.

\(^{85}\) Min. FLMC, Glasgow, April 13, 1945.
In mid-April there was also a hint of a possible London-Moscow match at Wembley for Mrs. Churchill's Aid to Russia Fund.

Several months ago the Football Association invited the Russians to send a team to England and Mrs. Churchill, now in Russia, is understood to have taken with her the suggested plans for a game at Wembley next month.

These plans did not materialize for May. It was November before the Moscow Dynamo made their celebrated and somewhat strange visit to England.

Major events were also occurring on the world front. The Allies were near Berlin. Lloyd George and President Roosevelt had died.

The Army F.A. War Emergency Committee made plans for tours of Italy and Greece. The players for these tours would be those who were top-flight professionals and had many wartime appearances. There would be no playing fees paid, but all players were to be fully insured. It was also decided to prepare a paper on Army F.A. soccer in the postwar period to be available in mid-June.

From this point happenings in football and sport become more varied as teams, officials, the government and other related agencies moved toward peacetime operation. For example, the Kennington (cricket) Oval P.O.W. camp was to be dismantled. In all the war it

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86 The Manchester Guardian, April 13, 1945, p. 3.
88 Ibid.
had never been put to use. The pitch was undamaged and Surrey hoped to play next season's schedule there, even though the ground was still presently under government requisition. 89

As April ends, Mussolini and Hitler were both dead. The Allies met on the Elbe and split Germany in two. The surrender of Berlin would follow in a few days. Football was not far behind the troops. An F.A. touring squad of several internationals was in Belgium the weekend of April 21, for two games, drawing twice against Diables Rouges in Liege 1-1 and in Brussels 0-0. 90 To return to soccer on the homefront, 142,000 watched the quarterfinal of the League North Cup. 91 On a more sobering note, Rochdale F.C. were informed that their regular center halfback had been wounded in Europe and both his feet had been amputated. He had last appeared in their lineup on December 7, 1944. 92

On the eve of their May meeting the F.A. announced that when a cease fire is announced clubs may arrange matches on the two public holidays in celebration of V.E. Day. This would not apply if these occurred after April 26, however. 93 When the F.A. War Emergency

89 The Manchester Guardian, April 19, 1945, p. 3.
90 The Times [London], April 23, 1945, p. 4.
91 The Manchester Guardian, April 30, 1945, p. 2.
92 The Manchester Guardian, April 21, 1945, p. 7.
Committee met in London May 3 and 4, the following topics were discussed:

1. The Swiss F.A. invited an English F.A. XI to Switzerland in July to commemorate the Jubilee Year of the Swiss F.A. This took place with a Services F.A. XI for the two games in July.

2. The Ministry of Home Security could not relax regulations restricting midweek matches.

3. The military services in Southeast Asia wished to take many international calibre players on an extended tour, three months, to India and Southeast Asia, in February. The F.A. was very much opposed to this because:

   a. Throughout the war the F.A. policy, heartily supported by the various services, was to safeguard against the possibility of the posting of players because of their football prowess. The proposed tour would be in contradiction to this policy.

   b. Many of the players requested already had commitments at home and on the Continent to provide entertainment for industrial workers and soldiers.

   c. Records showed a sufficient number of good players were already stationed in Southeast Asia to form representative teams for a series of matches.

   d. In conclusion, something of a short tour might be arranged at the end of the season. 94

The F.A. did announce that a strong representative side would be sent

to Italy, the Middle East, and to Athens to entertain troops the following week.\textsuperscript{95}

On May 5, a historic event occurred as the last wartime home international match was played in Cardiff. Again England (Carter 3) defeated Wales (Cunner, Edwards) 3-2.\textsuperscript{96} It was actually a fine showing by the Welshmen as only four days before the match they were still trying to find players to participate in the match.\textsuperscript{97} On the same weekend Huddersfield won the Rugby League Challenge Cup over Bradford Northern.\textsuperscript{98}

The F.L. Management Committee met on May 6, in Manchester and considered a great number of proposals. Many of these had been brought forth beforehand and were as follows:

1. Arsenal proposed regrouping Division I and II on a North-South basis.

2. Luton proposed four up and four down between Division I and II, and two from each of the Third Divisions to replace the last four in Division II.

3. Tottenham proposed that a player could play for no more than one club in the same division in the same year.

4. Wolverhampton proposed that 25 percent of each transfer over £ 1,000 be sent to the League office for player benefit funds.

\textsuperscript{95}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, May 3, 1945, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{96}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, May 7, 1945, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{97}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, May 1, 1945, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{98}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, May 7, 1945, p. 2.
They also proposed a £10 per week maximum wage over 52 weeks. Bolton proposed a £9 per week in season wage and £7 per week close season wage with adjustments upwards in match bonuses.

5. The Third Division Executive Committee proposed that a referee and two linesmen work as a "team" throughout the season. At the Extraordinary Meeting of the F.L. many of the above suggestions did not reach fruition, but they did create heated discussions. The Management Committee's major discussion topics were the following:

1. The hopes of Bournemouth, again, Carlisle, Exeter, Ipswich, Plymouth, and Swindon to compete the next season.

2. A new concern, television, and its relationship to soccer. The secretary was to obtain details from the Association of Protection of Copyright of Sport.

3. Chelsea and Millwall censure for playing ineligible players in the South Cup final without the consent of the Management Committee.

4. The decision to inform the pools concerns that their offer was too indefinite and to further check on the tax position.

On the eve of V.E. Day the Extraordinary Meeting of the Football League took place in Manchester. All member of Divisions I and II were present, as were the representatives of the two Third Divisions. Various recommendations for the transitional period

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99 The Manchester Guardian, April 5, 1945, p. 2.
100 Min. FLMC, Manchester, May 6, 1945.
and other business were undertaken as follows:

1. Concerning grouping in the transitional season, it was tentatively decided that the prewar divisions would not be followed. Instead Divisions I and II would combine to form North and South Divisions, and Division III would operate as in normal times. No final action was taken here.

2. After heated discussion the four up-four down promotion-relegation proposal lost.

3. A proposal for more voting representation for Division III failed.

4. The motion to move the League headquarters to London, nearer the government, did not pass.

5. The proposal that higher prices be charged for more important League matches lost.

6. The proposal that referees and linesmen be paid more in higher divisions lost.

7. Charlton withdrew their proposal concerning a game between the F.A. Cup winner and Division I champions to benefit disabled Football League players.

8. Points and goal average would decide future competitions.

9. More was needed to be known about government wage policies before a policy could be presented for football.

10. The Football League encouraged players to acquire a trade or profession beyond football. The F.L. would like to cooperate with clubs, the F.A., players and the Ministry of Labour to secure this
goal. Some clubs, however, did not like this "serving two masters" by a player. 101

Two days following the meeting the public celebrated V.E. Day holidays and numerous friendly matches were played. Two weeks later on the Whitsun weekend the first three day cricket match since the war began was played at Lord's with representative players of England and Australia. England won by six wickets and the three day crowd total was over 69,000. 102

The soccer season was rapidly drawing to a close with the various Cups nearing the finals. Bolton was given permission by the Ministry of Supply to remove thousands of baskets stored on one side of their ground at Burnden Park. This would make possible the accommodation of an additional 9,000 for their North Cup final tie with Manchester United. Other parts of the stands used for storage would remain closed, however. 103

The Whitsun weekend, in addition to cricket at Lord's, was the biggest sports holiday weekend since the war began. There were large crowds at the dog tracks in London and at Ascot. There were 20,000 at White City Stadium, London, for the News of the World athletic meet. Bradford Northern won the Rugby League championship over

101 Minutes of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Shareholders of the Football League Ltd., Manchester, May 7, 1945. Records of the F.L.


Halifax and it was announced services international tennis matches would resume play at Wimbledon in June and July. 104

Over the same weekend it was reported that the famous boxer Max Schmeling had been found by two Manchester men in Hamburg. He was in a beer parlor. Schmeling had been discharged from the German army after suffering back and knee injuries as a paratrooper in Crete. The Manchester soldiers talked with him and also received his autograph on pictures. Schmeling was detained in the city but not arrested. 105 Notice that there is no suggestion of malice toward him only a few days after the war's end!

Soccer League finals saw Tottenham winning the League South and Derby County won the League North second half championship during this period. 106 The weekend of May 26, brought the season to a resounding end with numerous regional Cup finals and the League North Cup final at Maine Road between Manchester United and Bolton. Nearly 60,000 saw Bolton win again and take the Cup 3–2 (1–0 and 2–2) on aggregate over United. It was a gruelling game and even

... the entertainment began fully an hour before kick-off, the most arresting item being a display of energy by a one-legged man in a red singlet and white shorts who insisted on hopping around the field as a mark that United 'could do it on one leg' so to speak. 107


107 The Manchester Guardian, May 28, 1945, p. 3.
On the same day another signal event occurred, the first real international match was played since prewar days. France came to Wembley and 60,000 spectators viewed the historic game. France (Vaast, Heisserer) gave a terrific effort to draw with England (Carter, Lawton) 2-2.\(^{108}\) The lineups for this game were for France—DaRui; Swaitek, Depius; Samuel, Gordon, Jasseron; Vaast, Siglo, Bihel, Heisserer, Aston, and for England—Williams; Scott, Hardwick; Soo, Franklin, Mercer; Matthews, Carter, Lawton, Brown, and L. Smith.\(^{109}\)

The F.L. Management Committee met in Manchester in conjunction with the Cup final. Their most important decision here was that no non-League clubs would be admitted to the competition next season.\(^{110}\) The last soccer competition occurred on June 2nd in the Cup-winners Cup. Bolton won 2-1 over Chelsea, South Cup winner, on their home ground at Stamford Bridge.\(^{111}\) It was announced that each team in the North and South Cup competitions would receive £489-3-4 as their share of the pool.\(^{112}\)

The tax problem still plagued the clubs. The Lancashire F.A. noted that one third of their cup competition receipts went to

\(^{108}\)Ibid.


\(^{110}\)Min. FIMC, Manchester, May 25, 1945.

\(^{111}\)The Manchester Guardian, June 4, 1945, p. 3.

\(^{112}\)The Manchester Guardian, June 6, 1945, p. 2.
the entertainment tax. They had joined the Central Council of Physical Recreation in contacting the Chancellor concerning a reduction. The Chancellor replied that when opportune, the tax structure would be reviewed. The Lancashire F.A. hoped this would be as early as October when the interim national budget was to be presented.113

The Rugby League announced that it planned to resume normal operations next season including those clubs who had not played in wartime. The secretary said as a result of talks with the Board of Trade there would be no coupon difficulties in obtaining necessary football equipment.114

The season 1944–45 was the last wartime season. Virtually everything was pointed toward peacetime. It appears from all sources that there was never any thought that the transitional period would be more than one season. This is due to the functioning of the League during the war period, and no need for reorganizing in order to begin again. Further those who kept so many of the clubs alive during the wartime, players and officials, who made so many journeys to make matches, as well as continual government and public support throughout the conflict, kept up the continuity. The resumption of international games on the Continent, as in France and Belgium, also indicated an early resumption of the game on a competitive basis. The summer meetings of the governing bodies would see the

113 The Manchester Guardian, June 11, 1945, p. 3.
return to peacetime administration. While there was concern with the transitional season, one senses everyone looking ahead to 1946-47, as it is for this season that major decisions were made.

Soccer on the Continent was also returning to peacetime status. A French correspondent for The Manchester Guardian discusses this in a December 1945 column. This correspondent felt the game would have few challenges as the most popular sport now that peacetime had returned. The International Federation had carried on in its offices in Zurich. The game was interrupted little in the few neutral countries and the others, as in Britain, had adapted to war conditions. The standard of play had, of course, dropped. Countries such as Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, may take a good period before returning to prewar strength, as many continental clubs kept their international sides with a continuity making few wholesale changes in lineup to build team understanding. The men had now aged nearly seven years. The Spanish, little affected by the hostilities, seemed as strong as any side in Europe. Germany, while the going was good, was able to draw as many as 60,000 for matches with her "so-called allies."

France, of course, was the writer's main concern. While the game went on "pretty vigorously" during the occupation, quality was lowered. "French professional teams were reduced to 16 each

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116 Ibid. 117 Ibid. 118 Ibid.
with a maximum of 15 paid players. The powers of the clubs were restricted, receipts were pooled, players were paid direct by the federation.\footnote{119} No games were played with German teams. Jean Borota, when he became French sports chief, did not feel free to direct activities. Orders went out to limit games to 80 minutes due to food restrictions affecting stamina. This, of course, the Germans felt was a shot at them. The players felt if this was the case why not have a longer half time. The referees felt this was a blow at the structure of the game. So the 80 minute edict was virtually ignored.

Cup final crowds during the war period were nearly 20,000. \"The game felt support everywhere, people turning to it from German shows and propaganda.\"\footnote{120} Mr. Jules Rimet, the president of the National Federation, resigned when the Vichy began to influence football and did not return to his post until the liberation.\footnote{121}

At this time in France there were about 300,000 amateurs and about 300 professionals with minimum wage of 4,500 frs. and a maximum of 7,000 frs. This would put the players in about the same economic class as general civil servants, such as postal employees or policemen.\footnote{122} It was also noted that most of the 24 professional clubs were in some financial difficulty.

As France prepared for its first peacetime season in 1945-46 so did Hungary, the U.S.S.R., and even West Germany, on a regional
league basis. West Germany did not hold an F.A. Cup final until 1952. But interestingly enough Germany had included Austrian clubs, after their takeover, in the Cup competition until 1943. In the case of Hungary, who were able to begin competition quickly, the major disruption occurred ten years later in the "social upheaval" when their championship was abandoned in 1956. England was the only country with an official transitional season, but she had many more global interests to hold her attention before turning inward as could the other countries.

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A HISTORY OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL

IN ENGLAND DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR
VOLUME II

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
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By

John Ross Schleppi, B.Sc., M.A.

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Approved by

Charles L. Waal
Advisor
Department of Physical Education
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Chapter 12

TRANSITIONAL SEASON 1945-46

The summer of 1945 saw many ideas and proposals for many areas of the game. The move toward peacetime football was well underway. The Football League and the Football Association were preparing their transitional season plans. The Army F.A. was proceeding toward peacetime organization. It was announced at their June meeting that a sixteen point positional paper prepared by Col. Prince would be distributed at their Annual General Meeting in July.\(^1\) The Central League, a lesser professional league, planned to operate with twenty-one teams in the upcoming season with full competition.\(^2\) Another professional league, the Southern League, would also resume with eleven teams.\(^3\) The previous ideas on regionalization did not satisfy many of the clubs. In the Third Division especially they felt that even more division regionally would be necessary during the transitional season for easier fulfill-


\(^2\)The Manchester Guardian, June 21, 1945, p. 2.

ment of schedule and less cost of transportation.⁴ The Third Division turned down a recommendation from the League to amalgamate and form a Third and Fourth Division when the transitional period ended. The executive committee of the Third Division also was to approach the F.A. Cup authorities to seek exemption for the Third Division clubs to the same stage in the Cup as the First and Second Division teams.⁵ And there were four applicants to the Third Division North, North Shields, Wigan, South Liverpool, and Shrewsbury Town.⁶ None of which proved successful.

In late June both the F.A. and the F.L. held meetings. The F.L. met in London and discussed the following:

1. The Players' Union letter to the Management Committee emphasized an increase in pay.

2. Carlisle United were to use their grounds for greyhound racing. It was agreed that the Management Committee should express its opposition by rejecting future similar applications.

3. The League did not consider television to be a concern yet and at any rate would be a matter for individual clubs.⁷

4. New Brighton would not compete until 1946-47 due to difficulties. Because of this South Liverpool, who were turned down

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⁴The Manchester Guardian, June 14, 1945, p. 7.
⁶The Manchester Guardian, June 12, 1945, p. 2.
in their application to Division Three North, were also rejected for one year temporary membership.\(^8\)

Hull City proved to be the only other team, who could not compete in the 1945–46 competition, because of ground problems. It was also noted that many benefit matches were sanctioned including one for Stanley Matthews.\(^9\)

The Football Association War Emergency Committee met and the chairman noted that this was the first meeting of the committee since the stoppage of hostilities for which they were all thankful. This also proved to be the last meeting of the War Emergency Committee as its function was finished at the end of nearly six years work and the F.A. Council returned as the governing body of the Association's business.\(^10\) The Emergency Committee was duly thanked for its long service. The meeting itself made the important decisions to restart the F.A. Amateur Cup and the F.A. Challenge Cup for 1945–46. Entries would be limited to those clubs entered in 1939, unless others were approved by the committee's action. The F.A. Cup would be a single game in the qualifying rounds and the semifinal and final games. All other rounds would be home and away.\(^11\) It was also the only year in

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\(^8\) *The Manchester Guardian*, June 29, 1945, p. 4.


\(^11\) Ibid.
which clubs in the North and teams in the South played in their areas until the late rounds to avoid travel difficulties.

The meeting of the F.A. was held at the same time and the important points from this meeting were as follows:

1. A basic review of season 1944-45.

2. Thanks to the Board of Trade for cooperation in gaining and controlling football kit and equipment for equitable distribution to football clubs. Over 650 teams had been assisted.

3. A note that after 5½ years, the only controls on football by the Ministry of Home Security were of a peacetime nature. However, transportation still remained under review.

4. A proposal for a future examination of television and its impact as one of the new methods of reproducing live performances.

5. A report that many in Parliament were sympathetic to the F.A.'s position with footballers coming under the "Living Performances" section concerning taxes. And it was hoped a favorable situation would be reached in the near future.12

The pools were in the news again. A court judgment from the King's Bench Divisional Court was given in favor of a suit filed by a clergyman from Stockport to halt the practice of pools companies publishing their coupons in newspapers. The clergyman had claimed

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that this was in violation of the 1934 Betting and Lotteries Act.\textsuperscript{13} The decision, of course, was appealed and the Football Pool Promoters Association met immediately to plan their next course of action.\textsuperscript{14} The Manchester Guardian heralded this as "a victory for the small class of people who know a social evil when they see one."\textsuperscript{15} It also noted that the pools promoters hoped the upcoming new Parliament would bring favorable "Government action" toward their operation. "The new Parliament will, no doubt, find more important problems to act on, but it would do well to institute some form of 'Government action' which would close the pools for good."\textsuperscript{16} While The Guardian and The Times of London did not publish pools coupons, an examination of many provincial city newspapers as well as several other London newspapers shows that they published the coupons without any apparent feelings of guilt.

Another judgment in the matter of the pools took place barely two weeks after the above was announced, when Mr. Justice Uthwatt of the Chancery Division also agreed with the earlier decision.\textsuperscript{17} This meant that even though the decisions would be appealed to a higher court, the pools promoters would have to look

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13}The Manchester Guardian, June 23, 1945, p. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{14}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{15}The Manchester Guardian, June 26, 1945, p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{16}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{17}The Manchester Guardian, July 11, 1945, p. 6.
\end{itemize}
for and be prepared for another method of distributing their coupons. Another method was developed in a short time. The promoters decided to supply coupons through the mails "and their eager customers will have the privilege of increasing paper consumption by paying two shillings in advance for a season's supply of coupons."\(^{18}\) The Postmaster in January 1940, had refused to do the mail business for pools any longer due to staff deficiencies and it was then that the pools sheets went to newspaper publishing. The Manchester Guardian pointed out that the postal situation was even more acute in 1945. But the pools personnel decided to return to mailing after "consultation with Government departments concerned."\(^{19}\) These government departments were not identified. "If that is so, a prompt start should be made with better postal facilities for the general public. Why should pools promoters head the list of beneficiaries."\(^{20}\)

But benefit the pools did! When the season opened in late August a system of handling mail from the promoters to clients and back again developed. Special mailbags were to be made up by the Unity Pools in Liverpool, still the overall coordinator of the wartime pools, franking machines installed for outgoing coupons, and then the bags delivered to the various 26 sections throughout the country direct to the post offices. They would arrive about eight days before

\(^{18}\)The Manchester Guardian, August 18, 1945, p. 4.

\(^{19}\)Ibid.

\(^{20}\)Ibid.
the scheduled games, allowing for delivery and return mail by the same process. 21

The post office department was to limit the increased amount of mail to 1,750,000 pieces and calculated the pools would cause a 1\% percent increase in mail volume. The postal service justified the pools traffic as "inevitable" and "the football pool is an accepted social fact and any attempt to stop it, either by the department or by the union would result in a loud public outcry." 22 The postal union obviously did not see it as "inevitable" and vigorously protested the increased workload on the postal clerks and carriers and the cut in postal service to the general public. The union could not see how the number of coupons could be regulated. In the same protest the union leader requested the coupons not be handled on the busy night mails or Saturdays and he was assured by the postal service they would not. 23

In one parting comment the Director of the Postal Services suggested that there was good reason to suspect that many small pools companies sent coupons in closed covers (plain, unmarked sealed envelopes) throughout the war period. These could be regulated if they went to open envelopes or joined the Unity Pools scheme. 24

This latter statement is another comment on the maintenance of the so-called, in this case, "normalcy" of activities during the war.

21 The Manchester Guardian, August 23, 1945, p. 3.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
It is almost a black market situation. The Guardian continued its usual editorials against the coupons objecting to the waste of paper and the strain on the limited postal service.25

However, the pools rolled along gathering size and momentum. The investigators, moralists, and commissions did very little to impede them. Even when the question was raised in the House of Commons in July 1946, Mr. Attlee replied to a Labour member that another investigation would serve no further purpose. The irate Labourite said the volume had increased fantastically since 1933. The pools expected to realize £15 million in 1945–46 and nearly seven times that the next season. Another member stated that the pools were altogether an antisocial activity. Sir Stafford Cripps, president of the Board of Trade, stated to the Commons that the paper allocation for the pools was 2½ percent of the 1938–39 quantity or 420 tons each four months. He was asked by another Labourite if this was enough for nine large circulars to be sent to various persons in his constituency. To this Sir Stafford Cripps gave a perfunctory, "Apparently!"26

The pools were entrenched and the companies moved to early independence again after the war ceased. This did not altogether satisfy the smaller companies who had to reorganize their staffs.

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25 Ibid., p. 4.
again. They would have liked the Unity scheme to carry on longer. But Unity discontinued in 1946 and each company resumed separately.27 It was not until a 1959 test case, however, that a standard arrangement did occur. The Football League established that the copyright laws applied to the League fixtures. So the football pools authorities came to a financial agreement for an annual payment to the Football League and the Scottish League for use of their fixtures.28

In July 1945, sport was making good strides. The draw for the Henley Regatta was made. Tennis was in full swing on the Wimbledon courts, including a representative U.S. Service team and the British team, who had the No. 1 English professional, Marshall. He was the first professional ever to play at Wimbledon. Cricket was playing a heavy schedule.29 At Lord's a rare event occurred, a batter was out for "handling the ball" the first time the two hundred year old rule had been invoked since 1857.30 As soccer prepared for its opening, an F.A. Services XI touring side lost 3-1 at Neufield Stadium, Berne, Switzerland, in the Swiss F.A. anniversary match and then won 3-0 at Zurich.31


30Ibid.

The Annual Meeting of the Football League finally settled the League competitions for the upcoming season. Thus business included the following:

1. Divisions I and II would combine and play as North and South. The Third Division North would divide into two sections for east and west competitions. The Third Division South also divided into two geographical sections, north and south. The two Third Divisions also decided to play for a cup during the second half of the season.

2. There would be no broken time payment to players from their work.

3. League offices premises were purchased at 6 Starkie Street, Preston.

4. Normal peacetime arrangements were to prevail in 1946-47.

5. Mr. Cuff, the president, received a silver fruit basket for his long service. He had previously been elected a life member. Various elections of officers and committees also took place.\(^\text{32}\)

The press reported the only major rift in the proceedings came about over the £4 maximum match fee in the 1945-46 season. Questions concerning the Reinstatement Act arose, especially concerning discharged players who earned £8 per week in the prewar years. The president was not sure how to confront the situation at this time.

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but was certain everything would work itself out.\textsuperscript{33}

The Army F.A. was now facing a new problem with the professional players in the services as the war drew to a close. Those leaving, those remaining for a period, and those being drafted were considered and how their status would affect the organization of Army football. At its July meeting in addition to the usual business the points discussed included:

1. Army football would be dealt with in two periods — transitional and postwar. The transitional period would be 1945-46.

2. The wartime rules governing the position of the professional footballers when playing for Army teams should continue during the transitional period or until September 30, 1946, whichever is the earliest.

3. The War Emergency Committee would continue during the transitional period.

4. The Army Sport Control Board in consultation with the other two services and the national associations will be invited to define the position of the professional especially those in the postwar Army, in reference to the regular and non-regular soldiers.\textsuperscript{34}

The Army F.A.'s position paper on postwar football was also delivered during the summer. It looked forward to expanded services of the Army F.A. and further development of the organization. The

\textsuperscript{33}The Manchester Guardian, July 24, 1945, p. 2.

section dealing with the professional footballer covered these points.

1. The Army F.A. felt the position of the professional footballer would be difficult and no doubt controversial. The professional was allowed to play freely for civilian clubs upon permission of his commanding officer, if he was not required for his unit or another service match. While accepting professionalism during the war, including the match fee when opponents were paid, the Army rules during peacetime were to be strictly amateur.

2. Thus professionals could not play in service matches unless special permits to play without remuneration were obtained. To deal with the unusual numbers of professionals in the peacetime Army in the immediate years, "exceptional conditions need exceptional regulations" so the question could only be solved and rules made after due consideration by the three services in conjunction with the English F.A.35

3. From these thoughts the guidelines were developed. Professionals would be allowed to play without pay in unit matches. They could also play in representative matches and gain a fee only in accordance with the previously recognized Army F.A. War Emergency Committee rule.

4. Professionals may play for a civilian team, if not required for a service match and his commanding officer approves the

leave.

5. Professionals for all purposes will be considered as belonging to their services' unit.

6. The amateur rule for participation will be reinstated as soon as practicable, but the prewar rule is too strict for the immediate future.

7. It was anticipated some form of national service, probably two years, would be required after the war, and it would do "no harm to the individual or the game if service players were excluded from playing as professionals whilst actually serving."  

8. The situation of the professional footballer could not, however, be finally resolved until full details of the postwar Army and conditions of service were known.  

The paper also recommended the assembly of a subcommittee to consider the present and proposed rules concerning the professional and the postwar period. The present procedures would continue during the transitional period with the services to return to strict amateur program as soon as possible during the postwar period.

On the playing field, Liverpool F.C. gained permission to take their service players and regular guests to Germany and play the E.L.A. 21st Army Group XI. Thus they became the first English League side to play in Germany. They won 7-0 against the 84th Group R.A.F. XI at Celle, near Hanover, before nearly 8,000 spectators.

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36 Ibid.  
37 Ibid.  
38 The Manchester Guardian, July 30, 1945, p. 3.
They then drew 3–3 with the Army XI in Hanover. 39 Arsenal was another club making an early trip to Germany defeating a Combined B.L.A. Services team 6–1 before 35,000 at Dusseldorf Stadium. 40

Sport showed no effect of the defeat of Churchill in the general election in late July. The August Bank Holiday weekend saw the Fourth Victory Test match at Lord’s. It was a three day match. Austerity was evident as officials advised spectators to again bring their own refreshments. 41 The new Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, was in attendance. 42 The English view of sport as well as the view of the staid, unflappable Englishman is given credence by the B.B.C. news report of this weekend. It was at this time that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Japan. The news report was matter-of-fact beyond belief.

President Truman has announced a tremendous achievement by the Allied scientists. They have produced the atomic bomb. One has already been dropped on a Japanese army base. It alone contained as much explosive power as two-thousand of our great ten-tonners. The President has also foreshadowed the enormous peace-time value of harnessing atomic energy.

At home, its been a Bank Holiday of thunderstorms as well as sunshine: a record crowd at Lord’s has seen Australia make 265 for 5 wickets. 43

40 The Manchester Guardian, August 13, 1945, p. 3.
41 The Manchester Guardian, August 7, 1945, p. 2.
42 The Manchester Guardian, August 8, 1945, p. 5.
Evidently the war was over in Britain when Germany fell and Japan was too far away to be a part of the war cares.

The same weekend at London's White City Stadium an athletics meeting which included a number of outstanding performers was held with the Army, R.A.F., the American Services, and a Swedish contingent that included G. Haag and A. Anderson. Lawn tennis was thriving at Bournemouth as the R.A.F. met the R.A.A.F. Wimbledon announced the U.S. Forces (European theatre) would hold their championships there in mid-August. The French tennis championships were also proceeding at this time at Stade Roland Garros. At the same time it was noted an informal meeting of national representatives was to meet in London, where Britain was to propose the 1948 Olympic Games be held in London. They had been scheduled there for 1944. The news media recognized several other countries were entitled to a first hosting before England had its second. Another interest was Russia's possible entry into the games due to more contact with other nations during the war. Russia did not belong to the International Amateur Athletic Federation and thus did not compete in the Olympics. With entry into the games they may have presented a powerful lobbying force to host the games much as did Japan before

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44 The Manchester Guardian, August 6, 1945, p. 2.
45 Ibid.
46 The Manchester Guardian, August 2, 1945, p. 2.
47 The Manchester Guardian, August 7, 1945, p. 2.
48 The Manchester Guardian, August 18, 1945, p. 4.
Finland were awarded the games in 1940. 49

Japan surrendered. World War II was over. The F.A. announced clubs could play games as part of the victory celebrations and many of the matches were played on a home and away basis. 50

The transitional season in England opened on August 25. The Rugby League also began that day with a full schedule and peacetime organization as they did not opt for a transitional period. The soccer and sports coverage increased somewhat in the newspapers even though no more pages were added. Attendances in the North had at least 10,000 spectators in all but two games. The Third Division clubs averaged only about 4,000 and many of these clubs worried that tax, increased wages and expenses could cause serious financial difficulty. 51 Many other leagues and combinations, including the Southern League, were all to begin in 1945-46 following a few brave starters in 1944-45. Guest players were regulated now and a club was allowed to play no more than six in a game. 52

All was not going smoothly in the League, however. The Association Football Players' Union met in Manchester on August 20, and stated that they wished to meet with the F.L. as soon as possible and had even played the opening matches "under protest." 53 Many

49 Ibid.
51 The Manchester Guardian, August 27, 1945, p. 3.
of the issues dated from before the war, such as contracts running
from August to August, an £8 maximum—£4 minimum wage, representation
in the F.A. and F.L. decision making groups, and an annual meeting
with these governing bodies prior to their annual meetings.\textsuperscript{54}
The Players' Union had S. Crooks of Derby County as chairman,
James Fay as secretary and its membership included Guthrie, Stuart,
Low, Brown, Dawson, Wilson, and J. Mercer. The group from the F.L.
which met with the Union on August 29, included W.C. Cuff, president,
and the vice-presidents. They discussed these and other points in
Manchester, and both groups decided for the time being that the
present conditions would prevail. Each group would report to its
membership and further considerations would be made at the
September 14th meetings.\textsuperscript{55}

The second week of the season saw attendances over 500,000
again and players suggested that this justified a wage increase,
but the clubs maintained that forty percent of the gross receipts
went to the entertainment tax.\textsuperscript{56} These player-management workings
were to continue for a number of months into the future.

The groups met again in mid-September and discussed the Union's
demands concerning

1. the maximum and minimum wage,

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{55}The Manchester Guardian, August 30, 1945, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{56}The Manchester Guardian, September 3, 1945, p. 2.
2. higher injury compensation,
3. benefits for wartime service,
4. annual meeting with the F.L. Management Committee and
5. approaching the pools concerning an annual payment. 57

These would be brought up at a F.L. Shareholders meeting in late
October for further study and examination.

As the first international match of the season neared, one
notes that scores have dropped in relationship to the wartime tallies.
Also, those clubs which used as many of their own players as they
could during the war and developed talent were now experiencing
success, such as Charlton Athletic, Queen's Park Rangers, Bolton,
and Cardiff. Their managers used guests only in emergencies during
the war, sustaining criticism many times for their stand, but were
now gaining their just rewards. 58

The first international was with Northern Ireland on
September 15, and the "England team, finally selected on train and
boat on the journey to Belfast, where they arrived six hours late." 59
The game drew 45,000 and saw England (Mortensen) win 1-0 over the
Irish. 60 Another home international was held on October 20, at The
Hawthorns, West Bromwich. England sustained one of their rare wartime

58 The Manchester Guardian, September 10, 1945, p. 3.
60 The Manchester Guardian, September 17, 1945, p. 3.
defeats by Wales (Powell), 1-0.  

Soccer was becoming increasingly important to the occupational forces on the Continent. The 53rd Welsh Infantry Division at Dusseldorf planned to form a nearly all-professional player team and have it tour brigades and battalions and play military teams to test the soldiers' skills, as well as see the Division's team in action. In another effort, the four countries occupying Berlin were to participate in games against each other, several at the Olympic Stadium.

Various military command games, representative matches, and games among professional teams were still being played with regularity and gained good crowds. For example, Glasgow Rangers defeated Newcastle 3-2 in front of 40,000 at Ibrox Park. Attendances continued to climb from 650,000 to over 700,000 on October 13, and Aston Villa had its third straight 50,000 plus crowd. There were also some Monday evening games since the light was still good in the evening and they also drew well.

In mid-October the F.A. Council met in London, its first meeting since the cessation of hostilities. The main points of business included the following:

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61 The Manchester Guardian, October 22, 1945, p. 3.
64 The Manchester Guardian, September 26, 1945, p. 6.
65 The Manchester Guardian, October 15, 1945, p. 3.
1. The Minister of Labour asked the F.A. clubs to inform them if they have any vacancies on staffs for accountants, painters, carpenters and other tradesmen.

2. Several leagues, amateur and professional, were sanctioned for 1945-46.

3. A series of "Victory Internationals" among the four home countries were planned for 1945-46. A fee of £10 per match would be paid to the players.

4. Further Sunday play would be delayed for approximately one year and present rules would apply to competitions.

5. As a result of negotiations with the Ministry of War Transport some concessions on road transport had been gained. These were not specifically given.

6. Many overseas tours were discussed for both military and civilian clubs.

7. Professional players were to be reengaged at previous contract conditions before entry into the services and must follow the Reinstatement of Civil Employment Act of 1944.

8. Included in the minutes was a letter to be sent on October 22, to all F.A. clubs and county associations by Mr. Rous, the secretary, and it contained the F.A.'s proposal to publish a brochure on the history of football during the war. In the letter he asked for any pertinent information which might be included. Victory Was the Goal was the result of this effort. It is referred
to several times in this dissertation.\textsuperscript{66}

The next weekend on October 22, there was an Extraordinary Meeting of the F.L.'s shareholders in Manchester. The major topics were the pools and the Players' Union demands. The Third Division North and powerful clubs such as Tottenham had previously recommended approaching the pools concerns to consider offers for the fixture list. The Players' Union had stated that they had received an offer and would proceed with discussions at the League meeting.\textsuperscript{67}

The major points covered at the Extraordinary Meeting of the F.L. Shareholders included the following:

1. The president recapped recent events — the fall of Japan, Union demands, and the Reinstatement of Civil Employment Act of 1944.

2. The president appealed to all clubs to reinstate their full-time players, remembering their great sacrifice, even though they now were six years older, on terms as in 1939. The clubs unanimously "agreed to do all they could to implement the President's Appeal."\textsuperscript{68} Note that this last statement is less than a complete "yes."

3. The clubs decided to write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer requesting the inclusion of outdoor sports in the Entertainment Duty's "Living Performers" schedule, as the tax problem continued.

4. The letter from the Pools Promoters Association was read


\textsuperscript{67}The Manchester Guardian, October 9, 1945, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{68}Minutes of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Shareholders of the F.L. Ltd., Manchester, October 22, 1945. Records of the F.L.
which offered £100,000 annually increasing periodically in normal
times to the Football League. The Pools Promoters Association had
conferred previously with the Inland Revenue on its legal implica-
tions.

5. A discussion on the pools offer on its money merits and
ethics took place among the clubs. Some wanted to accept the money,
others to reject it. Some still wanted more information on it.
Others suggested rejecting this offer, but keeping the door open
slightly. One proposal was that the League run its own pools, and
another was that the pools would cause players' wages to rise 12/-
per week.

6. The president summed up for rejection on the grounds that
the game's reputation was based on freedom from gambling interests,
and that if football and the gambling groups entered into an
agreement, the pools could acquire an unhealthy interference on the
game's structure. Thus rejecting was for the good of the game and
the confidence of the public in football. The vote tally was 9
for acceptance, 39 for rejection. Thus the pools suffered another
temporary setback.

7. There were some agreements reached on the Players'
Union demands given on September 14th, but no satisfactory arrange-
ment concerning wages. 69

It was the latter decision concerning wages which touched off
the Union's strike threat for November 19th. The strike was to occur

69 Ibid.
if wage demands of £4, from £8 to £12, were not met. Arsenal and Charlton players were first to vote to support the strike if it came about, and it was reported that the Football League would resort to amateurs if there was a strike. A meeting was held on November 11, of all League members in Manchester to discuss the Players' Union demands. The Management Committee was given power by the members through a mail directive for the meeting the following day.

On November 12th the F.L. Management Committee and Players' Union met in Manchester. The following decisions were reached:

1. An immediate rise in the maximum weekly wage from £8 to £9.

2. Match payment increase from £4 to £5.

3. Resumption of the prewar match bonus scale of £2 for a win, and £1 for a draw, as of December 1, 1945.

4. Compensation for all injuries based on Workmen's Compensation Act with a League supplement as individual cases warrant.

The meeting ended amiably. The president, Mr. Cuff, congratulated the players on their conduct. Mr. Crooks thanked the League for meeting with the Union. Thus ended one of the major wage difficulties until the maximum wage rule was lifted several years later.

The Management Committee met again a few days later and discussed the following:

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70 The Manchester Guardian, October 29, 1945, p. 3. 71 Ibid.
72 Report of the FIMC Conference with the Players' Union, Manchester, November 12, 1945. Records of the F.L.
1. After the usual business and reports they protested the military command and unit teams playing so many games and thus taking professional players so often from their civilian clubs. An example of the clubs' feelings on the military use of players is seen in this note from the Brentford (v. West Ham) Official Programme.

With great regret we were unable on Saturday last to include on our side our promising center forward, Fred Durrant. He is without doubt a future star and last season played with much credit for Blackburn Rovers, scoring many goals. He has since been posted to Kent. He is a Sgt. P.T. Instructor in the Army, but permission was refused for him to have an hour or so leave to enable him to play, owing to his military duties.73

2. Rather complicated regulations were set up for the Third Division Cups. These were as follows:

   a. In the North the two sections would play ten qualifying games. The top eight in each would then combine for a 16 team knockout competition with each round on a home and away basis. The one player, one club rule would be in effect for the competition proper, first round onward.

   b. In the South each section would play 16 qualifying matches and the top two clubs in each section would play a single-elimination semifinal and final. In the semifinals the two first place teams would play each other as would the second place finishers. No player could play for more than one club in the play-offs.74

As of November 5th the

73Brentford F.C. Official Programme (v. West Ham United), September 25, 1945.

Football League clubs have to cut down their guest players from six to three,... A week later 'vacancies' will become even scarcer for Third Division clubs must drop every guest when they enter the F.A. Cup competition.  

Attendances dropped to 550,000 in early November, "the chief factor being the general low standard of football seen this season." However, there was a revival of interest with the arrival of the first Russian team ever to appear in England, Moscow Dynamo.

The Russian champions arrived rather unexpectedly in two lend-lease Dakotas bearing the Red Star at Croydon Aerodrome in South London. Their visit stemmed out of Mrs. Churchill's visit to Russia several months earlier, but they had never made their exact arrival date known. The club was immediately dissatisfied with their accommodations. Since hotel rooms were at such a premium and locating such facilities on short notice was so difficult, the majority of the party was sent to Wellington Barracks, a rather spartan affair. A frantic search by the F.A. officials procured better accommodations, but the Dynamo officials now announced a number of other stipulations. They desired to play only club sides, especially to play the Arsenal, to play on a day which was normally a League day, to view their opponents before playing them, to be consulted before any opponents changed their announced lineups,

75 The Manchester Guardian, November 5, 1945, p. 3.
76 The Manchester Guardian, October 29, 1945, p. 2.
77 The Manchester Guardian, November 5, 1945, p. 3.
78 The Manchester Guardian, November 6, 1945, p. 5.
to have tickets for all Embassy and other Russians in London, nearly
600 people, to use a referee who was traveling with them as an
official at least for one game, and to permit substitutes. Finally
since their main concern was playing good football, they wanted to
avoid social functions and would take their meals at the Embassy.79
The financial arrangements were made for a 50-50 split after the
club's expenses.80 Most of the money was actually earmarked for
charity, as example the Russian fund would go to the rebuilding of
Stanlingrad.81

The F.A. could meet most of these stipulations, except playing
dates, as League dates were impossible to change on such short notice.
And with their behavior thus far the Russians had not won many
friends at the F.A. and did nothing to aid this relationship, when
after working out at White City Stadium, the players and staff
left without attending the announced tea.82 The explanation of
a representative of the Russian Embassy of the Russians' secrecy
or aloofness was that it was due to shyness and language difficulties.
They wanted to develop a closer relationship in sport with Britain,
however.83

79 Sharpe, p. 8. 80 Ibid.
81 The Manchester Guardian, November 13, 1945, p. 2.
82 The Manchester Guardian, November 7, 1945, p. 6.
83 The Manchester Guardian, November 8, 1945, p. 2.
What manner of men were the Premier League champions of Russia who were 19-2-1 on the season, which finished only a month previous to their England trip? Neither amateurs nor professionals by British standards, they held jobs which allowed them to be released to play, although they received no pay while on tour. Their clubs paid expenses. They were accorded the title of "Sports Heroes" according to the judgment of the national sports authorities and given monetary reward as the officials saw fit. These were based on reports of supervising committee of the team.

But the spectators who thronged to Stamford Bridge for the first game were not interested in courtesy problems, stipulations, or diplomatic situations. They wanted to see good football and were curious about what the best in the Soviet Union had to offer in soccer. The Chelsea ground was packed. Pictures in the newspapers show people literally hanging from the rafters.

There have never been such scenes at Chelsea. Some of those unable to get a view climbed up the stand from behind. The glass and corrugated iron roof creaked, to the alarm of those sitting underneath. At least two people fell through the glass and fell among other spectators.

Thousands milled around the touch lines and had to be cleared for each corner kick. Les Gore, now chief scout of Charlton Athletic,

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85 Sharpe, p. 8.
86 The Manchester Guardian, November 14, 1945, p. 3.
87 Ibid.
attended the game and he was packed in so tight that he could not reach a candy bar in his breast pocket and by half time it was a squashed, sticky mess.\footnote{Statement by Les Gore, personal interview, May 4, 1971.} Prior to starting the game, the Russians marched out and presented bunches of flowers to the Chelsea players, a custom which dumbfounded the Blues.\footnote{Ibid.}

The crowd was reported as approximately 82,000. With thousands more outside the ground, the game could have been an anticlimax. It wasn't. Chelsea and Dynamo drew 3-3. The Russian individual and team skills were very good. Yet their showing against the English team should not have been too surprising. The Russians had been together many months while Chelsea was still regrouping at this stage.\footnote{Ibid.} The Russians used the English system of three backs.\footnote{Ibid.} They also had fine short passing, while exploiting the wings.\footnote{Ibid. Thus the first match was not only an interest success but a skill success also. Many other clubs sent invitations to the Russians through the F.A., which, of course, could not be fulfilled during their limited stay.}

While one would not have known it in London that day, another notable event was tucked in the newspapers. Charles De Gaulle was elected French Premier.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, November 14, 1945, p. 3.}

\footnote{Ibid., p. 5.}
With interest in the Moscow club now at a high pitch, the Dynamo came up with another unexpected announcement. They could not commit themselves beyond the Cardiff and Arsenal matches until they heard from Moscow. The winter had come early in Russia and many players had pledged to play ice hockey, as soon as the winter set in according to the Russian officials.94

At Cardiff's Ninian Park, the Dynamo certainly impressed the Welshmen by defeating the Blue Birds 10-1. "No finer team ever visited Cardiff,"95 was a strong statement considering some of the fine First Division teams, such as Huddersfield, who had traveled there in the twenties. The trip to Cardiff went off without any problems of protocol, but on returning to London for the Arsenal game problems again developed.

The captain of the Russian team protested that the Arsenal lineup in the British newspapers differed from the one agreed upon the previous week, and thus felt they were not meeting a club but an England side.96 There was a good measure of truth in this as six of the Arsenal players were guests. On this Mr. G. Allison, the manager, stated he was compelled to play experienced or non-experienced personnel during wartime.97 The guests included the greats, Bacuzzi (Fulham), Mortensen (Blackpool), and, of course,

94 The Manchester Guardian, November 15, 1945, p. 2.
95 The Manchester Guardian, November 19, 1945, p. 2.
96 The Manchester Guardian, November 21, 1945, p. 5.
97 Ibid.
Stan Matthews (Stoke). The latter's ability to play, according to Allison, was made possible by "higher authorities," whoever they were.98

True to form, the Arsenal game provided its own unusual circumstances. The gates at Tottenham, Arsenal's wartime ground, were opened at 10:30 a.m. to accommodate the great numbers of early arrivals. By game time over 50,000 tickets had been sold. A fog then virtually engulfed everything. One could not see across the field. But this was the only day the match could be played, so it was, in circumstances that normally would have meant quick postponement.99 Brian Glanville, a sportswriter, believed there were 12 men on the field much of the second half for Dynamo.100 To make matters even more confusing, this was the game the Russians chose to use their own official and an odd system in which the referee ran on one side of the field and the two linesmen, Englishmen, on the other, many times dropping from each other's view.101 This made any real cohesive officiating impossible. Only those people standing behind the goals saw any of them scored. Dynamo again emerged victorious 4–3. The Arsenal lineup was a touchy point to the end. "The Moscow radio running commentary winding up, says


101 Ibid.
Reuter, with the words 'congratulate us friends, Dynamo won against an all-England team.'\textsuperscript{102}

The following week the Dynamo went to Ibrox Park to play the Glasgow Rangers, a power themselves. In a very ill-tempered game before 90,000 fans, the game ended in another draw, 2-2.\textsuperscript{103} Bill Shankly, present Liverpool F.C. manager and former Scottish international, witnessed the game and was very impressed with the Russians' skills. "They were playing then as some teams are playing now." Instead of the traditional three back game, "the Continent was using a new defensive system as far as we were concerned. They had the sweeper-up, the fullback sweeping up behind all the defenders."\textsuperscript{104} Even at this time? "Yes, they were very modern."\textsuperscript{105}

The following day, Stanley Rous, the F.A. secretary, announced that the Dynamo would not play anymore matches in England. This followed the Radio Moscow announcement that they would be home shortly. They were not to play Racing Club in Paris, but would go directly to Moscow. Thus there would be no match at Villa Park, Birmingham, where thousands of tickets had already been printed.\textsuperscript{106} And after a dinner at Mansion House with the Lord Mayor of London and other

\textsuperscript{102}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{103}The Manchester Guardian, November 29, 1945, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{104}Statement by Bill Shankly, personal interview, April 1, 1971.
\textsuperscript{105}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106}The Manchester Guardian, November 30, 1945, p. 6.
dignitaries they departed on December 7th after a delay due to fog. 107 It would be several years before the Russians came again. Thus ended a tour which had as much intrigue as a grade B spy film. An editorial in The Guardian put it very diplomatically when it stated that the tour made it clear that sport did not necessarily always lead to increased international understanding. 108 This was also in evidence when a British Army side played Hamburg Sporting Club in an attempt to resume relationships with Germany. All that came of this, and other minor matches, were hostile roars of disapproval for the English players and referee from the crowds. 109 Thus sport again proves itself no different than the people involved.

Important though the Dynamo visit was, a great amount of other football was still being played. In November the resumption of internationals between Scotland and Wales took place at Hampden Park, Glasgow, with Scotland (Waddell 2) prevailing over Wales 2-0. 110 Oxford and Cambridge played a 1-1 draw at Dulwich Hamlet in their first full varsity match since 1939. 111 Also, the F.A. Cup matches were progressing into the third round and the League matches were moving toward completion of their schedules in the Third Divisions.

107 The Manchester Guardian, December 5, 1945, p. 6.
109 Ibid.
110 The Manchester Guardian, November 12, 1945, p. 3.
111 Dulwich Hamlet F.C. Official Programme (Oxford University v. Cambridge University), December 1, 1945.
The F.A. Council met in mid-December and the chief items of business concerned the number of invitations to Army and civilian teams to go abroad for matches. Another postwar committee reported that international football concerning the F.L. would stay about the same as in the prewar organization. 112

At the Christmas holidays crowds were very good, 500,000 on Christmas Day and 800,000 on Boxing Day, including 54,000 at Everton and 65,000 at Aston Villa. 113 The Third Division South's regional league champions emerged with Queen's Park Rangers winning the North and Crystal Palace the South. The Third Division North's champions were Accrington Stanley for the West and Rotherham United for the East. 114 The Third Division then began their cup qualifying rounds. Charlton was leading the League South, Chesterfield the League North at the holiday period, as those leagues continued their competitions.

Tottenham Hotspur wished their patrons Happy New Year with the following program note.

Sport is destined to fill a larger share in the national life than hitherto. That will be all the better for this country. We are a nation of sportsmen and the qualities developed on the mimic battle grounds of cricket, football, and other outdoor athletic contests were potent factors in building up those qualities that in the past six years enabled our sons and daughters to fight, work, endure and emerge triumphantly from

112 Min. FAC, London, December 17, 1945.


the most savage war in the history of the world.  
With peace and the New Year Tottenham justified their wartime
continuance on the somewhat questionable theory that the Battle
of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton.

It was announced as the clubs entered the New Year that
there could be no more signings permitted in time for the F.A. Cup
third round on January 5th.  
The Cup games in this round drew
over 700,000 for the 32 matches as attendances rose after a temporary
drop.  
The following weekend Aston Villa drew over 70,000
supporters, the highest for a League match in England since 1939.

As the United Nations was meeting in London, so were the
F.L. and the F.A. governing bodies. At the F.L. meeting the main
business items were that

1. After January 18, 1946, the League levy on match receipts
for player insurance and compensation would be reduced from two
percent to one percent.

2. Further reduction of guest players would be discussed in
the future.

One of the important discussions occurred outside of the
official meetings. A return to normal League structure appeared

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115 Tottenham Hotspur F.C. Official Programme, January 5, 1946.
118 The Manchester Guardian, January 14, 1946, p. 3.
nearly certain for 1946-47 season in talk at the meetings. The clubs in the North and Midlands wanted normalcy very much, but the clubs in the South were against it. Mr. Birrell, the Chelsea manager, said that, of course, the northern clubs would want it,

...but the Essential Work Order [men were moved from the military to critical industry] operates in their favour and against us so that the competition would not be fair. Most of our men are still in the Services, and we are finding it harder to raise a side than during the war, whereas I know several clubs up North who have an embarrassment of players.

It should be noted that the dominance of the northern teams in the top two divisions only appears in 1946-47. In 1947 through 1950, Arsenal, Portsmouth, Fulham, and Tottenham all won divisional championships. 121

The F.A. also met at this time and their main concern was finishing up business from the Moscow Dynamo tour. The Council approved payments for a banner and pocket wallets for the manager and players to commemorate their November visit. 122 The secretary also cleared up the following misconceptions about the Russians' visit:

1. The invitation had officially been extended by the secretary through Mr. Revenko, secretary to the All-union Committee of Sport and Physical Training (U.S.S.R.), when he had visited British facilities in schools in mid-October 1943.

2. Hotel accommodations had been arranged several days in advance of the anticipated Dynamo's arrival. However, when they did not arrive, and no specific arrival time was given in advance, the rooms were released due to the heavy demand for them. Thus when the team did arrive the emergency quarters at Wellington Barracks had to be obtained.

3. The Dynamos presented an inscribed autographed football to the F.A. as a souvenir of their visit.\footnote{Report of a Visit of Dynamo F.C. Moscow, November 1945, from Min. FAC, London, January 14, 1946.}

The next important event was the Belgian international at Wembley. "The [Belgian] team have not brought any special rations. They say they will be quite content with the food provided for them in England and Scotland."\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, January 17, 1946, p. 2.} Food rationing in Britain was in tight effect, because of poor crops in the supplying countries.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, February 6, 1946, p. 5.} The captain of the Belgians was R. Faverick, who was playing in his thirty-ninth international at the age of 33 years. He had been capped against England in 1936.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, January 17, 1946, p. 2.} England (Brown, Pye) defeated the Belgians 2-0. From here the Belgium team moved on to Hampden Park where they drew with Scotland 2-2 on a snow-covered pitch.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, January 24, 1946, p. 2.} Another international followed close at Belfast where a record 53,000
saw Scotland down Ireland 3-2. 128

By early February, the F.A. Cup had progressed to the last 16 teams. It now went to a national draw and the regional aspect was dropped. 129 Interest at this point was very high. To illustrate, Middlesbrough beat Blackpool for a berth in the last 16 in a driving rain and gale. So many people wanted to see the game a stone barrier was broken down and about 15,000 of the 45,000 saw the game free. 130

The football fever associated with the Cup was also shown at Sheffield Wednesday's ground, where the biggest crowd, 62,732, since 1939, saw them bow out in the sixth round to Stoke. 131 But the fever was probably the greatest in the Midlands.

The problem of 'football absenteeism' has been particularly serious in the Birmingham area this week, cup-ties drawing 65,000 spectators to Villa Park on Tuesday and 40,000 to St. Andrews Park yesterday.

For two days many factories have reported considerable numbers of absentees, and at the Hamstead Colliery the cup-ties caused a drop in output. One local firm has a successful solution of the problem — to give the men time off for matches on the condition that they return to work later and make up the time lost. The men have agreed, and on the occasion of two mid-week games they all kept their side of the bargain. 132

The problem of absenteeism in industry had also been dealt with at the F.A. Council meeting in February. The Consultative Committee took note of "present abnormal conditions of the industries

130 Ibid.
of the Country and the desire to contribute as little as possible to absenteeism from essential work," so the F.A. with the F.L. will play both legs, home and away, in the sixth round on Saturdays, instead of Saturday and a midweek date.\footnote{133}{\textit{Circular of the Consultative Committee," from Min. FAC, London, February 4, 1946.}} At this meeting a postwar subcommittee recommended that the F.A. and member clubs have no association with pools interests.\footnote{134}{Min. FAC, London, February 4, 1946.}

The F.L. also met in mid-February and the following were the main items of business:

1. All gate levies to the League would cease for the present season as of February 28th.

2. Clubs planning to tour abroad were reminded that the present wage scale and the 1939-40 allowance of 10 shillings per day applied.

3. Colchester United, Hyde United, Merthyr Tydfil, North Shields, Shrewsbury Town, Stalybridge Celtic, and Wigan Athletic all applied for membership in the Third Division. None were to be elected.\footnote{135}{Min. FLMC, London, February 17, 1946.}

Also at the meeting the provisions of the entertainment tax were still being appealed. The secretary reported a Member of Parliament, who was working on reduction of the tax for football, hoped that if it did come about it would be on the condition that the reduction would
be passed on to the public.

Under the living performers status on a 1/6 admission, clubs would get 1/3d and the tax 23d. This meant an increase of 53d. to the club on the pre-war 10d., more than 50%. If the compromise were offered, that is the reduction being shared by the clubs and the public, it was agreed that a fair proportion would be a 23d. increase to the clubs and a 3d. reduction to the public. This would mean a basic admission of 1/3.

As noted several times previously the F.L. had campaigned for reduction of the entertainment tax with no results and as recently as November 1945, the reduction was rejected in Parliament. Some strong arguments for reduction, for example, that clubs had little profit and football was paying huge taxes, were not powerful enough to overcome arguments of loss of revenue to the government and the complications of other entertainments seeking reductions. The revision clause was rejected in Parliament at the time 224 to 149. Thus, it appears the Football League was persevering against rather large odds.

The Army F.A. War Emergency Committee also met in February and voted to alter its present practice and pay professionals in Army representative and inter-command matches and to approach the other services for approval. The Army F.A. also decided to award all players who had represented the Army during the war a glass-enclosed

136 Ibid.

case of a mounted Army F.A. crest.\textsuperscript{138} This proposed match fee was not to come to fruition, however, as it was rejected at the Annual General Meeting in July.\textsuperscript{139}

In another area of sport, it was announced that the Olympic Games were awarded to London. American cities under consideration were eliminated as most European teams could not afford the trip to the United States. The Russians may also compete for the first time. The games would not be elaborate, of course. "Nor will they suffer at all, if a little of our carefree attitude towards sport creeps in to lighten the excessive ardours and tensions of former Olympic Games."\textsuperscript{140} The Guardian's interpretation of "carefree" may apply to amateur sport, but from study the word could not be applied to professional sport, either from a player's view or spectator's view.

The Rugby League was also in full swing and resumption of play with France saw England defeat the French 16-6 at Swinton before 20,500 spectators.\textsuperscript{141} Play in soccer was progressing well into March. There were very few weather problems for League games; the Amateur Cup was progressing, as was the F.A. Cup and other tournament competitions. Then a late season snow hit the North and created a few game

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{138}Min. Army FAWEC, London, February 26, 1946.
\item \textsuperscript{140}The Manchester Guardian, February 15, 1946, p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{141}The Manchester Guardian, February 25, 1946, p. 2.
\end{itemize}
problems.\textsuperscript{142} However, the major happening was the disaster at Bolton. In the sixth round Cup tie on March 9, versus Stoke Sity at Burnden Park the huge crowd of over 65,000 broke through barriers and when ten minutes into the game these gave way, 33 were killed. Most in the crowd were unaware of the deaths, thinking the dead had fainted or were injured, as had been observed many times before in large crowds. The game was resumed after 25 minutes to avoid "a nasty panic."\textsuperscript{143} The F.A. authorized clubs to take up collections for the disaster victims.\textsuperscript{144} One anonymous gate-crasher at Bolton sent 2/6 for the Mayor of Bolton's Disaster Fund and apologized for the part he felt he played in the tragedy.\textsuperscript{145}

A long investigation followed, and in the interim limited attendance was maintained at important games, as well as other precautions, such as police with radios scattered about the ground area for quick dispatch to a problem point. The investigation found Bolton not guilty of any negligence and following the archaic crowd control procedures used in other comparable grounds.\textsuperscript{146} The difficulty arose because of a lack of communication within the ground on the numbers who were passing through the turnstiles, though

\textsuperscript{142} The Manchester Guardian, March 5, 1946, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{143} The Manchester Guardian, March 11, 1946, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{144} The Manchester Guardian, March 15, 1946, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{145} The Manchester Guardian, March 19, 1946, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{146} The Manchester Guardian, July 8, 1946, p. 2.
the number of gate-crashers was not determined to be a major cause of the disaster, because of too few police or other officials to direct crowds and because of the lack of a loudspeaker system to give directions within the ground. The major recommendations were to have the above rectified, as well as a center for tabulation of the various gates entrants, and a precalculation of when gates should be closed, when the crowds appear to be too large. In line with this there would be procedures for controlling the crowds outside the ground prior to the closing of the gates.\textsuperscript{147} As a result of this, there are tight spectator regulations on numbers today and several clubs, as at Southampton, use electronic counters at all turnstiles, which inform a central board. This in turn means that people outside the stadium can be redirected to less populated areas of the stadium and the crowded sections closed.

The F.L. met in March and the following were the main items of business:

1. A relief fund was set up and some benefit matches for the Bolton disaster victims were authorized.

2. Worcester City, Gillingham, and South Liverpool applied for membership in the Third Division.

3. The president reported that from a private interview with representatives of the Chancellor of the Exchequer "he had formed the opinion that football would be placed in the Schedule of Living Performers conditionally that the general public derived

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
some benefit from the reduction in tax."\textsuperscript{148}

4. Arsenal wished to employ players with the contractor making repairs on their ground. The Management Committee saw no problems as long as normal employee-employer relations with the contractor took place.

5. In order to further reduce guest appearances, players registered full-time with one club could no longer guest with another team.

6. An amateur could count his service with a professional club when negotiating for turning professional.\textsuperscript{149}

In March also the Football League moved from their temporary quarters in Fishergate to new offices at 6 Starkie Street, Preston.\textsuperscript{150} Business continued in Preston until 1959, when the League moved 15 miles away to the resort town of Lytham St. Annes.\textsuperscript{151}

The F.A. Cup moved into the semifinal round with Charlton against Bolton and Birmingham versus Derby County. For this latter game, 20,000 tickets were sold in two hours. Some people had arrived at the sales windows before midnight for the 10:00 a.m. sale of tickets.\textsuperscript{152} Also, with the great numbers of other cup games and the

\textsuperscript{148}Min. FIMC, London, March 10, 1946.

\textsuperscript{149}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{151}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{152}The Manchester Guardian, March 18, 1946, p. 3.
resultant losers, the clubs in the North arranged matches which would count in the standings, much on the same basis as they did during the war years.\textsuperscript{153} The finalists in the first postwar F.A. Cup were Charlton and Derby County. The Derby-Birmingham match, after a 1–1 draw, drew 80,407 for the replay at Maine Road, Manchester which Derby County won 4–0.\textsuperscript{154}

As April began Blackpool F.C. announced that due to wear and tear because of R.A.F. use, the main stand with a 3,500 capacity would be closed for the remainder of the season. Repairs would be made in the close season.\textsuperscript{155} Renovation was now coming quickly to football grounds.

Mid-April saw another international match in Glasgow. Scotland (Delancy) won 1–0 for the first Scottish victory in four years over England before 135,000 spectators.\textsuperscript{156} The F.L. met in Glasgow on the eve of this match. The following were the major items of business:

1. The Management Committee reported with pleasure the decision of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to include football in the Schedule of Living Performers for entertainment tax purposes, effective May 4, 1946. The Chancellor recommended that ground charges be reduced to 1/3 after that date.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{153} \textit{The Manchester Guardian}, March 20, 1946, p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{154} \textit{The Manchester Guardian}, March 28, 1946, p. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{155} \textit{The Manchester Guardian}, April 11, 1946, p. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{156} \textit{The Manchester Guardian}, April 13, 1946, p. 7.
\end{itemize}
2. Clubs touring abroad may pay £2 for a win and £1 for a draw as per the 1939-40 match bonus.

3. Chelmsford City, Workington, and Wellington Town applied for admission to the Third Division.

4. The Management Committee planned to meet with the Players' Union in the near future to discuss wages, benefits, sign-on bonus, and contract agreements. 157

A small note appeared in the news which less than twenty years later would have a great impact on sport throughout the world—television. On April 9th the B.B.C. announced it would begin T.V. service on June 7, 1946, with two ninety minute programs each day. 158

There was a minor test of the Reinstatement Act when a Rochdale player, J. Wynn, was refused a contract by that club. While he had played for Vallians prior to the outbreak of war, he left the club when the conflict began to work with a building company. It was during this period that Rochdale felt he was not in their employ and thus they did not have to now offer him a contract. But Wynn's occupation was primarily a footballer and pressure from the Players' Union, the F.A. and the F.L. lead Rochdale to relent and resign this player. 159

Meetings were prominent at this time, as the F.L. met again in late April just prior to the F.A. Cup final. The main topics at

157 Min. FIMC, Glasgow, April 12, 1946.
158 The Manchester Guardian, April 9, 1946, p. 5.
159 The Manchester Guardian, April 6, 1946, p. 6.
this meeting were:

1. Stoke was given permission to give a player, Stanley Matthews, a silver tea service to mark "his long and distinguished career."\(^{160}\) It is important to note that he did not retire as an active player until 20 years later and was selected Footballer of the Year in 1963.

2. It was agreed that clubs may pay to their players in the services £3 weekly in the close season, as a retainer, and thereafter a by-match contract of £5 maximum with no more than £10 per week.

3. It was also decided "that contracts for players employed under the Essential Works Order be on a match basis only."\(^{161}\)

Then the last weekend in April signalled the renewal of a great playing event — the F.A. Cup final at Wembley. A crowd of 98,000, which included the King and Queen, watched Derby County defeat Charlton Athletic 4–1 in extra time.\(^{162}\) The winners' and runner-ups' medals for this F.A. Cup provided a tangible link to the last F.A. Cup held in 1939. During the war, because of the bombings, the Birmingham jeweler, who had made the medals before, lost the die in which they were cast. The F.A. approached George Allison, who was then the Arsenal manager, and asked him if any of his players were available, near to London, who had taken part in one of the cup finals prior to the war, so they could borrow his medal and have copies made.\(^{163}\)

\(^{160}\) Min. FIMC, London, April 25, 1946.  
\(^{161}\) Ibid.  
\(^{162}\) The Manchester Guardian, April 29, 1946, p. 3.  
Eventually a medal was obtained from Flying Officer Jack Crayston, an international before the war and later an Arsenal manager. His was copied and "that is how they continued the link with the past from 1939 to 1946." The previous Saturday the F.A. Amateur Cup final was played for the first time since the hostilities broke out, and Barnet beat Bishop Auckland 3-2, before nearly 54,000 spectators at Stamford Bridge. Bishop Auckland were champions in 1939, the last time the Cup was contested.

The F.A. Council met in London two days before the F.L.'s meeting. The following points are of interest:

1. The Finance and General Purposes Committee had received a letter from Mr. Shinwell, Minister of Fuel and Power, thanking the F.A. for playing their Cup ties on Saturdays. There had previously been difficulty with miners being off work when their club played in midweek.

2. There were still many applications for English clubs to tour abroad and others who wished to come to England. These invitations came from all over, even the United States Soccer Football Association invited Liverpool F.C. for a tour.

The next major gathering was an Extraordinary Meeting of

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164 Ibid.
165 The Manchester Guardian, April 22, 1946, p. 2.
167 Min. FAC, London, April 26, 1946.
the F.L. Shareholders in London and dealt with money, gate charges, and players demands, both as separate issues. Even the press was excluded as the proceedings began. The Players' Union had decided at their meeting in March to press for £12 in season, £10 in close season wage, an increase in pay for international matches from £10 to £25, a rise in benefits from £650 to £750, and some increase in the retaining fee. The League managed to gain some concessions, which were at least acceptable to the players' organization. As a result, the maximum wage was raised to £10 per week in season from the present £9, and to £7.10.0 in the off season, maximum benefits were raised to £750 and August-to-August contract agreements were to begin in 1947-48. There would be no change in match bonus money, but the sign-on bonus of £10 was made mandatory. Some clubs had not paid it in the past, if the players had not asked for it.

The next major item at the meeting concerned the price of admission to grounds. The president, because of the concessions on the entertainment tax, wanted a charge of only 1/3 for the 1946-47 season. Certain clubs, however, maintained the revenue of 1/6 was needed for ground improvements made necessary by war conditions, that lower prices "cheapened" the game, more money was needed for peacetime


wages and development, and the public would pay 1/6 to see good football.\textsuperscript{171} Put to a vote of the members, the result was 32 for a 1/6 admission and 17 for a 1/3 admission.\textsuperscript{172} This was not to be the final action, however, and further debate was seen for the close season meetings. It was also decided that in the next season, 1946–47, "the full normal programme, with promotion and relegation be instituted."\textsuperscript{173} This passed with only two dissents.

Still another meeting of importance took place the last of April. The four British F.A.s met in London with representatives of F.I.F.A., Federation Internationale De Football Association, literally the international controlling body of soccer, for the first time since a breach had occurred in 1928. After a conference the F.A. delegates announced that they would recommend that their representative bodies rejoin F.I.F.A.\textsuperscript{174} By way of background, the British had withdrawn from F.I.F.A. over that organization's decision to pay broken time wages to amateurs inconvenienced when participating in international matches. The British following their strong tradition of separating the amateur and professional refused to send a football team to the Olympics in Amsterdam and thus by this action had withdrawn from F.I.F.A. This was no more than a formality. F.I.F.A. still wished to curry favor with the strong British game, the British still wanted international competition, so competitions

\textsuperscript{171}\textit{Ibid.} \quad \textsuperscript{172}\textit{Ibid.} \quad \textsuperscript{173}\textit{Ibid.} \quad \textsuperscript{174}\textit{The Manchester Guardian, April 30, 1946, p. 2.}
went on while both governing bodies ignored the withdrawal, which should have prohibited F.I.F.A. members from competing against the British. But the war brought about the realistic view that formal relations would be renewed and after some studied wording of the regulations on both sides, the British Associations rejoined the F.I.F.A. in late July 1946. To mark their return to the group a Great Britain versus the "Rest of the World" took place on May 10, 1947, at Hampden Park before 135,000 persons. The British won 6-1. Receipts from this match put F.I.F.A. on its first sound financial footing in its 33 years of existence. This is remarkable in a country so close to war, short of her own money and even shorter of foreign currency.

The football season was drawing to a close. The Rugby League Cup final returned to Wembley, where Wakefield Trinity defeated Wigan 13-12, before a modest crowd of 55,000. Other spring and summer sports were in full force, as Ireland defeated Wales 1-0 at Cardiff. The League season ended with Sheffield United winning the League North by five points over Everton, and in an exciting finish Birmingham City won the League South over Aston

176 Min. FAC, London, October 14, 1946.
177 Fabian and Green, Association Football, IV, pp. 302-303.
179 Ibid.
Villa on goal average, as each scored 61 points and Charlton finished third on 60 points. The Third Division North Cup was won by Rotherham United. In the South that Cup was won by Bournemouth. Other minor regional cups were also close to completion.

There were still international matches to be played. England played Switzerland at Stamford Bridge, as 75,000 watched the home side, who were behind initially, finally win comfortably over the Swiss. The final score was England (Carter 2, Brown, Lawton) 4, Switzerland (Friedlander) 1. The Swiss went on to Glasgow and lost to Scotland 3–1. The following week the English went to Colombes Stadium, Paris, and were surprisingly defeated by France's (Prouff, Vaast) 2 to England's (Hagan) 1.

The last major match of the season, which must have shown that soccer had almost returned to normal occurred in Glasgow, between those ancient rivals Rangers and Celtic, the two major powers in that city, who were playing their Victory Cup semifinal replay. In the most peaceable of times a game between these two is nearly a holy war with the Protestants backing Rangers and the Catholics supporting the Celts. This one proved no exception. Passions rose to where scenes in the stands and even on the pitch had to be dealt

181 Ibid., pp. 127-130.
182 The Manchester Guardian, May 13, 1946, p. 3.
with. One player was ordered off, four spectators arrested, numerous others dispersed inside and outside the ground and the referee was nearly hit with a bottle in one incident. Yes, life was becoming normal again. Incidentally Rangers won by two goals.\(^{184}\)

As the public returned to peacetime soccer, normalcy returned in other ways, too. "Pirate Programmes—Don't but pirate programmes. They've been on sale at recent games at 3d. each. We offer you all the latest official news at the price of 1d."\(^{185}\) Yes, the transition was over.

In the transitional season reorganization and other procedures had developed at an excellent pace, as witness the return to normal organization for the upcoming season. The transitional season was marked by restoration of international competition and general relations by the return to F.I.F.A., tax relief through the entertain ment tax, continued cooperation with governmental agencies in various matters and procurement of further benefits by the players' group. Finally, while the calibre of play may have been marginal the public was returning to games in numbers higher than in any war year.

\(^{184}\) The Manchester Guardian, June 6, 1946, p. 6.

\(^{185}\) Charlton Athletic F.C. Official Programme (v. Brentford, F.A. Cup Sixth Round), March 2, 1946.
Chapter 13

IMMEDIATE POSTWAR YEARS

Peacetime football resumed with the 1946-47 season. Emphasis here will be on that season and its relation to the development of the game in the immediate postwar years. The years from 1946 to 1952, are given in synopsis to illustrate the peak years in association football's history, especially in consideration of the number of spectators and interest displayed by the sporting public.

SUMMER 1946

Early summer saw more meetings, The Management Committee met prior to the annual gathering of the League clubs and reported a request from several non-League clubs to form a Fourth (North and South) Division. No action was taken. ¹ A fourth division was not formed until 1958 and then only by splitting the Third Division and non-League clubs were left out. A revival of North and South sections was suggested in 1971, but failed at the Annual General Meeting in June. Another matter noted at the June 1946, meeting was a letter from the Players’ Union expressing their displeasure at

¹Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meeting, London, June 1, 1946. Records of the Football League Ltd., Lytham St. Annes, Lancs. Hereafter cited as Min. FLMC.
the recent wage and bonuses decisions.\textsuperscript{2}

The Football League's annual gathering occurred on June 3rd. The silent prayer was offered for those who had passed away during the past year and only one death was due to a war injury. The major business included the following:

1. The president's report noted that only two clubs, Hull and New Brighton, had not participated last season and that this was a strong step toward normalcy. He also noted that the Bolton disaster should remind all clubs to be concerned for their own situations. Along with his report the president awarded trophies to the various League and Cup winners.

2. Normal competitions for 1946–47 were ratified.

3. Dog racing was allowed on League grounds by a vote of 26 to 17.

4. Applications to Division Three were deferred for further study.

5. The entertainment tax and a 1/6 versus 1/3 admission was debated, after further talks with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who wanted the tax reduction passed on to the public in spite of the clubs' views on costs. The members, after much discussion, voted for a 1/3 minimum admission charge, which was to stay until 1951.\textsuperscript{3}

Some clubs in the South to protest the decision planned to set aside

\textsuperscript{2}Tbid.

\textsuperscript{3}Minutes of the Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the F.L. Ltd., London, June 3, 1946. Records of the F.L.
only a tiny portion of their ground at this rate to test the
result, but little came of this effort.\footnote{The Manchester Guardian, June 4, 1946, p. 6.}

The F.A. Council meeting at the same time decided that
players in essential work, and thus liable to direction by the
Minister of Labour, could be retained by clubs without following the
rules of offering terms.\footnote{Minutes of the Football Association Council Meeting,
Hereafter cited as Min. FAC.} Summer sport, such as cricket, was
featuring the County championships and a tour by the Indian side.
Wimbledon was also ready for some outstanding tournament play and
other sports were also enjoying the summer.

But the main thought here is football. The teams were putting
themselves into sound organization. Those clubs, which had shown a
profit from £2,500 to £10,000 in this past season or before, were
certainly going to need these small reserves to meet the greatly
increased peacetime expenses of staff and player wages, transfers,
ground maintenance, and travel. Also, as a result of the Bolton
disaster there are several notes in the newspapers of authorities
limiting capacities at grounds in the coming season.

The summer meetings continued as the governing organizations
prepared for the first peacetime season. The July 7th meeting of the
Management Committee included the following business:

1. At long last fifteen Long Service medals were to be
purchased for those who had qualified.
2. The position of New Brighton, who were without any players in a temporary ground with no stands and only moderate work done on the turf, was discussed. A decision was to be made later in the month. New Brighton was ready when the season began in August, but the club which for a long time had had financial troubles was dropped by the Football League, after only a few more years of struggle, when they finished last in 1951.7

The F.A. Council met during the same period. The great number of committees which are a part of the organization were moving into a full functioning capacity. This meeting went a long way toward finalizing arrangements for the coming season. The main items covered at the meeting included the following:

1. Divisional, Association and Football League representatives for 1946-47 were given, as were Council meeting and Cup dates.

2. A Board of Trade notice reached the F.A. stating "that after Monday 27th May 1946, restrictions on the sale of priority sports equipment, except cricket and hockey balls, are to be withdrawn."8 It was decided that this decision did not effect football clothing or footwear. Clubs wishing to purchase football kit will be requested to furnish the required number of clothing coupons. This was undoubtedly done to avoid a rush, as many amateur and other

8Min. FAC, London, July 8, 1946.
teams and leagues restarting.

3. The International Committee recommended that the British F.A.'s give full international caps next season.

4. The F.A. also decided to allow games during the week prior to the opening of the League season in order to gain and pool funds to aid clubs whose facilities and finances were damaged as a result of the war.

5. The F.A. Council would not accede to the Players' Union request for an August-to-August contract.

6. The rules on Sunday football would stay virtually the same as they were in 1945.\(^9\)

But the popularity of Sunday football was to grow rapidly to a point where more people would play on that day than on any other. The F.A. was stodgy in this area as it would not recognize any players under its jurisdiction playing on Sunday. Many of the older individuals on the F.A. influenced this thinking, but sheer numbers and participation had to change this attitude.\(^10\) In 1955, the F.A. finally lifted the Sunday ban, but would sanction no competitions. Finally in 1959, it did sanction a Sunday Cup competition on a national basis.\(^11\) This Sunday play applies only for amateur soccer, however, as there is still no sanction of

\(^9\)Ibid.


professional games on Sunday. In fact players cannot even be signed
to a contract on Sunday. This is vastly different than the practice
on the Continent where Sunday is a major professional day.

Another decision which would have far reaching affects on
English soccer occurred at this F.A. Council meeting in July.
This was the appointment, after the investigation of a select list of
applicants by a subcommittee, of a national coach for the first time
in the history of English soccer. This was in line with the F.A.'s
thinking of expanding its services after the war. Wing Commander
Walter Winterbottom, who had been through and become a leader in the
Physical Training program, was the man selected to the F.A. staff.
He was to

1. direct and extend the F.A.'s coaching and instructional
work,

2. assist in arranging representative matches, including
international matches,

3. train teams, including diet, rest, and massage, at the
discretion of the International Selection Committee and if directed,
to "decide the skills techniques to be employed in respect of any
match in which the players concerned are called upon to play,"

4. assist in writing and compilation of Football Association
literature.

12 Ibid.

13 Min. FAC, London, July 8, 1946. 14 Ibid.
Prior to the selection of a national coach, the International Committee had selected all England teams, and appointed a member of the Committee in charge. The team assembled no sooner than 24 hours before the game. Any tactics were discussed just prior to the game. "The idea of a Team Manager was as remote as the moon." Winterbottom, as the first national coach, brought organization, match planning, call-up of players for practice, and developed far ranging publications on various aspects of the game.

Walter Winterbottom had been Senior Lecturer at the Carnegie College of Physical Education in Leeds and a player for Manchester United before the war. He could not return to this following the war because of a spinal ailment, which was later cured. His success with several senior coaching courses for the F.A., as well as his organizational experience in the R.A.F., placed him in strong contention for the new F.A. position.

I don't suppose I would have taken it if it had just been a question of managing the team, because there was no attraction in managing teams in those days....We developed a whole range of instructional aids, like annuals, books for school boys, et cetera, but this is the reason why I got the job. I was tempted because of knowing Sir Stanley Rous who came to me and said, 'You ought to come and help us do this development in sport and soccer.' That's the reason for the change, and it

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16Ibid.

had a lot to do with the fact that I was unfit to go back to Carnegie to do normal physical education instruction.

The many instructional aids, course, international teams and the superb organization developed by Winterbottom, probably reaching its peak with Alf Ramsey's success in the 1966 World Cup, make this appointment one of the most significant milestones in the Football Association's history.

The F.A. also held a meeting at Scarborough in mid-July and decided a club championship among the four home countries was impracticable. And this has never come to fruition.

The Army F.A. now was moving rapidly to its usual peacetime, or nonwar, competitions. However, the problem of the professional player inductee still persisted, especially as it concerned payment and release to play for a civilian club. It was agreed that every facility be given to enable him to play for his civilian club on a Saturday. There would be no change in priority when a player was selected for a service team, however, and the player's commanding officer would still decide release for a civilian team. The rule on payment was further clarified by stating that no professional

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18 Ibid.
would receive a fee "while playing for a service team." This eliminated the fee given when playing against a civilian club, also. Another problem centered around the Army Cup and whether to limit it strictly to amateur players. It was decided to include professionals "to foster the old Army football spirit and give the regular soldier the opportunity to play for his regimental team." Conditions were different from prewar and would last for some period of time, so this accommodation could be made. The professional was part of the Army and the competition was for as many soldiers as possible and it would be nearly impossible to run a separate amateur and professional player tournament. The Army continued to field very strong representative sides and were facing First Division clubs into the late forties. Gradually, of course, as the conscription decreased, the Army moved to its all amateur program, the professional became nearly nonexistent, and the relationship faded away.

As the summer continued, it was announced that a representative Icelandic team was to visit England in September and play the amateur clubs, Walthamstow Avenue and Barnet. This visit may have developed

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through good wartime cooperation. A product of the Icelandic group, Albert Gudmundsson, appeared in two League games for the famed Arsenal in 1946. He went on to play for several years in France and Italy and is now president of the Football Association of Iceland. Another interesting international relationship was to be renewed now. The English F.A. accepted an invitation from the Eire F.A. to play a match in Dublin on September 30th. "The game will be the first between the countries at Dublin since before the Great War," or before Irish Independence. What prompted this is not known. Touring sides also came to England from Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and Sweden.

The season neared and as if to again calm the purists Mr. Burke, the Assistant Post Master General, replied to Mr. Nally (Labour M.P., Bilstow) in an exchange in the House of Commons that while there was a shortage of postal employees the pools coupons provided no undue stress on the staff.

The Football League met the week prior to the season's opening.


The major business included these points:

1. Various insurance schemes for players were presented by brokers. One was selected for consideration.

2. Discussion by a joint F.L.-F.A. committee concerning the Football League's desire for a fifty percent share of the F.A. Cup final match receipts, since they contribute so much in personnel and facilities to these games. The F.A. replied that so many funds go to instructional programs, junior programs, and the like that they need the money. The F.L. hoped to investigate this again in the future.

3. Broadcasting by the B.B.C. was favored by the clubs two to one for the 1946-47 season with the consent of the two competing clubs.

4. "An application to the Ministry of Food, through the Football Association, for footballers to be allowed an increased Bread Ration was refused."\(^{30}\)

5. Sheffield Wednesday wanted permission to land a helicopter, no reason given, at half time of one of their games. Permission was given, provided the length of the half time was not extended.

6. Many registrations and cancelled registrations were given as clubs solidified their rosters.

7. The secretary of the Players' Union sent a letter requesting a meeting for September 9th to review the whole question of wages and benefits. The F.L. secretary was instructed to reply that the

\(^{30}\text{Min. FLMC, August 23, 1946.}\)
Management Committee would not ask the clubs to do this in view of their very recent action in May.\textsuperscript{31}

When the F.L. rejected a Union demand of £12 maximum wage the group in spite of earlier agreement to the £10 maximum wage noted that replies from its members favored stronger action.\textsuperscript{32} The renewal of the players' request signalled the Ministry of Labour to ask the parties for written statements and suggested a conference between the two constituents in Preston on November 4, 1946.\textsuperscript{33} Certain benefits were improved, but no decision on a maximum wage was made.\textsuperscript{34} Enough progress was made to avoid a strike, but it was not until 1947 that the £12 maximum and a £10 close season agreement was reached.\textsuperscript{35} Through the years the maximum grew to £20 until 1960, when the maximum wage was abolished.\textsuperscript{36}

The Saturday before the season opened one of the major benefit matches was held. This one was for the Bolton disaster. As a result of the accident the crowd was limited to 70,000 which was 10,000 below the record. England played Scotland in an unofficial match and drew 2–2. The game realized £12,000 for the fund, which closed out at approximately £52,000.\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid.
\item \textit{The Manchester Guardian}, August 29, 1946, p. 2.
\item Min. FLMC, London, October 13, 1946.
\item Min. FLMC, Southport, November 12, 1946.
\item Golesworthy, p. 201.  
\item Ibid.
\item \textit{The Manchester Guardian}, August 26, 1946, p. 3.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
The season was ready to begin when Joe Mercer, 27 time wartime international left half, asked for a transfer from Everton, his long time club.\textsuperscript{38} Though he was with Everton for 16 years, he made few appearances for them during the war. He had had a problem, described earlier, in 1940 with Everton concerning their desire that he not appear for England, when Everton had an important Lancashire Cup engagement. "... I think that was the start of the breakup of Everton and me."\textsuperscript{39} Mercer was transferred shortly afterward to Arsenal, "which at the time was a big disappointment as I was crazy on the town [Liverpool]."\textsuperscript{40} He starred for over nine years on several of the Gunners' powerful teams. "I had a wonderful 9\textfrac{1}{2} years at the Arsenal so it had its compensations."\textsuperscript{41}

August 31, 1946 dawned with anticipation of normalcy returning to English way of life. "Football History is Resumed!" screamed the headlines of the newspapers.\textsuperscript{42}

Association football breaks out again in England and Wales this afternoon (in Scotland, of course, it has been going on for some weeks — if indeed it has ever stopped), and for a large number of citizens life will recover something of its meaning and adventure.\textsuperscript{43}

On paper everything was as it was on August 26, 1939 — the schedule, the teams, the divisions, no guest players, and, of course,

\textsuperscript{38}The Manchester Guardian, August 30, 1946, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{39}Statement by Joe Mercer, personal interview, April 2, 1971.
\textsuperscript{40}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{41}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42}The Manchester Guardian, August 31, 1946, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{43}Ibid.
the game itself. All of this gave an illusion of picking up life where it had stopped. Realistically, that entity of which the whole world of games is made up — people, both players and spectators, were the difference. Many of the giants and of the less than great were gone or considerably older. Great teams had dimmed and clubs which had run youth sides during the war loomed as possible successors. But the game was there, as were many of the old spectators and many new ones. This game of football was to be one of the first parts of life which would provide a feeling of normalcy in these austere times.

Over 950,000 turned out for the opening League matches in atrocious weather conditions, cold and torrential rains. "As was the case after the 1914-18 war people everywhere demand sports excitement and they are willing to pay for it." 44 Six grounds drew over 50,000 and there were gatherings of over 25,000 at even Third Division grounds. Newport County's game with Southampton was postponed only after the local fire brigade failed in a valiant attempt to pump huge amounts of surface water from the pitch. 45 Prewar and wartime stars, Lawton and Dodds, both prolific scorers, and Carter showed well as did the promising Preston player, Tom Finney, and the game was back to the people. The game was to continue to gather huge throngs in the ensuing weeks and months, as it became firmly entrenched in the English sports life in a very short period.

44 The Manchester Guardian, September 2, 1946, p. 2.
45 Ibid.
THE POSTWAR YEARS TO 1952

The following is a synopsis of a six-part series by Basil Easterbrook, a noted English sportswriter, who was active in the postwar period. The series appeared in Football Monthly during 1971 and was entitled "The Golden Years."¹ Most of the information comes from these articles and serves to illustrate the games resurgence after the war and its rise to its alltime height of spectator interest.

While figures do not tell a story within themselves, the attendances for the league during the postwar period do give an indication of soccer's hold on the public.

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<td>1949-50</td>
<td>40,517,865</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>39,584,987</td>
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<td>1951-52</td>
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In the 1950's attendance stayed in the thirty millions, the 1960's in the high twenty millions, so that in 1970 the thirty million annual attendance was well accepted by the League.² These figures parallel sport attendances for professional baseball in the United States at that time. The decline in attendance through the fifties and sixties reflects both a divergence of interests as well as a slow-

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ness to adapt to changing public tastes.

In 1946-47 season rationing and austerity were the words of the day. For those who had and were making large wages in factories or were returning from the military with money there was literally no place to spend these funds except on sports. Automobiles and television had made no inroads, so a train trip to an away ground provided the opportunity for a fine meal and a visit to an area, which in many cases, had not been seen over the past few years.³ Clubs used great numbers of players in an effort to find decent playing combinations. Thirty to forty was not unusual, as aging players left and many others still tied to essential industry or military were unavailable. The football was marginal, but the crowds poured into the ill-kept grounds which still showed marks of the wartime neglect and damage.⁴ Brentford, who had spent heavily for players just prior to the war, were now faced with an aged lineup. So the Bees along with Leeds were the first postwar relegations from Division I.⁵

Several record making events occurred during the first normal postwar season. Harold Bell began the season on August 31st for Tranmere Rovers. This was his first of 459 consecutive appearances, which came to an end on August 30, 1955, and is still a League record.⁶

⁵Statement by George Sands, personal interview, May 24, 1971.
⁶Brown, p. 151.
And in March, 1947, N. McBain became the oldest player ever to appear in a League match. He was 52 years old when he played for New Brighton. Also, England met Eire, the Republic of Ireland, in their first international in September with England winning 1-0 in Dublin.

Financially the season was a huge success for the clubs, as all but six showed a profit. Thus a new maximum wage was certainly justified. All was not smooth functioning, however, as a very hard winter in 1947 made the lives of the people almost unbearable because of fuel and food rationing. Also, because of this weather the season was extended to June 14. This was the longest season in history. No floodlighting and a government ban on midweeks after the early light disappeared, for the purpose of preventing absenteeism in critical industry, also helped to prolong the season.

Future football challenges from Europe were, in spite of the war, developing at fantastic speed. For example, Norrkopping of Sweden was unbeaten in a short tour of Britain. Nevertheless, England remained unbeaten and foremost in its international games.

Only seventy days passed before the next season began and five million additional fans thronged to the grounds for an unbelievable total and the clubs showed great profits again. All wartime servicemen

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7Ibid.


9Ibid.

10Ibid.
were discharged, but "austerity, however, still affected our lives with a capital A and football still stood supreme in bringing colour, drama, and excitement into the drab, frustrating existence of the ordinary man." The Arsenal returned to League champions, giving a truer ring to the word normalcy, and the emergence of Manchester United as Cup winners heralded their appearance near the top for years to come. England again dominated its international games. These included defeating Italy by four goals in Italy. Italy was evidently remembered more as an unwilling belligerent or an ally, as both Japan and Germany were suspended for a period from F.I.F.A.

In administrative matters, television became a topic for the first time. The F.A. felt it would expand the game and the League had fears that the opposite would occur. Sunday football was again crushed. Non-League clubs had hoped that the Management Committee's recommendation, that clubs finishing last in the Third Division be automatically expelled, would be accepted. It was, however, soundly defeated.

The biggest news of the season was the move of Tom Lawton.

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12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.


England's center forward, from the First Division down to the Third Division's Notts County for a then-record fabulous sum of £20,000.\(^{16}\) Colchester's giant killers Cup challenge equalled their 1970 counterparts when they reached round five as a non-League side.

The next season, 1948-49, saw the impossible. Attendance actually topped the previous year's total. In this still severely tight era, the game prospered, but perhaps was becoming too satisfied. Here we begin to see defensive football taking over and detracting from what the spectator enjoyed — individual flair, especially on the front line, and goals. The "third back" game had developed to the point where only 2.84 goals per match were scored compared to a prewar 3.13 per match.\(^{17}\) It is possible that some adjustments here, such as in the offside rule, may have staved off this decline in goals, which continues even today. Portsmouth, the club which built itself up in the late war years when so many footballers passed through that seaport, showed the results of those efforts by winning its first Division I championship.

It is possible that an expansion of the League at this time could have maintained interest. Some suggestions included expansion to 100 or even 110 teams, which is not too different from the proposal made in 1971.\(^{18}\) But at a time when interest was high, the League's

\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 40.


\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 28.
clubs shut the door to aspiring clubs and their eager supporters. The Amateur Cup was played at Wembley for the first time and drew 95,000.\textsuperscript{19} On the international scene England was still good, although Scotland won the home international crown.\textsuperscript{20}

The League's admissions again passed the forty million mark and Portsmouth retained the League championship in 1949-50. This season finally saw the League expand, though only by four teams in the Third Division as Gillingham, who were dismissed in 1938, Colchester, Shrewsbury and Scunthorpe were elected at the end-of-season meeting.\textsuperscript{21} On the playing field it had been an exciting year, as Tottenham won the Second Division, Doncaster topped the Third North, and powerful Notts County, led by Tom Lawton, much as they were by Tony Hately 21 years later in Division IV, won the Third South.\textsuperscript{22}

In this season also powerful England entered the World Cup and were defeated by the United States 1-0, the all-time soccer upset in the world — bar none! On losing also to Spain, it became evident that England no longer was on a pedestal by herself in the game she had fostered.\textsuperscript{23} An uncomfortable situation developed at this time when several Columbian teams broke away from their country's F.A., and so also from F.I.F.A. They offered positions to several star

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{21}Easterbrook, "The Golden Years," Football Monthly, April, 1971, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., p. 33.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., p. 35.
League players on terrific terms, such as £2,000 per year, way beyond the £12 wages Englishmen were receiving. 24 Some players as Flavell of Hearts, Higgins of Everton, Franklin and Mountford of Stoke seriously considered the offer. 25 But disenchantment with the disorganization brought the players home rather quickly. However, the incident did underscore how little the players were sharing in the monetary prosperity of the clubs. A pittance raise to £14 was to be given the next season, but it took a strike threat ten years later to abolish the maximum wage regulation.

Mr. Easterbrooke believes, and in retrospect is justified in believing, that the 1950-51 season was the turning point, when football "was no longer the universal escape hatch for the population." 26 Attendances dipped only slightly below the forty million mark, but

For the first time general all-round austerity and drabness was receding. People could now think in terms of cars, clothes, furniture, new fabrics, new colours, television sets, holidays abroad. No longer did sport - and Soccer in particular - represent one of the few worthwhile things on which to spend spare money and time. 27

Money was certainly in the game as the transfer fees spiraled to nearly £35,000. One must wonder what good could have been done if the League had fostered ground improvements, expansion and sound publicity at this time.

24 Ibid., p. 34. 25 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
On the field competition was good. The Spurs, freshly promoted, won the First Division and have been a power ever since. Preston North End won in the Second, and Nottingham Forest and Rotherham won in the Third. New Brighton failed to be reelected and surprisingly Workington, only fifth in the North Eastern League, replaced them. Admission prices were raised from 1/3 to 1/6 for the following season, especially because the clubs who had been unable to gain permits for ground repairs were anxious for the increased revenue. Players' conditions improved with a Provident Fund, but the Union wanted the retain clause abolished. This and the removal of the maximum wage regulation were still ten years in the future, but the beginnings were here. The F.A. Cup final was moved to the first week of May so that it would not fall on the last League weekend, and there it has remained.

Gates dropped over half a million from the recent peak year, a million drop over the past two seasons, even with four additional teams. It was quite clear an era was over. Next year the total attendance would be down four million from the recent peak year. Basil Easterbrook views easy living and carelessness of the clubs as the reasons why they did not meet the demands of the public for "spectator comfort." Requests for more covered stands, toilet facilities, refreshment areas, and seating went largely ignored, even with the postwar profits available. No longer did the public clamor
to the grounds and the criticism was vocal. Even playing surfaces were not as well kept as they should have been.\textsuperscript{33}

On the field Manchester United took Division I honors, Sheffield Wednesday won the Second, and Plymouth and Lincoln gained the Third Division's laurels.\textsuperscript{34} England shared the home championship with Wales, but performances indicated that a rejuvenation was needed in the game's methodology.

The annual meeting of the Football League rejected such suggestions as four up—four down between the divisions, increased votes in the lower divisions, reduction of the three-quarters voting majority to two-thirds, and review of the broadcasting and television policy, which presently prohibited about everything.\textsuperscript{35} Many of these had been proposed before, but again they were rejected. "...In retrospect it is clear that this would have been the ideal time to give the public new interests and talking points."\textsuperscript{36}

Thus the Golden Years came to an abrupt end. For reasons cited previously, the game had unprecedented popularity in the immediate postwar period. It is apparent that soccer could not have reached such popularity had it not continued in a well organized form.

\textsuperscript{33} Easterbrook, "The Golden Years," Football Monthly, June, 1971, p. 34.


\textsuperscript{35} Easterbrook, "The Golden Years," Football Monthly, June, 1971, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
during the war years. The clubs were ready for the increase in patronage, although they could not have imagined these huge attendances. As a result they gave the public good entertainment, and their function was as, if not more, important to the culture as in the war years. Unfortunately many of those problems which contributed to attendance decline during that period are still evident today. After spending nearly two seasons of viewing English League football in recent years in nearly half of the League's grounds, it is obvious that spectator comfort is still lacking. Few seats, lack of cover, poor handling of crowds at turnstiles and wretched rest room facilities are still present in too large a percentage of grounds to draw many old or potential customers. Only an optimist could believe attendances will reach forty million in this competitive world, especially when a spectator at most other events at least gets the minimum comforts. Only recently, generally within the past five years, have clubs, such as Everton, Liverpool, Coventry, the Manchester clubs, Arsenal and Hull, moved to meet these needs. Costs have kept many grounds from being improved in recent years and a vicious circle of low attendance, less cash for repairs keeps going. However, continual improvements during the years of high profits would have kept these problems to a minimum. Also more movement between divisions, as well as additional teams would be beneficial, as it would have been then. In this way more community teams would feel they were a part of the national game on the top level.

Since this seems clear in hindsight, why were so many of these
innovative ideas turned down? The clubs, when they voted, must have strongly considered the fear of being relegated in the additional group someday, in spite of the published view that they were keeping the divisions strong by keeping those below this level out. Also, the clubs did not want to disturb anything that had worked so well in the past. Certainly the postwar years of success did smother out initiative or anything that seemed innovative, probably again so as not to rock the boat.

Yet the postwar success indicates that the government, the F.I., the F.A., spectators, players, and others of the general public were right in their belief that the game should go on in wartime, and in peacetime. People were vitally interested in a simple game of kicking a ball into a rectangle. It was a significant and intricate part of the war effort, and the postwar return to normalcy, and is still a major part of England's culture.
Chapter 14

THE TEAMS

What follows here are examples of how League clubs functioned during the war period. Each team is literally unique. No attempt is made to record the full history of each club, as many clubs' records were lost during the war or later. Many administrators, older than call-up age, have since died and their contributions and wartime work is lost. Thus these examples serve as illustrations to further the understanding of how these teams did, or did not, function during the war. Conditions of operation had to be decided by each team's board of directors. Their financial capabilities, geographical location, players' other commitments, spectator occupation and availability, availability of ground and administration, or lack of same, all intermeshed and in varying degrees determined whether or not a team would function. Much depended on those intangibles of dedication, downright perserverance and hard work. With these ideas and the overall view of the progress of soccer during the war consider the fortunes of these particular clubs.

Aston Villa

The board of directors of Aston Villa, unlike their neighbors at Birmingham and West Bromwich, felt at the outset that there were too many adverse factors, including an initial local decision that football could not be played at Villa Park, to field a competitive
side. There was a debt of well over £11,000 as a result of so many prewar expenses remaining in the first year. However, it was felt that tax relief would help reduce this situation.

The ground was commandeered for A.R.P. stores and munitions stores. A Warwickshire Rifle Company was also stationed at the ground for a period. Guns were mounted on the ground during the early part of the war. Since Villa Park sits in an industrial section of Birmingham, it is not surprising that it was damaged. A major metal works plant sits less than a hundred yards away. In 1941, a bomb destroyed nearly one third of the Whitten Lane stands and another landed on the playing surface, but caused only mild inconvenience the remainder of the war. When use of the ground was permitted spectators had to stand around boxes and cases throughout the war. Many of the seats were taken out of the Whitten Lane stand and distributed to air raid shelters around Birmingham. After the war it was a long time before the seats were in place again. As the club located a group of seats, they dispatched a lorry (truck) to pick them up.

The club decided to enter a local competition, The Birmingham

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1Sixty-Fifth Annual Report, Reports and Balance Sheet, May 31, 1940. Records of Aston Villa F.C.
2Ibid.
and District, with young players and amateurs with an eye toward the future in 1940-41. The club used the Solihull Town ground for this competition.  

Due to heavy use of their own ground the directors felt it would be too difficult to handle the Football League's competition. The club followed the same procedure for the 1941-42 season and due to a partial release of the ground could play home games at Villa Park. That season the team succeeded in winning the Birmingham and District League championship and the Cup competition.

The following season it was felt conditions and space at the ground were adequate for a return to Football League competitions and they did so with marked success. Many players had remained in the Birmingham area in munitions or related industries or had been stationed nearby. Thus Villa were able to field very respectable teams. "The Villa had a successful war period and did much to contribute towards maintaining the morale of Birmingham munitions workers whose only opportunity for outdoor recreation was on Saturday afternoons." This season also saw the clubs enter into a very prosperous era. With few rivals for the entertainment dollars, crowds were

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6 Correspondence with F.J. Archer, March 21, 1971.
10 Morris, p. 137.
large at this glamorous old club and it showed a profit of £ 5,837 on the years operation on their return to competitive football.\(^{11}\) The club's prosperity continued in the remaining war years. They even ran a second team in a local league. In 1944, a junior team was added to the Villa effort, which included a League North Cup.\(^{12}\) The Cup was given to the Red Cross for a benefit auction and its purchaser, Mr. John Wright, returned it to the club, where it remains today.\(^{13}\)

This club, even though one of the powers, functioned administratively as did the most humble teams. Older men, who were not called up, aided when not on duty as air raid wardens or working in industrial jobs. They came to the club whenever possible as did those in the military. Ticket takers, gate men, stewards, groundsmen, and other aides came from the available supporter's club members, although the supporter's club did not function during the war on an organized basis.\(^{14}\) The secretary, Mr. Smith, during the war managed the team, arranged travel, advised and procured players, was even an occasional groundsman, and served as general coordinator for the team.\(^{15}\) He was in the employ of the club throughout the war.

Catering was carried on in a limited way, but it generally was


\(^{13}\)Archer, interview. \(^{14}\)Ibid. \(^{15}\)Ibid.
available. The printing of tickets and programs for games was always guess work. For instance, 60,000 programs may be needed but the printer can only do 20,000 even as single sheet items, due to his limited supplies. 16 Equipment and gear were scarce, also. It had to be carefully used in order to maximize its life, if there was to be a constant adequate supply. 17 The club remained strong in the years immediately after the war, and this coupled with ground repairs, allowed for a prosperous early postwar period.

Bournemouth and Boscombe Athletic

These twin cities are resort communities on the south coast of England and even at that time somewhat removed from other clubs. Always a small club functioning in the Third Division South, they made some valiant efforts to stay afloat during the war.

On the last Saturday of League play in 1939 Bournemouth set a club record in a 10-0 win over Northampton and saw it wiped out when war was declared. 18 The club immediately suspended operations and many players volunteered to help locally with the harvest, for which they would be paid. 19 Initially a Western League was proposed by Plymouth Argyle, but would have entailed long distance travel and little came of a suggested merger into the Southern League. The

16 Latham, interview. 17 Ibid.
19 Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, Bournemouth and Boscombe Athletic F.C., September 4, 1939. Records of the Bournemouth and Boscombe Athletic F.C. Hereafter cited as BD Meeting, B&B AFC.
Cherry Bees were, however, included in the first regional leagues developed by the Football League in 1939. They finished second in the South "B" competition and nearly last in the South "D".\textsuperscript{20} The clubs receipts fell off as did others in relation to peacetime, so they adopted a practice, as did many others, of writing off a given sum from the value of stands, fixtures and equipment annually.\textsuperscript{21} The owner of the ground, Mr. Cooper Dean, aided the club by reducing the rent to £100 per year.\textsuperscript{22} It was fortunate that very few season ticket holders asked for a refund.

Since Bournemouth is a small club, their actions reflect the involvement with the community. The Supporter's Club functioned as long as the club did and made periodic donations. The Ladies Club was given permission to use the Board Room on occasion.\textsuperscript{23} However, the practice of giving wedding gifts to players had to cease as too many players were getting married in a short space of time.\textsuperscript{24}

Several parts of the grounds were requisitioned. British and French troops were accommodated at the ground. The Ministry of Works and Buildings took possession of the space under the new stand for which a rate was paid by the government. The Home Guard also

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} The Football League Handbook: Season 1940-41 (Preston: The Football League Ltd., 1940), pp. 57-58.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Annual Report of the Directors B&BAFC, May 31, 1942. Records of B&BAFC.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Min. BD Meeting B&BAFC, January 15, 1940.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Min. BD Meeting B&BAFC, February 19, 1940
\item \textsuperscript{24} Min. BD Meeting B&BAFC, March 11, 1940.
\end{itemize}
requisitioned some space in the stand. The car park was also taken at a later date.\textsuperscript{25}

As mentioned earlier in this paper Bournemouth was squeezed out of competition when the London clubs withdrew and began their own League. This forced Bournemouth to close down. The Board met only sporadically over the remainder of the war years. However, they made every effort to reopen appealing to other clubs and the League for inclusion, but distance and travel were against the club. The club competed loosely with clubs in the South during 1940-41, but that is all until the transitional season.

The Bournemouth F.A. was offered the ground for its competitions.\textsuperscript{26} These competitions on the ground produced some interesting notes. Prewar crowds averaged from seven to nine thousand. When regional leagues began in 1939 attendance dropped to between two and three thousand with Cup games drawing usually twice as many. In surprising contrast, a match against Aldershot drew only 440, even though that club could draw heavily from football players stationed there. This should have been at least a moderately attractive match.\textsuperscript{27} Friendly matches the following year would see between 500 and 1,000. Bournemouth League matches of local teams barely drew 100. Expenses were small, but so were gates. Less than £50

\textsuperscript{25} Min. BD Meeting, B&BAFC, May 12, 1941.

\textsuperscript{26} Min. BD Meeting, B&BAFC, August 4, 1942.

\textsuperscript{27} Match day report, B&BAFC (v. Aldershot), June 8, 1940. Records of B&BAFC.
would be realized from a crowd of 900, while expenses included five shillings for a spotter to look for enemy planes during the game. Military games or neutral matches on the ground drew poorly. One match between an R.A.F. team and Majestic drew just 18 people with 10/11 taken at the gate. Attendances jumped back to prewar levels when Bournemouth reentered the League competitions during the transitional season.

Restarting a club competitively involved contacting the various governmental agencies, who had requisitioned parts of the ground for permission to use them. The responses came in sporadic fashion. Fortunately, Mr. Dean extended the club's lease for seven postwar years. The team manager was instructed to get in touch with former players on the retain list and offer terms as per 1939. A trainer was to be engaged at £5 per week. A caterer was to be obtained and other organizational matters brought gradually into operation, as use of the car park and some ground repair. Amid all this reorganization a request for use of the ground for a ladies soccer match was turned down. Evidently the girls were feeling wartime liberation and wanted to get their game into shape as soon as possible, as did the men! Other matters included appointing a

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28 Match day report, B&BAFC (v. Bristol City), December 25, 1940. Records of B&BAFC.
29 Min. BD Meeting B&BAFC, January 13, 1945.
30 Min. BD Meeting B&BAFC, July 2, 1945.
31 Min. BD Meeting B&BAFC, April 30, 1945.
scout for local competition and entering a team in the Hants Senior Cup. Advertising it was hoped would be augmented by a loudspeaker car traveling throughout the community. Representatives of Bournemouth F.C. were very much involved in the proposed revamping of the Third Division after the war. They eventually decided against it.

This club serves as an example of how a club functioned during the early part of the war, circumstances which forced it to close down, and the aspects of restarting. Bournemouth were fortunate as during its first, and restarting season 1945-46, they won the Division Three Southern Section Cup and had several high finishes in the immediate postwar period.

As a sidelight, an example of the attitude toward the war period and the lack of its real meaning is reflected in a history of the Bournemouth club. In this the writer states, I do not intend to probe the details of the war years, which are as all will readily agree, best forgotten. This unfortunately does disservice to all those who kept the game alive and functioning during the war.

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32 Min. BD Meeting, B&B AFC, October 8, 1945.
33 Min. BD Meeting B&B AFC, October 22, 1945.
34 Min. BD Meeting B&B AFC, November 4, 1944 through June 6, 1945.
Norwich City

This club, located in the cathedral city of the flat farming areas of Norfolk, suffered as did Bournemouth by its remoteness and the formation of the London clubs' competition. They were able to operate competitively during 1939-40 and 1940-41 and then suffered the same fate as Bournemouth and were squeezed out of the southern competitions. But here is a departure, Norwich City functioned on its own playing service teams on a schedule nearly equal quantitatively to their peacetime fixtures, that is, every Saturday.

Also, unlike Bournemouth, Carrow Road was not requisitioned during the war, although it was one of the first volunteered for the F.A.'s "Fitness for Service" scheme. It suffered only minor damage during the war. This is surprising because of its location in the cathedral city near the railway station, ammunition plant, a food plant, and several other industries.37 In addition to football at the ground, there was at least one rodeo. This was a makeshift affair put on by the American soldiers near the end of the war with the proceeds going to charity.38

The records of the club for this period are literally a story in themselves. There are no official records of the war period. However, match results with comments were kept by someone at the club, unknown today as the administration has changed considerably

37 Statement by A.E. Westwood, present secretary of Norwich City F.C., personal interview, April 14, 1971.
38 Ibid.
since then, in a ring notebook. They are single page, typed and include the score, scorers, usually the lineups of the teams, and cursory facts on attendance, weather, and match happenings. With club organizations on a skeleton basis, these had to suffice for recording the wartime events of City. These records show that referees from the area were used. Sufficiently different ones appear to assume that they were available when needed.

Playing in the League competition from 1939 through 1941, the team functioned as did most others, playing competitive as well as friendlies. The season of 1941-42 saw City playing thirty (19-3-8) games, including some official League games, since they could be scheduled independently. For example, City played only eight games in the League South. Clubs played between 8 and 18 matches in the South. They played 12 games in the second half championship, and four in the War Cup.39 Attendances averaged from two to three thousand and 63 players in all made appearances for City during the season. Most were stationed in the area. Taylor and Furness led the list with 28 starts.40 Through the season, City could still call on many of their players, who were working or stationed in the area, for games. Attendances varied tremendously from 250 for a game against an obscure Army team to nearly 12,000 for a Cup game. Obviously competitions with a bite were still more popular throughout the war,


40 Wartime records of the Norwich City F.C., review of the 1941-42 season.
virtually throughout the country. The friendlies were against local military teams. There were R.A.F. and Navy bases and attachments in the area, as it is flat in Norfolk and also close to the coast. An example of these friendlies with military teams was the match on Christmas Day 1941, when the Canaries played a team called the Gunners, composed entirely of Bolton Wanderers. This group had joined as a body when the war broke out. And in early January Norwich City played a team composed of West Ham United players. However, most of the service teams were a mixture of players of all types.

The 1942-43 season saw Norwich out of the League and Cup competitions, but they still played 33 matches (26-1-6) and Johnson appeared in all 33 games for City. They continued to field between six and nine of their own players on a regular basis. Their youngest player to appear to that date was K.A. Shaw, who was just 16 years old when he appeared against the R.A.F. on October 24, 1942. The youngerster appears many times at Carrow Road from this time on throughout the war, as he signed as a professional in November 1943. The war provided an opportunity to move into play that would not have been possible in peacetime. Bill Shankly of Preston and Oakes of Queen of the South appeared for the R.A.F. against City at Yarmouth and

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41 Wartime records of the Norwich City F.C., see match report December 25, 1941.

42 Wartime records of the Norwich City F.C., review of the 1942-43 season.

43 Wartime records of the Norwich City F.C., see match report October 24, 1942.
4,500 viewed an excellent match for a small trophy, the Beevor Cup.\textsuperscript{44} On January 30, 1943, "New man" appears in the Norwich side, identified as Bill Shankly in the club's records, against a service team.\textsuperscript{45} This may indicate that the mischievous Scot had gained some extra time of his own making to obtain a game.

The 1943-44 season saw the Carrow Road team again playing an independent schedule, participating in 33 games, 29 at home, for a 24-3-6 record. Johnson appeared in 31 of the games and accounted for 32 goals. City called upon a total of 62 players during the season.\textsuperscript{46} One of the club's away games was at Ipswich and players appearing there for the Navy side were designated H.M.S. Brenting, the name given Portman Road, by the Navy when it requisitioned Ipswich Town's ground.\textsuperscript{47} October 1943, City played Cambridge University, a departure from military sides, and won 7-3 over a team containing four Old Blues. Whether this was a sanctioned University team is unknown. Possibly it was a collection of former players, but the University did play periodically during the war.

The "other" Swift, Fred Swift, brother of the great Manchester City 'keeper, Frank Swift, appeared in goal for a Navy XI at Norwich

\textsuperscript{44} Wartime records of Norwich City F.C., see match report October 31, 1942.

\textsuperscript{45} Wartime records of Norwich City F.C., see entry for January 30, 1943.

\textsuperscript{46} Wartime records of Norwich City F.C., see review of the 1943-44 season.

\textsuperscript{47} Wartime records of Norwich City F.C., see entry for September 25, 1943.
in a match in November, 1943. He had signed with Swansea prior to the war. Another player find was Ashmond, signing professional on the strength of his showing in local service matches.¹⁴⁸ Thus, clubs presently not in League competition could point ahead and build for peacetime, if they decided to do so.

In the last war season, 1944–45, Norwich completed another independent 30 game schedule with only two away games and posted a 19-4-7 record. Johnson scored a phenomenal fifty goals in 28 appearances. A total of 59 players lined up for City during the season, 29 appearing only once. This included ten goalkeepers.¹⁴⁹ This season was used for rebuilding as manager Latchford signed several players to amateur forms in January, 1945, and another group in March. By the end of the season they were scheduling colt, youth, matches.

The return to League competition in 1945–46 in the Third Division South saw the club play 46 total matches in varying competitions. There were 47 players in the first team during the season, but only eight were guests. By December Norwich City could field a lineup completely of their own signings. Thus players, who had stayed in the area, were immediately available. City also fielded a reserve team in the Norfolk Senior League which played 34 matches. Seventy players appeared here, and the weeding out process

¹⁴⁸ Wartime records of Norwich City F.C., see entry for May 13, 1944.

¹⁴⁹ Wartime records of Norwich City F.C., review of the 1944–45 season.
for peacetime was in full process. Average first team attendance in 1945-46 was 10,904. 50 This increased nearly 5,000 more in 1946-47.

With this program during the war, City still was able to show only moderate success in the immediate postwar period. Thus Norwich City functioned on its own when shut out of southern competitions, and functioned admirably as an independent. Undoubtedly their continued operation allowed an easier transition to peacetime football.

Sheffield United

This club, located in industrial Yorkshire, is actually a football and cricket club, governed as one operation. Its ground reflects this with football stands around only three sides of the pitch. The area beyond one touch line then extends away to form the major part of the cricket playing area with the cricket pavilion at the end. This arrangement is found at very few grounds. Northampton is the only other League side which has a dual playing facility.

The Blades functioned throughout the war in both sports, in spite of requisitions of large parts of the ground and heavy bombing early in the war. The initial wartime meeting was held on September 5, 1939, and noted that due to lighting restrictions further meetings of the board would be in the afternoon. The only note of hostilities is penned in red in the margin stating war had

50 Wartime records of Norwich City F.C., review of the 1945-46 season.
commenced against Germany on September 3, 1939. 51

Immediately after the war began a number of requisitions for parts of the ground also began. The 283rd Brigade of the R.F.A. took the A team's ground at Wodehouse. 52 They also later gained part of the cricket pavilion for housing troops. Reimbursement was to include any damage done by the military. 53 The Ministry of Works took over the pavilion when the military left in late 1941. 54 An R.A.F. Balloon section obtained use of part of the cricket practice ground and those attached to it were also accommodated. 55 The city of Sheffield also gained possession of part of the cellar for use as an air raid shelter. 56 The request by the Central Council for Physical Training for use of the pitch and dressing facilities had to be refused due to such heavy commitments to the military. 57 It should be noted that United gained an annual rent for each of the requisitioned areas ranging from £ 5 to over £ 370. 58

51 Minutes of the Board of Directors Sheffield United Cricket and Football Club, September 5, 1939. Records of the Sheffield United Cricket and F.C. Hereafter cited as BD Meeting SUC&FC.

52 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, September 13, 1939.

53 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, November 25, 1939.

54 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, January 3, 1942.

55 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, November 25, 1939.

56 Ibid.

57 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, June 13, 1940.

58 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, February 1, 1941.
In spite of this the football team functioned around the inconveniences at the ground. Optimism was present from the beginning, perhaps because they had been promoted to Division I in 1939. The club hoped to retain season ticket money so that when the war was over and normal conditions prevailed new season tickets could be issued in line with the 1939-40 season.\textsuperscript{59} They also decided to undertake an overhauling of the drainage system and football ground improvements. Work was to be done by their own ground staff.\textsuperscript{60} The cricket club was not able to resume county cricket the following summer and decided to make a £300 contribution to maintaining the cricket surface in readiness for immediate resumption at the end of the war.\textsuperscript{61} The soccer team joined the League's East Midland Section in 1939-40. Throughout the war, the Brammel Lane team was able to call upon a number of their players who had remained in the area and also developed young players not only in the reserve side, but in the first team. The club lost money in the first year of the war, as did other clubs due to prewar expenses. During the summer of 1940 the cricket club decided to run two teams, one in the Yorkshire League, another in the Sheffield League, but only one professional was retained.\textsuperscript{62} They also ran a youth clinic during the first week of July. The

\textsuperscript{59} Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, September 13, 1939.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, April 2, 1940.
\textsuperscript{62} Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, February 3, 1940.
"phony war" bred a feeling of confidence.

The soccer team decided to place all of their professionals, 35 in all, on the retained list for 1940-41. At least half were in the military, the rest in industry.63 The ground was bombed on December 12, 1940, in enemy action with considerable damage, totalling nearly £20,000.64 Work immediately began to clear the ground of debris and a claim was put into the government. The club even made £35 on the sale of reclaimed timbers from the damaged stand.65 The cricket team played their summer 1941 matches at a local ground and the footballers went to the City Police ground at Wadsly Bridge for the 1941-42 season. There was no gate charge and United agreed to send two of their ground staff twice a week for maintenance.66

The club was able to return, as was the cricket team, for the 1942-43 season. They also ran an A team in the Sheffield Association for young players. Many repairs on the ground had been made, short of major construction, and the ground was functional.67 The Ministry of Works later gave permission to rebuild the visiting team dressing rooms.68 The Board of Trade granted nearly £700 to aid

63 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, April 30, 1940.
64 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, May 14, 1941.
65 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, June 4, 1941.
66 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, May 14, 1941.
67 Minutes of the Forty-fourth Annual General Meeting of SUC&FC, June 23, 1943. Records of SUC&FC.
68 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, November 27, 1943.
in bombing loss of fittings and furniture to team rooms and secretary's office. 69 Only the claim for reroofing an end stand was refused, because it was considered nonessential and materials were needed elsewhere. 70 The club functioned in the 1942-43 season much as it did the previous year. It did so on the financial profits made the previous year, which were to continue upward through the war. These were not large, between £ 1,000 and £ 2,000, but worthwhile. The season of 1943-44 and 1944-45 functioned again along the same lines as far as competition, showing that the club was able to follow a stable administration.

The 1945-46 season saw the resumption of a reserve side in the Central League in addition to the First and A teams. The Supporters Club also was revived. 71 The First team won the League North and were set for the postwar period. The club paid a dividend, the ground's playing surface was in its best condition in many seasons following an extended special treatment and prices for the 1946-47 season were set at 1939 levels. 72 The only major difficulty at the start of the postwar season was new work and stands on the ground. However, these came shortly in the postwar years. The fact that the club obtained needed repairs during the war

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69 Min. Special BD Meeting SUC&FC, April 1, 1944.
70 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, October 25, 1944.
71 Min. BD Meeting SUC&FC, May 9, 1946.
72 Minutes of the Forty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders of the SUC&FC, June 26, 1946. Records of the SUC&FC.
supports the claim of the importance of the continuance of the game during the war. Despite heavy damage the United team functioned well and needed little transition into peacetime play.

**West Bromwich Albion**

This suburban Birmingham club, located in a highly industrial area of England, is just over the Warwickshire line in Staffordshire. So it was not subjected to the stringent ground controls as were Aston Villa and Birmingham. Always a First and Second Division side, they had a strong organization even during the war. The Albion attracted many industrial workers even in peacetime and continued with very good attendances measured by wartime standards. The first game program after the competition resumed in 1939, carried an editorial on why the return of football was justified.

The resumption of competitive football even in its present modified form will we are sure be welcomed by many thousands of our supporters. The decision to carry on the game, although the country is at war hardly needs justifying. It seems to us very necessary despite the abnormal conditions that recreation and entertainment should be provided those who are carrying on essential work and those who are in the fighting services and stationed on the home front. Football has been such a big interest in the life of the great mass of population that its stoppage would be severely felt. It affords a welcome topic of talking in factory and workshop throughout the week and Saturday afternoon in the open air, with the thrills of the keen game of football to quicken the air and stir the blood. This will undoubtedly be a great tonic to many a jaded munitions worker.\(^3\)

Attendances were between three and six thousand in the Midland section of the F.L. competition. While the Hawthorn's capacity is 50,000, few attendances approached 10,000. These were fairly good

crowds, even when, as noted early in this research, the regional play did not prove popular. West Bromwich felt that the attendances would be even better when the travel situation improved, factories were not working Saturday and overtime, blackout conditions changed, and when people got into "the old habit of walking to matches" and did not "demand to be transported quickly and comfortably." Also redundancy of playing the same clubs discouraged attendance.

All of these have considerable effect on the aggregate and I don't think the actual attendance is accurately reflecting the interest engendered by present football. Look at the broader aspects and the continuance of the game is a good thing in many ways....It maintains a nucleus of supporters for the return of normal times....keeping players up to concert pitch....enabling clubs to obtain sufficient funds to maintain their facilities in good order....players and football are not keeping one back who is needed for service in the armed forces and that it is helping to maintain the morale of the public by providing welcome diversment [sic] from the monotony of hard work and it can be conceded that the game is still an asset to the nation in these abnormal times.\footnote{Ibid.}

The Albion News qualified their last statement a bit in the later comment that "some famous footballers who had joined the army seem to be doing more football playing than military service."\footnote{The Albion News, December 23, 1939.}

West Brom not only competed in the F.L. but ran a young team in the Birmingham Senior League in 1939-40 and did so throughout the war. That games were competitive is evidenced in comments bemoaning rough incidents in a game with Coventry City. "The natural

\footnote{The Albion News, April 20, 1940.}
keenness to win shouldn't be carried to the extreme of unsporting
tactics," and rather surprising since no promotion or relegation
is a stake. 77

The club is an example of how little a skeleton administration
was running even a major team. Only one groundsman was in retention
"because the grass continues to grow despite the wartime," and he
did all the maintenance work. 78 The clerical staff was reduced to the
secretary and his assistant, who were also A.R.P. wardens in out of
office hours. The rest were in national defence work. 79

The club in 1940-41 added a third team, the reserves in the
Birmingham League. Their youth team opened well with 23-0, 10-1,
21-0, and 7-0 victories. 80 Why they were so powerful in relation
to the opponents is unknown.

The club's programs, as do many others during this period,
generally include notes on players in the services and their whereabouts as well as letters from players and supporters enquiring about and wishing the team well. Again an example of interest that is not reflected in attendances. Other notes in the programs thank specific people for donations ranging from coupons to actual shirts and shorts. The club continued to appeal for coupons "as

77 The Albion News, March 30, 1940.
78 The Albion News, November 11, 1939.
79 Ibid.
80 The Albion News, November 9, 1940.
we have no desire to turn out our teams in attenuated or bathing costumes." 81 It is also interesting to note that sporting goods were available to the general public, as the Dickens Sports Outfitters (West Bromwich) advertised in the program for "all sports permissible in wartime." 82 The club functioned with some difficulties in maintaining experienced players, but was still able to field three teams in 1943-44. For big holiday games or cup ties the local transport made concessions for the anticipated crowds.

Late in the war the Hawthorns ground had an American touch, as a U.S. Army Drum and Bugle Band of the 10th Replacement Depot played before the scheduled game. 83 Also, the Albion News gives the lineup sheet for a baseball game between the American Army and the Canadian Army for the benefit of the Red Cross and Mayor's Fund. A synopsis of the rules was given. 84 In 1945, the first Victory match, England versus Wales, was played at the Hawthorns, and the Albion felt highly honored to be selected for the event. 85 A new loudspeaker system was installed at this time. It appears little difficulty was encountered in gaining it. 86

81 The Albion News, November 21, 1942.
82 Ibid.
83 The Albion News, February 19, 1944.
84 The Albion News, August 7, 1944.
85 The Albion News, October 20, 1945.
86 The Albion News, November 24, 1945.
Perhaps such equipment was not as regulated as were construction materials.

With the end of the war, the club showed concern about players' lodgings as they returned to civilian life in 1946. There were several appeals for assistance in the programs. The 1945-46 season saw Saunders, Whitcomb, and Elliot appearing over thirty times. 87 This shows their durability as they were with the Albion when war began. Thus this original member of the Football League was able to function during the war without any unusual difficulties.

York City

This picturesque little city in Yorkshire with its famed church, the York Minster, actually experienced one of its most successful periods during the war. Normally a moderate Third Division club, before and since the war, the followers were used to this grade of football and accepted it almost as a way of life. 88

The records here again reflect the precarious administration during the war. Little remains at the club itself. The following are from the records of the unknown wartime sports editor at the Yorkshire Evening Press in York and consist of personal tabulations, notes, and clippings from the newspapers and interviews.

York was a military, not industrial, center in prewar times as the headquarters of the Army's Northern Command was very close by.

88 Statement by George Teasdale, personal interview, April 22, 1971.
Thus as players were called up many were stationed at York and thus there was a good nucleus from which to draw. Joe Mercer, Saylor Brown and the great Sam Bartram, outstanding Charlton Athletic goalkeeper, made appearances as did the scorer "Dixie" Dean. Bartram was so appreciated, and he of York, that he returned for a short period after the war to Bootham Crescent as manager. With these players on occasion and the remaining York City players an attractive side was able to represent the City during the war. It was well supported by comparison to many other clubs and saw its best skilled performances at that time.

The ground suffered no damage under enemy action, even during April 1942, and the Baedeker raid, which was aimed at the fifteenth century Minster, as historic targets were then the purpose of the raids in England. Nor was the ground ever requisitioned. The only outside usage was by the nearby primary school who used the far stand as an air raid shelter when the siren sounded. There is also no record of any match being interrupted or stopped due to enemy action.

The team functioned with a small staff and fine help from the Supporters Club. The supporters group was active throughout the war and must have been one of the more active ones during the war. The secretary, manager, and trainer all worked in some way

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89 Ibid. 90 Ibid. 91 Ibid. 92 Statement by Robert Robinson, personal interview, April 22, 1971. 93 Ibid.
for the war effort and their work for City was confined to after work hours. Mr. Wright, the chairman, held the team together. It was his energy which actually secured many of the players for Bootham Crescent. He literally "felt" when a good player was in the area and would be off in an instant to gain his services. 94 Finances were always touch and go in spite of seasonal profits. The Supporters Club functioned by walking around the field at half time with sheets and the spectators tossed money into them. The Supporters Club were allowed to keep only £ 10 at anytime on their books and the rest went to the club. Supporters also worked as stewards, gatemen, groundsmen, for program sales and in the tea bar on match days. In the close season, the Supporters Club aided by making necessary repairs and improvements. 95

The club drew well even in the early regional leagues, averaging about 3,000 per match. In 1939-40, 59 players appeared for York. 96 And this was one of the few clubs which gave its shareholders a cheerful report in 1940. While there was a financial loss it was smaller, only about four hundred pounds, than most teams and the directors were encouraged by the public attendance and aid of the Supporters Club. They were also impressed by the attitude of professional players appearing for York and of the visiting teams

94 Teasdale, interview, April 22, 1971.
95 Robinson, interview, April 22, 1971.
96 Unofficial records of Yorkshire Evening Press [York], sports editor during World War II.
who provided attractive football. Many normally played in higher divisions, but still they played with dedication in this environment.

Although the 1940-41 season saw the club near the bottom of the League North, the club had stability, as only 35 players appeared in the first team with Gledhill, Lee, Ferguson, and Jones appearing in at least ninety percent of the matches. It was also hoped that the youngsters who were tried in League play would be the foundation of the first peacetime rebuilding. The Supporters Club, according to its secretary, Mr. Ward, had a membership well beyond what had been hoped for. This should help maintain contributions to the team.

In early 1942, an editorial noted that many clubs, who normally were accustomed to peacetime gates of thirty to fifty thousand and were now seeing only a few thousand, were quite happy to come to York with its consistently good gates. Crowds averaged 4,000 with £200 receipts at home against 3,000 with £151 away for nine clubs home and away matches with clubs like Middlesbrough, Huddersfield, Grimsby, Bolton, and Sunderland. "There is not a first division club

97 Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the York City Football and Athletic Club, Ltd., October 1, 1940. Records of the York City Football and Athletic Club, Ltd. Hereafter cited as YCF&A.

98 Unofficial records of Yorkshire Evening Press York, sports editor during World War II.

99 Yorkshire Evening Press [York], November 20, 1941.

100 Yorkshire Evening Press [York], clipping, no date given, article indicates date at end of 1940-41 season.
that would refuse the long trip to the capital of the county of Broadacres these days. The season 1941-42 was very rewarding to City for all their efforts for they won the Combined Counties Cup on aggregate over Halifax Town. Gledhill, Jones, Brown (Charlton) and Joselyn (Torquay) led in appearances as forty players showed for York of which sixty percent were guests.

The high water mark of the war period was 1942-43 for York City as they finished high in the League and also reached the semifinals of the League Cup. A profit of over £2,000, the biggest since 1937-38, was realized. In addition, an A team competition for young players was added and it was hoped to maintain the team after the war. Thus York was able to add, rather than subtract, from its program during the war and were able, on occasion, to include six or seven of their own players in the lineup.

In 1943-44 with 21 of 29 registered players in the forces, York City still presented attractive football and brought in a profit of £1,200. Few clubs utilized war football conditions better than City. However, gaining steady team members was difficult

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101 Yorkshire Evening Press [York], clipping, no date given, article indicates early 1942.
102 Yorkshire Evening Press [York], clipping, no date given, article indicates date at end of 1941-42 season.
103 Ibid.
104 Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the YCF&AC, October 21, 1943. Records of YCF&AC.
105 Yorkshire Evening Press [York], July 5, 1944.
as the movement of the military was great during the year due to the war situation on the Continent. So changes in the lineup were frequent and the club finished well down the table. The 1944–45 season saw the club again down in the standings, but remarkably showing a profit for the fifth straight season. The problem of maintaining any consistency in the lineup remained.

The transitional season saw the return of a reserve side and earnest building for peacetime. The club was very realistic about its profitable period, as the chairman stated, "If you analyze the profits during the war years you will find it's been largely due to the fact that players turned out for pocket money because they had other jobs." It was realized that the wartime playing success could have some adverse affects for peacetime. The populace had become accustomed to a higher level of skill due to so many players from the upper divisions and would be more critical in judging the Third Division postwar side. However, it was hoped that the presence of these local born players in the first team and six in the reserve side would aid interest. City placed 19 players for 1946–47 on the retained list, including Gledhill, who appeared virtually throughout.

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106 Minutes of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the YCF&AC, October 31, 1944. Records of the YCF&AC.

107 Yorkshire Evening Press [York], clipping, no date given, article indicates date early in 1945–46 season.


109 Ibid.
the war. In preparation for the new League, several improvements were made to the grounds including an improved drainage system, and concrete reconstruction of the terrace and enclosure of the members stand, another example of apparent ease of construction at football grounds in this period.

So closed an interesting era of football in York City, which was to gain fame for its periodic fine F.A. Cup runs in future years. However, they were destined for immediate return to toiling in the lower regions of the Third Division and at times in the Fourth in the ensuing twenty-five years.

**Southend United**

Located in a resort town at the Thames estuary, Southend United was able to function the first two years of the war, but did not officially return to competition again till the transitional season. Official records of the club are very slight from early 1940 to 1946. The initial decision to continue in the regional League was proven sound by attendance and the club decided to continue through the second half of the season at their home ground then on Granger Road. The following season saw the club move operations some miles to Chelmsford's ground for the nominal fee of £10 per

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110 *Yorkshire Evening Press* [York], April 29, 1946.

111 Minutes of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the Southend United Football Club, November 30, 1940. Records of the Southend United Football Club. Hereafter cited as SUFC.
match after having played some matches there the first wartime season. Some of the motivation for continuing was that the club certainly did not wish to be first to close down, but even if they did close down "each player need not fear for his position after the war."  

The move to Chelmsford was due to the partial evacuation of Southend. This was necessary because of the city's position at the mouth of the Thames where enemy bombers sighted the river and turned to follow it up to London for raids. This precarious geographical position, of course, was going to affect any sports events in the area. The players of the club went into the police service or the military upon the outbreak of war and numbers stayed in the vicinity of Southend and Chelmsford. Thus they could appear on many occasions for the club.

The team was one of those left out of the southern and London competitions due to travel difficulties and thus official shutdown occurred. However, the bulk of the players carried on as a team scheduling friendlies throughout the war. "They shut down in Southend, but we still carried on right through the war.

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112 Minutes of the Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the SUFC, March 29, 1946.

113 Minutes of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the SUFC, November 30, 1940.

114 Minutes of the Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the SUFC, March 19, 1946.

115 Statement of David Robertson, personal interview, April 5, 1971.
period. Mostly friendlies then and quite a lot against London teams, you know." Several Scots stationed in the area appeared in these friendlies and upon recommendation were signed by Southend at the end of the war. No written records exist in this instance as they do at Norwich City, probably because the players functioned on their own as best they could many miles from their home park. It does show, however, that the players were able to maintain some cohesion. The coordinator was the team trainer, also in the police force and he picked a side from whomever was available and put the playing gear together in spare time. The club had the usual problems of restarting, but this informal team effort throughout the war may have helped, as during the immediate five years after the war, Southend was able to maintain a position in the upper half of the Third Division South.

Lincoln City

Located in the agricultural area of Lincolnshire, where the Norman cathedral overlooks the surrounding farmlands, Lincoln is noted for manufacture of outdoor machinery. The City club functioned throughout the war with some noted success. There were many players available due to the location of several R.A.F. bases from which the bombers, the "Dambusters," flew to crush the German Dams, as well as the R.A.F. College, Cranwell, located nearby. Heavy industry,

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116 Ibid.  
117 Ibid.  
118 Ibid.
including tank construction also kept workmen in the area.\textsuperscript{119} The records used here are from the sports editors of the \textit{Lincolnshire Echo} during the war, especially concerning players' records and playing statistics.

In 1939-40, the club competed successfully in the East Midlands League, averaging about 1,500 spectators per home match. Clare, the Halls, Bean, and Johnston appeared most often in the lineups. In 1940-41, when playing in the North attendances were closer to 2,000. A high mark in the war competition was reached in 1941-42, when the club missed the top place in the first half League North on goal average to Blackpool. This was based on 18 games, and even though the Imps trounced Mansfield Town 6-0 on Christmas Day, when they had to loan players to Mansfield Town in order to have a game, Lincoln could not match Blackpool's goal average.\textsuperscript{120} G. Moulson, Johnston, G. Moulson, Knott, Clare and Nicholson appeared most often in the lineup that season. In 1942-43 attendances were between two and four thousand. G. Moulson was in goal for nearly ninety percent of the matches, and other players of previous year and some young players were prominent.

The 1943-44 season reflects here as it did in many other clubs the troop movements. The Lincoln lineup was always changing but Johnston, Bean, Smith, Marsh, and Clare made the most frequent

\textsuperscript{119} Statement by Morris Burton, personal interview, April 19, 1971.

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Lincolnshire Echo [Lincoln]}, December 27, 1941, p. 4.
appearances. Attendances rose to about 3,500 in the 1944-45 season, but the club finished well down in both halves of the League North championships. The club was back in the Third Division for the 1945-46 competition and readying for an assault on the Second Division. Johnston, C. and G. Moulson, G. and A. Hall, Bean and Clare appear on many occasions.

The postwar period success was largely due to the manager, J.B. McClelland, who forged the wartime guest sides and procured young players, and also to Bill Anderson, the first postwar new manager. The club gained a Division Three North championship in 1947-48, only to drop back the following season and have to regain Second Division status again in 1951-52.

Fulham

The grounds of this southwest London club are literally washed on one side by the Thames and were subjected to damage in several places in the heavy London bombings. Damage occurred in the Craven Cottage area, the offices, the stands on the riverside, and even on the playing surface. These areas were merely shut off and fans stood around them. The pitch, when hit, was repaired in a matter of hours.

At the start of the war, after the initial anxieties over

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121 John J. Sawyer, "Down the Years With Lincoln City," unpublished booklet, printed in Gainsborough, Lincs., 1954, p. 43.


finances, the club settled into a routine which allowed it to continue throughout the war. Meetings of the Directors were generally held only on an annual basis from 1940 to 1945. Business was carried on by a small staff available, especially after the secretary was called into the service.124

When the club opened the regional competition in 1939, against Portsmouth, the program noted the club's efforts were directed toward "keeping the flag flying here."125 They had been able to realize a nucleus of the team nearby since many were in police work, munitions, and the military. They devoted their free afternoons to playing with the club.

This is a great spirit of loyalty, greatly appreciated, but it must be remembered that although we've tried to keep the club together we have in no way interfered with the players' duty to their new employers nor in anyway asked or expected any favors where national duty was first considered.126

The club hoped to provide that much needed relaxation in wartime through "Saturday afternoon sport, so beloved by the average Britisher."127 The club also hoped to gain permission to raise the legal limit of attendance from eight to twelve thousand, because so many well placed exits were in use on the ground.128 This request was turned down at the time by authorities, because it would set a

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124 Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, Fulham F.C., February 9, 1940. Records of the Fulham F.C. Hereafter cited as BD Meeting FTC.


126 Ibid. 127 Ibid. 128 Ibid.
precedent. The club was pleased with response to the class
of football, considered more enjoyable than in prewar when points
were of such importance, and the Portsmouth match was termed one of the
best in years at Craven Cottage. The club also quickly added
a youth team and ran coaching and training sessions. "It was under
similar circumstances from the 1914-18 war that players such as
Jimmy Demick and our own Frank Penn, to mention only two of many
stars, who were brought into the game." Wars may come and go,
but there is always a need for good footballers!

Fulham stayed solidly with the London group in its dispute
with the F.L. concerning local competitions for 1941-42. The
Cottagers had rather inauspicious success during the war period
having to be content with mid-table positions. However, building
was going on as junior football became well organized. The schedule
saw the youth team play such teams as R.A.F. Uxbridge, Epsom Town,
Edgware Town, Harrow Town, Vickers-Armstrong, Acton United, and
Handley-Paige on a regularly scheduled basis. The reserve side
began in 1945-46, and thus the functions began to return to normal.

The club made three unsuccessful applications to the Ministry

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129 The Cottager's Journal, November 4, 1939.
130 Ibid.
131 The Cottager's Journal, April 13, 1940.
132 Min. BD Meeting FCC, February 25, 1942.
133 The Cottager's Journal, September 4, 1943.
134 Min. BD Meeting FCC, July 24, 1945.
of Works for rebuilding and improving the ground as the war neared its end, but were refused on each occasion. The refusal may have been due to the fact that they were in heavily damaged London and of low priority, whereas in other cities less damage would allow earlier reconstruction. Thus a piecemeal arrangement occurred until substantial agreements could be made for reconstruction. The club's ability to carry on and develop players during the war evidently aided considerably as the Cottagers moved from the Second to the First Division via their championship in 1948–49.

**Portsmouth**

A great naval center of Britain in recent centuries, Portsmouth was needless to say a bustling wartime center as well as an enemy target in the south of England. As a First Division side, Portsmouth were F.A. Cup winners in 1938–39 and an attractive side to view. As a result Portsmouth were one of those clubs which the London area wished to keep when developing their own competition. The city had munitions works, a major port, and a railway yard close by the ground. Therefore, it is amazing, considering the many raids in the area, that there was never any damage at Fratton Park. Nor was the ground requisitioned by the government for any purpose. The lone exception was use for storage by the city engineers and voluntary participation in usage of the facility in the "Fitness for Service"

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135 Ibid.

136 Statement by Gladys Smith, personal interview, April 15, 1971.
scheme. Official records of the club are very meagre in the entry books, usually only five to ten lines. However, the team's directors seem to meet at no greater than one month intervals throughout the war, a much better record than most clubs.

The club was able to continue and was one of those involved in the difficulties between the League and the London teams. "Pompey" never lacked for players due to the number of players in the war plants and services in the city. They ran a reserve side throughout, as they were included as early as 1940 in an all day six-a-side tournament at Fratton Park on Good Friday, 1940. This included such "famous" clubs as the Milton Congregationalists, The Passenger Transport, Havant Wednesday, Portsmouth City Police, Hillsea Barracks, and Portchester F.C. The reserve side also made it to the later stages of the Hampshire Senior Cup in 1941.

The club's successes reached a high mark in 1941-42 when they lost to Brentford in the London Cup. They also won the Hampshire Cup in 1941 and 1942. This was the one season that the club associated with the London League. However, the F.A. Cup won in 1939 remained their proud possession during the war. Despite romantic stories of its whereabouts during the war, such as the claim that it was stored in a pub near the ground or in a Portsmouth bank, the Cup remained in

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137 Minutes of the Board of Directors Meeting, Portsmouth F.C., April 23, 1941. Records of Portsmouth F.C.
138 Portsmouth F.C. Official Programme, March 22, 1940.
139 Portsmouth F.C. Official Programme, April 12, 1941.
the Fratton Park safe throughout the war. It was brought out on match days, polished, its ribbons positioned, and stationed in the Board Room for display.  

As other clubs, a small staff operated the team. J.W. Tinn, the secretary, held the operation together in his limited available time. One groundsman did all the outside preparation. Gladys Smith, the tea lady, did all of the indoor work. This included cleaning, laundry, preparing the players' and officials' tea, ironing and mending the uniforms, as well as duty on fire watch. Crowds were better than average at Fratton Park due to the location of many people in wartime work in the area. Also very few games were ever interrupted, because most of the raids occurred at night. This was much the case throughout England and accounts for the fact that no crowd disasters occurred even though many grounds were bombed. Field Marshall Montgomery frequented the games at Fratton Park during the war, even while planning the invasion and today remains president of the Portsmouth Football Club. 

Portsmouth probably did as much team building during the war as any other. Pompey then won back to back championships in Division I in 1948-49 and 1949-50.

The team which won those two titles was forged to a large degree out of servicemen who first came to Portsmouth to fight a war. It also had supporters all over the country—other

140 Interview with Gladys Smith, caterer for Portsmouth F.C. for 41 years, April 15, 1971. It was part of her pleasurable duties to polish the Cup on these occasions.

141 Ibid. 

142 Ibid. 

143 Ibid.
servicemen, exiled from their native terraces, who spent their Saturday afternoons at Fratton Park and, when it came to flower remembered the building of the team.\textsuperscript{144}

Players such as Jimmy Dickinson, who made 764 career appearances with the club, Reg Flewin, Peter Harris, and Bert Barlow, were examples of those who began with the team during the war period and were on these championship teams. Portsmouth have not had as good a period since, but the war provided a unique opportunity for them to develop a first class side.

**Brentford**

This London club, then a strong First Division side, was able to function throughout the war and Griffin Park even saw some representative matches during the period. Brentford stayed with the London League during its touchy relations with the Football League.

As previously mentioned, the Bees major accomplishment in the wartime play was their London Cup win in 1942. They were moderately successful the rest of the war. The club also ran an amateur side, Acton Town, an adjacent community, in the Middlesex League from the middle of the war onward. Other teams in the competition included Fulham, Twickenham, Vickers-Armstrong, London Polytechnic, Hounslow, and R.A.O.C. The amateurs also participated in the Middlesex Senior, London Senior, and the Red Cross Cups.\textsuperscript{145} The first team was one of those clubs selected for a short trip to

\textsuperscript{144} The Observer [London], April 12, 1970, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{145} Brentford F.C. Official Programme, November 16, 1943.
the Continent in 1945, for a game against an Army side.\textsuperscript{146} This heralded a new era, as the team went by airplane.

The club had been a League power in the late 1930's as witness the testimony of Arsenal, the team in the 1930's, who saw the club "raising the standard of Brentford football to the level of the best in the land."\textsuperscript{147} The war took its toll, however. While some clubs shied away from large cash outlays for players in the uncertain 1938 season, the Bees purchased several players. Thus not only had the players aged, but there was little cash reserve to begin again in 1946–47. Players had been wounded, and Perry Saunders, a defender obtained for a big fee only a few weeks before the start of the season, was killed in action. He played only three games for the Griffin Park club.\textsuperscript{148} Thus a mixture of youngsters and oldsters saw relegation in the first peacetime season and the club moved gradually down to Division IV.

A fragment of the war still remains though and benefits Griffin Park to this day. The club still realizes up to £ 500 annually on air raid shelters constructed there during the war, which are rented out for storage purposes.\textsuperscript{149}

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\textsuperscript{146}\textit{Brentford F.C. Official Programme}, September 22, 1945.
\textsuperscript{147}\textit{Arsenal F.C. Official Programme}, April 15, 1938.
\textsuperscript{148}\textit{Statement by George Sands, personal interview}, May 24, 1971.
\textsuperscript{149}\textit{Minutes of the Sixty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Brentford Football and Athletic Club, Ltd.}, December 22, 1970. Records of the Brentford Football and Athletic Club, Ltd.
\end{flushright}
Charlton Athletic

This club in southeast London near the Thames dockyards had a checkered wartime history. Its beginning was very rocky as the area was one of heavy evacuations. This directly affected attendance to the point where only 300 or less were appearing for matches, and this in a stadium which could handle 70,000 spectators. This necessitated a closing down the second half of the season in 1941.

However, the junior team, Charlton Rovers, functioned even after this shutdown and many fine young players were developed by Jimmy Seed, secretary and manager, for the postwar successes. The team appeared in the Southern Combination with such teams as Epsom Town, Sutton United, Dartford, Tooting and Mitcham, Graves End United, London Fire Force, and Bromley.¹⁵⁰ Seed literally ran the whole operation during the war as the Gliksten family, timber merchants, and the directors of Charlton were involved in war work and could not devote time to the club.¹⁵¹ When not scouting for junior players, Seed had the Woolwich Barracks at his back door and called in there many times for first team players, when the club resumed the following season.¹⁵² Seed's lengthy stay with the club

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¹⁵⁰ Charlton Athletic F.C. Official Programme, February 26, 1944.


certainly increased his contacts and ability to gain players. A professional would recommend that players drop by the Valley for a trial, and in this way contact was made and kept with amateurs who were playing all over the country.\textsuperscript{153}

The ground suffered only minor damage during the war, a few incendiaries and a bomb on the pitch, but this was healed with only small inconvenience.\textsuperscript{154} Surprisingly, the club was able to maintain a trainer, who was primarily an A.R.P. warden, and a groundsman during the war, and he was aided at times by the youth team on their practice nights when necessary.\textsuperscript{155} Laundry was done by the players themselves due to the shortage of commercial facilities, Mending and other cleaning was done by "fanatics," supporters, who aided in their spare time.\textsuperscript{156} When nearby Millwall's stands were damaged the team moved to Charlton's ground at the Valley for nearly a season in the middle of the war and the juniors went to New Cross during that period.\textsuperscript{157} The ground was not requisitioned at any time, however.\textsuperscript{158}

The club began an amazing run of success in cup competitions. In 1942–43, the club lost the final of the Football League South to Arsenal, 7–1, but returned in 1943–44, to defeat Chelsea. In 1945–46, the team lost in extra time to Derby County in the first postwar F.A. Cup and promptly returned to win the F.A. Cup the over Burnley, again

\textsuperscript{153}Ibid. \textsuperscript{154}Ibid. \textsuperscript{155}Ibid. \textsuperscript{156}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{158}Ibid.
in extra time. In both of the F.A. Cup finals, the only times in Cup history, the ball burst. Oddly enough Charlton was also involved in the only League match in which a ball burst, five days after the Wembley final and again versus Derby County.

Several of the players in the F.A. Cup success made many wartime appearances with the Valiants, including S. Bartram, J.T.T. Shreeve, H.J. Phipps, W. Robinson, D. Welsh, and C. Duffy. Thus Charlton was able to regroup after a difficult beginning in the early part of the war and enjoy a very successful period.

Huddersfield Town

This industrial town in the valley of the West Riding of Yorkshire was able to continue throughout the war. The Leeds Road club suffered no bomb damage during the war and the city had little damage, even though it is industrial. This is apparently because of its location in a valley and the difficulty the bombers had in entering it.

The Terriers had mild success during the war, winning the Northeastern Regional League in 1939-40, and the League North in

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162 Statement by P. Firth, personal interview, April 23, 1971.
1944-45, with mid-table standings in the other years. They were able to maintain a side with a minimum number of guests since many of the team worked or were stationed nearby and able to come in for games.\textsuperscript{163} They also ran a youth team in the Yorkshire League.\textsuperscript{164}

The team operated with minimal administrative help, but it was able to retain a groundsman, albeit his second job, to maintain the pitch. He was aided on Sunday by the manager. The chairman of the Supporters Club went with the team by coach to away games and served as equipment manager and trainer. One of his favorite memories was when a Town player injured his ankle in a game. The chairman had observed that the peacetime trainer always carried a bottle of whiskey in his pocket for some reason and so did he. Believing this was used as an antiseptic he poured part of this bottle’s contents into the player’s boot. It must have helped as the player was able to continue.\textsuperscript{165} The Huddersfield Supporters Club continued throughout the war with membership at near peacetime level. The club sponsored dances and sold badges in order to raise funds for the club’s operations.\textsuperscript{166}

There was good calibre soccer observed at Leeds Road during the war and it was felt that it contributed much to the morale of the community during the wartime.\textsuperscript{167} The club had minimal success in the postwar period hovering near the bottom of the table in

\textsuperscript{163}Ibid. \textsuperscript{164}Ibid. \textsuperscript{165}Ibid. \textsuperscript{166}Ibid. \textsuperscript{167}Ibid.
Division I before being relegated in 1952. 168

Bolton Wanderers.

The Burnden Park team shut down in 1940–41 because so many players departed for the services. Fifteen members of the club joined the Territorials in 1939 and all but two were with the B.E.F. at Dunkirk. 169 Eleven players stayed together in the Middle East campaign including the international halfback Goslin. 170 In all 32 of 35 of the playing staff went into the military and the other three into industry. The Educational Authority used the ground, the Ministry of Supply the stands. 171 The club seized the opportunity to develop young talent and quickly returned to League competition. During 1941 "...a boy of sixteen, formerly of Tommy Lawton's old school at Castle Hill — Nat Lofthouse — scored fourteen goals. Local talent was seizing its big opportunity." 172 Lofthouse became a legend in his own time. Thus, this find and others aided the post-war "trotters."

Arsenal

This prominent North London team was able to function throughout the war in spite of having to play the wartime years at White Hart Lane, home of nearby Spurs. They remained there until August 1946.


171 Young, Bolton Wanderers, p. 134. 172 Ibid.
The team fielded many of its prewar players throughout the war since several were available in the London area, and the club pursued a policy of using as few guests as possible. 173

The ground was requisitioned for an A.R.P. post. Several Gunner players became members of the unit stationed there and thus were able to continue playing. The ground suffered incendiary damage but was repaired soon after the war ended. 174

Several Gunners came into prominence during the war due to the opportunities of playing, including Marks, Scott, Lewis, Barnes and the Compton brothers. 175 But the club lost Roberts, Lambert, Daniel and Tooze who were all killed in action. 176

A League power in the 1930's, the club's wartime successes included South 'A' champions and runner-up to Preston in the League War Cup (1939-40), London League champions (1941-42), League South and League South Cup winners (1942-43). The team picked up again right after the war with a Division I championship in 1947-48 and the F.A. Cup in 1949-50. 177


175 Ibid., pp. 157-159.


177 Mowbray, pp. 107-109, 113-118.
Manchester City and Manchester United

Both of the Manchester clubs functioned well during the war, even with United moving in to share Maine Road after Old Trafford was bombed. Neither club won any major championships during the hostilities, but they were always strong enough to be attractive sides. A writer, reviewing United's history states,

During the war years football played its part in reassuring people that the normal pattern of civilised life was merely suspended and not destroyed forever. It is possible to over estimate the value of this activity on morale; it is also possible, particularly in the situation of Manchester to underestimate it.178

It is this passionate involvement with the game that characterizes the hold on the populace particularly in the north of England even today. It also shows why the game was so vital to the populace during the war.

Millwall

Another London docks area team, Millwall, was able to play throughout the war, even though they had to spend some time at neighboring Charlton's ground after their main stand burned. Here is another club which in spite of its location in a heavily bombed area also ran a colt team, which played the colt teams of other London League clubs. They also went against other amateur sides, such as Bata F.C., Battersea F.C., Thornville, Metrogas, London A.A.XI, and R.A.O.C.179


179 Millwall F.C. Official Programme, April 11, 1942.
Thus these examples show that clubs were able to function in a variety of ways and that they did to an amazing degree with few people. Many grounds were bombed, including Coventry, Manchester United, Crystal Palace (which was attacked several times), West Ham, Chelsea, Sheffield United, Notts County, Sheffield Wednesday, Millwall, Brentford, Oldham, Charlton, Derby County, Brighton & Hove Albion, Tranmere, Southampton, Portsmouth, Bristol Rovers, Bristol City and Arsenal. The F.A. publication, Victory Was the Goal, refers to all of the above grounds as being "blitzed." However, it appears this term may be too harsh in the case of Brentford, where George Sands of the Middlesex Chronicle could recall no hits on Griffin Park, and of Portsmouth, where Gladys Smith, the tea lady, recalled only very minor damage. As mentioned other grounds provided many governmental services, but it is also known at least one ground in Britain was used for a sugar "fiddle."

Clubs provided great numbers of their staff, amateurs and professionals, to the services during the course of the war. As an example, Crystal Palace sent 98, Wolverhampton 91; Liverpool, Luton, Chester, Huddersfield Town, Leicester City, Charlton, and Oldham Athletic all provided over sixty and other clubs also provided large numbers to the war effort.

As a point of further interest, some amateur teams also held

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180 Victory Was the Goal (London: The Football Association, 1946), pp. 43-44.
181 Ibid.
182 Ibid., pp. 37-38.
together remarkably well, such as Dulwich Hamlet in southeast London
Wealdstone in the Harrow section, and Walthamstow Avenue. Numbers
of other famous nonprofessional teams even held their share of charity
matches. For example, Wealdstone hosted the Canada–Norway match in
1944.¹⁸³ Dulwich even had a services representative match,¹⁸⁴ and
the return of the Oxford–Cambridge match.¹⁸⁵ These latter serve to
illustrate again the depth of organized football during the war.

¹⁸³ Wealdstone F.C. Official Programme (Canada v. Norway),
October 28, 1944.

R.A.F. XI), March 30, 1940.

¹⁸⁵ Dulwich Hamlet F.C. Official Programme (Oxford University v.
Cambridge University), December 1, 1945.
Chapter 15

THE NEWS MEDIA

The news media was, and is, closely allied to the game of soccer, and further as the repository for much of the history of the period, its endeavors during the war merit attention. Television had no part whatsoever to play in this period, even though the F.A. Cup final had been televised in 1937, when Sunderland met Preston North End.\(^1\) It was still in its infancy and literally suspended during the war. Radio was basically limited by League policy on the amount it was allowed to broadcast. Therefore, the major facet of the news media concerned with sport was the newspapers.

As mentioned previously, early scarcity of newsprint in the war period, as well as the paucity of sports news, cut down the amount of sports writing and resultant stories in the newspapers. However, some interesting data indicates that this cutting was out of proportion to continued interest and percentage of newsprint loss. Mass Observation\(^2\) in its survey, found that while persons,


\(^2\)Mass Observation was begun in 1937 by Tom Harrison, presently at the University of Sussex, to study and document social change as it was occurring. Using a developed network of over 2,000 voluntary
48 percent, took less interest in sport than they did in peacetime, 49 percent read their sports pages more closely than the war news, 30 percent.\(^3\) The remainder felt they read both about equally. However, war news dominated in a ratio of about ten to one over sports news in the papers. "It is thus evident that people find the war at present completely unsatisfactory as a compensation for sport."\(^4\) The reasons given by those interviewed for wanting more sport news were for diversion from hard work, diversion from the war news, and simply interest in sport.\(^5\) Mass Observation states the sports space cut was way out of proportion to the decline of newsprint. The Sunday News of the World normally contained six pages of sport news, nearly one quarter of its total pages. A week after the war began only one sixteenth, one page, was devoted to sport.\(^6\) Others

\(\footnotesize{\text{3 Mass Observation, War Begins at Home, eds. Tom Harrison and Charles Modge (London: Chatto & Windus, 1940), p. 271.}}\)

\(\footnotesize{\text{4 Mass Observation, p. 371.}}\)

\(\footnotesize{\text{5 Ibid.}}\)

\(\footnotesize{\text{6 Ibid., p. 273.}}\)
such as the London *Sunday Express*, *Sunday Graphic*, and *Sunday Dispatch* showed similar cuts. The *Sunday Times* and *The Observer*, referred to as upper class newspapers with justification, made the most severe slashes. *The Times* cut newsprint 44 percent, but cut sports news 83 percent, as did *The Observer*. Because they were considered newspapers of record, they put heavy emphasis on all phases of war news. Even a cursory examination of the war period editions indicates this. *The Times*, however, maintained its racing columns to a greater extent than other sports, because a percentage of their clientele followed the sport of kings. Even important football events as the cup finals and internationals seldom received more than a single column coverage during the war. *The Manchester Guardian*, also a quality newspaper of record, cut its sports reporting considerably. However, due to its location in the heart of the soccer belt, there is more wartime sports reporting, including game analysis when two local teams were playing. These upper class newspapers did not carry the football pools coupons, and fought them, as was previously noted, on their pages. However, coupons are notable in the "popular" newspapers and many of the provincial newspapers also printed the coupons. In the case of the provincial newspapers, many cities had only one publication and thus coupons would appear there. Then the quality of the newspaper had little to do with their appearance.

An examination of a cross section of newspapers during the war period indicates no pattern or trend. In mid-1942, the tabloid

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the London Daily Mirror generally gave only three or four paragraphs to sports, even on Saturday and Monday in its eight pages, but it did run a full page of comic strips! The London Daily Sketch, another tabloid, ran about eight pages during the war and maintained a small editorial column by a sportswriter, L.V. Manning. Manning's articles are generally of a chatty nature on some topical aspect of the in-season sport, and therefore, many are devoted to football. This tabloid varied from a few short paragraphs devoted to sport to a maximum of a half page. The London News of the World in 1943, as an eight page publication, was able to devote nearly one page to sport, covering football, racing, greyhounds, and the ever present pools coupons. This newspaper also included guest columns by sports personalities. At times there were soccer game reviews by Alex James, former Arsenal star, boxing articles by former heavyweight Tommy Farr, and a series, "My Football Memories," by Stan Matthews.

In newspapers in strong soccer areas reporting also continued. The Coventry Evening Telegraph was another paper which averaged eight pages in the middle period of the war, and around two or three columns of sports appears daily. However, through midweek there are only one or two entries with the weekend, Saturday and Monday, having the most coverage. The Coventry newspaper covered not only the professional team, but periodically gave the standings of half a dozen local amateur and works leagues. Coventry was out of the League competition following the blitz on that city in 1940 until 1942, but it did not take long for football interest to be regained. Coventry's win over Birmingham merited three columns and the papers
could spare only twice as much space as the enthronement of the Bishop of Coventry among the ruins of the Cathedral. 9

The *Birmingham Mail* had severe paper limitations in 1943, and contained an average of only four pages. Sports news was sporadic, at times appearing only every second or third day of publication and then about only one column. This, of course, hampered publicity of that city's clubs.

The *Lincolnshire Echo* in Lincoln and the *Yorkshire Evening Press* in York, as did others cited, contained sport news in about the same ratio as the others. However, since these were local newspapers, the reports of the local clubs were the main sports news. The two or three columns devoted to football would review the club and also the whereabouts of players in the war effort.

The *Sheffield Telegraph* in mid-1943 was down to about four pages with about one-fourth page for sport, which was primarily football. The *Telegraph*, which had three area teams to cover, used fine print to allow more content. It is surprising that more newspapers did not use this technique. Many of the newspapers used only initials for first names in order to further save space. The reporting was daily and chatty reviews of the games were provided by writer, R.A. Spaulding.

Periodicals or other publications primarily concerned with sport ceased almost completely during the war period. Most shut down immediately when war started and generally restarted between

1946 and 1950. Examples here include Sporting Star and the Sporting Argus, various regional publications such as the Football Echo, a name attached to a football publication in several northern and southern cities, The Football Gazette [South Shields], Football Herald [Plymouth], Football Mail [Hartlepool], Football News and Football Post [Nottingham], and the Football Argus [Newport]. Some publications were, of course, never able to resume operations in the competitive postwar period due to financial difficulties.

The only two sports publications which were found to survive during the war period, exclusive of annual record booklets published by newspapers, were The Sporting Life Weekly Edition and The Sporting Record. Both, however, had interruptions for periods of time. The Sporting Record was a weekly paper published by Argus Press, Ltd., London. It appeared on Wednesday covering basically soccer and racing, the betting sports as evidenced by the many pools columns. There is no hint of impending war in the August 1939 issues and in the September 6, 1939 issue many articles were published that were already in hand pledging to serve where it could. The paper was quite relieved when football and racing were allowed to reappear, as its livelihood depended on this news. It was caught up in initial patriotism with such headlines as "If Only Hitler had Played Cricket He Wouldn't Have such an Un-Sporting Record."¹⁰

Initially the paper maintained a full eight pages but dropped to four in December 1939. Then it went back to eight,

¹⁰The Sporting Record, September 20, 1939, p. 1.
nearly half football coupons, until May 1940 when it returned to four pages. From May 29, 1940 the publication went to a single sheet weekly, but the price remained unchanged at 2 d., as it had been for eight pages. The headlines remain the same, although the stories change. Then some stories remain unchanged for weeks. This pattern of unchanged headlines and stories continued through the war and for a period afterward. This was done so that the publication could maintain its title, The Sporting Record. It had to publish something, for if it had ceased publication for a designated period, it would have lost its title rights and someone starting another publication could adopt the same title. These unchanged editions were known as registration sheets and also appear for other news publications during the war.11

The Sporting Life Weekly Edition, published by Oldhams Press, London, was the only newspaper for sport found to appear at least sporadically during the war with some substance. Prior to the war this weekly ran nearly fifty pages in booklet-size form, and covered racing, football, and greyhounds, and especially betting and the pools with advice and form sheets. Like other publications its August 1939, issues mention nothing of the approaching war. Even the September 2, 1939 issue, No. 2705, has no war news. The war's affect was felt quickly though, as the next issue, No. 2706, did not appear until March 23, 1940, and was smaller. The issues now ranged from 32 to

40 pages. The main coverage again was soccer and racing. Regarding
the pools, the writer emphasizes that you need "Expert Assistance
and a big slice of luck" due to the guest player situation. The
paper was proud that they had begun a campaign for a League Cup which
the Football League had adopted. There had also been some pools
disputes concerning clubs who had played two games in one day. Which
counted for the coupons? It was decided to discount the friendly
match.

This format continued only until June 15, 1940, No. 2718.
The next issue, No. 2719, did not appear until June 5, 1943 and then
as an eight page tabloid. From this point the paper appears with
regularity and the news is fresh, that is, it is not a registration
sheet edition as seen with The Sporting Record. Again the emphasis
is on bits of football news, and pools forecasts. A writer laments
the difficulty in predicting games, since the clubs' strength vary
from week to week. However, he suggests, that good bets are generally
Blackpool, Arsenal, West Ham and Aston Villa and a few others who can
call on nearly the same players each week. The publication
maintained its weekly status into October 1944, when it was able to
begin a midweek edition. Thus times of prosperity were not too far
off.

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13 Ibid.
Newsprint supplies were granted an increase after September 22, 1946.

The increase on September 22 in the number of pages that may be published by the general press will not apply to sports papers and sports editions. The restriction of the circulation will, however, be lifted during the period of free sale starting on that date.

The control on sports papers and editions was probably due to the amount of space considered wasted on pools and racing form sheets, which would have accrued, if the space had not been restricted. Still major games, such as England versus Scotland, could command three fourths of a page from the middle of the war onward in the Sunday editions. 17 Also, the tabloids, which operated within a space limitation even in peacetime, generally, at least in the London area, had enough space for their reporters' stories. 18 Photos were generally rare with the exception of those already on file. This was undoubtedly due to film restrictions, similar to those experienced in the United States. Thus sports pages were back in business and one sees an immediate enlargement and in depth coverage of sport in the daily newspapers.

The B.B.C. radio carried sports news in an evening spot and when the Island became heavily populated with American troops, U.S. sport was also reviewed. Occasional matches, primarily the second half of matches, were also aired as well as major cup or representative

16 The Manchester Guardian, August 23, 1946, p. 5.
18 Ibid.
matches. International matches were not limited to British sides. The B.B.C. Dutch wartime service, Free Netherlands, broadcast several Holland versus Belgium matches played in England. Although the rivalry here is akin to England versus Scotland, these matches were beamed to Holland and Belgium and served a function well beyond friendly sport.¹⁹ The players, of course, came from the military forces temporarily in England and many appeared under false names to prevent reprisals against their families by the enemy in their home countries. The announcer of these games developed a highly deceptive technique of identifying players in the game in such a way that only their families or loved ones would recognize who they were and know that they were alive and well in England. This technique generally centered around the player's former job or locality. There were no known instances of the Germans solving this form of "coded" message.²⁰

Roy Peskett recalls a match between Holland and the Free French Forces at Brentford. Four of the players appeared under false names.

Each had escaped from an occupied territory sometime after the Nazis took over. Three of them are now pilots in the Free French Air Force, while the other is in the Dutch Army. One of the pilots escaped into Spain and has spent several months at five different prisons before getting there. These were done under false names, so there could be no reprisal against their relatives at home.²¹

Sport news went overseas, not only via the B.B.C. broadcast from England and in bulletin, but also on discs, as one wartime reporter explains.

¹⁹Ibid. ²⁰Ibid. ²¹Ibid.
I used to do a weekly, not only I but quite a number of people in Britain used to do a weekly sort of air column which was dispatched and flown out to the Far East, Middle East or wherever the troops were based. So I was able to keep them up to date and one had to realize in certain areas of the desert that perhaps the Lancashire Fusiliers would be there and they would tell you. This was done through the Army Broadcasting service. They would tell you don't forget the Midlands. There is a big crack Midland Regiment there, get something in about the Villa, and Birmingham, and West Bromwich. I was able to keep up to date even though I perhaps had not seen the actual event I was describing, because either by telephoning the clubs or finding out or reading the local papers or that sort of thing, I was able to get fairly comprehensive knowledge of football particularly throughout the war because of that.

On the other hand, the troops followed their clubs closely, too. This interest does not show up in the attendances or in large metropolitan newspapers, but it did show up in the smaller city of York in the North of England.

Middle East Troops—Airgraphs to York City Club

York men serving with the forces overseas have followed the progress of the City team in Cup competition with great interest, especially those in the Middle East. One Line Officer Edwards wrote 'Good work. Keep it up. All York blokes are watching. We look forward to coming along, too.' Gunner Arthur Rollinson wrote from the Middle East and says, 'I'm glad you're keeping football going in our city. You seem to be going great guns in the Cup ties. Follow you as much as possible and it gets me into some good friendly arguments.' The airgraphs indicate the great interest taken by the lads in football wherever they're assembled. Frequently I receive queries about the City team from overseas members of the forces with a plea to settle a camp argument and some of the lads tell me they would appreciate any copies of the Press containing City news. Trying to provide York men with football news I forwarded current gossip to a former colleague, Lt. Thomas, well-known to Press readers as Gay the cartoonist. He is serving in the Middle East and part of his work is to sketch and write for one of the leading newspapers printed for the Desert Army. He is running a column of York news and we hope our cooperative effort will get the sporting news quicker to a few larger number of men than by sending old newspapers and air

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22 Ibid.
mail letters to individuals. Even the large newsagency Reuters got its share of requests. "Please repeat Saturdays football results — heavy bombing interfered with our reception." This laconic telegram came from Malta in April, 1942 as the island was at its peak of agonies.

The reading of newspapers increased during the war, since they, of course, were almost the only available current reading items throughout the war, even in their reduced size. Over one third of the country's nine thousand journalists were called up, leaving a skeleton staff of youngsters, oldsters, and those with handicaps to cover not only their usual beat, but literally the whole gamut of areas of coverage. Sport had reporters come out of retirement and columns by an "Old Blue" witnessed in some papers attests to this fact. The Daily Sketch [London] had only three reporters from a normal complement of nearly 25.

Three of these wartime sports reporters were interviewed. Their responses provide some interesting views on what it was like to be a sportswriter during this period. Roy Peskett at the outbreak of the war was with the London Daily Sketch and was not called up due to a physical handicap. Leslie Yates, another young writer,

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23 Yorkshire Evening Press [York], clipping, no date given, article indicates in early April 1943.


26 Peskett, interview.
did some reports while in the military, and was involved with the
game during the period. George Sands, too old for the call-up, wrote
as he does today for the weekly Middlesex Chronicle, located in
suburban Hounslow.

Peskett, in common with many other journalists, was
released by his newspaper as the war broke out. After rejection by
the services, he was called back to his paper and wrote while serving
in the Home Guard, as a fire warden and related duties. 27 In common
with young players and referees, the war provided reporters an
opportunity for quick experience and advancement. Peskett was able
to work and establish himself as a football writer so that after the
war, he was approached by the London Daily Mail, then the most
powerful paper in sport, to take over their football column, because
he had covered so many outstanding games during the war. He maintained
this position for 21 years. 28 Les Yates was also working to develop
himself in Fleet Street, but his development came while in the service.
He talked with supporters and players, arranged matches for players,
observed matches, and did some writing. Through these activities
he gained a real feeling for the game and its meaning to the public. 29

Covering or getting to the game could be a unique adventure
in itself. Reporters found their own way to a game. If one was
fortunate he could travel on the team's coach if he were reporting on

27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
one team on a regular basis. Sometimes though if traveling by rail the reporter and team might end up standing in the baggage area, especially if space was tight. Peskett, who covered football in general, went mostly by train. Although late in the war after getting to know a number of officials he could get rides with them, especially to services matches, by going to the base and riding with the military. One instance found him covering a news story in Dover and then talking himself into a lift on an R.A.F. rescue boat. It took nearly half a day to reach Newcastle, where he caught a train and a car to the destination. If the game was at some distance from London, it might necessitate leaving on Thursday. However, it was in this way that Mr. Peskett was able to cover the most outstanding football events during the war. Reporters had to make adjustments at the last minute. If a change point on the railway had been bombed the night before, the security list given to newspapers noted this and a detour would have to be arranged.

But getting there was only half of the battle. The reporting itself required some tact. If a player, who was not on leave or may have traded duty or paid someone else to take his duty, appeared his name could not be mentioned in the lineup for fear of discipline. So if an individual such as this scored a goal the credit would be given to another player or reported by position, such as the inside scored. Consequently any spectator subsequently reading the report

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31 Peskett, interview.
32 Ibid.
would write it off as rubbish."^33 This sort of thing started early as a Scottish Southern League contest notes, Partick Thistle "elected to conceal the identity of their center forward, and playing as A.N. Other, he had the honour of scoring their first goal" in a 5–2 win over Dumbarton.\(^34\) George Sands related the story of a Brentford player, named Slowly.

He was in the program for years as Richards. He played right through the war as Richards. Possibly all the regulars knew who he was, but they almost took it that that was his own name.\(^35\)

Raids might also occur while one of these reporters was in a particular city although none could recall a complete wipe out of a scheduled event. However, these raids could make getting home a problem, too. After covering a Chelsea match with Brentford, George Sands came out of the ground and walked to the tube station only to find that it had been bombed. So he had to walk the ten miles home.\(^36\)

As in the case of Leslie Yates, service in the military curtailed a reporter's activities. Then, like Les Yates also, a reporter might call in at a club in the area in which he was stationed and arrange for guest players for them. In addition to assisting the clubs, this made the clubs aware of him and paid off in the future when normal times returned and he was reporting and needed the

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\(^{33}\) Sands, interview.

\(^{34}\) The Manchester Guardian, August 12, 1940, p. 7.

\(^{35}\) Sands, interview.

\(^{36}\) Ibid.
cooperation of these clubs.\textsuperscript{37}

Censorship of the news, of course, posed some problems with the controlling Ministry of Information, but overall self-censorship by the newspapers was effective.\textsuperscript{38} Calder notes that this censorship touched on sport, too. "There were a myriad of borderline cases; one might not mention the locality of a power station, but what about reporting the matches of the station's football team?"\textsuperscript{39} Concerning sport in particular, the weather as well as advance schedules had restrictions. If the enemy had known in advance where a big crowd was to gather it would have been an invitation for bombing. However, people found out when a big match was being played in their area.\textsuperscript{40} The schedule of matches for a particular day did appear in that day's newspapers consistently throughout the war, even during the periods of heavy enemy attack, as in 1940-41, as evidenced in \textit{The Manchester Guardian}. Followers of a particular team, or any spectator at a match, could find the schedule, or probably the next match, in the program, as witness programs from Brentford in May 1940, and Darlington in April 1940. Also since the results appeared in the papers and the Cup games, for instance, were on a home and away basis, the probable schedule for the next weekend could be deduced. When the V-2 rockets became a feature of everyday life late in the war, as no warning was possible

\textsuperscript{37} Yates, interview.

\textsuperscript{38} Calder, pp. 506-507.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{40} Peskett, interview.
anyway, football proceeded on a "chance it" basis, as did everything else and there is no record of casualties on any League ground. 41

Weather, of course, was vital information to any enemy and reports of heavy snows or rain did not appear in print. If a person looked for results in his Sunday or Monday paper and saw only one or two scores after a full schedule had been announced for Saturday and his back yard was flooded, he could make a one-to-one relationship that the weather must have been bad all over England. But there are reports of cricket matches in the rain to avoid cancellation of a scheduled contest.

In late summer 1941, a match between two services teams at a well-known ground, that was not mentioned, played a charity match in a downpour of rain. Sawdust was piled on the wicket, the ball dried after each delivery and players swung their arms to get moisture out of their sweaters, as spectators gave faint cheers under their umbrellas. The game produced over 300 runs, a surprisingly well-played game, which gained a result. 42 "Ha!" says the Fuhrer's meteorological staff, reading the English paper, 'So it was fine at X on Saturday. Now we can a weather-prospect from given facts upbuild.' 43 He was, of course, wrong and the German intelligence staff was misled. One football match for the Aid to Russia fund in January 1942, was played in heavy snow. The lines were swept and

41 Sands, interview.
42 The Manchester Guardian, September 4, 1941, p. 3.
43 Ibid.
painted a bright blue in order to stand out. In normal times this would have been commented upon. However, in this instance, it was not until a considerable period later that this was made known. 44

Working in London's Fleet Street was even perilous on a day to day basis, 72 hours on, which included home guard duty with the security force, and 72 hours off. Newspapers were guarded as any other public place because of the belief that if any enemy invaded they would first gain control of the communication points, the radio and the newspapers. In the densely populated Fleet Street there were several bomb hits and in one night 22 people were killed in and around Peskett's office in the Daily Sketch building, but the newspapers always appeared. 45 Since the Daily Sketch was a morning paper, its staff was working while many of the raids were in progress. Even if only a single sheet could be published and appear in late afternoon, this was done. It was this spirit of being able to function through the heaviest adversity that carried the English through the war. 46

For Roy Peskett another narrow escape occurred at Lord's. While he was sitting in the press box during the height of the flying bomb attacks he and others saw one approaching. When the warnings were sounded there was no time to seek shelter. Only the players could dive to the ground. The bomb zoomed close overhead and plunged into

44 Peskett, interview.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
an apartment complex closeby killing several WAF's. Someone in the crowd yelled, "Get on with it!" and Jack Robertson, famed Middlesex batsman, as if in the same fabled defiance of Babe Ruth in the 1932 World Series, drilled the first ball bowled him for a six into the stands in the general direction of the rising smoke.\textsuperscript{47}

The war and football also brought to many people new acquaintances, who later became friends. Roy Peskett recalls being approached by a young paroled German prisoner of war after the war. This youngster explained that he was not a Nazi and was shanghaied into the Germany army and was only in for two weeks. He only wanted to go back to Germany and resume his career in sportswriting. Would Mr. Peskett help him and arrange for him to see Bert Trautmann play. (Trautmann was also a paroled P.O.W. playing on an English soccer team.)

So every time I was going to Liverpool I used to write to this boy to meet me somewhere and gradually got to the point, by introducing him to Manchester United, Manchester City, Everton, and Liverpool officials, that they gave him a press ticket when I wasn't there. Out of that has grown a life long friendship with this boy, who is now a very important man in world football. He [Dr. Wilfred Gerhart] is on the committee for the next World Cup 1974, to be held in Germany and he will undoubtedly play a giant part in it.\textsuperscript{48}

This was the life of a sportswriter during the Second World War. If sport was important enough to continue during the bleak Dunkirk evacuation, with the 1940 War Cup taking place in the middle of it, and a new season to begin in the heart of the period of the blitz, then it was certainly important enough to record and report

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid. \textsuperscript{48}Ibid.
to the public who were obviously interested. It was Roy Peskett, Les Yates, George Sands and many other nameless sportswriters, who performed a vital function in keeping a cultural activity viable.
Chapter 16

PLAYERS, REFEREES, AND SPECTATORS

The following serve to illustrate the human factors of those closely involved with soccer, those who gave it the cultural impact it has shown through the years. Their experiences and thoughts concerning soccer during the war give a more personal view of the period, than the details of committee meetings, and number of air alerts.

Prior to the war there had been a heightened concern regarding Germany as early as 1938. Edie Hapgood, famed player for Arsenal and England, reports playing in an international in "super-charged" Berlin and defeating Germany 6-3.1 As September 1939, neared there was the feeling that war was inevitable.

I think really our philosophy was the war is coming, but we'll make the most of this sport, our peacetime sport, to the best of our ability and really entirely enjoy it, because goodness knows when we're going to play it again. This is how we felt. Therefore, I think the standard of both cricket and football that season was extremely high, oddly enough.2

The players continued to feel uncertain as Raich Carter recalls, there

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2Statement by Denis Compton, personal interview, April 13, 1971.
were "doubts and uncertainty as the season began in 1939."3 Ron Burgess, the great Welsh player, also felt the uncertainty and he had even gone to the ground to practice on Sunday for Monday's game when war was declared.4 He became a War Reserve Policeman before going into the A.R.P.5 Furthermore, the great Charlton 'keeper, Sam Bartram, mentions the "air of unreality" he felt, when he reported to preseason training in 1939.6

The uncertainty ended in some ways when war was declared. As mentioned previously, all players were released from contracts and they had to go into the war effort. This meant into the services (indeed, those in the Territorials were called into service immediately.), into industry or other related work, such as police, fire service, or A.R.P. Footballers went the way of the general populace into factories, railways, as did Stan Mortensen, or dockyards, as did Joe Mercer.

Mercer was at Birkenhead "...for a fortnight. I didn't like it, you know getting up early in the morning. So the 18th of September, I joined the Army and went into the P.T. Corps when it developed."7

5Ibid.
7Statement by Joe Mercer, personal interview, April 2, 1971.
Mercer was a fully-qualified F.A. coach prior to the war and thus was a prime candidate for the P.T. Corps. He spent his whole Army career there. "You know they used to say you've got two sons in the Army and one in the P.T. Corps. We did a fair job, I suppose. It lent itself. We played football wherever we were."¹⁸

Matt Busby was one of those who had entered the Territorial Army in 1939, when appeals went out for footballers to join and set an example for youth. "I fell for it," says Busby. However, he later became a P.T. instructor which allowed him to play several games of football per week.⁹ He felt there was a mistaken impression in some quarters that League players did nothing but play football for "beer money" during the war.¹⁰ That he had to mention this shows somebody was disturbed and this is seen occasionally with other players.

Raich Carter went into the fire service and states he was not proud of his war record. If he had to do it again he would go into the military service. But he needed a job quickly when war broke out, thus he went to the fire service.¹¹ He "pulled every string" to get into the Physical Training Corps which he did with the R.A.F. in late 1941. Thus while with the R.A.F. at Blackpool and Sunderland he

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¹⁸Ibid.


¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Carter, pp. 147-148.
gained valuable "understanding" while playing with Swift, Mercer, Cullis, Lawton, and others. 12

Name footballers went into the Services' P.T. Corps early in the war as the result of a large training program set up, which was discussed earlier. When numbers of these fit individuals went into the P.T. Corps "people were getting sensitive" about these protected jobs. 13 Initially there was an idea among the sports boards and the services generally that bringing sports personalities into the training corps was a good thing, and would form the right image. When it became obvious that the image was wrong, it was stopped, "...and there was more seeking of people who had qualifications to handle the subject, as the physical educationist...and more and more sportsmen went into the fighting sections of the forces." 14

When war broke out, Stanley Rous of the F.A. contacted the commanders of the services offering players to help develop this P.T. Corps. As a result

...we knew near enough where all these famous players were and where they were posted....we would know near enough then we'd get in touch with the Commanding Officer and they would release him in a certain match. That's how it was done you see. 15

Players for representative sides of the military teams were selected

12 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Statement by Ernest Miller, personal interview, May 18, 1971.
by the Army F.A. War Emergency Committee or the R.A.F. Their
selection was based on reputation.\textsuperscript{16} Command sides were picked by
the Staff Officer for Physical Training of that command.\textsuperscript{17} The players
were then notified of selection through their commanding officer.\textsuperscript{18}
Players selected for their country's international side, as for an
England versus Wales match, were selected by that country's F.A.
Selection for these matches had first priority. Usually the dates
for these matches did not conflict with other matches, such as
command team games, and they also drew large attendances for charity.
However, when the R.A.F. or Army played an F.A. XI, the military
got first choice of players in the service, and the F.A. second. The
selections were based on who was stationed where, and who was available.
Many last minute changes were inevitable as duty transfers or re-
locations occurred.\textsuperscript{19} Since the F.A. was not able to observe many
matches, as they normally do in peacetime, they were advised by
players and officials of which players were in good form or were
developing well,\textsuperscript{20} as happened with Stan Mortensen. Procurement
and coordination of grounds for games was not too great a problem.

We \textsuperscript{[the Army]} could get a professional ground for the asking.
The professional side of football were extraordinarily good to the
Army. They put the grounds at our disposal \textsuperscript{for command and other
matches}. And naturally ran the gate keepers, directors box and

\textsuperscript{16} Statement by Lt. Col. H.M. Prince, personal interview,
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Mercer, interview.
\textsuperscript{19} Miller, interview. \textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
always entertained us. Of course, we were good to them by
letting the players go to play for civilian clubs. 21

However, it was not just on the home front that sports
personalities were important. As the war went on and zones of
operations were enlarged, as the Middle East and Far East, sports
personalities, such as footballers, whether in the P.T. Corps or
not, were sent to these zones for morale and sport purposes.

We did it specifically with the aim of seeing that the nucleus
of a team, such as a football team, could be found, which would
be an inter-service football team to play and entertain the troops
whilst they were out there. Something to talk about and so on
when they were off duty and this was part of the scheme of
things. 22

However, a great number of players went into the armed forces and
into a wide variety of assignments, not all into the P.T. Corps.
Stan Matthews, for instance, held a low rank in the R.A.F., "so
I didn't invoke any jealousy amongst the rest of the servicemen." 23
Likewise Stan Mortensen was an airborne wireless operator. 24

There were still footballers who did not join the services,
but went into a myriad of other jobs. John Harris, present Sheffield
United manager, who lived near Southampton, worked in industry there
during the war. Most of his guest appearances at this time were for

21 Prince, interview.

22 Winterbottom, interview.


Southampton and Chelsea. Henry Cockburn, who was too young for call-up, as were many, went into industry also. He was an amateur at the time he went into the aircraft industry, but became an outstanding early postwar player with Manchester United. Len Shackleton, a standout after the war with Bradford P.A., was also an amateur with the club when the war began. He worked on aircraft wireless and was deferred from military duty, because of this work in an essential industry. After Christmas 1940, he turned professional with Park Avenue and remained with them several years. Tom Johnston, present York City manager, went into the Admiralty engineering works in Nottingham. After guesting with several League sides, he signed as a professional for the Forest in 1943. Frank Swift, famed "keeper, was a constable in the early part of the war and once on becoming so muddled when directing traffic, he merely walked away to let it "sort itself out." Eventually he went into the armed forces and made many wartime appearances. Similarly, Bill Shankly


26 Statement by Henry Cockburn, personal interview, April 23, 1971.


of Preston North End was in a factory for eight months and then went into the R.A.F.\textsuperscript{30}

Thus players were stationed throughout Britain appearing as guests with teams in whatever locality they were stationed in and when reassigned they played with other teams. Therefore, training for all these men was sporadic. Sometimes it did not even occur from one game to the next, but this never hindered their acceptance of a game.

Since these footballers were working full-time in the armed forces or war industries, how did they find out where and when games were scheduled, and which teams needed players? First, those in the military were bound to their units as first call and could only appear for a civilian club when a commanding officer gave his permission.\textsuperscript{31} However, they managed to do this, as has been shown, with a high degree of regularity. Various players recalled that there was "always someone within the various camps who knew people at the local club."\textsuperscript{32} For instance, journalist Les Yates tells

\ldots where I would approach players of League clubs [while Yates was stationed in the Southern Command] in Army units in the sector, and if they were interested in guesting, as for

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{30}] Statement by Bill Shankly, personal interview, April 1, 1971.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}] Prince, interview.
\item[\textsuperscript{32}] Statement by Stanley Mortensen, personal interview, March 29, 1971.
\end{itemize}
Southampton or Bournemouth, then I would make the necessary contact and keep the clubs advised.  

Eric Howarth, present Assistant Secretary of the Football League and on the League office staff at that time, was stationed at the large army camp in Yorkshire, Catterick.  

I used to liaise with all the local regiments who used to let me know which well-known players were coming into their camp. Again I had an arrangement with the Football League that the clubs would go through the League for players. I was instrumental in getting these players with clubs in the northeast, as Newcastle, Sunderland, Middlesbrough, I remember Darlington [when they played in the wartime league] had a particularly strong side because they had quite a lot of Wolverhampton Wanderers' players at Catterick which is only about five miles from Darlington and they utilized their players quite a lot.  

Howarth also felt that the fine cooperation of the Home Office and War Ministry in particular helped the whole process of wartime football to function.

All contacts were not this elaborate, however. With small clubs, as seen with York City, the secretary would make contact with any known players coming into the area. Many an average player after getting permission from his commanding officer to play would then get in touch with the nearest club and let them know he was stationed in the area and available to play on Saturdays.  

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35 Ibid.  
36 Statement by George Teasdale, personal interview, April 22, 1971.  
Players as George Male of the Arsenal, stationed near London, could and did appear for their peacetime club with regularity.\textsuperscript{38} Denis Compton, who was stationed near London also for most of the war, recalls that "my commanding officer was very kind and let me off on many Saturdays."\textsuperscript{39} Compton, also a great Middlesex cricketer, never played for any football team except the Arsenal, excluding military teams, during the war or peacetime, while many players appeared for a dozen or more clubs.\textsuperscript{40}

In the case of players of the international calibre of the Scot Bill Shankly,

People found me. They came looking for the players who had reached international standing...It was easy to be found out, even in big camps where there were may be thousands of men. Well it soon got around who you were. If I went to an area where there was a team and they didn't know I was there I would approach them and tell them I was stationed there...so I played for many teams during the war....and had a game every Saturday.\textsuperscript{41}

Likewise, Joe Mercer recalls,

...for seven years I probably played twice, sometimes three times a week [in season]. I guess we played a lot during the war, the P.T. side lent itself, and we ran a show well. It was a funny kind of thing during the war. The army obviously had first call, but they used to cooperate usually. If you were picked for England obviously you got permission—and sometimes I didn't know who I was playing for: the army, the command, the unit, England or a club. I know once the C.O. said when I wanted a pass to play, 'Mercer, I don't know whether you want a pass to come into the camp or to stay out!'\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{38} Statement by George Male, personal interview, May 26, 1971
\textsuperscript{39} Compton, interview. \textsuperscript{40} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{41} Shankly, interview.
\textsuperscript{42} Mercer, interview.
Ron Burgess played so many games for Wales and the R.A.F., when he played for Wales in one game he was passed the wrong color jersey.43 Players in industry worked out their own difficulties in obtaining Saturday afternoons for football. In many instances, it was the factories' released time, which permitted both players and spectators to enjoy the game. However, it often meant coming off a long week of work in industry, perhaps even the night shift, for a short period of rest, if any, and then travel to the ground for the afternoon's game.44

One should not infer from these comments that it was with ease that many of the more average players got off to play.

Several turned me down on the grounds they thought it wiser [not to play for a civilian club]. They were very interested and they were very reluctant. I can remember sitting over very sub-standard tea, trying not to push them too hard, because that obviously would not be right. But pointing out to them that the club concerned were anxious to have them as they were established League professionals. But these players were a little tempted, not so much at earning the odd thirty shillings, but of stepping out onto a League ground, instead of some army pitch, that's got a ditch running along side it. Several preferred to stay with the regiment because they thought it was more in their own interest.45

Apparently they were keeping faith with their superiors for rightful jobs or duty. Also, there appears to have been occasional competition among commanding officers in command or unit games and players were thus unable to gain release for civilian game. There were

43Burgess, p. 61.
44Harris, interview.
45Yates, interview.
...instances where professional players were being sought by League clubs to play and permission was refused because the game would have clashed, not necessarily with an important command game, but sometimes with a quite minor regimental match. When this situation arose, from my experience, the players usually toed the line realizing it would be quite useless to kick against authority.46

There were also some juggling or fiddles which occurred, human nature being what it is.

...some managers would have put advantages in the way of commanding officers [and strong pleas of 'Don't reassign my bloody player someplace else!' as recalled another source]. Famous players had little difficulty being released, but lesser calibre players found it not so easy, and clubs might send an invitation to the commanding officer or to the adjutant of the regiment inviting him along as well. In most cases it was not accepted. But while I cannot recall specifics at this stage, I'm sure a lot of things like this were done. Also there was the question of footballers paying other soldiers to do their duties to get away. I would think that in many cases they gained nothing from the small match fee that they received, in wartime football, but they were so delighted to get away.47

Ron Burgess, Welsh international, states that he and others would have played for nothing during the war, football meant that much.48

Any overt public reaction against footballers obtaining released time from the military to play on Saturdays "...very quickly died out. It was the usual reaction — They're playing and our brothers are out in the Front."49 But as the competitions became more organised and entrenched, the Battle of Britain subsided, and air raids diminished, "they became quite keen on the championships.50

46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Burgess, p. 45.
50 Ibid.
Similarly among the troops

I would say there was a degree of jealousy, understandable, of course. I’ve heard people grumble about privileges allowed to footballers, and occasionally even in public this would be heard. 51 Willie Watson, as were Leslie and Denis Compton, was an outstanding cricketer and footballer and could recall a football trip to Italy late in the war with Busby, Swift, Mercer and others and being barracked in one game with cries of “come on the D-Day Dodgers” from the troops at the game. It was hard to take but he didn’t blame them after the Italian campaign. 52 But after viewing so many other comments in favor of the game, the players, and its vast continuance and participation, these must have been minority jibes, but there was some dissent.

Professional players in the services after obtaining permission to play for a civilian club faced other difficulties. The stories they relate vary, but the problem was the same—lack of transportation. Selection for a military team did eliminate this problem as the team traveled as a group and the military supplied the transport. Stan Mortensen was fortunate enough to be stationed at Blackpool for a period and thus the matches were close at hand. However, on re-assignment to another base other ways had to be found to get to a match.

We used to have lots of friends at all the various camps who used to go out of their way to help us get to these matches and

51 Yates, interview.

a lot of trades people who didn't even play football, but who were very interested in it and who would do anything to help you get to matches. In fact many things, if you were on duty they would change their duty with you so you could get away to go to football matches. Normally we sort of got to the match and back in the same day, but I would imagine on several occasions I disappeared from the base when I shouldn't have been away from the base really. 53

Fortune might also find the professional footballer on a rail route going to London where he could appear for a club there, as there were many trains into the capital. This was the case with Denis Compton. 54 Even location on another good main line would ease the task of getting to matches. Tom Johnston, situated like this, was able to travel from Peterborough to Nottingham with regularity for games. 55 On many occasions clubs would provide coaches for away games, but the players would still have to get to the club for the departure to away games.

So players were left to their own ingenuity to arrive at games on meagre expense money.

Well, normally when they asked us to play in the first place they either dropped us a line or got us on the telephone. And then the week afterwards when we played in the match they would tell us what they wanted the following week and give us instructions as to where to meet the team. Of course, it was left to our own devices how to get to these matches. You know I've come all ways to matches. I've come on the back of motorcycles. I've come on milk lorries. I've come on coal lorries. I've hitchhiked on buses. I've done everything to get to football matches at this particular town. It wasn't always easy to get to a match. 56

53 Mortensen, interview.
54 Compton, interview.
55 Johnston, interview.
56 Mortensen, interview.
"Normally you played locally and if it was a short journey you may get a train, but normally we hitchhiked as this was easy during the war and that saved the expenses!" so states Bill Shankly, a Scotsman.57 Sam Bartram could recall hitchhiking to play for York at Hartlepoo in a snowstorm, when a fire engine picked him up on the way to a fire. After a hair-raising ride on ice covered roads, he arrived at the ground after the game had started with a substitute goalkeeper. This was the only time he was ever late for a match. He had to sit and watch frustrated, as York City lost.58

In another incident, Stanley Matthews arrived at Leeds Station five minutes before kick-off time after their train was delayed by fog. He and Jack Dodds raced to a taxi, jumped the queue, startling everybody, and sped to the ground putting on stockings and shoes in transit, arriving as the R.A.F. unit with only nine players and the army team were entering the pitch. "It was the nearest I had ever been to being late. I never want to be so close again. It upset me for days and we even lost the match."59 Things did improve for Matthews, however, as a member of the R.A.F. representative side the team flew to most of the matches which were at varied distances from Blackpool, including to the Continent.60 Les Gore, like others, recalled that although trains and buses were unreliable

57 Shankly, interview.
58 Bartram, pp. 101-102.
59 Matthews, pp. 116-117. 60 Ibid.
he always made his destination. 61

There were more elaborate schemes, however. A former standout with Crystal Palace bent regulations a bit as

... he used to hitch a ride from the aerodrome he was on to Croydon Aerodrome [in south London] which was occupied by the Canadian airmen, flying Spitfires and Hurricanes all through the war. But he used to hitch a ride on a transport plane and take all his officers with him to the match, then they used to fly back again. But we didn't know that at the time. He rarely missed a match, but there was one. We found out later that the plane crash landed, but nobody was hurt. But that was probably the only reason he missed the match, because the plane never arrived at Croydon. 62

Even when the representative sides went to Northern Ireland those selected had to make their own way to the northwest coast of England. Players in the South met in London, those in Scotland in Manchester, those in the Midlands in Birmingham, and then all made their way to Liverpool to rendezvous and go to Belfast on the black painted ship, for blackout purposes, of course, for the matches in Ireland. 63

Albert Smith, registered with one of the London clubs was stationed at Dorchester in Dorset and managed to gain a pass on Christmas Day. He made his way at great inconvenience by making three or four changes by train for a game at Bournemouth, taking most of his day. 64

But he would have been well repaid by playing in that

61 Gore, interview.
63 Ibid.
64 Yates, interview.
match. And I think that was the spirit of them all. It became almost an obsession, a challenge to them, if they could get out of barracks to get to a ground to play for a club and I think that this really underlines the fact that the professional footballer really loves the game, whatever he is getting paid. 65

On the other hand, Bill Shankly, a true Scot, found that traveling to London added twenty shillings more in expense money over staying to play for a provincial team. One sportswriter wondered in his column if the trip to London was really necessary.

That was a man called L.V. Manning [long-time sportswriter]. I traveled up from Yarmouth in the south of England to play for Arsenal. Being as Arsenal had the pick of many other players, he [Manning] wondered if my journey was necessary. My retort was that, of course, Arsenal wanted the best players and possibly gave me ten shillings more, maybe more, I wouldn't tell you! [this writer]. 66

There was also a great deal of cooperation among clubs themselves to field a full side for each other, especially in a large metropolitan area as London.

I was at Charlton one day when Arsenal played there. George Allison, Arsenal’s manager, had about sixteen players. So only eleven could play so he then picks the phone up and rings Fulham, Brentford, and all the other London clubs who were playing in London and says, 'Do you want one of my players, are you short?' And the players, someone would give them a lift and drive them over or a service car would take them across London. You know these sort of things were common place.

He even recalled a Scottish international, who showed up at Brentford when they already had a full side. The Bees phoned Spurs and found that they could use him. So he hitched across London arriving twenty

65 Ibid.

66 Shankly, interview.

67 Peskett, interview.
minutes after the start, but the Spurs had played with ten men until he arrived. 68

Getting to the game presented many problems, but maintaining players' equipment, or kit, did not prove to be a great problem during the war, which is a mild surprise. Many older men remained on their jobs in sporting goods manufacturing firms to help fill the demand for all sorts of sporting equipment needed for the tremendous number of service bases and stations. Further, since the government allowed, even encouraged, sport the equipment at least had to be available. 69 In addition, the F.A. worked with the services in supplying football and other sports equipment to thousands of British prisoners of war in Germany and Italy. 70

Furthermore, clothing coupon drives allowed clubs to maintain game uniforms. Since there were few, if any practices, the wear and tear on the needed equipment was negligible, compared to peacetime. Boots were much heavier and sturdier in that period and with care they lasted several seasons. 71 In fact, George Male claims to have worn only two pairs of boots in his whole eighteen year career as a first class professional! 72 So the problem of equipment was not as

68 Ibid.
69 Winterbottom, interview.
71 Gore, interview.
72 Male, interview.
acute as would be first imagined in this period of strict rationing. But rationing and the expense of available equipment did produce at least one interesting fiddle.

The services were, of course, much more fortunate than civilians in those days when it came to obtaining sports gear. Unlike civilians, we had to produce no clothing coupons to buy jerseys and shorts, and one of the camp personnel took full advantage of this.

When two section teams played each other in our Station League it was the practice for one member of each side to draw the kit from the stores..., and any man not returning his equipment was charged — but at a much reduced rate compared with the civilian cost of the purchase.

One day, a man had drawn a full set of kit for a complete team and reported the lot had been lost. When none of it turned up we had no option but to charge him for the lot — something like £7, which he readily paid.

We later discovered that he had sent all the kit to his local team, which was having the usual civilian difficulty in obtaining the equipment.\(^7\)

To relate stories of players' experiences in games during the war could undoubtedly fill a book themselves, but the following should illustrate some of the situations which occurred under the hectic conditions of wartime soccer. There was a game at Charlton against Arsenal when Swindin, the goalkeeper, was unavailable for Arsenal, so a call went out on the loudspeaker for

"Hooper, [of Spurs thought to be in the crowd] the footballer to report to the dressing room... [A] small fellow turned up and all were surprised — it was Mark Hooper — winger of Sheffield Wednesday. So he went to wing and Les Compton in goal versus Charlton at the Valley.\(^7\)

Stan Mortensen remembers "something happened every match —


something really did happen every match!" During this period he played a considerable number of games for Bath City in the West. On this occasion he found himself in London, over one hundred miles from Bath, for a medical examination.

I didn't get away until very late and I wanted to get a taxi to a place called Newbury and I had a car waiting there to take me the rest of the way to Bath. I know that at three o'clock (kick-off time) we were still fifteen miles away from the ground. The ground was putting on the loudspeaker, as we kept phoning ahead, Mortensen is just passing through such and such a place. It was a very funny situation. Of course, it had a wonderful happy ending because I got on the field about twenty-five minutes after they'd kicked off and the first time I kicked the ball I scored a goal.

A game at Chelsea which took nearly three hours to complete was recalled by Joe Mercer. At the height of the Battle of Britain, the sirens went so often "we were in and out, in and out," but the game reached completion. On the other hand, Bill Shankly could not recall any game stopped due to alerts or actual bombing. The sirens would go "but no one could be bothered. It took more than that to shift us." Mercer also recalls another instance, when he was selected for the Army against Scotland at Hampden Park.

We were attracting nearly 100,000 and only getting 30 bob. You know the ball boy would get a suit, a neck tie, and more money than us... the Army were paying soldiers at the time. Well the old beavers said, 'What's this soldiers getting paid--Ridiculous! You can't do this.' So they stopped our 30 shillings. So the Army played Scotland at Newcastle with 60,000 there. As we say we cut it up. We'll just push it about and make a friendly match, if we're getting no money. You know

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75 Mortensen, interview.  
76 Ibid.  
77 Mercer, interview.  
78 Shankly, interview.
we were only getting 30 bob, but it was the principle of the thing. So we went, 60,000 spectators, a frosty ground and we knocked it about. Just made it a friendly game. We got the 30 bob after that.\textsuperscript{79}

Tom Lawton, famed Everton player, guested for Morton, while in Scotland on his honeymoon. He gained a goal against Hamilton Academicals.\textsuperscript{80} There is no further report on that marriage thirty years later. Eddie Hapgood found himself confined to barracks for a misdemeanor, later dismissed, while in the R.A.F. on a game day. He appealed to the duty officer and he was allowed to play for Arsenal. However, two Air Police escorted him to the dressing room, then to the field, back to the dressing room, then to the barracks after the game. They even trotted with him as he led Arsenal onto the field.\textsuperscript{81}

The following story was related by Charles Hall of Charlton and told nearly identically in \textit{Chelsea Champions} (p. 88).

This particular person was going around to these individual clubs saying he was a professional footballer [Tollinton], and they could look up the book with all the registered professionals and the manager here said, 'Yes, you're going to play for us this afternoon.' 'What position?' 'Inside right.' So he takes his money before the game, goes out on the field and honestly you've never seen such a performance in all your life. This fellow didn't know which end of the football to kick or which leg to kick it with. He was going around collecting 30 bob from every club. Because of this performance the manager pulls him off after half an hour because he's had enough of him. The fellow walks out bold as brass, 'Well, if you don't want me here, then I'll go somewhere else.' And he evidently did this to two other clubs besides us. He is not only getting

\textsuperscript{79}Mercer, interview.

\textsuperscript{80}\textit{The Manchester Guardian}, January 20, 1941, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{81}Brian Glanville, \textit{Arsenal Football Club} (London: Conroy Publications, 1952), p. 90.
30 shillings but getting expenses as well. So he probably walks out with about four pounds in his pocket. Of course, when the manager at Millwall found out, he said, 'That's funny, matey, because he's done the same to me.'

Bill Birrell, Chelsea manager, was met at the ground one morning by a police inspector following a bombing raid. A bomb was buried in the terracing and he was informed that the bomb squad could not arrive for a week, because of their heavy work load. Birrell would not wait as there was a game the following day. So he promptly put his hand in the hole, pulled out a shell cap, and thus a game date was saved. One can only be thankful the alternative did not occur.

Two stories, while not concerned especially with professional football, illustrate the peculiarities of wartime soccer. The first demonstrates the precarious relation between an army officer and the army player in a game.

An Army officer, unless he is the referee has no jurisdiction over Army players during a football match played under Football Association rules. This was held yesterday by the Taunton and District Saturday League in a case where an officer, a spectator, at a league match between military teams, ordered two players off the field when ill-feeling developed between them. The officer, it was said, probably acted from the military standpoint because if the players involved were an N.C.O. and a private and if blows had been struck a charge might have arisen. The league chairman pointed out that there is no distinction of military rank on the football field and that the referee is the sole controller of the game. He added that he had never heard of a similar incident.

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84 The Manchester Guardian, November 16, 1945, p. 6.
The second incident during an army game involved famed English comedian Gardew Robinson, who may have scored the only goal as a result of a landmine while participating in an R.A.F. group match. The disposal personnel had removed a landmine which had landed in the camp at Uxbridge and taken it several miles away for detonation.

As I prepared to take the corner they were preparing to explode the landmine. And as my corner kick went over so the landmine went off! Even in spite of the distance, the noise and impact were tremendous. Not unnaturally every player on the field stood stock-still. This included the Service Police goalkeeper. He remained riveted to the spot as the ball sailed over his head from my wind-assisted kick and finished in the net. The referee, the first to recover from the shock pointed to the centre spot and in spite of vigorous police protests stuck to his decision. After all there is nothing in the rules which covers mine-assisted corner kicks.

But perhaps the strangest story of this period concerns goalkeeper Bert Trautmann of Manchester City, English footballer of the Year in 1956. (It was this particular incident that lead to the development of this research.) Trautmann, a German paratrooper was captured and taken to England as a prisoner of war in April 1945. Taken to Northwich and then to Ashton-in-Makersfield, he remained in a P.O.W. camp until 1948. He was "as happy and contented as I suppose any man can be in a prisoner-of-war camp in an enemy land." There were many intracamp soccer games in the rather relaxed camp proceedings and it was here that he switched from half back to goal-

86 Bert Trautmann, Steppes to Wembley (London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1956), p. 34.
87 Ibid.
keeper because of a slight injury. He swapped positions for a period with Günther Luhr, who eventually became an outstanding German goalkeeper.\textsuperscript{38} Also, as time went on, the P.O.W. camp team was able to move out to play Lancashire teams in Wigan, Warrington, and St. Helens. These drew good crowds, largely out of curiosity.

But our average gates were over four thousand, and we helped raise several thousands of pounds for the Red Cross. I cannot remember exactly, but I think our team — Camp 50 — played about ninety such matches of which we lost only four, and of the players at least five are in First Division football in Germany today [1956].\textsuperscript{39}

Life was very informal and he made many friends in the area. Since there was really no penalty for going beyond the three mile limit, he and others went off to Preston, Bolton and Liverpool. There the policemen even admitted them to the ground for nothing!\textsuperscript{40}

Upon his release in 1948, he opted for farm work in England rather than repatriation, since he knew his family was well in Germany. At that time a friend suggested that he contact Bill Shankly at Preston for a trial with North End.\textsuperscript{41} Shankly, although he had not and did not see him in action until Trautmann was with Manchester City, had heard of his ability, but he replied that he had no authority to offer trials. Shankly says now, "If I had seen him play then I would have forced Preston North End — he was such a brilliant man, brilliant man."\textsuperscript{42} Thus nothing really came from this effort. As a result, Trautmann approached St. Helens Town, an amateur side, for

\textsuperscript{38}Ibid.  \textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 35.  \textsuperscript{40}Ibid.  \textsuperscript{41}Ibid., p. 37.  
\textsuperscript{42}Shankly, interview.
which he signed in 1948. 93 He had a warm reception there. This is surprising so soon after the war. Possibly the populace was used to the P.O.W.s in the area. His acceptance by his teammates, ex-servicemen, was on the basis of another player.

Scouts from the professionals soon became aware of Trautmann's ability. The interested clubs narrowed to two or three, notably Burnley and Manchester City. Trautmann signed for the latter in October 1949. 94 Opposition to him stiffened here. The considerable Jewish population in Manchester threatened to boycott the club. Ticket holders expressed disgust, and there were a multitude of other displeasures. 95 Others, however, felt now that the war was over, the bitterness must be forgotten and each German judged on his own merits. The most realistic views were taken by the City chairman, who knew that Trautmann would upset some people, but "City needs a goalkeeper." A supporter, who wrote to the chairman, stated that he didn't care where Trautmann was from. He would "take anybody who could put some life into the team!" 96 Eric Westwood, team captain and veteran of Normandy, welcomed Trautmann to his staff, stating there was no war in their dressing room, and he was as welcome as any other staff member. "I had arrived." 97

After only a month in the reserves, he was in the first team by November 19th, and made his debut before 35,000 at Bolton, where City lost inauspiciously 3-0. 98 However, skill-wise he showed great

93 Trautmann, p. 37. 94 Ibid., p. 43. 95 Ibid., p. 45.
96 Ibid., p. 47. 97 Ibid. 98 Ibid.
promise and when he went for his London debut against Fulham, he expected trouble. This city, which had suffered so much damage as a result of German bombs, could have been very hostile, but just the reverse happened. Several Fulham players shook hands with him after the game and many spectators stood and applauded, as he left the field. 

"He had such tremendous ability that people soon forgot [the war]." 

Trautmann went on to become one of City's greats and led them to two F.A. Cup finals in 1955 and 1956. When a testimonial match was played upon Trautmann's retirement on April 15, 1964, there was a near riot at Maine Road, as fans streamed on the field for a last handshake. Thus again it seems that wars come and go, but the need for a good footballer is a chronic one, which can neutralize the effects of even the worst war in history.

The practicalities of football, when, where, and how to get there, have been reviewed, as well as several wartime incidents. Now how did these professional footballers feel about the wartime game and what affect did it have on their careers. While the war took at least five or six playing years out of their careers, most players researched felt that the war period was an enjoyable one, if not a financially profitable part of their career. On the negative

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99 Ibid., p. 50.

100 Shankly, interview.

side, Les Gore was most emphatic that the war hindered his career. He had begun professionally in 1932, and the war definitely took away his last earning years in the game. On the other hand, he felt that having wartime organized football certainly aided players' morale.

"Absolutely, absolutely. I used to look forward to having a game on Saturday. I think you had to have something like that to take your mind off other things. It gave a purpose to life... and I would have played football anyway whether I got paid or not."

Tom Johnston, although an amateur when the war broke out, was at the point of turning professional, and thus probably lost a very productive League period. However, he also enjoyed the wartime fare. Similarly, Denis Compton stated that he "entirely enjoyed my wartime football. I think really that was the best time of my life as far as football is concerned." It allowed Compton the freedom to develop his game and skills with less pressure than in peacetime, and kept him physically fit for peacetime soccer, when it resumed. Compton felt also that keeping soccer going during wartime was vital to the war effort and to both players and spectators. Both groups looked forward to the Saturday game and "this played a major part in keeping up the morale of the population in this country." Another who felt that for the player soccer was a needed diversion, especially after working long hours in a factory, was John Harris.

\[102\] Gore, interview. \[103\] Ibid.  
\[104\] Johnston, interview.  
\[105\] Compton, interview. \[106\] Ibid. \[107\] Ibid.  
\[108\] Harris, interview.
A number of players felt the war actually enhanced or speeded up their development by providing the opportunity for quality football experience. This was especially true with young players. As an example, Billy Wright, who was too young to go into the services, gained much valuable experience with Leicester City and Wolverhampton.

"The emphasis in wartime football was on skill rather than pace, so I was able to learn the many varied and complex duties of wing-half thoroughly."109 Moving into Wolves first team, he quickly reached representative soccer. "Playing along side such magnificent players as Frank Swift, Willy Watson, and Tommy Lawton and against such experienced opponents did my game inestimable good."110 Thus he was ready for top level soccer when peacetime returned.

Joe Mercer felt that while some productive years were lost, the opportunity to play quality competition during the war aided the game in reestablishing itself quickly in the postwar period.111 Mercer played about 27 wartime and four Victory internationals. He felt fortunate that he was able to do something he liked and that it was a useful job, entertainment of troops and workers, as well.112 But the war took its toll in the natural course of years on Joe Mercer. He had been an attacking wing half for Everton prior to the war, but when he went to Arsenal in the early postwar period, he played much

110 Ibid.
111 Mercer, interview.
112 Ibid.
more of a defensive half back, because he had slowed down physically.\footnote{Male, interview.}

Stan Mortensen probably made as great a rise in wartime as any player in the period. With some distinguished appearances with Bath City, Blackpool, Blackpool Services, Sunderland, Aberdeen and Arsenal, he moved into representative matches quickly and gained a playing understanding with Stanley Matthews. These two were a powerful thrust for Blackpool following the war.\footnote{Mortensen, interview.} Perhaps this understanding is illustrated when Mortensen appeared in the same side as Matthews for the first time during the war. Mortensen recalls,

I wondered what instructions he'd give me before the match. All he said was 'Just play your normal game; we'll sort things out.' Of course, for years after that Stan Matthews and I became quite an ordered partnership on the right wing for Blackpool and England. I have some very happy memories, but I always appreciated his word to me that first time I played with him. He would fit in with my game, rather than me fit in with his.\footnote{Ibid.}

Due to the war, and the tremendous amount of experience Mortensen had alongside some of the great players, he developed rapidly and was selected for representative sides.\footnote{Ibid.} He also felt, like the others, that wartime football was vital to both the players and the workers.

Henry Cockburn, like Mortensen, was very young when the war started. He turned professional in 1943, and was one of the original "Busby Babes" at Manchester United in the late 1940's. He felt the war period gave him a tremendous opportunity, since it presented him with the chance to step into strong competition from the start.\footnote{Cockburn, interview.}
Sam Bartram felt that wartime football was a pleasant experience, especially playing on representative teams with other outstanding players. Willie Watson was another who believed it was the wartime games which brought him to the attention of the football authorities, and allowed him to gain some wartime honors. Jackie Milburn, who was very young during the war years, spent much of it as an amateur for Ashington A.T.C. He found the play as keen as if there were no war and late in the war gained some experience with Newcastle United which aided his career.

Trevor Ford, the Welsh international, turned professional with Swansea in 1942. When he went into the military in 1943, he guested with Leyton Orient. This gave him valuable League experience that would have taken much longer to obtain in peacetime. Len Shackleton, who began his professional career at Bradford Park Avenue, gained much experience there. He stayed in Bradford, when the radio company he worked for moved to Coventry in 1945, because Park Avenue was developing a respectable side. Since he had a good chance to develop his football skills, he got a job with the coal pits nearby, as a Bevin Boy. In 1946, he was selected for England.

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118 Bartram, p. 104.
119 Watson, p. 27.
122 Shackleton, pp. 60-63.
Welsh international, Ron Burgess, believed some people felt that footballers had an easier time than the typical soldier in the war. He agrees with this, but also believes that they brought much enjoyment to civilians and the military, as well as raised funds for charity.\textsuperscript{123} Although the war gave many players, especially the young ones, valuable experience and deprived some established footballers of several profitable playing years, it came and went, but Stan Matthews, a star from the early thirties with Stoke City continued. He was named Footballer of the Year in 1948 with Blackpool, and again in 1963 with Stoke City. His amazing record cuts across four decades including the war years.

Another attitude toward wartime soccer is presented by Cliff Bastin. On the whole, "I found war football quite enjoyable."\textsuperscript{124} However, after citing several incidents, he continues, "so much for wartime football...there was a half-hearted atmosphere about most of the games I played in."\textsuperscript{125} This is obviously not the feeling of men though, who were working to perfect skills as cited in the previous instances. Nor is it the feeling of the individuals who went to such lengths to get away from bases or factories to participate in a match, nor of those who did not stop when the alert sounded. Likewise half hearted interest is not reflected by the workings of the

\textsuperscript{123}Burgess, p. 62.


\textsuperscript{125}Ibid., p. 163.
F.A. Disciplinary Committee, which functioned with its usual number of problem situations throughout the war. Bastin continues, "Nobody ever pretended that war-time football had any real significance." The term "real significance" can be read several ways. If he meant that records were not considered as part of all-time standings, his statement is correct. If, however, the position taken is that to organize wartime leagues, cup competitions and an elaborate scheme whereby the game of soccer could continue, and in certain instances flourish, was vital to the game, and all it touched, than wartime football has "real significance," and it must have been wanted by a large percentage of the population. However, Bastin feels

...what did matter was that the much bombed, underfed people of Britain should be given entertainment. This the professional footballer gave them. The average Britain loves the game of football, and I am sure that the fact that he was able to see his favourite team in action, even though sadly depleted throughout the war, was a really important factor in boosting morale. And that was all that mattered.\footnote{127}

Another aspect of wartime competition through the military was expressed by Bill Shankly.

It was a tremendous thing when all of the great players were in the services. Suddenly the boys in the Army found themselves along with Joe Mercer in the same billets. Then they started playing football and, of course, to be with them and see them \[the professionals\] was great.\footnote{128}

Attendances at matches by troops was very good, when name players were involved. This closeness and entertainment value was very important to the war effort.\footnote{129}

\footnote{126}{Ibid.} \footnote{127}{Ibid.} \footnote{128}{Shankly, interview.} \footnote{129}{Ibid.}
There were other factors, beyond the observation of the game, in which soccer appears to have contributed to the soldiers’ life.

In the barracks or elsewhere even

...during the grimmer parts, the conversation, the banter, the arguments about the teams and their records and performances had continued appeal. This was a constant topic of conversation and no one in my experience, that was in the Royal Armoured Corps, ever dared to stop the discussion. There may have been a frown or two from a few of the more intellectual, but even those who had drifted away from the game felt they ought to ‘be with it’ and they used to join in and contribute their meagre knowledge in many cases or launch an argument on behalf of their own club. It also meant when people went on leave they were eager to gain some sort of entertainment and they were very much inclined to go to a match even if they had not been regular supporters before the war. 130

Soccer in this way provided a common topic, which really no other single item could do, to individuals from all parts of the country whether Scottish, Welsh, Irish or English. Also those people, who were thrust together in a factory or A.R.P. post for the first time found some common interest in football for conversation. 131

Another area of concern at this time was the quality of football played. Examining the previous statements by players shows that the skill stayed at a reasonable level. Players thrust into the competition were able to go on to develop and stay in the game after the war, and those who played previously were also able to continue. The wartime soccer did not hurt playing skills and in many instances helped. Les Yates felt

...the quality was quite good. Perhaps we made some allowance for it not having tension that is attendant on peacetime competi-

130 Yates, interview. 131 Ibid.
tions as well as suffering technically at times from lack of training. Still players were fit from normal physical training in the forces and thus could take the rigors of the game. 132

The game was slower in that period, and prior to the war, with nothing like the tactical complications of recent years. The player was freer to express his total skills. 133 It is also doubtful that people would have continued to patronize games in increasing numbers, as the war went on, if the quality had not at least been respectable. Roy Peskett, journalist, went so far as to state, "It was probably the most attractive football ever seen in Britain considering conditions...it was a joy just to see these great players in exhibition [as in the charity games] football." 134

Players, such as Compton, Mercer, and Shankly, also felt it was good football. Of course, many of their matches were on a higher level than the typical players, because of their participation in representative matches. However, even typical supporters, such as P. Firth at Huddersfield felt the games there were of good quality throughout. 135 John Whittock, longtime Fulham and Chelsea supporter, stated, "It really wasn't too bad." 136 And at York City accustomed to Third Division fare, the guest players and remaining

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132 Ibid. 133 Ibid.
134 Peskett, interview.
135 Statement by P. Firth, personal interview, April 23, 1971.
team made it the best grade of football seen before or since the war.\footnote{137}

Possibly the atmosphere engendered by the war led to the development of the post game handshake among players. Les Yates observed this development during the war, and while some may disagree, he feels strongly that it had its origins during this period.

Now it was not the custom before the war in League football for the players to shake hands as they left the field. There might be some kind of demonstration of that kind at a Cup final, but normally the players simply trooped off the field with no show whatever. But this handshaking was something that sprang from the feeling of comraderie during the war, where everyone was glad to be alive, and still have been able to engage in a game of football and know each other even though they had put all they had into a ninety minute game.

The practice was developed and continued into postwar football and still exists today. And I am quite sure in my own mind, although I've had difficulty in finding players whose memories are clear enough to recall this. But I'm quite sure it did stem from the hazards that we faced at that time and the kinship the players felt for each other even though on opposing sides.\footnote{138}

Before the impression is made that all footballers had an easy time of it during the war, it should be noted that many went off to the war zones and came back to appear only occasionally for their peacetime club or as a guest for another. Some never returned, killed in one of the war's actions. The F.A. publication, \textit{Victory Was the Goal}, cites some of those honored for their efforts,

\ldots but a whole volume would be needed to record, even in briefest outline their exploits and experiences, and many pages

\footnote{137}{Statement by Robert Robinson, personal interview, April 22, 1971.}

\footnote{138}{Yates, interview.}
of that volume would be required to list the honours and
decorations which they won by their valour and their prowess
in battle on land, at sea and in the air.\textsuperscript{139}

Through the efforts of the players on the home front the charitable
funds from their soccer efforts reached nearly $120,000.\textsuperscript{140} Even
in this lone category, the game made an immense contribution. Overall
the Sports Committee on a national level, including all sports taking
part, realized £2,980,938 for charity during the war.\textsuperscript{141}

The referees were as necessary as the players themselves for
the smooth functioning of soccer. It is difficult to gain information
on these men in peacetime, let alone during a war. This is largely
due to the fact that there are no professional referees, that is,
one who make their living as an official. These men are semi-
professionals, who have some other means of livelihood and referee
for a match fee. This applies from the lowest amateur league to the
Football League. Only the amount of the fee varies.

Thus when war came this group went into the factories, services,
and related war areas, just as did the rest of the population. Then
the problem of finding referees for matches developed, just as it did
with players. The military never really lacked at anytime for officials,
referees or linesmen, as they had lists of registered officials serving
in the military and those residing in communities near military in-

\textsuperscript{139} Victory Was the Goal, pp. 38-39.
\textsuperscript{140} \emph{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{141} \emph{Ibid.}
own ranks for matches ranging from unit competitions all the way to representative matches. For civilian matches locating referees was difficult. However, professional leagues in many instances could not obtain listed referees and linesmen for matches and had to take anyone available, who was a referee regardless of classification. This often meant using those past retirement age (late forties) for League officials who were in industry and reserved occupations.

There was no elaborate scheme for contacting and engaging referees once football restarted.

We were simply notified by anyone who happened to be left behind in a position of authority and you got it in the usual way, either by telephone or correspondence....People who had to find referees and linesmen did by hearsay more than by anything else, due to call-ups and transfers of people.

Referees received 10/6 per match and expenses for travel, which was usually by train. Although like the players, they often resorted to hitchhiking and faced the same difficulties. There was no pay for internationals, but they would be given a momento of the occasion, such as a tankard, cigarette lighter or cigarette case.

Surprisingly some training of referees and linesmen continued during the war. This went on through the county associations as did

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142 Prince, interview.
143 Yates, interview.
144 Statement by George Reader, personal interview, May 19, 1971.
145 Ibid.
146 Ibid.
many functions rather than through the Football Association. "They had their own training sessions and coaching committees and they would do it just the same and pass them you see... The F.A. itself didn't have any courses." The results of these sessions is seen in the following announcement in The Manchester Guardian. "Four prominent Association footballers have passed the Leicestershire F.A. test for referees. They are Drake and Kirchen (Arsenal), Mutch (Preston North End) and Dickie (Blackburn Rovers and St. Johnstone)."

Here, as with some players, the opportunity for early experience and quick advancement evidenced itself due to the war conditions. There was the example of

Arthur Blythe, who became an international referee, and on the F.L. list for several years and he had never refereed anything above a match on Tottenham Marshes, which is just an open stretch of ground. He turned up one day at Spur's ground, whilst on leave from the army, and asked the Secretary if both the linesmen had turned up because he was available. He was told to hang on, and in fact the other did not arrive, and Mr. Blythe had the great thrill of running onto the Tottenham ground as a linesman. He had a word with the Secretary afterwards and said that when he was on leave he would come by and let him know. As a result of that he officiated regularly until the end of the war, and with the experience gained he managed to get on the Football League List almost as soon as the war ended.

He was classified as a linesman in 1945-46 and was an approved official early in the war years.

Jack Wiltshire, who at 37 years of age, was too old for R.A.F. duty in the P.T. Corps, became a services policeman. He officiated

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147 Miller, interview.
149 Yates, interview.
many games during the war, as there was a great demand for officials. He even felt that battalion football was better than Third Division fare. Wiltshire officiated many of these matches and found the experience "exhilarating."

Mervyn Griffiths had just reached the League linesmen status when the war came in 1939. He handled a little football in addition to this R.A.F. duties until 1942. When he passed the R.A.F. Physical Training course, time was available to officiate R.A.F. games, but he was unable to do any League matches except at Cardiff while stationed there, because of his military duties. Thus his first refereeing in the League competitions did not occur until after the war. While it may have delayed his League refereeing debut, the war appears to neither have helped nor hindered his officiating career.

Arthur Ellis, another renowned referee, was a linesmen prior to the war. In the early part of the war he was able to referee many games at Halifax Town, his home. Later, when in the R.A.F., he moved up to officiate at representative level and was able to gain permission from his commanding officer to referee nearby League matches, when stationed in Blackpool. The procedure parallels players' leaves for participation in matches and there were times when he could not gain release to officiate. Ellis was able to

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152 Ellis, p. 36.  
153 Ibid., p. 40.
develop through associations with other officials and he refereed his first League match the day football resumed in 1946. 154

Mr. George Reader, present chairman of Southampton Football Club and prominent wartime and postwar referee (including the 1950 World Cup final between Brazil and Uruguay in Rio before the record crowd of 200,000), was appointed a League referee in 1938. 155 When war broke out officials went about looking after their own affairs since they were not under contracts as players were. 156 Mr. Reader, a schoolmaster, accompanied his evacuated school children to Christ Church from Southampton. Since he was older and in a reserved occupation, he was not called into the military. He functioned between Aldershot and Portsmouth on alternate weekends for a lengthy period of time and thus could plan around these dates. 157 The evacuation did not last long and he was able to operate again out of the Southampton area, although school commitments forced him to turn down games on occasion. 158 Since he was a veteran official, he refereed several representative matches and wartime internationals. He also had some Cup games. He was always given plenty of notice by the Football Association or the Football League and thus could plan his activities around these dates. 159 Reader was able to handle England versus Wales in 1943, England versus Scotland in 1944,
England versus France and Wales in 1945, and England versus Belgium in 1946 — a distinguished wartime record. 160

One of Reader's more vivid recollections was returning to Southampton after a match to find

...the raid on Southampton had just started. I got back at twenty past six and it went on until five the next morning. That was when the whole commercial area of Southampton was razed. It was after the match and I spent the next four or five hours putting out incendiaries. 161

Also, when not working League matches, Reader explains,

I did some local stuff, as service units, and the match would finish and the boys would come over and say, 'Well, good-bye Mr. Reader, we're going overseas tomorrow.' They'd had their last game of football in England. 162

Wartime refereeing was not any easier than in peacetime, but Mr. Reader felt, as did all the others interviewed, that football made a vital contribution to the morale and general interest of the people and that the authorities unquestionably made the right decision to keep the game going during wartime. 163

With this the spectators would also agree. Early in the war Mass Observation's survey found over 65 percent of those who were normally Saturday football followers were not attending, or attending only occasionally, due to jobs, which then included Saturday shifts, travel restrictions, and family obligations. 164 Also comments on the game itself by those who attended these early regional matches in 1939

varied greatly. A Queen's Park Rangers' fan thought it "more enjoyable to watch." A railwayman thought it lacked some spirit. And a Blackburn supporter said it was sporadic, on days when the crowd was good the football seemed better and vice versa. He notes only once in six matches did he hear conversation on anything but football.165

However, as noted previously the regional leagues did not prove popular with virtually anyone and thus when the League organization went to larger North and South competitions the attendances improved. Interviews with several newsmen, players and spectators also indicated that after the population had become accustomed to the war routine of work and available free time, transportation adjustment had taken place, and especially after the Battle of Britain subsided, attendances improved. It has already been noted in this work that gates increased when the League competitions solidified, good representative matches were attractive, and the games competitive. Obviously attendances could not reach prewar figures because of the sheer numbers in the military and with Saturday job commitments, but that it steadily increased throughout the war indicates interest and involvement, as well as good organization by the governing bodies and national approval.

Furthermore, the relationship between player and spectator was much different during the war, then it was prior to it. After the outbreak of war, players were seen in the camps. They lived with these

165 Ibid., pp. 260-266.
other troops or worked in war industries. Les Yates relates how this relationship worked everyday.

I found from my experience when traveling, perhaps in a train from a match, with a player that there would be other persons, generally soldiers or military personnel that would come along and sit down, and talk freely, and the player would talk quite freely. But this again is not really strange because few of them knew what the next hour, week or month might bring. It was this attitude of 'we're all in it together' which extended throughout one's ordinary life. 166

The supporters who came to wartime grounds

...were just as keen in those days as they are today. In fact they must have been even more keen to come and stand on the terraces with all those threats of air raids. Football was just as keen then as now. I don't think it will ever change. 167

One side effect for an involved spectator was possible selection from the stands to play when the teams were shorthanded prior to a game. "They used to say to the spectators if you've got a pair of shoes keep them with you because you never know if you'll be playing in a match. These things used to happen, you know." 168

The attitude of the supporters interviewed was one of merely going to view a football match, coupled with the feeling that war really had very little to do with a decision of whether or not to attend. Perhaps the most typical reaction was that of Gladys Smith of Portsmouth, who attended all of the home games at Fratton Park. She never had any fear of attending a match because, "it wouldn't

166 Yates, interview.
167 Hall, interview.
168 Mortensen, interview.
happen to me." 169

Another typical supporter, Robert Robinson of York City, stated that "football was my life than same as it is now. I just don't know what it would be like without it. Must keep me going, you know what I mean." 170 As of the matches themselves,

Oh, they got very interesting, especially when they had regional cup matches, you know. The games were near and handy what with playing home and away. You saw players you might never see in a life time, even if you only saw him in one match...It was something to look forward to. 171

Today at York City "we still get letters saying, 'During the war I was stationed in York and since that time I've been a supporter of City. How are you getting along? Glad to see you winning.' 172 This would indicate a strong interest in the game, players and teams by those observing. It must have been an important part of their wartime lives to still engender interest nearly thirty years later. A new clipping in November 1944, notes,

The referee in charge of one of South Regional League matches failed to hear the sirens yesterday. Play continued. The game finished and the spectators got their moneys worth. Explaining afterwards that he didn't hear the warning the referee admitted to hearing gunfire and noise of planes, but decided not to stop play. 'If, of course, I had heard a bomb, I'd have stopped the game,' he declared. In a match at Tottenham the crowd demonstrated at the stoppage at an alert, but the match was finally abandoned. 173

169 Statement by Gladys Smith, personal interview, April 15, 1971.
170 Robinson, interview. 171 Ibid.
172 Teasdale, interview.
173 London newspaper (unknown), November 24, 1944, from the files of Roy Peskett.
Thus the game was firmly entrenched with the population.

John Whittock, wartime Fulham supporter, also commented that after the bombing at Craven Cottage, it did not bother the later crowds. They just stood around the fenced off area.\textsuperscript{174} Whittock felt that the game was important in the lives of the supporters. "They wanted to go and see their football."\textsuperscript{175} He made a concerted effort to make every home match and never had any fear on the terraces, "No, none at all."\textsuperscript{176}

The initial reaction of Miss Dorothy Atkinson, a Brentford supporter since 1931, when the war broke out was, "Oh, I was very upset about it because I was so fond of my football, I'll tell you... It has always been first in my mind you know!"\textsuperscript{177} She saw games not only at Griffin Park, but also went across London by tube for games at Charlton and Millwall. She explains, "It was in an area where they sort of had a lot of raids, but I don't think there was any real danger."\textsuperscript{178} Was the game really that important to you? "It was good for morale. That's why they kept going...it was very necessary for me because I didn't have anybody up this way. All my people had gone elsewhere because of the war."\textsuperscript{179} Do you recall any ill-feeling towards footballers, who were able to play a lot of football during the war? "I don't remember any. It was just nice being able to see

\textsuperscript{174} Whittock, interview. \textsuperscript{175} Ibid. \textsuperscript{176} Ibid. \textsuperscript{177} Statement by Miss Dorothy Atkinson, personal interview, May 3, 1971. \textsuperscript{178} Ibid. \textsuperscript{179} Ibid.
a game."  She concluded

It was awfully good for me. I'm of the people and I'm one of the people who did go to football during the war. So I think it must have been the same for quite a lot of people, especially those away from their relations.

It is just part of one's life, being a football fan. 181

These supporters had no unusual stories to relate nor did they feel that there was anything unusual about attending the matches. This appears to indicate that the war may have been only a nuisance to the following of football. It appears to play only a small part in the decision to attend or not to attend any particular match. Simply, football was just a part of one's life. Eric Howarth sums it up, "I think without it football there would have been a great void in the social side of people who were fortunate enough, or unfortunate in some cases, to be left at home." 182

180 Ibid.  
181 Ibid.  
182 Howarth, interview.
Chapter 17

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contains major conclusions derived from the research concerning professional soccer during World War II in England. Certain other conclusions about specific situations appear throughout the dissertation and shall stand there. Included here also are recommendations for further research.

Very little preplanning was done in preparation for the continuance of association football in the time of war. As noted previously, most action, when there was any taken by the Football League and the Football Association, was reaction to a present need and not the result of planning for them. This is surprising, since some guidelines from World War I were available, and the world situation definitely presented the possibility of war. Furthermore, little evidence could be found of actual planning between governmental agencies and football's governing bodies for the continuance of the game during wartime, that is how the clubs could be kept going, the best type of competitions, player-soldier responsibilities and how the game could help the war effort. While there were hurried preparations during the suspended period immediately after the outbreak of war, these decisions, which resulted in the regional competitions, a poor solution indeed, were made in reaction to government edicts.
Notice, also, the vast numbers of teams, which joined voluntary service branches prior to the war through the encouragement of their clubs. This probably happened as the result of patriotism and as an example for the rest of the public, as well as out of fear of the criticism that able-bodied footballers were not contributing to the preparedness effort. There might also have been some clinging to the Edwardian idea, which fostered the "Sportsmen's Battalions" of World War I. Then, later what looks like a compromise procedure for reserved occupations, the Physical Training Corps, appeared as many outstanding footballers were on duty in the P.T. Corps, performing a service, as well as being available for a number of quality matches. Mass Observation in 1940 also makes this point.

...in a society where things like sport and jazz are just as important to the masses as politics or religion, it might well be thought that first-class sportsmen were as important to the community as say watchmakers and curates, who are in reserved occupations. Sports like football have an absolute major effect on the morale of the people, and one Saturday afternoon of League matches could probably do more to affect people's spirits than the recent £50,000 Government poster campaign urging cheerfulness.

However, there was no prewar planned program for the use of football in the war effort. As shown it evolved as the war progressed over the years and the game became recognized as an intricate part of the culture and thus of morale. No one expected the same situation or organization of the game to remain in wartime that had existed in peacetime but more thought for the most feasible, realistic type of

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competition could have been planned ahead, as well as alternatives
had the bombing occurred earlier in the war. A Mass Observation
report in 1940 agrees with this. "Advance planning could have
overcome many sports' difficulties."^2

Also, why, if anthropologists state that breaking habits of
long standing, such as viewing football matches, can have dire effects
upon people, would numerous governmental restrictions on an activity
which is taken for granted as an essential part of routine living, be
enacted? Mass Observation noted that "war puritanism" was deeply
imbeded in high government officials like Unitarian N. Chamberlain,
Quaker Samuel Hoare, Presbyterian Sir John Anderson, Baptist preacher
Ernest Brown, and sons of ministers Kingsley Wood and John Simon.
Here is the bedrock sacrifice and duty of another era promoting
its righteousness for a war cause. Though good to a point, it shows
lack of knowledge of what the bulk of the population termed "need"
and governmental authorities termed "luxury."^3 Furthermore, although
Churchill attended matches in an official capacity during the war, he
appears to have no real interest in the game, as he never mentions
these matches in his six volume history of the war. On the other hand,
he does mention other excursions, such as a commencement at the
University of Bristol. In addition, many of these men in high office
would not have had a public football background and would have had
difficulty understanding the game. As the war progressed the govern-
ment at least developed some understanding in this area and the game

^2Ibid. \(^\quad\) ^3Ibid., p. 263.
progressed rather well with its support. It appears that the government must understand the cultural order of its people, not just their political order.

The M.O. report also found that here early in the hostilities and it appears so through the war, that war is not an adequate substitute for sport. It has been alluded to by others that war and sport are closely related. However, war does not appear to be a substitute for sport. During the war, great crowds of troops attended matches in the war zones. If there was a close similarity between war and sport, a revulsion of sport, or at least boredom, could have been expected, since they had had plenty of war. As it was, the interest was extremely high in football from both the military and civilian populations. It grew during the war and peaked in the early postwar years. M.O. suggests likewise that it did not provide any energetic replacement. Sports news was cut drastically, fixtures cancelled, general day to day inconveniences multiplied, such as the blackout and rationing, but the people certainly did not find any excitement in the war bulletins. Alastair Buchan considers the reverse, that sport is a substitute for war. He says, "the impetus to refound the Olympic games early in this century came from the belief that international competition would help serve as a lightning conductor of international tensions: it had no such effect." Thus, sport as a war substitute or vice versa seems to

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4 Ibid., p. 258  
5 Ibid., p. 271.  
have overstated in the past.

As a result of a genuine need for recreation for war workers the old British custom of nonparticipation on Sunday, even on an amateur level, was broken. Even with a retightening immediately after the war, the interest in Sunday play continued and is now a vital part of British amateur football. Likewise, the Players' Union, which was very active in the late war years, became a strong entity for players' pay and improvement of benefits. Furthermore, this period of enforced departure from normal practices allowed the Football Association to examine its goals. The more significant outcomes of this were the appointment of the first national coach and increased educational activities on the part of the F.A.

In spite of neglect of the war period by the vast majority of writers, the game appears vitally important to players and spectators alike. Players made great efforts to get to matches and when there took them seriously, some perhaps too seriously, as the F.A. Discipline Committee functioned throughout the war to deal with discipline problems which nearly equaled the prewar numbers. Spectators' seriousness was also shown in the numbers attending the matches, the lengths they went to attend matches and the view that the football seen was some of the most entertaining, before or since the war. Mass Observation in 1940, found not one person, who was a peacetime supporter, who was against sport in wartime. Even more amazing, only two percent of those who professed no interest in sport at all during peacetime,
were against sport in wartime. 7

Considering the extent of sports participation during the war and the fact that it was one of the very few widespread entertainments for both military and civilian populations, it is puzzling that there was no concerted attack on sports areas such as Wembley, Wimbledon, and Lord's, or other grounds, for psychological reasons, similar to the Baedeker Raids. Grounds that were damaged through enemy action were bombed only because of their close proximity to industrial areas, rather than as targets in themselves. Likewise, considering the extent of the participation in other belligerent countries, the question arises as to why there were no concerted efforts against the enemy's football or other sport facilities. Football facilities, which are a cultural focal point in England and on the Continent, appear as important as any other psychological targets, if not more so.

Most reasons given for the continuance of football appear too narrow, such as for the morale of the services and war workers. Even so fine a scholar as Angus Calder refers to sport, particularly to football, "as a different species of escapism." 8 It is felt here that sport, and in particular the game of association football exemplified on a professional level, is a way of life or part of the individual's life — an intangible, not yet capable of complete

7Mass Observation, p. 262.
analyzation, but nevertheless there. Perhaps this final illustration from the files of journalist Roy Peskett gives further insight into a soccer way of life.

Soccer Championships on the Normandy Beachhead

Amidst all the hustle and bustle of war a soccer championship has been played on the Normandy Beachhead between the men on the L.S.T.'s landing ships. Graphically describing the scenes in a letter to Mr. George Allison, manager of the Arsenal Football Club, motor mechanic R. Flavell, the Scottish International forward writes, 'The pace was terrific on our needle encounters with other ships. Everybody from both L.S.T.'s was there from Captain down and each ship's company had put together £15 as a bet.

Imagine it! Poles were stuck in the sands as goal posts. Lines down in the sand to mark the pitch. Here and there a pool of water, some shallow, others not so shallow. And twenty-two players putting every ounce of effort into the play. All this amidst the hustle and bustle of war. Squadrons of planes roaring overhead; ships by the score landing on the beaches and disembarking tanks, guns, cars, lorries, cranes, and every conceivable implement of war. Long lines of soldiers making their way inland with files of prisoners being escorted to the ships to take them to England completed the unforgettable occasion.

You should have heard the din from the spectators when we equalized five minutes from time!'

"It is just part of one's life being a football fan."\(^{10}\)

The recommendations for further research include the following:

1. A club by club analysis should be made, where possible, of all League teams for a definitive history of wartime professional soccer. In certain areas, the records have been lost in mishaps, usually fires, since the war. However, most of the information

\(^{9}\)"Soccer Championships on the Normandy Beachhead," August 26, 1944, copy-sheets, from the files of Roy Peskett.

\(^{10}\)Statement by Miss Dorothy Atkinson, personal interview, May 3, 1971.
appears to be in the local papers and in the wartime programs available from collectors and from fans.

2. A more complete history of sport in general in England during World War II could be recorded, and should include other sports, as both codes of rugby, cricket, horse and greyhound racing, golf, athletics, and boxing, to complete the wartime picture.

3. Other belligerent countries, such as France, Germany and Italy, could be studied for the extent of organizational adjustments and the government's role in regard to sport in these countries. Time could also be devoted to Russia and Japan, especially in regard to the extent sport played in their cultural life.

4. Sports sociologists could study the aspects of sport in wartime and the cultural implications of this phenomenon. It appears as war becomes more sophisticated so does the system of maintaining sport. This thus should be an important area of future research.
APPENDIX A

FOOTBALL LEAGUE STANDINGS AND CUP COMPETITIONS
### Table 1  
Final League Tables - Season 1939-40

#### South "A."

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Team</th>
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* Match Bournemouth v. Norwich City not played.

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Bradford (P.A.) v. Darlington
Leeds United v. Halifax Town
Bradford City v. Leeds United

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Table 3

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Table 5

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* Decided by position in League Table.

## Table 6

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*Add. Points - Points calculated on 18 matches.

### Table 8

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December 27, 1941 to May 30, 1942

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Bradford Wanderers | 14 | 6  | 7  | 1  | 28  | 25  | 13   |
Bournemouth & B.A. | 8  | 2  | 4  | 2  | 11  | 21  | 8    |
Bristol City     | 17 | 9  | 5  | 3  | 55  | 29  | 21   |
Bury            | 15 | 6  | 7  | 2  | 46  | 39  | 14   |
Doncaster Rovers | 9  | 2  | 7  | 0  | 10  | 30  | 4    |
Gateshead       | 13 | 4  | 7  | 2  | 23  | 36  | 10   |
Leeds United    | 17 | 7  | 10 | 0  | 33  | 33  | 14   |
Lincoln City    | 13 | 7  | 5  | 1  | 45  | 33  | 15   |
Luton Town      | 16 | 4  | 10 | 2  | 20  | 54  | 10   |
Manchester City | 17 | 9  | 7  | 1  | 33  | 26  | 19   |
Mansfield Town  | 11 | 1  | 8  | 2  | 15  | 36  | 4    |
New Brighton    | 11 | 5  | 6  | 0  | 23  | 38  | 10   |
Newcastle United | 17 | 5  | 6  | 6  | 33  | 40  | 16   |
Norwich City    | 12 | 7  | 4  | 1  | 27  | 19  | 15   |
Nottingham Forest | 16 | 8  | 7  | 1  | 32  | 30  | 17   |
Table 8 (continued)

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*Add. Points - Points calculated on 23 matches.

Note: Only those clubs who played 18 or more matches qualified for the Championship.

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December 27, 1941 to March 28, 1942

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Bolton Wanderers  9  3  4  2  16  17  8  .88  8.88
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Table 10
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*After extra time.  †Blackpool scratched.

Table 11

Final League Table - Season 1942-43
Ending December 25, 1942
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## Table 12

**Final League Table – Season 1942–43**  
December 26, 1942 to May 1, 1943  
North (Second Championship)

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Final League Table – Season 1942–43
Ending February 27, 1943
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The Football League (War) Cup Qualifying Competition
December 26, 1942 to February 27, 1943
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**The Football League (War) Cup Competition – 1943**

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*After extra time.*

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The Football League (War) Cup Qualifying Competition
March 6, 1943 to April 10, 1943
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The Football League (War) Cup Competition - 1943
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Table 21

Final League Table - Season 1943-44
Ending May 6, 1944
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Table 22
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### The Football League (War) Cup Competition - 1944

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The Football League (War) Cup Qualifying Competition  
February 19, 1944 to March 25, 1944  
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Table 27

Final League Table - Season 1944-45
Ending December 23, 1944
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Table 28
Final League Table - Season 1944-45
Ending December 23, 1944
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Table 29

Final League Table - Season 1944-45
December 25, 1944 to May 26, 1945
North (Second Championship)

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Table 30

Final League Table - Season 1944-45
Ending May 26, 1945
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Table 31

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Season 1944–45
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Season 1944-45
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Table 35

Final League Table - Season 1945-46
North

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Table 37

Final League Table - Season 1945-46
Division III (Northern Section)

Western Region - First Half Season

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Eastern Region - First Half Season

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Table 38
Final League Table - Season 1945-46
Division III (Southern Section)

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Table 39

The Football League Cup Qualifying Competition - 1946
Division III (Northern Section)

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All above qualified

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<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oldham Athletic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crewe Alexandra</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wrexham</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tranmere Rovers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All above qualified

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROUND ONE.</th>
<th>ROUND TWO.</th>
<th>SEMI-FINALS.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accrington S.. 1</td>
<td>York City ... 3</td>
<td>Doncaster R.. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York City .... 0</td>
<td>Accrington S.. 1</td>
<td>Rotherham .. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darlington ... 2</td>
<td>Southport ... 2</td>
<td>Chester ...... 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southport ... 1</td>
<td>Darlington ... 1</td>
<td>York City ... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crewe Alex. ... 1</td>
<td>Hartlepools ... 3</td>
<td>Crewe Alex. ... 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartlepools ... 2</td>
<td>Crewe Alex. ... 3</td>
<td>Hillsbrough ... 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillsbrough ... 2</td>
<td>Hillsbrough ... 3</td>
<td>Hillsbrough ... 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester ...... 3</td>
<td>Bradford City ... 2</td>
<td>Rotherham ... 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bradford City ... 0</td>
<td>Chester ...... 2</td>
<td>Rotherham ... 0</td>
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<td>Rotherham ... 2</td>
<td>Stockport C... 2</td>
<td>Doncaster R... 2</td>
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<td>Doncaster R... 2</td>
<td>Stockport C... 2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Carlisle Utd... 5</td>
<td>Tranmere R... 2</td>
<td>Carlisle Utd... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1st.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**FINAL.**

April 27th | May 4th
---|---
Rotherham ... 2 | Chester...... 2
Chester...... 2 | Rotherham ... 3
Rotherham United won on aggregate of 5-4.

---

Table 41
The Football League Cup Qualifying Competition - 1946
Division III (Southern Section)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>W.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Ag.</th>
<th>Pts.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen's Park Rangers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsall</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southend United</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>Norwich City</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich Town</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Clapton Orient.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>Port Vale</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watford</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Region</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>W.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Ag.</th>
<th>Pts.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bournemouth &amp; B.A.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol Rovers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>Reading</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>29</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crystal Palace</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Cardiff City</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol City</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torquay United</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter City</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swindon Town</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aldershot</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton &amp; H.A.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Positions 1 and 2 in each Region qualified for the semifinals.

Table 42
The Football League Cup Competition – 1946
Division III (Southern Section)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Home Team</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Away Team</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 27</td>
<td>Bristol Rovers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Walsall</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 27</td>
<td>Bournemouth &amp; B.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Queen's Park Rangers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1</td>
<td>Queen's Park Rangers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Bournemouth &amp; B.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
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Below Extra Time

Final
Played at Chelsea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Home Team</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Away Team</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 4</td>
<td>Bournemouth &amp; B.A.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Walsall</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 43
Clubs Not Participating in Wartime
Football League Competition

Season 1939–40

| Aston Villa | Gateshead |
| Exeter City | Ipswich Town |
| Derby County | Sunderland |

Season 1940–41

| Accrington Stanley | Gateshead |
| Aston Villa | Hartlepools United |
| Barrow | Hartlepools United |
| Blackpool | Newport County |
| *Bolton Wanderers | Plymouth Argyle |
| Bristol Rovers | Port Vale |
| Carlisle United | Sunderland |
| Darlington | Swindon Town |
| Derby County | Torquay United |
| Exeter City | Wolverhampton Wanderers |

* Played in second half of season only. Coventry City did not compete in second half.

Season 1941–42

| Accrington Stanley | Exeter City |
| Aston Villa | Hull City |
| Barrow | Ipswich Town |
| Birmingham | Newport County |
| Bristol Rovers | Notts County |
| Carlisle United | Plymouth Argyle |
| Crewe Alexandra | Port Vale |
| Darlington | Swindon Town |
| Derby County | Torquay United |

Season 1942–43

| Accrington Stanley | New Brighton |
| Barrow | Newport County |
| Bournemouth & Boscombe A. | Norwich City |
| Bristol Rovers | Plymouth Argyle |
| Carlisle United | Port Vale |
| Darlington | Preston North End |
| Exeter City | Southend United |
### Table 43 (continued)

#### Season 1942–43 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hartlepools United</th>
<th>Swindon Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hull City</td>
<td>Torquay United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich Town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Season 1943–44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accrington Stanley</th>
<th>Newport County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrow</td>
<td>Norwich City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bournemouth &amp; Boscombe A.</td>
<td>Plymouth Argyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol Rovers</td>
<td>Port Vale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle United</td>
<td>Preston North End</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter City</td>
<td>Southend United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hull City</td>
<td>Swindon Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich Town</td>
<td>Torquay United</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Brighton</td>
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#### Season 1944–45

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Barrow</th>
<th>Newport County</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bournemouth &amp; Boscombe A.</td>
<td>Norwich City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol Rovers</td>
<td>Plymouth Argyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle United</td>
<td>Southend United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter City</td>
<td>Swindon Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich Town</td>
<td>Torquay United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brighton</td>
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</table>

#### Season 1945–46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hull City</th>
<th>New Brighton</th>
</tr>
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APPENDIX B

OTHER BRITISH CUPS AND COMPETITIONS
Table 44
Wartime Winners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season 1939-40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.L. (War) Cup: West Ham United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. East Midland: Chesterfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. Midland: Wolverhampton Wanderers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. North-Eastern: Huddersfield Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. North-Western: Bury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. South-Western: Plymouth Argyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. South &quot;A&quot;: Arsenal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. South &quot;B&quot;: Queen's Park Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. South &quot;C&quot;: Tottenham Hotspur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. South &quot;D&quot;: Crystal Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. Western: Stoke City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Ireland League: Belfast Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Cup: Ballymena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Gold Cup: Belfast Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Ireland County Antrim Shield: Glentoran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish City Cup: Belfast Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Emergency Cup: Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Regional League (W &amp; S): Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Regional League (N &amp; E): Falkirk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Second XI Cup: Ayr United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Cup: Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow Charity Cup: Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire Combination: Rochdale Reserves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire Cup: Everton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern League Cup: Worcester City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern League, Eastern Sec.: Chelmsford City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern League, Western Sec.: Lovell's Athletic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh Senior Cup: Wellington</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season 1940-41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.L. (War) Cup: Preston North End</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. North: Preston North End</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. South: Crystal Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.L. South (non-London area clubs): Watford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Ireland League: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Cup: Belfast Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Gold Cup: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Ireland County Antrim Shield: Glentoran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish City Cup: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Southern League Cup: Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Summer Cup: Hibernians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 44 (continued)

Season 1940-41 (continued)

Scottish Southern League: Rangers
Scottish Second XI Cup: Rangers
Glasgow Cup: Celtic
Glasgow Charity Cup: Rangers
Cheshire Bowl:Winner unknown
Combined Counties Cup: Middlesbrough
Hampshire Cup: Portsmouth
Herts Charity Cup: Hitchin Town, St. Albans, draw.
Inter-Allied Services Cup: British Army
London War Cup: Reading
Roseberry Charity Cup: Heart of Midlothian
South Wales and Monmouthshire Cup: Cardiff City
West Regional Cup: Bristol City
West Regional League: Lovell's Athletic
West Riding Cup: Winner unknown

Season 1941-42

F.L. (War) Cup: Wolverhampton Wanderers
F.L. North: Blackpool
F.L. North (second half): Manchester United
F.L. South: Leicester City
N. Ireland League: No championship
N. Ireland County Antrim Shield: Linfield
Irish Cup: Linfield
Irish City Cup: No championship
Irish Gold Cup: No championship
Scottish N.E.L. (First Series): Rangers
Scottish N.E.L. (Second Series): Aberdeen
Scottish N.E. Supplementary Cup: Aberdeen
Scottish Second XI Cup: Clyde
Scottish Southern League: Rangers
Scottish Southern League Cup: Rangers
Scottish Summer Cup: Rangers
Glasgow Cup: Rangers
Glasgow Charity Cup: Rangers
Combined Counties Cup: York City
Hampshire Cup: Portsmouth
Inter-Allied Cup: Police (Civil Defence)
Lancashire F.A.: Blackpool
London League: Arsenal
London Senior Cup: Walthamstow Avenue
London War Cup: Brentford
Manchester Junior Cup: Goslings
Table 44 (continued)

Season 1942-43

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.L.</td>
<td>North: Blackpool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. North Cup: Blackpool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. South: Arsenal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. South Cup: Arsenal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. West: Lovell's Athletic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. West Cup: Swansea Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. Ireland League: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. Ireland County Antrim Shield:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belfast Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish Cup: Belfast Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish City Cup: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish Gold Cup: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish N.E.L. (First Series):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish N.E.L. (Second Series):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish N.E. Supplementary Cup:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Second XI Cup: Motherwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Southern League: Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Southern League Cup:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish Summer Cup: St. Mirren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glasgow Cup: Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glasgow Charity Cup: Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheshire Bowl: Stockport Co. 2 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tran. Rovers 1, final?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Combined Counties Cup: Sunderland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inter-Allied Cup: British Army,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R.A.F., draw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lancashire Cup: Manchester United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>London District Army Cup: R.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depot (Woolwich)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mitchell Cup: Aberdeen</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northern Command Cup: West Riding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rosebury Charity Cup: Heart of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Midlothian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sheffield County Cup: Rotherham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United</td>
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Season 1943-44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.L.</td>
<td>North: Blackpool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. North Cup: Aston Villa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. South: Tottenham Hotspur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. South Cup: Charlton Athletic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. West: Lovell's Athletic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.L. West Cup: Bath City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. Ireland League: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. Ireland County Antrim Shield:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glentoran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish Cup: Belfast Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish City Cup: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish Gold Cup: No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scottish N.E.L. (First Series):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raith Rovers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Season 1943–44 (continued)

Scottish N.E.L. (Second Series): Aberdeen
Scottish N.E. Supplementary Cup: Rangers
Scottish Second XI Cup: Heart of Midlothian
Scottish Southern League: Rangers
Scottish Southern League Cup: Hibernian
Scottish Summer Cup: Motherwell
Glasgow Cup: Rangers
Glasgow Charity Cup: Rangers
East of Scotland Shield: Heart of Midlothian (final?)
Inter-Allied Cup: R.A.F. (Millington-Drake Plaque)
Lancashire Cup: Liverpool
Liverpool County Senior Cup: Southport
Mitchell Cup: Rangers
Renfrewshire Cup: St. Mirren (final?)
Rosebury Cup: Hibernians
Tyne, Wear, and Tees Cup: Newcastle United

Season 1944–45

F.L. North: Huddersfield Town
F.L. North Cup: Bolton Wanderers
F.L. South: Tottenham Hotspur
F.L. South Cup: Chelsea
F.L. West: Cardiff City
F.L. West Cup: Bath City
N. Ireland League: No championship
N. Ireland County Antrim Shield: Belfast Celtic
Irish Cup: Linfield
Irish City Cup: No championship
Irish Gold Cup: No championship
Scottish N.E.L. (First Series): Dundee
Scottish N.E.L. (Second Series): Aberdeen
Scottish Second XI Cup: Heart of Midlothian
Scottish Southern League: Rangers
Scottish Southern League Cup: Rangers
Scottish Summer Cup: Partick Thistle
Glasgow Cup: Rangers
Glasgow Charity Cup: Rangers
Inter-Allied Cup: No championship
Lancashire Cup: Blackburn Rovers
Midland Cup: Derby County
Sheffield County Cup: Sheffield Wednesday
Tyne, Wear, and Tees Cup: Gateshead
Table 44 (continued)

Season 1945-46

F.A. Cup: Derby County
F.L. North: Sheffield United
F.L. South: Birmingham City
F.L. III North (West): Accrington Stanley
F.L. III North (East): Rotherham United
F.L. III North Cup: Rotherham United
F.L. III South (North): Queen's Park Rangers
F.L. III South (South): Crystal Palace
F.L. III South Cup: Bournemouth & Boscombe Athletic
N. Ireland League: No championship
N. Ireland County Antrim Shield: Distillery
Irish Cup: Linfield
Irish City Cup: No championship
Irish Gold Cup: No championship
Scottish Southern League "A": Rangers
Scottish Southern League "B": Dundee
Scottish Southern League Cup: Aberdeen
Scottish Victory Cup: Rangers
Cheshire Bowl: Chester
F.A. Amateur Cup: Barnet
Lancashire Cup: Manchester United
Sheffield County Cup: Sheffield Wednesday
Southern League: Chelmsford
Southern League Cup: Chelmsford

Table 45
Wartime International Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 11, 1939</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>Wales 1 (Glover)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England 1 (T.C. Jones, o.g.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 18, 1939</td>
<td>Wrexham</td>
<td>Wales 2 (Astley 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England 3 (T.C. Jones, o.g., Balmer, Martin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 2, 1939</td>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>England 2 (Lawton, Clifton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland 1 (Dodds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 13, 1940</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td>England 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wales 1 (B. Jones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 11, 1940</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 1 (Dougal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>England 1 (Welsh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Season 1940-41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 8, 1941</td>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>England 2 (Birkett, Lawton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland 3 (Wallace 2, Bacuzzi, o.g.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 26, 1941</td>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>England 4 (Welsh 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wales 1 (Witcomb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 3, 1941</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 1 (Venters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>England 3 (Welsh 2, Goulden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 7, 1941</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>Wales 2 (Woodward, James)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England 3 (Hagan 2, Welsh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Season 1941-42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 4, 1941</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td>England 2 (Hagan, Welsh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 25, 1941</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>England 2 (Hagan, Edelston)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Andrews</td>
<td>Wales 1 (Hopkins)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Team, Score, and Scorers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 17, 1942</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td><strong>England 3</strong> (Lawton 2, Hagan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Scotland 0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 18, 1942</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td><strong>Scotland 5</strong> (Dodds 3, Shankly, Liddell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td><strong>England 4</strong> (Lawton 3, Hagan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 9, 1942</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td><strong>Wales 1</strong> (Lucas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>England 0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Season 1942–43**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score, and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 10, 1942</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td><strong>England 0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Scotland 0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 24, 1942</td>
<td>Wolverhampton</td>
<td><strong>England 1</strong> (Lawton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Wales 2</strong> (Cumner 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 27, 1943</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td><strong>England 5</strong> (D. Compton 3, Carter 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Wales 3</strong> (Lowrie 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 17, 1943</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td><strong>Scotland 0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td><strong>England 4</strong> (Carter 2, Westcott, D. Compton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8, 1943</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td><strong>Wales 1</strong> (Lowrie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>England 1</strong> (Westcott)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Season 1943–44**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score, and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 25, 1943</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td><strong>England 8</strong> (Welsh 3, Carter 2, Hagan 2, D. Compton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Wales 3</strong> (Lowrie 2, Powell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 16, 1943</td>
<td>Manchester Maine Road</td>
<td><strong>England 8</strong> (Lawton 4, Hagan 2, Carter, Matthews)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Scotland 0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Team, Score and Scorers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 19, 1944</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td>England 6 (Hagan 2, Lawton, Mercer, Carter, MacCauley, o.g.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland 2 (Dodds 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 22, 1944</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 2 (Caskie, Cullis, o.g.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>England 3 (Lawton 2, Carter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6, 1944</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>Wales 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England 2 (Lawton, Smith)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Season 1944-45**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 16, 1944</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>England 2 (Carter, Lawton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goodison</td>
<td>Wales 2 (Dearson, Lucas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 14, 1944</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td>England 6 (Lawton 3, Smith, Carter, Goulden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland 2 (Milne, Walker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Villa Park</td>
<td>Scotland 2 (Delancy, Dodds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 14, 1945</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 1 (Johnstone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>England 6 (Matthews 2, Carter, Lawton, Brown, Smith)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5, 1945</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>Wales 2 (Cumner, Edwards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England 3 (Carter 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 26, 1945</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td>England 2 (Carter, Lawton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France 2 (Vaast, Heisserer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Season 1945-46**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 15, 1945</td>
<td>Belfast</td>
<td>Ireland 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England 1 (Mortensen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 20, 1945</td>
<td>West Bromwich</td>
<td>England 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wales 1 (Powell)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 45 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Team, Score and Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 10, 1945</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 2 (Waddell 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>Wales 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 19, 1946</td>
<td>Wembley</td>
<td>England 2 (Brown, Pye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Belgium 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 23, 1946</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 2 (Delancy 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>Belgium 2 (Lembrecht, d'Aguilar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 2, 1946</td>
<td>Belfast</td>
<td>Ireland 2 (Walsh 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland 3 (Liddell 2, Hamilton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 13, 1946</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 1 (Delancy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>England 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 4, 1946</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>Wales 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ireland 1 (Sloan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Switzerland 1 (Friedlander)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 15, 1946</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Scotland 3 (scorers unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampden Park</td>
<td>Switzerland 1 (scorer unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 18, 1946</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>France 2 (Prouff, Vaast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colombes Stad.</td>
<td>England 1 (Hagan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX C

EUROPEAN CUPS AND COMPETITIONS
# Table 46

**European Wartime Championships**

## Austria

**League Champions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Wiener S.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Rapid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Rapid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>First Vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>First Vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>First Vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Rapid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Belgium

**League Champions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Lierse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Malines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Malines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Cyprus

**League Champions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Apoel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>A.E.L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>E.P.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>E.P.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Czechoslovakia

**League Champions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Slavia Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Slavia Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Slavia Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Slavia Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Sparta Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Sparta Prague</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Denmark

- Unknown

## Finland

- Unknown

## France

**League Champions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>No champions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Lille</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 46 (continued)

**France (continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>R.C. Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Bordeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Red Star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Marseille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>R.C. Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Lille O.S.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Germany**

League Champions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>F.C. Shalke 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>S.V. Rapid Vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>F.C. Shalke 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Dresde S.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Dresde F.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>No championship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Regional leagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Regional leagues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* During World War II Austria was regarded as part of Germany and Austrian clubs took part in the German championship and F.A. Cup. The F.A. Cup was continued through 1942, but there were none from 1943 to 1952.

**Hungary**

League Champions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Ferencvaros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Ferencvaros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Csepel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Csepel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Nagyvarad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Upjést</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Upjést</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Italy**

League Champions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Team</th>
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<td>1943</td>
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No F.A. Cup between 1943 and 1958

**Norway**

- unknown

**Poland**

- unknown
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<td>1944</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1941</td>
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<td>1945</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1944</td>
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<td>Dynamo Moscow</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1942</td>
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<td>Dynamo Moscow</td>
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<td>C.D.K.A. Moscow</td>
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No F.A. Cup till 1944. Winner in 1944, Leningrad Zenith

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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
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<td>1947</td>
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A. BOOKS

1. Annuals and Handbooks


2. Club and Personal Histories


3. Sport Histories and Encyclopedias


4. General


**B. PERIODICALS**


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*The Coventry Evening Telegraph* from November 1, 1940 to June 1, 1946.


*Lincolnshire Echo* (Lincoln), from October 1, 1939 to June 1, 1942.

*The Manchester Guardian* from September 6, 1915 to September 17, 1918, and from August 1, 1939 to September 1, 1946.


*The Observer* [London], April 12, 1970, p. 22.


*The Sporting Life Weekly Edition* from August 26, 1939 to October 21, 1944.

*The Sporting Record* from September 20, 1939 to June 1, 1945.


*The Times* [London], from September 8, 1914 to September 30, 1918, and from August 1, 1939 to September 1, 1946.


*Yorkshire Evening Press* [York], from September 1, 1939 to August 1, 1946.

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Minutes of the Army Football Association Emergency Committee Meeting, London, November 1, 1938.


Minutes of the Army Football Association War Emergency Committee Meetings, from January 24, 1940 to February 26, 1946.

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Minutes of the Army Football Association Executive Committee Meeting, London, December 20, 1946.

Minutes of the Army Football Association General Committee Meetings, from June 14, 1938 to September 7, 1946.


Minutes of the Board of Directors Meetings, from August 28, 1939 to April 15, 1946.

Match day reports, from August 27, 1938 to November 16, 1946.


Minutes of the Council of the Football Association Meetings, from August 21, 1939 to October 14, 1946.

Minutes of the Football Association War Emergency Committee Meetings, from October 30, 1939 to June 25, 1945.


Minutes of the International Selection Committee of the Football Association, Torquay, June 23, 1939.

Letter from the Football Association by Stanley Rous, secretary, to the members of the Football Association, September 13, 1939.


Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Football Association and the Football League, London, September 8, 1939.

Minutes of the Football League Management Committee Meetings, from July 2, 1915 to October 4, 1915 and from April 26, 1939 to November 12, 1946.

Minutes of the Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Football League, from July 29, 1940 to June 3, 1946.


Notice to Midland and Lancashire Sections of the Football League, December 15, 1915.

Minutes of the Special General Meeting of the Members of the Football League, Leeds, March 1, 1940.


Report of the Football League Management Committee Conference with the Players' Union, Manchester, November 12, 1945.


"Requisitioning of Premises for Civil Defence Purposes," Air Raid Precautions Department Circular No. 256/1939, September 27, 1939.
War Cabinet, Home Security Report No. 4, Fourth Weekly Report submitted by the Minister of Home Security covering the period from midnight September 24, 1939 to October 1, 1939.


Wartime records of Norwich City Football Club, from October, 1939 to June, 1946.

Records of Portsmouth Football Club. Minutes of the Board of Directors Meetings, from July, 1939 to August, 1946.

Records of Sheffield United Cricket and Football Club. Minutes of Annual General Meetings, from June 26, 1940 to June 26, 1946.

Minutes of the Board of Directors Meetings, from June 28, 1939 to September 6, 1946.


Records of York City Football and Athletic Club, Ltd. Minutes of Annual Meetings from October 1, 1940 to October 2, 1945.

D. INTERVIEWS


Cockburn, Henry, present trainer for Huddersfield Town, and player in late war years, later an international. Personal interview. April 23, 1971.

Compton, Denis, sportswriter, former cricketer (Middlesex) and wartime footballer (Arsenal). Personal interview. April 13, 1971.

Firth, P., fifty year member and several time president of Huddersfield Town Supporters Club. Personal interview. April 23, 1971.

Gore, Les, present chief scout for Charlton Athletic and wartime player for Clapton Orient. Personal interview. May 4, 1971,
Hall, Charles, present Charlton Athletic physiotherapist and wartime player with Charlton's youth team. Personal interview. May 4, 1971.

Harris, John, present manager of Sheffield United and wartime player. Personal interview. April 20, 1971.


Male, George, present travel manager with Arsenal and wartime player. Personal interview. May 26, 1971.


Miller, Ernest, member of the office staff at the F.A. from 1922 to 1970. Personal interview. May 18, 1971.


Reader, George, present chairman of Southampton F.C. and wartime referee. Personal interview. May 19, 1971.

Robertson, David, present groundsman with Southend United and on the staff as player or groundsman since 1927. Personal interview. April 5, 1971.

Robinson, Robert, groundsman and long-time active member of York City York City Supporters Club. Personal interview. April 22, 1971.

Sands, George, sportswriter with Middlesex Chronicle since 1933. Personal interview. May 24, 1971.
Shankly, Bill, present manager of Liverpool F.C. and wartime player, Scotland international. Personal interview. April 1, 1971.

Smith, Gladys, catering lady at Portsmouth F.C. for past 41 years, spectator at every home match, including war years, for those 41 years. Personal interview. April 15, 1971.

Teasdale, George, present secretary of York City F.C. Personal interview. April 22, 1971.

Westwood, A.E., present secretary of Norwich City F.C. Personal interview. April 14, 1971.


E. PROGRAMS AND BOOKLETS


Arsenal Football Club Official Programme, April 15, 1938.


Brentford Football Club Official Programme (v. Huddersfield), September 2, 1939.

______ November 16, 1943.

______. September 22, 1945.

______. (v. West Ham United), September 25, 1945.


Charlton Athletic Football Club Official Programme, February 26, 1944.

_________ (v. Brentford, F.A. Cup Sixth Round), March 2, 1946.

Chelsea Football Club Official Programme (Wolverhampton Wanderers v. Brentford, Play-off for the two Cup winners), June 6, 1942.

_________ (v. Moscow Dynamo Football Club), November 13, 1945.

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_________ (Oxford University v. Cambridge University), December 1, 1945.


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_________ April 12, 1941.

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Official Programme of Association Football Match, Wembley, Empire Stadium (England v. Wales), February 27, 1943.

_________ (England v. France), May 26, 1945.