

The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England

From its Origins to the Present Day

by

Ray Physick

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire

April 2013

The Representation of Association Football in Fine Art in England



King Kenny by Christine Physick (2011)

From its Origins to the Present Day

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	3
Acknowledgements.....	4
Abstract.....	5
Preamble.....	6
Chapter One: Introduction (part one).....	15
Chapter Two: Introduction (part two) and Literature Review.....	41
Chapter Three: Representations of Football in Art - Origins to 1918	76
Chapter Four: Representations of Football in Art - 1918-1945	135
Chapter Five: Representations of Football in Art - 1945-1960	200
Chapter Six: Representations of Football in Art - 1960-2010	256
Chapter Seven: Conclusions	331
Bibliography	344
Appendix 1: List of Plates	368
Appendix 2: Plates.....	377
Appendix 3: Football and the Fine Arts: List of artists and works exhibited	474
Appendix 4: Football and the Fine Arts: Prize winners	482

Acknowledgements

The completion of a thesis is impossible without the support, help and guidance from people and institutions. I would like to thank my Director of Studies John Hughson for his help, guidance and above all his expertise in the field that I have researched. His comments and criticisms throughout have ensured that my thesis retained its focus. Likewise I would like to thank my second supervisor Kevin Moore whose expert knowledge of football, as well as football art, has been of great value to the outcomes of the research. Kevin also very kindly put the service of his staff at the National Football Museum at my disposal. I received help from numerous people at the museum but it was Peter Holme, who has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the museum archives, who provided the greatest assistance.

Throughout the three-year period of the research I visited many galleries, museums and archives, each place I visited I received great help and co-operation as well as advice on possible routes to follow. Of particular importance was the help of the archivists at Colindale, the British Library, St Pancras annexe, the Victoria and Albert Museum, Tate Britain, Manchester Art Gallery and Birkenhead Museum. Also, Gordon Taylor of the Professional Footballers' Association allowed me to consult their extensive art collection, provided me with printed details of their collection and was always on hand to answer my emails.

I also received great assistance from several artists whose work is either based upon football or forms a significant part of their work. The artists are as follows: Tim Vyner, Neville Gabie, Colin Yates, Ben Kelly, Amrit and Rabindra Singh, Colin Brown, Laura Green, Lubaina Himid, Leo Fitzmaurice and Christine Physick. All the artists concerned were interviewed about their work as well as about representation of football in art in general. Their interviews have been invaluable to the research. All of the artists, with the exception of the Singh Twins and Leo Fitzmaurice, also contributed to the *Football in the Frame* exhibition held at UCLan's PR1 gallery in February 2011.

I would also like to thank my wife Christine who, as well as being a practising artist, has helped enormously with day-to-day issues such as the relevance and importance of various artists and art movements, as well as more mundane tasks such as proofreading. Lastly, I would like to thank my daughter Shelley who also proofread the text. They are not responsible, however, for any errors that may occur.

Abstract

This thesis aims to explore the representation of football in art from its origins in Ancient Greece to the present day, although the main focus of the analysis will be upon representations of football in English art from the late Victorian period up to 2010. In general terms, with minor but notable exceptions, the analysis will centre on the work of fine artists working in 2D, whose work has length and width much like a football pitch. The thesis will look at how artists have approached the game be it action on the pitch, a focus upon spectators or the location of the football stadium. The thesis will also assess the work of artists have who explored societal issues such as gender, identity, race as well as violence in society using football as visual content to explore these issues. The aim throughout will be to place the artwork in a social and historical context, to provide a social analysis of football through art, to demonstrate that art 'is always a social servant and historically utilitarian.'¹It could be argued that an historical approach to art may well impact upon aesthetic appreciation, but knowledge of when and how a piece of art was produced also helps to place the work in context. In other words, aesthetic appreciation is linked to historical relevance. What is also clear is that visual images, in themselves, cannot provide the sports historian with a history of football. They can, however, provide an invaluable resource that can be used by social historians.

The key source material for this thesis is first and foremost the artwork itself, a significant body of which is located at the National Football Museum. However, other sources such as press and art magazine articles, exhibition catalogues, the art archives at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Manchester Art Gallery as well as the substantial Football Association archive at National Football Museum, have also been of crucial importance. Also, a number of interviews with contemporary artists have provided invaluable primary source material: these artists have also allowed me to view their work and provided me with copies to facilitate the study of their work.

The major findings arising from the research are that the representation of football in art was not, once again with notable exceptions, prevalent until the foundation of the Premier League in 1992. These exceptions include popular art depictions of football in the Edwardian period, work commissioned by Frank Pick on behalf of London Transport and the milestone *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition of 1953. Overall analysis of the artwork has shown that art is a useful source for historians and that focus upon a particular art genre, in this instance football art, can provide different insights into a significant cultural practice.

Originality of the thesis

I confirm that the thesis is my own work; and that all published or other sources of material consulted have been acknowledged in notes to the text or the bibliography.

I confirm that the thesis has not been submitted for a comparable academic award.

I confirm that the thesis has been submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Central Lancashire 30 June 2012.

¹ Trotsky, Leon: *The Social Roots and Social Function of Literature*

Preamble

A study of how football has been represented in the arts over a distinct historical time does not provide some fixed route through which the history of football can be analysed. However, without an understanding of history, particularly social history, it would be difficult, if not impossible to understand both the development of art and football. An understanding of the social, political and economic processes that change society is, therefore, essential if sense is to be made of the varied visual representations of football that the thesis will assess. For this reason each chapter of the thesis will be prefaced with an historical overview of society and the broad developments that affected both art and football in the period covered by each chapter. Such an approach will prepare a strong foundation from which to discuss the artwork both as individual pieces and/or as a body or collection of work. Throughout the thesis there will be an emphasis upon both football and art being part of the material world and therefore, a social historical analysis of both is essential, if we are to understand the cultural representation of football in art.

The thesis shows that at each stage of the game's development football has been reflected in fine art. Representation of football in art, prior to its codification in 1863, initially showed the popular and unorganised state of the game. In the Victorian and Edwardian periods representations of football in art are overwhelmingly found in popular art, which in turn, with some minor exceptions, reflect the amateur roots and ethos of football. A comparison with European art would show that on the continent artists were in advance of British artists in depicting modern football as a game of the modern town or city in this period. In the interwar years fine art interpretations by British artists of the game to some extent caught up with their

European counterparts with an infusion of modernist posters that were commissioned by London Transport. However, in this period European artists, under the radical impulse of Dada and Constructivism, revolutionised the way football was presented in art by using football as a metaphor to explore social and political concerns about society. It would be the 1990s before British artists adopted such an approach in a widespread manner. In the post 1945 period football in art has become evermore prominent. Initially, the Football Association, as part of its ninetieth anniversary celebrations, commissioned a major exhibition that toured Britain from November 1953 to December of the following year. The emphasis throughout the exhibition was on realist interpretations of the game: on the football stadium and on fans going to the match. In this respect the exhibition reflected the phase the game was passing through in the immediate post war period. Since the exhibition football has changed radically, the image of the professional footballer, who previously had a similar lifestyle to the football fan, passed in 1961 following the abolition of the maximum wage. In the modern era football has seeped into the pores of all sectors of society, it is no longer a game that reflects the life of the white working-class male. Issues of race and identity, the celebrity in modern society all find an echo in the modern football stadium, on the field of play and in the daily discourse of the sports pages in newspapers which football dominates. All of these issues are also found in the work of a growing number of artists many of whom use football as a metaphor for wider cultural issues in society.

A central aim of the thesis is to argue that fine art representations of football in art should be considered as a distinct genre, or more accurately a sub-genre within art. There are many examples where art trends, or the work of particular artists, have become regarded as distinct fields of work that are best regarded as a collective body

of work. An example can be found in sport with images of hunting with dogs, horseracing and coursing, which are usually referred to as British Sporting Art.

It will be argued that there is enough football related art, which has accumulated over hundreds of years, for it to be considered a distinct genre, or sub genre, within art. There are significant items of football related artwork in national institutions such as Tate Britain and the National Portrait Gallery and in regional galleries such as the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool and the Manchester Art Gallery. Moreover, bodies such as the National Football Museum, the Priory Collection and Professional Footballers' Association all have significant collections of football art. The work in these collections has not, to date, been studied academically or commented upon by art critics to any great extent.

The work brought together in this thesis will provide an archive for future scholars to draw upon. Having the work discussed as a sub-genre within art will also assist the study of football in art and how this facilitates our understanding of an important cultural pursuit.

The Thesis Is Structured as Follows

Chapters 1 and 2: Introduction

The introduction of the thesis will look in detail at art theory alongside the problems associated with art history. Art historians have developed a myriad of theoretical approaches and have developed a complexity of language that often serves to confuse rather than provide clarity. It is beyond the scope of the thesis to unravel this

complexity, but the introduction will introduce the concept of social art history, an art theory underpinned by the work of Timothy Clarke, and explain why this methodology is the most appropriate when assessing representations of football in art. It stresses that while art can be aesthetically appreciated it is also culturally determined and produced by artists who live in a material world.

The introduction will also explore the problem of working in two diverse cultural fields: one that is regarded as high culture, the other as a low form of culture by the elite in society. An essential aspect of the introduction will be the discussion around the traditions of English art and to what extent, or otherwise, football art can be considered a part of this tradition.

The introduction will also explore the concept of genre within art and ask the question, and attempt to answer, whether football painting can be considered as a distinct art genre, or more accurately a sub genre.

Lastly, the literature review will assess the diverse literature on culture, art and football and will explain how the diversity of reading has facilitated the development of the theoretical and historical concepts that have been developed throughout the thesis.

Chapter 3: Football Art Origins-1918

Chapter three will provide a summary of football in art prior to the founding of the Football Association in 1863. Most of these depictions locate football in a rural setting being played on undefined playing areas by people in everyday dress. Some show

that football was popular within the military during the Napoleonic era, an interesting fact given that sport has remained popular in the armed forces in the modern period.¹ The period between 1863-1914 shows that images of football are mostly found in popular art in the form of painted postcards, engravings and cartoons. However, prior to the war some established artists such as Duncan Grant began to use sport and football in their work. This trend was most pronounced in Europe, especially among artists whose work was influenced by modernist movements such as Cubism, Fauvism and Futurism. Also, prior to WW1 football was becoming more prominent in visual culture, it was increasingly used to promote products and commodities as well as public transport. This trend reflected the growing importance of football in society, which by now had a mass following, particularly in working-class areas.

There are also significant pieces of football art and paintings that show football being played at base camps from the war period, most notably John Singer Sargent's *Gassed*.

Chapter 4: Football Art 1918-1945

In this period key artists such as Paul Nash and CRW Nevinson produced important works of art relating to football, an indication that football was deepening its cultural impact in society. Also, Lowry began to emerge as an important artist, a significant development as in this period he produced several paintings that placed football in the context of northern industrial towns and cities. Lowry was the first northern English artist of note to look at leisure and its importance to society.

¹ For sport and the military see Mason, Tony & Riedi, Eliza: *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960*.

In the interwar years London Transport commissioned artists to design posters with a view to promoting use of the network. Among this body of work there are a significant number of posters aimed at football supporters. Moreover, from 1923 onwards, when the Empire Stadium, Wembley, was opened annual posters advertising the FA Cup Final were produced. Linked to this body of work are the linocuts produced by the Claude Flight school of artists. The group produced a fine body of sport related work including some important football images by Sybil Andrews and Cyril Power.

During this period as football became commonplace throughout Europe several artists and art movements took a keen interest in football, among them Rodchenko and Baumeister, who were associated with Constructivism and Dada respectively. Other artists such as Leger used sport in their work. Much of his work attempts to show that man can be reconciled with the machine.

The chapter will conclude by looking at the limited amount of football paintings that were produced during World War Two.

Chapter 5: Football Art 1945-1960

The main focus of this chapter will be on the landmark *Football and the Fine Arts* competition overseen by the Arts Council. An exhibition of the work was first shown in London followed by a national tour, which saw the work being exhibited at regional galleries. The art competition formed part of the celebrations for the ninetieth anniversary of the Football Association, both the Arts Council and the FA invited artists to submit work to a panel of judges. From 1,700 entries a panel of

judges selected over 150 works. The exhibition has since become a benchmark for artists who use football in their work. Much of the work selected for the exhibition was embedded in realism although there were several modernist pieces that used more abstract techniques. This is interesting as during the 1950s artists associated with Pop Art began to incorporate images of football, and other aspects of popular culture, into their work. Football was becoming more than a sport in this period, it was increasingly seen as part of popular culture - a significant development that grew apace from the 1960s onwards.

A comparative look at European art will reveal that, unlike earlier periods, British artists were increasingly taking more of an interest in sport and popular culture.

Chapter 6: Football Art 1960-2010

The counter-culture that emerged in the 1960s had a profound effect upon football and football crowds. Moreover, football players such as George Best increasingly put football on the front page of newspapers in general and the tabloid press in particular. Another major change was the increasing coverage of football on television. These factors helped to change the profile of football, as well as attract a new layer of football fans outside of its traditional working-class base. This broad outline goes some way to explaining why in this period art and artists, as well as academics, began to seek out football for subject matter.

Moreover, in this period, as Britain's economic problems became more acute, large-scale unemployment re-emerged for the first time since the 1930s. One outcome of

this was that many young people became alienated from society, a factor that contributed to the rise of hooliganism in society in general as well as in football. The fragmentation of social and economic cohesion also coincided with the rise of racial attacks by far right-wing groups such as the National Front. This in turn raised questions about Englishness and British identity, issues that have also found their reflection in football.

All of these complex factors resulted in artists often using football as a focus for their work. Pop artists such as Peter Blake and Nigel Henderson used materials from the advertising world, popular culture and the mass media to reveal the significance and dominance of material goods in a consumer driven society. They included aspects of football in their work.

Advertisers have used artists from the earliest days of football but now it is artists who are interpreting and often being critical of the commodification of football. Independent of multi-national companies artists have tackled the increasing commodification of football in an overt way, Freddy Contretras and Leo Fitzmaurice are just two examples of this.

Artists have also used their work as a platform for exploring issues around identity and race in contemporary society. The work of Lubaina Himid is important here. Also, in this period football became entwined with celebrity culture, a subject that has been covered exceptionally well by numerous artists such Michael J Browne and the Singh Twins.

In this period there were numerous exhibitions of football art, in Britain and in Europe, that covered many of the themes outlined above. An assessment of these exhibitions will demonstrate that football is now an important sub-genre in art

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The conclusion will evaluate the outcomes of the thesis in the context of the aims set out in the introduction. It will identify the limitations of the research: due to huge amount of work that is now being produced by contemporary artists only a small sample of this artwork could be assessed. Suggestions for further research will also be provided.

Introduction (part one)

This thesis forms a study of the representation of football in fine art. The main focus throughout the thesis will be upon English football and how English artists have represented it in fine art. The thesis will also consider to what extent or otherwise football art stands in the tradition of English art. Where relevant, and with a view to highlighting the different approaches by artists, a comparison with European art and how European artists have approached football in their work will be made.¹ Sports and pastimes practised by ordinary people have long been of interest to visual artists. From Ancient Greece through to medieval times images of ball games have survived. Likewise from the Renaissance through to the 1860s, prior to football becoming governed by the Football Association, there are also numerous images of football being played in rural and urban settings. Football expanded rapidly following the establishment of the Football Association in 1863 and by the mid-1880s it was developing into a mass spectator sport, particularly in the north of England. Parallel to the development of the game visual representations of football also expanded rapidly in the form of popular art: these included mass-produced images of football painted by professional artists and distributed by postcard proprietors. Also, engravings and lithographic impressions of football became increasingly featured in periodicals such as *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated London News* and *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.² The development of lithography in the early nineteenth century enabled 'art to illustrate everyday life' and once the technique could 'keep pace with printing' images of everyday

1 England is, of course, geographically a part of Europe but its art tradition is very different to that of European art - indeed different nations within Europe have distinct art traditions. However, to avoid confusion English/British art will be treated as a distinct category from European art throughout the thesis. Where overlaps or influences between the two traditions occur this will be highlighted in the commentary at each juncture. Likewise it is sometimes hard to distinguish between what is English and what is British art, at times an artist can be both. Turner, for example, is sometimes referred to as an English landscape artist yet when it comes to his Scottish scenes he becomes a British artist. At times, therefore, the terms English Art and British Art become interchangeable.

2 The French academic Chazaud, Pierre, *Art et Football*, has described this as popular art. Although written by an academic, the publication is a catalogue for the football art exhibition that was shown during the 1998 World Cup in France.

life could be readily produced in the aforementioned illustrated journals.³ These early representations of football are significant in that, prior to mass-produced photography, which began to appear in newspapers from 1903, they provide sports historians with the first visual impressions of how and where football was played as it emerged from a game, predominately played at public schools, into a sport organised by the Football Association and the Football League.

Even though the game was expanding rapidly in the late nineteenth century fine artists, generally speaking, working to fulfil individual commissions in this period tended to ignore football, although there are several extant examples that show football was represented in the arts in this period. One such example is a fine painting by Thomas Hemy of a match between Sunderland and Aston Villa at Newcastle Road, Sunderland in 1895.⁴ However, it would be the modern era of the game, which for the purposes of this thesis is defined as the start of the English Premier League in 1992, before a significant number of artists took up football as subject matter for their work. Once again there are several exceptions to this assertion, most notably L.S. Lowry, who produced a consistent body of work showing football in society, mostly of people outside a football ground or of spectators going to or coming from the match, from the 1920s through to the 1960s. Other notable artists who produced football related artwork prior to the modern period are Paul Nash, CRW Nevinson, Sybil Andrews, Carel Weight, Cecil Beaton, Nigel Henderson and Peter Blake.⁵

3 Benjamin, Walter. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (published in Frascina and Harrison *Modern Art and Modernism*.)

4 The Hemy painting was featured in a *Guardian* article, 27 August 2010, under the heading: *Is this the painting that wins England the World Cup Finals?* Apparently members of the FIFA selection committee were impressed by the painting which hangs in the foyer of Sunderland's modern day ground the Stadium of Light. The painting will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

5 The work of these artists will be discussed below in chapters 3,4, 5 and 6 of the thesis.

Taking a wide view of football related art from Ancient Greek times to the modern day there are no academic analyses of this body of work. There are focused studies on aspects of this work most notably John Hughson's recent article that focuses upon Nevinson's *Any Wintry Afternoon*, the present author's article on the 1953 *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition and an overview of football art in the FIFA centennial book, written by four leading sports historians.⁶

Hypothesis and Research Questions

This thesis is a study of artistic representations of football with an emphasis on the way artists have presented football to the art world and the wider public since 1863. The research underpinning this thesis stemmed from the hypothesis that British art and sports historians, as well as present day art curators, have largely ignored football painting despite the fact, as indicated above, that a significant, body of work does exist.

The research questions devised to test this hypothesis, as well as placing the art in a wider social, historical and cultural context, are as follows:

- i. To what extent, and how effectively, has football been represented by the visual arts?
- ii. Do artistic representations of football provide us with a visual means of further understanding the cultural, social, political and historical development of the game?

⁶ The literature review in chapter two will assess Hughson's article and the FIFA Centennial book in more detail. My article 'Football and the Fine Art: The Football Association Art Competition and Exhibition 1953' can be found in, Hill, Jeff, Moore, Kevin and Wood, Jason. *Sport, History and Heritage: An investigation into the Public Representation of Sport*.

- iii. To what extent do such images reflect the aesthetic qualities of football?
- iv. Can artistic representations of football be defined as a genre of painting? If so, to what extent does the genre of *football art* sit within the traditions of British Art?

The thesis is concerned with how football has been represented by artists whether they are artists who are considered good by the art establishment or not – indeed many of the artists featured in the thesis are not highly regarded by the art establishment. The reasons for this are outside the scope of the thesis but it is worth noting that Collingwood asserted many years ago that: ‘To call things bad or good is to imply failure.’⁷ Much of the football art discussed in the thesis has been roundly condemned by the art establishment, particularly art curators, and is considered as a failure in art terms. This is of little concern to my overall analysis, which will focus on the significance of the art in relation to what it reveals about the cultural phenomenon of football and cultural issues associated with football. The main area of interest of the thesis involves a connection between the second and fourth research questions outlined above. That is to say, the thesis is concerned with looking into how football has been represented within English painting in a way that is relevant to our understanding of the cultural, social, political and historical development of the game. Football has been discussed by many academic writers, ranging across history to cultural studies as a key element of ‘everyday life’ in England, and the various paintings of football within English art, in their distinctive ways, have captured this essence. Indeed, it is argued that this artwork constitutes a body of work that can be described as a *genre* to be known as *football art*. Questions about the perceived quality of artworks do not so much prevail in the thesis, rather emphasis and interest is placed on which paintings fit into the genre of football

⁷ Collingwood, R.G: *The Principles of Art*, page 280.

art and why and how they do so. Such is the on-going conversation between questions two and four above. Furthermore, if it can be accepted that football art constitutes a genre within English art, it is then necessary to attempt to locate that genre within the broader historical scheme of English art. The thesis will, therefore, also involve the undertaking of such a mapping exercise.

Methodologies

Problems of Art History

Art history is a complex academic discipline, a complexity that is reinforced by the different theoretical approaches to the subject taken by academics, many of whom seem to delight in using impenetrable language. To underline these complexities in the approach to art history a recent book by Michael Hatt has used 17 different art history theories to analyse a single painting, Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. R. M.)*.⁸ While such an approach is laudable, because of its attention to detail, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. A more manageable approach is provided in Eric Fernie's book, *Art History and its Methods*, which contains a glossary of concepts that defines art history 'as the historical study of those made objects which are presumed to have visual content.' He extends the definition by detailing four overlapping approaches to the subject that in summary are as follows:

1. Investigation of available written documents relating to the artwork;
2. Investigation of the object, purpose of the object, its visual form and its pictorial tradition;

⁸ Hatt, M: *Art History, a critical introduction to its methods* (Manchester University Press, 2006)

3. The social context of the object including an examination of the conditions of its production and reception;
4. An assessment of the ideological relevance contained in the object and what sociological or political theories are used to support interpretation.⁹

While all of these approaches are useful when analysing art, points three and four seem particularly relevant to the connection between art history and sports history. The related approach of the notable art historian T.J. Clark has been particularly useful in steering thoughts about the enquiry undertaken in this thesis.¹⁰ Clark's approach to art history, a method he calls social art history, seems the most appropriate research method for the purposes of my research. For Clark the strengths of social art history are:

That it makes its analogies specific and overt: however crude the equations I mentioned, they represent some kind of advance on the language of formal analysis, just because they make their prejudices clear. Flirting with hidden analogies is worse than working openly with inelegant ones, precisely because the latter can be criticised directly.¹¹

Clark stands in the tradition of the art historian Frederick Antal who in the post-war period asked the question why is it that some art historians have tended 'to put a brake upon the efforts to broaden art history by the study of social history?'¹² Although this has begun to change, most art histories still tend to focus upon temporal periods of art without considering the social and economic period under which the art in question was produced. But as Antal has noted, as long ago as the nineteenth century, the art for art's sake school of

⁹ Fernie, Eric (ed): *Art History and its Methods, a critical anthology* pp326-327.

¹⁰ Fernie indicates that Clark puts stress on these methods in his work.

¹¹ Clark, T.J: *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*, page 11.

¹² Antal, F: 'Remarks on the Method of Art History' page 75.

art theory was rejected by Ruskin who 'was stimulated in the consequence by his study of art to a thorough study of social structure and social economy.'¹³

Throughout the thesis I will approach the analysis of the artwork from the standpoint of Antal and Clark. It is important to stress, however, that art does not provide some fixed visual route through which history can be explored. It provides more of a cultural impression through its visual representation. As such, the history of football cannot be unearthed from the many thousands of art and visual images of the game. To produce reliable or sound history the historian draws upon a multitude of sources when researching historical periods and art is one source that contributes to the historical record. While it is also important to remember that 'the specific interest of the visual arts is visual...and one of the art historians specific facilities is to find words to indicate the character of' a painting. It is also worth considering:

That what a work of art means is determined by what it is *possible* that it means, and to enquire into the determination on meaning and expression is therefore to enquire into real possible causes - to do some historical work...Claims about what a picture expresses are no more than autobiographical statements unless they are claims about how the picture was produced.¹⁴

Therefore, it is essential that the art historian understands how:

The artist responds to the values and ideas of the artistic community, which in turn are altered by changes in the general values and ideas of society, which in turn are determined by historical conditions. For example, Courbet is influenced by Realism which is influenced by Positivism which is the product of Capitalist Materialism.¹⁵

Likewise artists discussed in this thesis have all been influenced by capitalist society, a society that has produced the global game of football. Moreover, in the modern era art has

13 *ibid.*

14 Baxandall, M: 'The Language of Art History' page 455 and Baldwin, Michael, Harrison, Charles and Ramsden, Mel: 'Art History, Art Criticism and Explanation' (in Fernie) page 268 emphasis in the original.

15 Clark, T.J: 'On the Social History of Art' (in Frascina and Harrison) page 250. As Clark points out in his piece on the social history of art the nouns in the sentence are important but 'it is the verbs which are the matter.'

increasingly focused upon certain aspects of football, such as issues around the commodification of sport, to show how globalisation is impacting upon popular cultural practice as well as issues of class, race and identity.

Social Art History and its Methods

As indicated above my approach to analysing artworks will be rooted in social art history as opposed to a static formal analysis approach. The latter focuses upon describing a painting and places emphasis on the form and style of a painting. The former utilises formal analysis but extends the analysis by asking what message, what societal issues does the artwork in question reveal? Such a method will facilitate a deeper analysis of the artwork. In essence a social history approach to art argues that its styles and modes are sourced from the material world, a world that is interpreted by the artist who in turn is a product of the material world. Important too is the way the artwork is viewed and interpreted by those who receive it and how this determines its cultural status. The methodological approach in the thesis stands in contradiction to Clive Bell who argued that:

To appreciate a work of art we need bring with us nothing from life, no knowledge of its ideas and affairs, no familiarity with its emotions. Art transports us from the world of man's activity to a world of aesthetic exaltation. For a moment we are shut off from human interests; our anticipations and memories are arrested; we are lifted above the stream of life.¹⁶

Bell treats 'aesthetic experience as something natural rather than as something culturally determined, that as something dependent on knowledge and reflection.'¹⁷ Bell seems to suggest that art has an independent history, independent from the material world. Clark has commented that 'the unconscious is nothing but its conscious representation.'¹⁸ A work of

16 Bell, Clive: *Art* (unpaginated eBook Project Gutenberg, 2005).

17 Fernie, page 259.

18 Clark, T.J: 'The Conditions of Artistic Creation'(in Fernie) page 252.

art may seem to have no connection with life or the real world, but the reality of the situation is that the work in question has been produced by an artist who is a person who not only exists in society but is formed by a society which is shaped by economic, social and political forces. Art historians and academics ranging from Arnold Hauser to Nicos Hadjinicolaou from John Berger to Janet Wolff have argued that art and culture should be assessed and analysed in their 'social and economic' setting in order to attain an adequate understanding and analysis.¹⁹ Throughout the thesis a social historical approach to art will regard aesthetic experience as a 'cultural category' and not a 'natural category' and that aesthetic experience '*cannot* be independent of knowledge, reflection, thought or interest.'²⁰ The aesthetic of football has been captured by Richard Holt who describes the beauty of the game as follows:

The perfect pass that suddenly switches the play from end to end, the shuffle and swerve that turns a defence and sends a winger away with the time to cross to a centreforward tearing past the marker... In the end these movements are instinctive and aesthetic, beyond social and historical analysis.²¹

Clearly, from Holt's description football does have aesthetic qualities, but our understanding of these qualities are rooted in an historical understanding of the game: a game that has evolved from a sport based on dribbling to one that became more focused on the passing game. The passing game did not replace the skills of the individual but has incorporated them into the wider aspects of the needs of the team and the need to play as a team. The movements made by a player may seem instinctive, but they are in essence rooted in how that player has assimilated aspects of the game as a child, as a young player and in the coaching and training methods employed by his coaches.

19 Wolff, Janet: *The Social Production of Art* page 28. See also Hauser, Arnold: *The Social History of Art*; Berger, John: *The Moment of Cubism and other Essays* and Hadjinicolaou, Nicos: 'Art History and Class Struggle' (in Frascina, Francis and Harrison, Charles)

20 Baldwin, M, Harrison, C & Ramsden, M: 'Art History, Art Criticism and Explanation' (in Fernie) page 264. Emphasis in the original.

21 Holt, R: *Sport and the British* page 165. Also, cited in Hughson, John: 'Sport and the British and British Cultural Studies.'

As with football, the methods of social art history argue that art is something produced in society by an artist whose social and cultural outlook is shaped by society, not independent of it. For art historians and critics such as Bell, what an artist produces is not necessarily culturally determined but is a natural consequence of the artist's ability. This ability somehow comes from the inner self when in reality 'the individual *is* a social being' whose material output in the form of art or other cultural activities stem from the individual being part of and formed by the material world.²² In Marxist terms the views of Bell contribute to an idealist view of art and the artist and stands in conflict to the methods of social art history.

This begs the question: if art is rooted in the material world, does this mean that art is an ideological tool used by a particular class? According to Clark:

A work of art may have ideology (in other words, those ideas, images and values which are generally accepted, dominant) as its material, but it *works* that material; it gives a new form and at certain moments that new form is in itself a subversion of ideology.²³

Marxism is often accused of being a determinist philosophy but Clark, who is a Marxist, does not accept such a proposition. Yes, there is a dominant ideology in society, in this instance capitalist society, but culture can be a force to subvert or mask cultural dominance. Like Engels, Clark rejects the formula that upon the base the superstructure is built and that there is no interaction between the two. In a letter to Joseph Bloch, Engels made this clear:

According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining factor in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Neither Marx nor I have ever asserted more than this. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic factor is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase.²⁴

²² See Marx and Engels: *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. Emphasis in the original.

²³ Clark (in Frascina and Harrison) page 253.

²⁴ Marx and Engels: *Selected Correspondence* page 394, emphasis in the original.

Ideology may have its roots in economic relations but cultural pastimes that emerge from economic relations in turn influence the base. Thus the relationship between art and society and the ideologies inherent in art are dialectical, dialectical in the sense that they not only interact upon one another but in that manner they subvert the ideological process and can change that ideological message. Likewise, Wolff, basing her argument on the early works of Marx and Engels, argues that: 'Thought and consciousness originate in material activity and human capacity to reflect on such activity.'²⁵

Like Marx and Engels, Wolff situates art and culture in the material world but in essence recognises that man's social interaction also impacts upon the base. Engels' language makes it clear that the economic base is the ultimate determining factor, but he also explains in the same letter that there is an interaction between the base and superstructure. T.J. Clark, although his language is somewhat elliptical, seems to be making the same point outlined above, namely that the artist who produces a work of art is not immune from cultural pressures and that ideologies do have material and other causes that enable the dominant ideology, the ideology of the dominant class, to be the dominant ideas. However, art in this instance is a special case in that it works, or manipulates, ideological pressures. Thus it would seem that art can attain a degree of autonomy, to be able to rise above the mundane and resist the ideological pressures, at least to some extent. Trotsky also expressed this idea, that art and the artist can obtain some degree of autonomy from the economic base. He argued that art, within certain limits, develops in accordance with its own laws but that, in the final outcome, culture is bound to the material world.²⁶ Although ideologies are 'operative within social practices' relative autonomy from the economic base applies to all cultural pursuits and football is no exception: this is a problematic concept, a concept that

²⁵ Wolff op cit page 51.

²⁶ See Trotsky's: *Literature and Revolution* particularly chapter 8 'Revolutionary and Socialist Art'.

will need continual attention throughout the thesis. In the literature review below I will assess how social, sports and cultural historians have approached this problem.²⁷

A social history approach to art, even when not strictly Marxist, engenders an understanding that art is rooted in the material world. It facilitates analyses of artworks because it does not separate the artist, or the work of the artist, from that world. Such an approach examines art as a social object and considers under what conditions of production it was produced. It locates the work in an historical timeframe; likewise it seeks an understanding of the ideological references contained in the work, intended or otherwise.

In conclusion, social art history regards art as a social activity through which artists raise concerns, consciously or otherwise, in their work about society. Coincidentally, football is a social activity that impacts upon society and is increasingly providing subject matter for a growing number of artists. How and why art and artists are turning towards football for subject matter, and to what extent art can help us understand the cultural and historical significance of football, forms an integral part of the thesis. According to David Inglis and John Hughson we can learn a lot about art by looking at society, likewise by looking at society we can learn about the social conditions under which particular artworks were produced. The social context of art is important as this enables us to look at the social relationships that are associated with producing art, as well as the role of gallery owners and curators, for example. Such a broad approach enables us to see 'how art functions in our society.'²⁸

²⁷ Sumner, Colin *Reading Ideologies* page 209. Sumner argues that all social practice is relatively autonomous but within social practice ideologies of the dominant class will always in the end assert themselves. See pp. 209-215 for his analysis of ideology with social practices.

²⁸ Inglis, David & Hughson, John: *Ways of Seeing* page 1

High and Low Culture

The thesis will also explore the problem of working in two distinct cultural fields one which is generally regarded as 'high' culture the other as a 'low' cultural form. It will be essential from the outset to establish how the thesis will link these diverse cultural pursuits. The division between high arts, great artists and lesser arts and artists can be traced back to the Renaissance and is linked to the concept of the artist as an individual genius.²⁹ This was also linked to the increasing division of labour, which was a product of the development of mechanised production, something that has grown with increasing rapidity since the Industrial Revolution, which is generally regarded as commencing in the second half of the eighteenth century.³⁰ The increasing division of labour de-skilled many former highly skilled trades such as weaving as well as numerous wood and metal trades. In this situation the person with the scarcest skills became not only highly regarded in society but also very well paid. Among this layer of workers was the artist who would generally be in a position to attract the highest rewards because high art skills were extremely rare. Using the method of social art history the analysis will regard the artist, as well as the hero worshipped footballer, as a skilled worker and not as an individual genius.³¹ Over the course of the last 25 years modern artists have increasingly been attracted to presentations of football in their work. This is partly explained by the increasing commodification of art, likewise football has become a highly marketed world commodity that is traded with ever-greater intensity. This situation is well summarised by Frederic Jameson:

What has happened is that aesthetic production today has become integrated into commodity production generally: the frantic economic urgency of producing fresh waves of ever more novel-seeming goods (from clothing to aeroplanes), at ever greater rates of turnover, now assigns an increasingly

29 Wolff op cit page 17.

30 See among others Hobsbawm, Eric: *Industry and Empire*.

31 Among others see Janet Wolff. For the footballer as a hero the work of Holt and Hughson are invaluable. For art and celebrity see Walker, John: *Art and Celebrity*.

essential structural function and position to aesthetic innovation and experimentation.³²

This is not to argue a postmodernist position that seems to indicate that all culture is simulacra; that culture has merged into one great whole. There still exists distinct cultural practice but culture is increasingly linked to consumption and is becoming increasingly a part of commodity production, as recognised by Walter Benjamin in the 1930s.³³

In such a situation it is not surprising that so-called high and low cultures have converged as their commodity value has increased. *Art Monthly* offered an explanation, when reviewing the 1996 *Offside* exhibition of football art, as to why artists had found football a suitable subject for their work:

All kinds of people, including artists, take an interest in football yet it is perhaps only in recent years that it has been possible for artists confidently to include the game in the subjects of their work. There would have been a time when this exhibition, if it happened at all, would likely have taken an oppositional stance to the game and the (male) myopia for which it is meant to stand. Current art discourse is less antagonistic towards aspects of a more general culture and the game itself has come a long way in shrugging off the dark atmosphere of violence which surrounded it during the 1970s and the early '80s.³⁴

Football provides some of the most powerful metaphors available and artists are increasingly using its social and cultural significance to source ideas for their work. It now has a significant following from people who hitherto had what were considered 'elite' cultural tastes. In the past the cultural elite, if they followed sport at all, would usually be associated with golf, tennis and cricket. Indeed such people would be members of exclusive clubs associated with these sports. These were places of middle and upper class affluence

32 Jameson, F: *Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, page 7. See also Frow, John *Cultural Studies & Cultural Value*

33 Benjamin, Walter: *Illuminations*. See the literature review below for more on the relevance of Benjamin's work to the thesis.

34 *Art Monthly* July/August 1996. The *Offside* exhibition will be discussed in chapter six.

where business was often conducted as an adjunct to the sport.³⁵ In football's modern period many such people have become attracted to football both as a source for entertainment and as a place where business can be done in an executive box. This has resulted in football now being accepted by sections of the population that had hitherto, by and large, ignored the game. This has also coincided with mass television coverage on satellite and terrestrial TV, along with the increasing commodification of sport. This is not to say that football is a classless sport in some sort of postmodernist world. On the contrary, the class division inside elite football clubs and grounds has become more pronounced with the development of designated executive boxes. Purveyors of 'high' culture may now occupy a seat in a stadium that has historically been a venue for popular or 'low' cultural pastimes but they do so on their own class terms. Many artists have seen a market here and have adapted their work accordingly.³⁶

Traditions within English Art

According to Roy Strong, even though England was the first industrial nation and that over 80 per-cent of its present day population live in towns and cities, 'urban life forms no part of the iconography of England'.³⁷ It is often assumed that there is a strong tradition of landscape art in Britain, a tradition that painters often resort to during times of national crises.³⁸ Andrew Graham-Dixon has challenged this:

The notion that there has been a great British tradition of landscape painting is, in fact a twentieth century concoction. There was no landscape painting of note whatsoever in Britain in the seventeenth century. There was not much landscape painting of quality in the eighteenth century, with the exception of

35 See Holt, R: 'Golf and the English suburb: Class and Gender in a London Club, c.1890-c.1960.'

36 Interviews conducted with contemporary artists will go some way to confirming that some artists have seen a market for their work in football. Also, James Huntington-Whiteley has held several successful sales of football art at his Cork Street gallery in London. These trends in the art market will be explored further in chapter six.

37 Strong, Roy: *Visions of England* page 10

38 See Spalding: *British Art Since 1900*, which is discussed in chapter four of the thesis.

Richard Wilson, much influenced as he was by Claude, and a few watercolourists. There was little landscape art of great merit in the nineteenth century, apart from Turner (who did not consider himself a landscape painter at all), that of Constable (who considered himself anything but a mere painter of landscapes) and the devout fidelities of the Pre-Raphaelites.³⁹

Landscape painting emerged in the eighteenth century when the landowning aristocracy commissioned artists to paint their vast estates. It is a genre that has produced great art from the likes of Gainsborough, Constable and Turner. Although Strong, in his search of English identity, which he maintains was first fully defined during the reign of Elizabeth I, refers to such artists he fails to show the link between patronage of the arts and how the economic and political power of the aristocracy is revealed in landscape art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰ Moreover, it is wrong to suppose that the development of art and culture is an unbroken chain, that landscape inspired art is somehow the only form from which we can determine the nature of England.

What Strong also chooses to ignore is that the English landscape is manmade, largely framed out of the land enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Enclosure was a necessary adjunct to industrial capitalism: innovation in farming techniques enabled cultivation of large areas while in the new industrial towns of the north a supply of labour was needed to run the steam-powered mills, labour that largely came from people being driven off the land by the ever-growing power of the English aristocracy. Strong's view is typical of the English privileged elite who often refer to the rural landscape 'south of the Thames' as a metaphor for an imagined England.⁴¹ An England that was swept aside across much of the midlands and the north by the Industrial Revolution and replaced by the dominance of the satanic mills, as depicted by novelists such as Dickens and Mrs Gaskell,

³⁹ Graham-Dixon, Andrew: *A History of British Art* page 218.

⁴⁰ Strong, *op cit* pp.28-29.

⁴¹ *ibid* page 4.

who are largely ignored by Strong. In general, there are not many people in Strong's book, those that do exist are aristocratic landowners such as Mr Andrews.⁴² Gainsborough's portrait of Mr and Mrs Andrews has a sporting context of course: the former is holding a gun and he has a hound by his side, this reminds us that the landed aristocracy of the eighteenth century were very keen on field sports. Moreover, artists such as Stubbs were engaged to paint the rewards of landownership, which included fine racehorses and large packs of hounds. The wealth that provided the wherewithal, the land, forms the background for such paintings. Strong fails to see that Mr and Mrs Andrews and the work of Stubbs are reminders that, prior to the 1832 Reform Act, political and social authority in England rested with the landed aristocracy. However, Strong's book does not engage with the subject matter in this way, he chooses instead to reinforce the English conceit that the culture of England, the English way of life, not only emerged in the south but was developed by the farsighted middle-class, who like the landed aristocracy before them, have helped to preserve the ancient landscape of England. A landscape, according to Strong, that has shaped English identity. It is a view that ignores the significance of urban society to the development of England as a nation: a view that largely ignores the midlands and the north of England, the birthplace of professional football and the fulcrum for other forms of popular culture such as popular music.⁴³

To confine one's view of English identity to rural landscape art ignores the fact that artists such as Joseph Wright of Derby, Holman Hunt, Ford Maddox Brown and art groups such as

42 A point made by Terry Eagleton in his review of Strong's book in *The Guardian* 1 July 2011.

43 See Helsinger, Elizabeth: 'Turner and the Representation of England' (In Mitchell, W.J.T. *Landscape and Power*) pp 103-126. The conceit of English identity being formed in the south of the country is not confined to landscape art. One needs to look no further than Blake's *Jerusalem*, which many people want as an English national anthem hence it is linked to English identity when the poem is really about the struggle for human identity in a world where the landscape is being urbanised at a rapid pace.

the Camden Town Group and Euston Road School have shown that England has a fine art tradition that is rooted in urban society.⁴⁴ This work:

...for all its drabness does go to the heart of a distinctively British twentieth century aesthetic. The mood of the unswept street, the spirit of the abandoned car park at night, the milieu of the overflowing urinal or the uncomfortable, unmodernised football stadium through which a cold wind blows – the British take a grim, stoical, self-flagellatory pride in such things.⁴⁵

Interestingly, an art historian refers to the unmodernised football stadium, a scene that was graphically captured by Lowry and several other artists who entered work in the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition of 1953. This body of urban based art, largely ignored by art historians, reveals a different view of Britain to the one portrayed by the likes of Roy Strong.

Nikolaus Pevsner's Reith Lectures from 1955 explored the *Englishness of English Art*. From the outset Pevsner posed two questions, the first asked: 'Is it desirable to stress a national point of view so much in appreciating works of art and architecture?' The second asked: 'Is there such a thing as a fixed or almost fixed national character?' Pevsner answered yes to both questions.⁴⁶ In his lecture Pevsner noted that when it came to landscape art: 'in the Romantic Age, it was England that led Europe away from the landscape arranged with carefully disposed masses and towards the atmospheric landscape.' Art of the Romantic period forms part of the English tradition in art, and in poetry, but it was not an unchanging tradition or the only tradition. In the same lecture Pevsner also talks about other artists and the diversity of English art:

44 See Klingender, Francis *Art and the Industrial Revolution* for the impact of urban society upon art. Klingender also argues that engineering drawings, drawing of bridges and the early railway system should also be regarded as art. Such an approach reinforces the point that an understanding of English identity cannot be constrained in the way Strong seeks to do.

45 Graham-Dixon op cit page 220-221.

46 A transcript of the lecture is available as a PDF from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/rmhttp/radio4/transcripts/1955_reith1.pdf. The BBC has also made all seven lectures available on line: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00h9llv>.

But now to return to their Englishness as it appears in their art: Blake's Britain is a dim, druidical Albion; Hogarth's is the noise and bustle of London; Constable's is the English countryside, and more specifically the Suffolk countryside where he grew up, the son of a miller. There his art, as he said so truly, 'is to be found under every hedge, and in every lane'. So is Hogarth's under every pub-sign and in every alleyway of London.⁴⁷

Pevsner does not dismiss the significance of landscape art in framing the tradition of English art but he places it in the wider context of other artists who painted different scenes, places and subject matter. This is something that Strong fails to do when he in effect dismisses the significance of urban scenes in the tradition of English art. What Pevsner and Strong do have in common is that they do not look at art in the context of class society.

Terry Eagleton makes the point that the countryside became timeless when it started to shrink under the impact of urbanisation.⁴⁸ This perhaps explains the contemporary popularity of Webster's painting *Football* which was shown at the Royal Academy in 1839, as it depicts a disappearing age.⁴⁹ Paintings that predate the development of football as a codified sport often place the sport in a rural setting but from the late nineteenth century onwards football painting is rooted in urbanism and industrialism. Like the manmade landscapes of rural England, the urban environment has created artificial, manmade, urbanscapes. Included in these urban scenes are the cultural and social landscapes of sport, which include manicured fields and large sporting stadiums.⁵⁰ An understanding of landscape art is important to an understanding of English art in general, but to separate it off from urban art would only result in a partial understanding of the history of art. Turner's

47 Pevsner Reith Lecture six. Transcript is available at: http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/rmhttp/radio4/transcripts/1955_reith6.pdf.

48 See Strong book review *The Guardian* 1 July 2011.

49 For the popularity shown towards Webster's work see *The Literary Gazette and The Journal the Belle Lettres* No. 1167 1 June 1839, page 348.

50 See Bale, John: *Landscapes of Modern Sport* pp10-15 and chapter three for a stimulating discussion re sporting landscapes in urban areas.

work, for example, often shows the 'old England and new England' combined in a single painting.⁵¹ For example, *Rain, Steam Speed* (1844) shows Brunel's great bridge in a landscape setting, but the train is heading towards London the largest urban settlement in the world in this period. An earlier painting by Turner, *Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1823) reveals a small city with people sitting on the undeveloped banks of the river. But a closer look reveals keels carrying coal, a colliery wheel and a sky heavily affected by the industrial pollution of the time. These paintings, along with work by the likes of John Martin, show that landscape art of the nineteenth century was affected by the industrial revolution and that urban life does form a part of the iconography of England.⁵²

British art has not been immune from the influences of great art movements, such as Cubism and Constructivism, of the twentieth century. In the interwar years many artists used geometric or abstract forms in a more dynamic way; several used modern techniques to get across the movement of a sporting contest. All painters have had to contend with the contradiction that the flat canvas exists in a three-dimensional world and have adopted techniques to overcome this problem of representation. Likewise, football is played on a flat surface but in the real world it is a surface that facilitates the movement of players, movement when considered in isolation can be abstract in concept. As more and more artists began to incorporate football into their work during the interwar years they tried to get across the excitement, the tension and movement of the game onto a two-dimensional surface. To achieve this they used a mixture of traditional and modernist techniques. Artists such as Sybil Andrews, CRW Nevinson and Paul Nash displayed such influences in their football related work. During the 1930s there was a revival of realism in English art a trend that continued in the post-World War Two period. Unlike the interwar years most of the football art produced in the immediate post-war period was done in the style of realism.

⁵¹ Klingender page 90.

⁵² For art and the industrial revolution see Klingender *op cit.*

There are political debates that abound about realism and abstract art that relate back to the Cold War. Art critics such as Lukacs and Berger, who were associated with the Communist Party in this period, promoted the Social Realist genre of art advocated in the Soviet Union. For Lukacs, realism demonstrates a 'truthful reflection of reality.' A contrasting ideology associated with abstract art was supported by the West, particularly in the United States.⁵³ In essence a 'love of art' for its own sake was associated with a 'love of freedom.'⁵⁴ Social Realist influences can be found in much of the artwork that was accepted for the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition of 1953 and in subsequent art exhibitions of football.⁵⁵ There are also examples of British artists using abstract forms in their football related work. To what extent artists used social realism and abstract forms in their work will be analysed in more detail in chapters three, four, five and six of the thesis.

This section has shown that British art cannot be placed in a singular bracket or confined to a particular tradition. Like all art, British art has a multitude of influences and artists draw upon all aspects of the real world for subject matter. Picasso, commenting upon how artists source material for their work made the point: 'The artist is a receptacle for emotions that come from all over the place; from the sky; from the earth; from a scrap of paper; from a passing shape; from a spider's web.'⁵⁶ In other words, ideas for art are drawn from the world around him. Apparently, in describing Constable's work, William Blake exclaimed: 'Why, this is not drawing but inspiration.'⁵⁷ In short, there is a tradition of English art but, as

53 Steyn, Juliet: 'Realism versus Realism in British Art of the 1950s'. Berger, John: *Ways of Seeing*. Berger, John: *Art and Revolution*. Lukacs, G: *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*.

54 Berger, John: 'Art and Property Now' (in *The Moment of Cubism and Other Essays*) page 48.

55 The Football and the Fine Arts exhibition of 1953 was a touring exhibition sponsored by the Football Association and the Arts Council with the distinct aim of promoting football painting. Over 1,700 works of art were submitted to the panel (see below for details), of these at least 152 were chosen for the exhibition.

56 Cited by Mervyn Levy page 12 *Paintings by L.S. Lowry*.

57 Cited in Pevsner Reith Lecture number 6.

Pevsner has indicated, it is a tradition undergoing constant change and it is very hard to define or pin down.

Football Paintings as a Genre

Historians, sociologists, cultural theorists and other academic disciplines favour categorisation. History, for example is divided between ancient and modern periods. While sociology spins off into sub-disciplinary areas such as the sociology of education and the sociology of the family. The sociology of sport, and cultural studies is riven by theoretical categories such as culturalism, postmodernism and post-structuralism. One of the first academic disciplines to have categories was art. In the seventeenth century the French Royal Academy codified five genres, or categories, of painting. These were, in order of importance: history, portrait, genre, landscape and still life. In this period the humanism of the Renaissance still dominated the thinking of the art world; it was considered that humans were the highest measure of all things in life. For this reason history and portrait painting were the most important genres as the human form was the main focus of such art. The two lowest categories were landscape and still life, precisely because the human form was not present in the subject matter. The third category, genre painting, is the category that is of most interest in determining whether football painting should be codified as a distinct genre or category. Before defining 'genre painting' it is worth tracing the roots of the word *genre*. The origin of the word is derived from the French collective noun for people *les gens*.⁵⁸ In art the term 'genre painting' describes art 'that takes everyday life as its subject matter'. Interestingly, in French the phrase used to describe such painting is *tableaux des genres*

58 Lambourne, Lionel: *Victorian Genre Painting* (HMSO 1982) page 6.

literally 'pictures of the people' or the 'portrayal of scenes from ordinary life, often with a narrative or anecdotal element.'⁵⁹ According to one key source genre paintings are:

Paintings of subjects from everyday life, usually small in scale. Developed particularly in Holland in the seventeenth century, most typically with scenes of peasant life or drinking in taverns. In Britain Hogarth's Modern Moral Subjects were a special kind of genre, in their frankness and often biting social satire. Simpler genre painting emerged in the later eighteenth century in for example G Morland, H Morland, and Wheatley. [Genre painting] became hugely popular in the Victorian age following the success of brilliantly skilled but deeply sentimental work of Wilkie. Genre painting is one of the five genres, or types of painting, established in the seventeenth century.⁶⁰

A key phrase in this quote relates to Hogarth whose work was a '*special kind of genre.*' Thus an authority as influential as the Tate is prepared to accept that there can be a genre within genre: that the work of a single artist can be regarded as a special genre.

Hogarth's work is a devastating commentary on London life during a period of rapid expansion in trade during the eighteenth century. The wealth that was being made through cities such as London was used to buy and develop huge landed estates in the eighteenth century. Many of these landowners commissioned artists to paint landscapes of their holdings to hang on the walls of their huge mansions. As indicated above, landscape painting was not favoured by connoisseurs in the seventeenth century, while key portraiture artists such as Joshua Reynolds regarded it a low form of painting.⁶¹ However, during the eighteenth century the nature of landscape painting began to change: landowners increasingly commissioned artists to include, not only the vastness of their land and their mansions, but to show the animals that they used for their sporting pastimes such as hunting, and the growing sport of horseracing, in the landscape. The key artist who transformed landscape painting in such forms was George Stubbs, whose work was highly

59 *ibid* page 6 and Brigstocke, H: *The Oxford Companion to Western Art* (Oxford University Press 2001) page 274.

60 Tate web site: <http://www.tate.org.uk/collections/glossary/definition.jsp?entryId=333>.

61 Bowes Museum: <http://www.thebowesmuseum.org.uk/exhibitions%20and%20events/exhibitions/225/>.

regarded by the Royal Academy. In this period the Royal Academy was the arbiter of what was good, bad or indifferent in art.

Landscape painting showing animals was the subject of an excellent exhibition at Bowes Museum in 2010 called *British Sporting Art*. The brief for the exhibition was clear that sporting art was a distinct genre:

British Sporting Art, will explore the genre of Sporting Art in Britain, from horseracing and hunting to boxing, football and cricket.

Central to the theme of the exhibition, which will include works by George Stubbs, Sir Alfred Munnings and George Morland, is John Bowes, the founder of the Museum and the first man to lift the renowned Triple Crown. Inspired by Bowes' love for horseracing and its importance to the story behind The Bowes Museum, this exhibition will explore his prolific racing career and the wider genre of Sporting Art.

The branch of painting, which has come to be known as British Sporting Art, was at its height during the 18th Century, when horseracing fervour swept the nation. It was a golden age for sporting artists, the most famous of which was Stubbs, with an urge to immortalise winners on canvas. Despite it being rejected by connoisseurs as a low form of art, and by Sir Joshua Reynolds as genre painting, Stubbs was a significant presence at the Royal Academy annual exhibitions, to huge critical acclaim.⁶²

Here again an important cultural institution has little trouble in bringing together a body of subject related work under a distinct genre, namely sporting art. Moreover, there are several books relating to sporting art, among them *British Sporting Pictures* by Guy Paget, that freely refer to sporting art as a distinct genre.⁶³

Lastly, in 1977 the British Sporting Art Trust, which has its own collection of sporting art, was established. It works closely with institutions such as the Bowes Museum to promote, not only their own collection, but also to facilitate exhibitions around the subject of sporting

⁶² ibid Bowes Museum web site. The Triple Crown referred to is associated with horseracing not rugby and is made up of the three Classic Races: the 2,000 Guineas; the Derby and the St Ledger. Since Bowes' success only 14 racehorse owners have achieved the Triple Crown in the same season.

⁶³ Paget, G: *British Sporting Pictures*. Other sources for British Sporting Art include: Layfield, Laura: *British Sporting Art*; Sparrow, Walter Shaw: *British Sporting Artists: From Barlow to Herring*; The Arts Council: *British Sporting Painting, 1650-1850*; Goldman, Paul: *Sporting Life: An Anthology of British Sporting Prints*; Neville, Ralph: *Old Sporting Prints*.

art. As well as animal and blood sports their collection includes pugilist painting which they regard as part of the tradition of British Sporting Art. Pugilism, of course, re-emerged in the eighteenth century and developed into a distinct sporting pastime of the aristocracy, although it also had support among all classes.

Conclusion

As indicated above, *genre* within art is a term that relates to painting about everyday life. Hunting and shooting as part of the everyday life of the upper classes has acquired classification within a genre known as 'sporting art'. Paintings about football have not acquired genre status by becoming known as *football art*, but this has more to do with the lingering of class prejudice within the art world than with the applicability of such titling. When reviewing an exhibition of football related art at the Manchester Art Gallery in 1966 to coincide with the FIFA World Cup Finals being held in England, M.G. McNay of *The Guardian* was so impressed by the art on display to write, 'looking at this exhibition it is clear football painting is a genre, and as such should not be judged simply on its painterly qualities. The best of the work combines the virtues of art with enthusiasm for the game'. This thesis supports this view and adds emphasis to the entitlement of 'football art' to genre status being dependent on football's paramountcy within the 'everyday life' of the English working class from the late 1800s to the present day. The painters who have chosen to represent football within their artistic practice have, in one way or another, negotiated this cultural reality. It will be argued that prior to 1992 the body of football related art was not vast but it has a connected significance, a significance that is better understood if the works are collectively regarded as constituting a genre over time. Recognising a genre of English 'football art' allows for the necessary points of connection to be drawn between the handful of works from the past depicting football and those of more recent years, irrespective of the changing styles of painting deployed. The discussion of relevant paintings across the

various chapters will also reveal how connecting them within a genre to be known as *football art* expands the parameters, albeit modestly, of English art history. The next chapter furthers the discussion of the reception and interpretation of art as a lead into a review of literature relevant to the analysis of football art.

Introduction (part two)

How Art is Received and Interpreted:

How art is viewed and received does pose important ideological questions. This section will look at these issues and consider how they relate to the wider remit of the thesis. Arnold Hauser has observed that:

Works or schools of art of the past are interpreted, discovered, appraised, neglected in accord with the point of view and current standards of the present. Each generation judges the artistic endeavours of former ages more or less in the light of its own artistic aims; it regards them with renewed interest and a fresh eye only when they are in line with its own objectives.

Moreover, he adds:

The judgments of art history can be neither completely objective nor absolutely compelling; for interpretations and evaluations are not so much knowledge, but ideological desiderata, wishes and ideals that one would like to see realised.¹

Hauser is right to say that complete objectivity in art history is unobtainable. However, if the art or social historian is aware of the social, political and economic conditions under which the art was produced, and of how contemporary society impinges upon that analysis, then a relatively objective analysis is attainable. It should be acknowledged, however, that objectivity is also affected by one's political outlook.

In an important article, *Art History and Class Struggle*, Nicos Hadjinicolaou develops several points on how we view art when looking at issues of style in painting. The essence of his argument is that art and social historians need to examine the structure of society and to be aware of the social and economic causes that divides society into

¹ Hauser, Arnold: 'The Sociological Approach: The Concept of Ideology in the History of Art' (in Frascina, Francis & Harrison, Charles) page 237.

'antagonistic groupings' when analysing and viewing works of art. Hadjinicolaou argues that we get different styles, different forms of representation and interpretations in art, within a given period of time, precisely because society is divided into antagonistic groupings, or classes. In other words, there is not one overarching viewpoint; there is more than one way to say something about art, and for that matter football. The art and social historian also has to be aware that artists exist in a material world and are influenced by society which in turn is governed by its economic structure. Hence the influences of society find expression in one form or another in the artist's work, and through the medium of art and culture in general. Contrasting the football related artwork, for example, of Lowry in the 1920s with that of the Dadaists in the same period, it is easy to see that some of the work of Lowry and the Dadaists is related to football and to sport. Using Hadjinicolaou's concept of style, it is possible to gain an understanding of how artworks can be interpreted differently, often radically, even when the subject matter is similar. The subject matter may be the same but the form and presentation of the work clearly affects how the viewer receives this work. Dada is overtly political, whereas Lowry's work is perceived by many as non-political, although political and social inferences can be drawn from his work. The common denominator in each case is that both Lowry and Dadaists were artists working in a capitalist society.² In this context, Dadaism in form and subject matter, was a protest against the civilisation that had produced barbarism in the form of war and mass social instability. It was a revolutionary political response to the social and political situation in Weimar Germany. By contrast, Lowry's work could be perceived as work that reinforces social relations and the political status quo.

² See Hadjinicolaou, Nicos: 'Art History and Class Struggle' (in Frascina and Harrison).

The *Football and the Fine Arts* and *Offside* exhibitions, for example, were exhibitions of contrasting styles.³ The former was overwhelmingly figurative or realist in style and had its roots in the Social Realist art movements of the 1930s. Artists such as Claude Rogers for example, who exhibited *West Bromwich Albion v Chelsea* in 1953, was a member of the Euston Road School of painters, a group that had close links with the Artists International Association in the socially divided 1930s. Such painters, as in the case of Lowry and the Dadaists, were committed to producing socially relevant art. The 1953 exhibition, although not political in an overt way, did represent a sport that was clearly associated with the working-class and, therefore, social and political conclusions can be drawn from this art. By contrast, much of the work contained in the *Offside* exhibition was more overtly political.

Hadjinicolaou's approach to style is important and directly links to a social art history approach as he shows 'that style always belongs to a class or a section of a class.' He develops the argument into a theory he calls 'visual ideology', which links style to the overall ideology of a social class: 'I would say that the simple use of the term 'visual ideology' impels us to search for the link that connects style with the overall ideology of a social class, and to conceive style as a particular form of ideology.'⁴

Ideology, according to Hadjinicolaou, manifests itself through ideas, values and beliefs. An understanding of visual ideology enables the viewer to locate these constructs in visual culture. For Hadjinicolaou, visual ideology:

Allows us a better grasp of the particularities of the production of pictures and its history. This history is none other than the history of

³ *Offside* was an exhibition of football art shown in Manchester during Euro '96. The work from the exhibition will be assessed in chapter six of the thesis.

⁴ Hadjinicolaou, op cit page 245.

visual ideologies. In this sense, we can substitute for the bourgeois watchword of the 1920s, 'art history is the history of styles', with the following: 'the history of the production of pictures is the history of visual ideologies'. It follows that the subject matter of the discipline of art history is the visual ideologies that have occurred in the course of time.⁵

An art style is often associated with an individual artist, Lowryesque for example, or with a national style of a particular country, or a certain period such as the Renaissance. It can also refer to art movements such as Impressionism or Futurism: sometimes it can refer to a style that has become accepted as a genre, realism is a good example of this. Throughout the thesis style will sometimes refer to the work of an individual artist, the genre of football art, or as style as defined by Hadjinicolaou, namely the subject matter and the form of the artwork. In contrast, visual ideology studies the concept of art in the context of society or a social group and how art serves and promotes ideas, values and beliefs - or how art recreates the ideology of a certain social class.

The Production of Visual Culture In Capitalist Society - what makes good art?

An understanding of how visual culture is produced, exhibited and viewed in a capitalist society is integral to the wider social art history approach that I will use throughout the thesis. This section builds upon the section above, which explored how art is received and interpreted in a capitalist society. Janet Wolff, in her seminal work *The Social Production of Art*, makes it clear that: 'Art is a social product...art and

⁵ *ibid* pp.245-246.

literature have to be seen as historical, situated and produced, and not as descending as divine inspiration to people of innate genius.⁶

Great ideas, great art, great football can and do come from individuals, but they do so under certain social and economic conditions. Too much emphasis on the individual leads us away from the concept of how art and culture is produced in society, a concept succinctly outlined by Wolff above.

Culture and popular culture are not just products of the individual imagination, they are social products, produced under certain social, political and economic conditions. In the modern period art has also become a commodity that is mass-produced. Walter Benjamin looked at this in the 1930s while John Berger, in *Ways of Seeing*, powerfully develops Benjamin's argument. Both Benjamin and Berger argue that the way we view art has changed because copies of original art are mass-produced. Moreover, copies of masterpieces often hang in public places, in people's homes and are often reproduced for advertising.⁷ Moreover, artists such as Anthony Gormley produce sculptures that are commissioned by bodies such as local authorities with an eye to the tourist industry. His sculptures are then mass-produced in a foundry. In this sense art, in a similar way to popular culture and mass leisure, is part of the general consumption of society. Gormley's work is exhibited in the open but it is promoted in a similar way to the blockbuster exhibitions at Tate Modern. A question that almost casually springs to the mind is this: is Gormley's art any different say to the statue of Bill Shankly at Anfield or even Michael Jackson's statue at Craven Cottage? Such statues are continually being situated at football grounds and have

⁶ Wolff, Janet: *The Social Production of Art*, page 1. I would also argue that football should be seen in a similar light, i.e. Football is a product of society and people who play the game at the highest level are produced in the way suggested by Wolff.

⁷ See Berger, John: *Ways of Seeing* and Benjamin, Walter: *Illuminations*.

been developed with an eye to attracting the fan tourist to Anfield and other grounds. Football and art in some aspects have both become integral parts of the tourist industry and are linked to globalisation. This aspect of the thesis will be further developed in chapter six.

In the last decade of the twentieth and the first decade of the twenty-first century there was a big emphasis on the regeneration of British cities after decades of decline. Football was seen as an integral part of this regeneration process – it was also in this period that football clubs became interested in commissioning artists to produce statues of former players and managers. Also, in this period a growing number of artists began to use football in their work and many have even concentrated their whole output on football. Interestingly, art galleries were also a part of the regeneration of British cities. Using the Tate institution as the prime example, it played a key role in providing a cultural focus to the regeneration process. In London it converted the former Bankside power station and transformed former dock warehouses in Liverpool into important art galleries: both of these sites have developed into galleries of national and international significance. Both sites were formerly, somewhat ironically, important cogs in the wider capitalist economy and facilitated the production or distribution of consumer goods in society. Today, they facilitate the consumption of art and culture and the selling of art commodities such as prints and art memorabilia.⁸

What has been happening here is a speeding up of the process of the commodification of culture. Football has been a key player in this process. Revived interest in the 1953 exhibition has paralleled the growth of the football leisure industry. A major turning point in Britain was Euro '96 – the slogan *Football's Coming*

⁸ The Tate family of course made their fortune through trade, particularly sugar which was once inextricably linked to the slave trade.

Home had a deep cultural message, as did the song of the same name by the Lightning Seeds. England, the home of football, was again at the vanguard of the development of the game. During Euro '96 there was an emphasis on England being the home of football, the advertising encouraged fans to come to England where fans could discover the roots of football and also visit the birthplace of modern civilisation – the urbanised city.

In 1996 there were two football art exhibitions of note: the *Offside* exhibition in Manchester and *England's Glory* organised by a private gallery in London. The former mentioned exhibition presented a radical look at the potency of the football industry and its cultural impact upon British society. The latter exhibition exhibited more traditional, in style, work with an emphasis on selling prints of the 1953 exhibition, plus original artwork produced in the dominant style of the FA sponsored exhibition of 1953. The *Offside* exhibition was part of the Manchester *Soccer City* arts festival, which integrated the wider cultural experience Manchester had to offer with the football tournament in question.⁹ It was a laudable approach, but it is hard to escape the conclusion that Euro '96 demonstrated that football was being used as a cultural phenomena to unite the nation without reference to how the nation is constructed socially, politically and economically.

Since 1996, football art exhibitions have become a regular occurrence in Britain as well as in Europe. Moreover, alongside international football tournaments, such as the UEFA European Football Championship and the FIFA World Cup, art

⁹ Manchester hosted six matches during Euro '96.

exhibitions dedicated to football are held in the host country. All these factors taken together indicate that the volume of football art is expanding at a very fast rate.¹⁰

As outlined in this section, art has become an integral part of the capitalist economy. At the high end of the market private collectors buy works of art for investment purposes, while the lower end of the market, mostly through national galleries, caters for the mass market by selling reproductions of great works of art. Art that is not so easily reproduced for general consumption is often geared towards attracting tourists. Such art, as in the case of Gormley's work, is produced under conditions of commodity production. The different types of art reproduction demonstrate that art is a social product geared towards a market system. In the course of football's modern era it is no accident that there is a growing number of artists interested in producing football related art as there is a growing market for such work: just as there is a growing global market for football.

Literature Review

This section assesses the extent, or otherwise, of the work produced by academics around football and art and comments upon its relevance to the overall aim of the thesis. The literature review also assesses the relevance of non-football related cultural studies and debates that relate to the research. An overview of British art movements will point to the way the thesis will place football art within the wider traditions of British art. The review will also assess the usefulness and limitations of art catalogues, football art exhibitions as well as biographies of artists.

¹⁰ The UEFA European Football Championship was formerly called the UEFA European Nations Cup. The exhibitions organised around the UEFA and FIFA competitions will be discussed in chapter six of the thesis.

The French academic Pierre Chazaud wrote the catalogue for the *Art et Football* exhibition for the 1998 World Cup which was held in France. This is an excellent, largely image centred, publication that focuses mostly on European art, i.e. not British, and artists. It is perhaps the first attempt to bring together a wide and diverse body of football related art in one volume. The catalogue is comprised of picture captions, short introductions to the various chapters and charts showing the development of art and art movements from 1860 up to 1960. The catalogue, however, does not provide an in depth academic analysis of the artwork – indeed this was not the intention behind the publication. Chazaud does confirm that early visual representations of football remained in the confines of popular art, most notably in illustrated magazines and postcards. Chazaud also provides a very useful exploded diagram of the developments in art from 1860 through to 1960, which shows that these movements sometimes paralleled radical political movements such as nationalism. Overall, the book offers a useful visual and chronological guide to the development of football in art in the context of key historical events that have impacted upon culture and society. The book provides a useful reference point when comparing the contrasting approaches to football by European and British artists.¹¹

Peter Kühnst has written a wider ranging book, based on PhD research, that looks at ‘sports and sport-like physical activities of Europeans and North Americans from the Renaissance to the present’ and their representations in art. His stated goal is ‘to exploit the resources of the visual arts – paintings, graphics, and photographs – to examine the history of sports and sports-like physical activities...’ Kühnst emphasises the point that art is ‘never simply a mirror reflecting reality as it was’,

¹¹ Chazaud, Pierre: *Art et Football, 1860-1960* (Mandala Editions 1998).

but provides abstractions of reality that can 'idealise or distort, sentimentalise or exaggerate, omit or enlarge.' His work is encyclopaedic in scope, but his method of approach aims to show the cultural links between sports and society, and is close to my adopted method of approaching art and football from a social history perspective. However, his book has a limited number of football images. Moreover, his football selections focus upon Continental artists especially Futurists and Dadaists, he largely ignores realism which is a major source for British football paintings.¹²

Moreover, although Kühnst looks at sporting photographers he provides little or no analysis of the relationship between art and photography or whether photographs can be considered as art. The relationship between art and photography is complex with a full discussion around the issues beyond the scope of the thesis. Suffice to say that in the nineteenth century the work of the Impressionists and the Pre-Raphaelites were influenced by photography. William Bell-Scott wrote that 'Every movement has its genesis, as every flower its seed; the seed of the flower of Pre-Raphaelism [*sic*] was photography.'¹³ Furthermore Bell-Scott described Holman-Hunt's work as being 'designed with every modern advantage in composition and expression.'¹⁴ Moreover, photography played 'an integral role in launching realism as the century's dominant visual mode.'¹⁵ The influence of photography can also be seen in the multi-viewpoint collages and paintings of the Cubist period while in the inter-war years artists associated with the Dada movement manipulated photographs to explore social and cultural issues many of which included sport and football. Pop Artists,

¹² Kühnst, Peter: *Sports: A Cultural History in the Mirror of Art* pp9-11.

¹³ Cited in Waggoner, Diane. *The Pre-Raphaelite Lens* page 6.

¹⁴ *ibid* page 7.

¹⁵ *ibid* page 3.

who explored the impact of popular culture upon society, further developed the concept behind Dada, using photographic images to make art. Once again football found a presence in this work most notably through the work of Nigel Henderson and Peter Blake. Moreover, contemporary artists have broadened the perimeters of art. This development has revealed that modern artists, like their historical counterparts, use every modern advantage at their disposal to create art and that photographic reproductions are now considered as a legitimate art form. The relationship between art and photography was the subject of a recent exhibition at the National Gallery in London, the aim of the exhibition was to reveal how photography has influenced fine artists and to show how photography can be considered as art. According to Marius De Zayas 'photography is not art, but photographs can be made into art.'¹⁶ In exploring the complex relationship between art and photography the thesis will look at relevant images from Dada and Pop Art periods but the main focus upon art as photography will occur when considering the work of contemporary artists.

Clifford Ackley's book *British Prints from the Machine Age: Rhythms of Modern Life, 1914-1939* explores how artists presented urbanism and new facets of modern life that emerged in the interwar years: the book has a significant section on sport. The book is visually strong and provides some useful background to the Grosvenor School of artists who, under the direction of Claude Flight, produced hundreds of Futurist influenced linocuts. In the interwar years London's Transport Companies, under the direction of Frank Pick, commissioned artists from the school to design posters to encourage people to travel to sporting events by public transport. Each year from 1923 posters were produced for the FA Cup Final, as were posters for

¹⁶ Zayas de, Marius. *Photography and Photography and Artistic Photography*, page 7.

weekly league matches in London. Among the finest images is a linocut of a muscular footballer by Sybil Andrews, which is also featured in Ackley's book. These posters reflect the growing impact of sport, particularly football, upon people's lives in this period.¹⁷ A recent article by art historian Mike O'Mahony has considered the reasons why the work of the Grosvenor School has stood outside most art history books.¹⁸ Both works provide, along with Michael Saler book, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England*, useful reference points to the artwork of the interwar years which is discussed in chapter four below. Saler's book also has an important chapter on Frank Pick, the chairman of London Transport. The chapter explores Pick's role in commissioning art for London Transport in the interwar years. A significant amount of this work is football related.

More recently, Allen Guttman has argued that sports historians should make more use of literary and visual texts, but does not use football to illustrate his article nor does he offer an analysis of images that depict sport.¹⁹ Likewise Mike Huggins has recently published an article arguing for a visual turn in sports history.²⁰ Huggins has advocated that sports historians need to make such a turn if they are to fully appreciate the significance of sport in society. This is hard to argue against, as any historian should be prepared to work with all available material. Towards the end of the article Huggins produces a long list of key contextual questions that could be asked about a work of art or other sports related visual artefacts. The list includes questions such as: Who was the artist? Who was the patron? How are ideas of gender, class, race and ethnicity played out here? All these questions are valid and

17 Ackley, Clifford: *Rhythms of Modern Life*.

18 O'Mahony, Mike: 'Imaging Sport at the Grosvenor School Of Modern Art, 1929-1937.'

19 Guttman, Allen: 'Does Clio Need Help? A Plea for a More Extensive Use of Literary Texts'.

20 Huggins, Mike: 'The Sporting Gaze: Towards a Visual Turn in Sports History - Documenting Art and Sport.'

have been reproduced elsewhere, but the major flaw in Huggins' list, and in the article, is that he does not consider under what social conditions the work was produced. Nor does he consider the class position of the artist and/or the patron. Moreover, he separates out issues such as gender and ethnicity from class, whereas a social art history approach would consider class society as the key determinant in the way society is divided. From such a perspective it is then possible to deal with issues of gender and ethnicity in an ideological way i.e. how does class society impact upon minorities, women and other strata in society. In the opinion of this writer, Huggins' approach tends to separate out, even marginalises issues such as gender and ethnicity. Treating such issues in a class context, analysing them in a dialectical manner helps to emphasise that minorities are more exploited within a class society. Despite these criticisms, Huggin's work does provide useful contextual background material that will assist the wider aims of the thesis.

Mike O'Mahony, a collaborator of Huggins, has produced an excellent book, *Sport in the USSR* that assesses several football paintings but from the general perspective of *fizkultura* in the former Soviet Union. He has attempted to place the art in the wider debates about Soviet art that occurred initially in the aftermath of the 1917 Revolution and the subsequent Stalinist period. His approach, given the debate around the need for a visual turn in sports studies, will provide a useful reference point when analysing sporting art especially when considering how British football art is located within the traditions of British art.²¹

21 O'Mahony, Mike: *Sport in the USSR - Physical Culture/Visual Culture*. *Fizkultura* is a broad term used to describe the method and training of sports in the former Soviet Union. O'Mahony provides the full definition of *fizkultura*, taken from the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* of 1936, on page 16 of his book.

Another important sports book is Kasia Boddy's *Boxing: A Cultural History*. This text covers in some detail the visual culture of boxing. Her book is not confined to art but also locates the cultural impact of boxing upon other art forms such as literature and cinema. She makes the point, one also made above, that sporting images go back to antiquity, reflecting just how important sport has been to all civilisations. Although not a social historian, Boddy is always aware that we have to locate sport in the context of social relations as well as in class society. The way she has approached visual culture in boxing has relevance to my research on the visual representation of football.²²

In 1996 FIFA published the *FIFA Museum Collection*, a catalogue of the artworks, prints, trophies, photographs and other football memorabilia part owned by FIFA at that time. This is a useful visual reference source but the book was not intended to present an analysis of the artwork. The catalogue is essentially a visual reminder that traces the roots of football back to antiquity and shows how the modern game has been visually represented in all walks of life. The text, written by Harry Langton, was largely confined to descriptive captions alongside the images. Unlike the Chazaud book it does not attempt to locate the art featured in the book to wider art movements or attempt an explanation of how football has been represented in the arts. The FIFA centenary book published in 2004, written by three academics, has a useful section on football art, but the limits of the book did not allow space for an in-depth analysis of football artwork. The authors do provide a thumbnail sketch of how sports have been represented in art from the first Olympics arts' contest in 1912

²² Boddy, Kasia: *Boxing: A Cultural History*.

to the first art exhibition associated with the World Cup in 1934.²³ Both of these works, however, do provide an array of visual material that can be drawn upon for the thesis.

Other academics writing on sport such as John Bale have recognised the importance of art. His work on sports places has utilised the work of Lowry when discussing the attachment of people to places of sport. Bale's work does not, however, set out to offer a thorough analysis of Lowry's work or other works of art that focus upon football stadia. Bale has produced four line drawings that show how open football playing areas developed into the football grounds, then into stadiums before arriving at the modern day arenas.²⁴ Bale's *Landscapes of Modern Sport* in particular looks at the concept of the sporting landscape; this invaluable work will assist when looking at how artists have represented football in an urban context. In the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition there were several paintings of football stadiums, while contemporary artist Laura Green has produced a body of work relating to football grounds. Such work can be considered in the context of urban English landscape art. Bale's work, including his simple line drawings, will provide a useful reference point when looking at how such artists have represented football stadiums over the various stages of their development.

Mary Ann Wingfield's book provides a useful overview of sport related art, but her section on football does not consider the work of Nevinson, Nash or Lowry. She recognises the significance of the Football Association initiative to stage a national art

²³ FIFA Museum Collection: *1000 Years of Football* (1996); Lanfanchi, Pierre; Eisenberg, Christiane; Mason, Tony & Wahl, Alfred: *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson 2004). The FIFA Collection is now part of the National Football Museum's collection.

²⁴ Bale, John: *Sport, Space and the City* (Routledge 1993).

competition open to all schools of art in 1953: a competition that was judged by four eminent art administrators and artists. Wingfield does not offer a critique of the work submitted to the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition but she does provide a list of the artists, albeit incomplete, who submitted work for the exhibition.²⁵

Art catalogues are a useful source for material; an art catalogue by definition is image based, some do have useful introductions that provide background information to exhibitions, artists and artwork. The *Football and Fine Arts* catalogue, published for the 1953 exhibition, is a key resource but, apart from one page, it is an image based publication. In contrast, the *Offside* football exhibition catalogue, although image based, contains three articles exploring the representation of football in the exhibition. Clearly, catalogues are a key starting point, particularly for image sourcing but they usually do not set out to provide an academic analysis of the artwork.²⁶ A very good non-football exhibition catalogue, *Critical Realism: Britain in the 1980s Through the Eyes of 28 Artists*, published for a touring exhibition in 1987, has two stimulating academic essays, which discuss realist art in the context of Thatcher's Britain, by Brandon Taylor and Juliet Steyn. Steyn defines the work in the exhibition as representing the 'economic freedom' of the Thatcher period in the context of 'social authoritarianism.' There is an interesting football related image in the catalogue by John Hewitt, one I will consider in the thesis when discussing

²⁵ Wingfield, Mary Ann: *Sport and the Artist* pp 27-43. The four administrators and artists were: Sir John Rothenstein, Philip James, Philip Hendy and Professor William Coldstream. Wingfield's list of artists represented in the exhibition does contain several omissions. An appendix to the thesis will provide a full list of the artists represented. Moreover, chapter four of the thesis will provide a full analysis of the 1953 exhibition.

²⁶ Manchester City Art Gallery: *Offside: Contemporary Artists and Football*(1996). The Offside exhibition was organised to coincide with Euro '96 which was held in England. For a full list of catalogues consulted see bibliography below.

football in its social context in chapter six of the thesis.²⁷ Another key artist working in the critical realism field is Peter Howson, who has used football in his work: Howson had a solo exhibition, dedicated to football, in Glasgow in 1998. Despite the importance of his football work, art critics and academics have largely ignored it: a further indication of the paucity of writing about representations of football in art.

The nature of the sporting hero was the subject of a major exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery in 1998. While football was strongly represented in the exhibition, the majority of the work on show, relating to football, was photographic based rather than painting. The companion book to the exhibition contained an article by Professor Richard Holt about the sporting hero, but the main focus of the essay is on heroes in sport not on art or how artists have represented sport.²⁸ Nevertheless, the essay will be of great value when focusing on the nature of football heroes and celebrities in chapter six.

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery also has a significant collection of football paintings, much of which has relevance to English football as several of the featured players have at some point played for Football League clubs. In 2006 the gallery commissioned Mark L'Anson to produce a series of portraits entitled 'Scotland's Dream Team'. The L'Anson collection comprises 'twelve large works depicting Scotland's greatest players from the last hundred years and includes Jim Baxter, Dennis Law, Alex James, Dave Mackay and Kenny Dalglish, all whom had prestigious careers in England. In addition to L'Anson's work the gallery also commissioned a portrait of Alex Ferguson in 1996 by Scottish artist David Mach.

²⁷ Taylor, Brandon and Steyn, Juliet: introductions to *Critical Realism: Britain in the 1980s Through the Eyes of 28 Artists*, exhibition catalogue.

²⁸ Holt, Richard & Huntington-Whiteley, James: *The Book of British Sporting Heroes* (National Portrait Gallery 1998).

Although the gallery's collection has significance for English football the work is intended as a celebration of Scottish football and is best viewed in this way as it locates the players within Scottish culture. By comparison the National Portrait Gallery in London has a limited football art collection, which is largely based on portrait photographs. The National Portrait Gallery has hosted occasional exhibitions relating to sport. In addition to the sporting hero exhibition mentioned above, the gallery also hosted *Sport Lives: Contemporary Portraits of Athletes and Olympians* from 12 July 2007 to 17 January 2009. The one football related piece in the exhibition was a video portrait of David Beckham by the conceptual artist Sam Taylor Wood. Wood filmed Beckham as he slept after a training session, the intention behind the piece was 'to show a different side to Beckham, away from the pitch and his glamorous public-image.'²⁹ Taylor Wood's piece is of interest in that it focuses upon the celebrity footballer, an issue that will be analysed in chapter six of the thesis.

Following on from the above it becomes apparent that there are no in-depth academic studies of the representation of football in art. This gap persists despite a fundamental change in 'the relationship between sport and art' during the twentieth century; a change that can be better understood by a brief analysis of British Sporting Art.³⁰ A brief study of British Sporting Art will reveal that field and bloodsports were the sports that were captured by artists in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These sports were overwhelmingly the preserve of the landed aristocracy, the class that used its patronage to commission artists. Until the nineteenth century ball games were largely the preserve of the lower orders in society, such sports were

29 Exhibition brief on the NPG web site: <http://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/display/2008/sporting-lives-contemporary-portraits-of-athletes-and-olympians.php>

30 Wingfield, Mary Ann, page 10. The analysis of British Sporting Art will be in chapter three of the thesis.

rarely of interest to artists who were largely dependent upon a wealthy landowner for their income in this period. Academic source material for British Sporting Art is limited, a factor that requires sourcing specialist books by authors such as Guy Paget and Walter Sparrow. The Pagets are a former aristocratic family that once took an active part in field and bloodsports: Paget's book is a useful source that draws heavily upon family records and provides a good insider's view of British Sporting Art. Sparrow wrote extensively about art in the early decades of the twentieth century. His work aimed to explore the lives of artists whose paintings were associated with English country life; his interest in the process of sport or the relationship between culture and society is limited. The Arts Council catalogue, *British Sporting Painting*, published in 1974, is another useful source when looking at the relationship between sport and art. The catalogue provides a useful overview of the nature of field and bloodsports as well as biographical details of the artists who were commissioned to paint the sporting pictures between 1650 and 1850. However, the catalogue does not seek to discuss the nature of sport in society, nor discuss what British Sporting Art can reveal about the power of the landed aristocracy in this period.³¹ A recent exhibition of British Sporting Art was hosted at the Bowes Museum, the accompanying catalogue makes the point that when it emerged in the eighteenth century art connoisseurs regarded sporting art as a low form of art. This goes some way to explain why eighteenth century artists used 'sport as a subject matter in much wider idealised landscapes.'³² However, artists such as Stubbs, Gillray and Rowlandson elevated sporting art, although they too would often place their sporting subject in a wider landscape setting. In the modern day, football art

31 Paget, Guy: *Sporting Pictures of England* (Collins 1955); Sparrow, Walter Shaw: *British Sporting Artists: From Barlow to Herring* (John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, London 1922); The Arts Council: *British Sporting Painting, 1650-1850* (1974).

32 Layfield, Laura: *British Sporting Art* (Bowes Museum 2010) Layfield was the curator of the Bowes Museum exhibition. The term 'connoisseur' is used in the context of an art historian who works in the field of authentication and in the field of judging the quality of artworks. See glossary in Fernie, page 330.

has also been subject to similar criticism to that experienced by the pioneers of sporting art. However, as football has increasingly attracted a fan base from the upper and middle classes the game, as a subject for art, has become increasingly acceptable to the art establishment. These changing attitudes will be analysed further in chapters four, five and six of the thesis but suffice to say, at this point that the response towards the 1953 FA exhibition was markedly different to the acclaim received by the *Offside* exhibition of 1996.

The brief discussion around British Sporting Art will provide background information to the kernel of the thesis, which will explore to what extent art and artists have represented football in their work. This will require an understanding of the debates and controversies that surrounded British art and art movements. General studies of art, such as Gombrich's *The Story of Art* provide a useful survey of how art has developed in the West since the Renaissance, but the encyclopaedic nature of such studies are too generalised. Gombrich does, however, place emphasis upon the social significance of art. In his essay 'In Search of Cultural History' he also stresses how views and opinions about images undergo change as society changes. This is a very relevant angle as people's perceptions of football has changed dramatically over the last fifty or so years, and this has impacted upon the way the art, for example, from the 1953 FA exhibition is viewed in the modern day.³³ Supplementary reading that explores British art and British art movements has, therefore, been essential; this has helped to locate football related art in the wider context of British art. Key works here include Charles Harrison's study of modernism and English art and Frances Spalding's *British Art Since 1900*. Although Harrison's study offers no examples of sporting art his wide-ranging study of British

³³ Gombrich, E.H: 'In Search of Cultural History' (in Fernie) pp 227-236.

art and modernism is essential as in the modernist period a number key artists, Nevinson, Nash, Sybil Andrews and Cyril Power for example, used football and other sports in their work. Spalding's book focuses more on the development of British art in the twentieth century, her contextual analysis will assist when locating football art within the wider traditions of British art. Both Harrison's and Spalding's work place the development of British art in a social context indicating that their work is useful background reading when it comes to analysing art from a social history perspective. Herbert Read's *The Meaning of Art* is a good companion guide to Spalding and Harrison. Read looks at the component parts of art. For example, he discusses what are the attributes of a painting in relation to its social context.³⁴

Four important art anthologies by Fernie, Frascina and Harrison, Gaiger and Wood and Jonathan Harris provide a diverse range of articles on art history and theory, these have been crucial to understanding art and its socio-historical meanings. Likewise, the *Art in Theory* anthology has a diverse range of articles and documents that helps put the development of modern art in a cultural and socio-historical context.³⁵

To obtain a wider understanding of the relationship between culture and society it has been necessary to have a good grasp of cultural theory. Cultural practice is a hugely complex affair but an understanding of the key issues such as modernism and post modernism does help to locate cultural practice in modern society: a society that underwent radical social and economic change in the nineteenth and twentieth

³⁴ Spalding, Frances: *British Art Since 1900*; Harrison, Charles: *English Art and Modernism, 1900-1939* (Allen Lane Indiana University Press 1981). Read, Herbert: *The Meaning of Art*.

³⁵ Fernie, Eric: *Art History and its Methods*; Frascina, Francis and Harrison, Charles: *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*; Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul: *The Art of the Twentieth Century*; Harris, Jonathan (ed): *Value: Art: Politics*; Harrison, Charles & Wood, Paul (eds): *Art in Theory, 1900-1990, An Anthology of Changing Ideas*.

centuries. Such change profoundly affected both art and football. Cultural theorists such as Raymond Williams are key to such an understanding of these changes. His book *Culture and Society* looks at the 'concept of culture' in the modern sense 'at the time of the Industrial Revolution' and how culture became a 'way of life' in this period. He does not focus on sport but his analysis does look at the relationship between the artist and society at a time of revolutionary social change. His chapter, *Art and Society*, where he discusses the impact of the work of A.W. Pugin, John Ruskin and William Morris, three artists and art critics who responded to the impact of industrialisation upon society, is particularly relevant to the research.³⁶ In the *Long Revolution*, and in the article *Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory*, Williams has an interesting discussion around residual and emergent culture. Williams argues that culture needs to be viewed as a human practice, but it must be viewed from a class perspective and not just seen as a trait of Englishness or Britishness. Restricting cultural definitions to 'Englishness' or 'Britishness' suggests that there is a communality of culture, and how it is received and consumed, across all classes when this is clearly not the case. Moreover, Williams' notion of 'cultural materialism' will be drawn upon in the thesis to discuss issues around gender relations and race as well as class. To what extent these relations are reflected in football and artistic representations of football will be considered throughout the thesis. Williams defines residual culture as a social practice from 'some previous social function' while an emergent culture relates to new practices and new experiences that develop within society or a new society. In relation to football and art there are a number of surviving paintings that show football being played in a pre-industrial society, a residual culture in a society on the verge of being swept away by industrialisation and its consequent urbanisation. These representations of

36 Williams, Raymond: *Culture and Society* (The Hogarth Press, 1993).

football before the codification of the game offer an essential visual record for art and sports historians alike. Visually, the emergent culture of football in the new towns and cities of the Victorian and Edwardian period is largely captured by popular art: these include engravings, lithographs, painted postcards and football cards. To what extent these paintings relate to British art traditions will be assessed in chapter three of the thesis. Moreover, the influence of popular art depictions of football upon contemporary artists, who use football in their work, will be considered when analysing their work. Williams makes the point that the past serves as a memory of the emergent culture; certainly the popular art representations of football offer a visual record of the early forms of the emergent culture of organised football in Britain.³⁷

Another important cultural and social historian E.P. Thompson disagrees with Williams' dictum that culture is a 'whole way of life'. For Thompson culture is a whole way of struggle and it is through social and political struggle that working-class culture is formed. Thompson argues that the working-class was present at the time of its formation, as the class struggled to obtain better social and economic rights it produced its own cultural identity. The differences between Williams and Thompson may appear small but Williams' phrase tends to overstate the consensual nature of culture in class society. What Thompson is stressing is that at times the working-class has struggled to attain a distinct cultural identity. In the context of football, one is reminded of the struggle for the acceptance of the professional version of the game, which was largely a working-class variant of the amateur code, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The professional game developed in the north and was based more on the team ethic of passing, whereas the dribbling game

³⁷ Williams, Raymond: *Culture and Materialism, Selected Essays* (Verso 1980), Williams, Raymond: *The Long Revolution* (Chatto & Windus 1965).

was based on the individual within the team: this was the basis of the amateur game as it emerged in 1863. Thus we have a major cultural schism in that the working-class has generally gravitated towards a collective solution to its problems, cultural, social as well as economic situations, while the upper layers in society have stressed the importance of the individual over collective effort. Another, aspect of the professional game was mass spectatorship, something that was also opposed by amateurs who regarded active participation in sport as crucial. Modern day football may be a 'whole way of life' that attracts all social classes, but this does not detract from Thompson's notion of culture and social identity which is achieved through struggle but may well develop into a whole way of life.³⁸ His approach to culture and cultural reproduction fits in well with my methodology outlined above under the social art history section.

John Hughson's *The Making of Sporting Cultures* looks at the work of E.P. Thompson in some depth and outlines the case for a cultural history of sport.³⁹ The diverse essays in the book help to locate sport in a changing political world, a world increasingly dominated by the economic impact of globalisation. Also, Hughson's co-authored book *The Uses of Sport* offers a critique of the work of Raymond Williams and provides a useful analysis of his cultural theories as well as providing a firm base for tackling the often complex nature of Williams' language.⁴⁰ *Uses of Sport* also provides a wide-ranging discussion around cultural theories, the discussion around postmodernism is particularly helpful to the research. Postmodernists argue that we live in a post-industrial, post-ideological age and that people do not share a common

38 Thompson, E.P: *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (Merlin Press, 1978).

39 Hughson, John: *The Making of Sporting Cultures*.

40 Hughson, John, Inglis, David and Free, Marcus: *Uses of Sport*.

identity. The increasing domination of football by big business would go some way in supporting this view. However, what postmodernists ignore is the shared cultural experience that football provides, the shared identity of belonging to a particular club and how the supporters of working-class origin are increasingly coming together in opposition to the ethos of big business in football. The *Spirit of Shankly* group are one indication of this as is the *Supporters Direct* group who are in favour of the community ownership of football clubs.⁴¹ Moreover, there are several modern day artists who have made football a major focus of their work. These artists, who include Lubaina Himid and Neville Gabie, are exploring issues of class and identity in their work, indicating that class and ideology have not gone away as postmodernism suggests.⁴² Stephen Melville's article 'Postmodernism and art: postmodernism now and again' puts the debates around modernism and postmodernism in an art context, while a recent paper by John Hughson questions the validity of a postmodernist approaches to art and culture.⁴³ Clearly, the emergence of Modernism and modernist thinking in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a sceptical response to 'the Enlightenment view of truth and certainty in knowledge as an assured guide for humanity to a better future'⁴⁴ a response that found its way into fine art and other cultural practice. Issues around postmodernism will emerge throughout the thesis when discussing artistic

41 Supporters Direct may not be a working-class body on the lines of some of the more radical fans' groups but they do want the influence of big business in football diluted in favour of more community ownership.

42 See Hughson et al chapter. The work of Himid and Gabie will be assessed in later chapters.

43 Melville, Stephen: 'Post Modernism now and again' in Connor, Steven: *The Cambridge Companion to Postmodernism*; Hughson, John: 'The Postmodernist always Rings Twice: Reflections of the "New" Cultural Turn in Sports History' (paper delivered at Keele University 16 December 2009). Hughson's paper is a response to Douglas Booth's article: 'Sport History and the seeds of a postmodern discourse.' *Rethinking History* Vol. 13 No 2 (June 2009) pp. 153-174.

44 Quoted in Hughson: 'The Postmodernist Always Rings Twice: Reflections on the "New" Cultural Turn in Sports History.'

approaches to football, but a full debate on the issues around Modernism and postmodernism in art and culture are outside the scope of the thesis.

Jeff Hill's diverse work around sport, leisure and culture shows how important sport and leisure are to the lives of ordinary people. Left on its own such a statement remains too general but what Hill sets out to do is to show how the study of sport and leisure can provide us with an understanding of how cultural practice is reproduced in society. Approaching sport and leisure in this manner shows how the historian can 'derive meaning' from the study of cultural practice.⁴⁵ In *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* Hill also discusses how important the media, including radio and television, has been in bringing sport and leisure into the lives of the whole population. The book also shows how sport and leisure are places where power relations are reproduced in society and how sport and leisure also act as 'cultural agencies with a power to work on their participants and consumers ideologically.'⁴⁶

John Hargreaves also explores issues around power relations in society and cultural autonomy. He convincingly argues that sporting activities are also linked to power relations in society, even though sport and culture can be relatively autonomous in class society. His work alongside the broader cultural approaches of Williams, Thompson and Hughson will be of key importance when looking at issues of power and cultural autonomy and how this impacts upon art and football.⁴⁷

45 Hill, Jeff: *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain*, page 2.

46 *ibid.*

47 Hargreaves, John: *Sport, Power and Culture*.

At the root both football and art are social activities that are heavily influenced by a world that is social, political and, above all, economic. Art history by its very nature is inter-disciplinary drawing upon academic disciplines such as history and sociology. Art critics make use of these academic disciplines when analysing art and the work of individual artists. John Berger, for example, in analysing the work of Lowry makes the point that Lowry's work is essentially social and historical in content.⁴⁸ Similar comment can be made with regard to the wide range of football painting and the research will make use of Berger's approach as well as the other social and cultural historians and theorists mentioned above.

T.J. Clark, for example, has argued that art-historical investigations should begin with society, adopting, as argued above, a social historical methodology as the key to understanding art, its context and its relationship to wider society. Clark is not advocating a deterministic approach to art, on the contrary, he stresses that it is essential not to see artists as representing or reflecting bourgeois society. Art, art forms and art movements often reflect the complex relationship between the economic 'base' and the ideological 'superstructure' a discussion of which can be found in Williams' article mentioned above. Clark argues for a dialectical approach, stating that social historical methods enable a critical approach towards the social context, the creativity and the production of art.⁴⁹ Clark's methodological approach will be an appropriate way to analyse the artwork that is to be discussed in the thesis.

⁴⁸ See Berger's article: 'Lowry and the Industrial North' which can be found in *About Looking* and other anthologies of his works.

⁴⁹ Clark, T.J: 'The Conditions of Artistic Creation' (in Fernie, Eric: *Art History and its Methods*). Williams, R: 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory' pp 31-50.

Gombrich also emphasises the need to place art in a social context, noting that images often change their meaning in different epochs; social and economic developments impact upon people's perceptions and change the way people view art or particular paintings. For Gombrich, the greatest influences upon artists, however, is earlier art.⁵⁰ However, here we have to ask under what social conditions was such art produced? Asking similar questions to those outlined by Huggins above, but with an eye to class society, will be essential when analysing football related art. In this context the analysis will also draw upon the work of Janet Wolff, who explores the relationship between the production of art and capitalist society.⁵¹

Assessing Art and Artists

I have stressed throughout this chapter that a social historical approach will underpin my analysis of the artwork. This does not imply my research will not assess the artwork in detail. On the contrary, use of such techniques as iconography, analysing the subject matter of an image, will enable a thorough analysis of football art and its associations with society, its relationship or otherwise to art movements as well as its cultural importance. Iconographic approaches are not without controversy. Clark has argued that iconography should be a 'polemic about tradition and its forms, an argument over the condition in which an artist encountered an ideology.' Such an approach facilitates an understanding about connections between the artist and society.⁵² Likewise a similar approach can be adopted when analysing football art. Iconography can help show how sport has developed and changed, how artistic

50 Gombrich, T.H: 'In Search of Cultural History' (in Fernie).

51 Huggins, Wolff, op cit.

52 Clark, in Fernie page 250.

approaches towards football have changed, with many artists now seeing football as a place to explore difficult and complex issues such as race and identity. For Clark, this 'is what the social history of art has to offer, the place where the questions have to be asked and where they cannot be asked in the old way.'⁵³ Studies of paintings should not be confined to formal analysis approaches but must be undertaken in the knowledge that art is produced in a capitalist society, in a material world that is conditioned by economic relations.

In addition to reading widely in the disciplines such as art and cultural theory and art history, I have also read widely about particular artists such as Lowry. Lowry's work is of great significance to the thesis. During his lifetime he produced over 20 football related paintings while his *Going to the Match*, 1953, is regarded by many within football, including Jack Charlton and Gordon Taylor, as the greatest football painting ever produced. There are numerous books about Lowry, the most significant being Rhode's extensive biography. Rhode's wide-ranging discussion about Lowry's life and the context of his work provides a useful base from which to analyse Lowry's football related art. However, Rhode pays scant attention to Lowry's football paintings, as do other surveys of his work published by the Lowry Centre. This is despite *Going to the Match* being a major attraction at the Lowry Galleries, where it is on permanent loan from the Professional Footballers' Association. Lowry's football related work will feature strongly in the thesis: the first time his sporting art will have been assessed academically.⁵⁴ Other significant artists such as Paul Nash, Carel Weight and CRW Nevinson, have also used football in their work. In common with Lowry's football related art, this aspect of their work has rarely been commented upon. John Hughson's article on Nevinson is a welcome

⁵³ Clark, op cit page 251.

⁵⁴ Rhode, Shelley: *L.S. Lowry - a Biography*.

departure; his analysis of *Any Wintry Afternoon* places the painting in the wider context of British art as well as within a football context. This example will certainly help when looking at the relationship between football related art and British art.⁵⁵ In general very few of the artists considered in the thesis have had their work considered by academics, those who that have, Paul Nash for example, have seen their football related work totally ignored. From this perspective the thesis is not only offering an original study of football art but is assessing key works by artists such as Nash, work that has been all but ignored by the art establishment and art historians.

Football art has become a place where nostalgic notions of football and society have crept in. Lowry is a prime example of this, his *Going to the Match* (1953) is often viewed in this way. But to view Lowry's work as nostalgic is to undermine the social significance of his work. A social historical approach to art will engender an academic analysis of the artwork and avoid the danger of viewing football art nostalgically. Contemporary artists, such as Tim Vyner, welcome the nostalgia associated with football, Vyner insists that his work is strengthened by relating to football in this way. It also helps him understand the power of the sporting place, a focus for much of his work.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, I will analyse his contribution to football art using the methodologies outlined above while at the same time taking into consideration his working methods. I have also interviewed other contemporary artists. These include: The Singh Twins, Neville Gabie, Lubaina Himid and Ben Kelly. These interviews will be of great value when considering modern responses to

55 Hughson, John: 'Not just Any Wintry Afternoon in England: the curious contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson to 'football art'.

56 Interview with the artist, 4 September 2009.

football by contemporary artists. Other primary material, such as the archives relating to the 1953 and *Offside* exhibitions will be of great value to the research.⁵⁷

Reading to date has of necessity, been wide but focused. It has also entailed a re-reading of sports histories by academics such as Holt, Mason, Vamplew, Russell, Walvin and Birley. Their work places sport in a social and historical context and helps with approaching football art from such a perspective. The outcome has resulted in an enhanced understanding of the cultural processes taking place in society. In his essay: *Football and the Urban Way of Life*, Holt asks the question 'How far should we see football not as an invention but rather as a form of cultural continuity...'⁵⁸ Visual images of football dating back to seventeenth century can help in understanding whether there is a cultural continuity with regard to the game or whether 'traditional football was suppressed lock, stock and barrel during the first half of the nineteenth century to be re-invented and re-popularised in the second.'⁵⁹ In the context of football, an understanding of the cultural processes taking place in society also helps in understanding how the game has developed, from a sport being played without nationally recognised rules, to one that engrosses large sections of the population. In turn, this understanding of the development of football has assisted in analysing artistic representation of football by various artists whose work has been shaped by the world around them.

Significant Football Art Collections

⁵⁷ The *Football and the Fine Arts* archive is lodged in Archive of Art and Design at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The *Offside* archives are stored at Manchester City Art Gallery.

⁵⁸ Holt, Richard: 'Football and the Urban Way of Life' (in Mangan, J.A: *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*). page 70.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

There are significant football art collections located at the National Football Museum, at the Professional Footballers' Association headquarters and in the Priory Collection. Contained within these collections are images that show the early development of football, from the medieval period to the middle of the nineteenth century. Similar images from this period are also contained in the collection owned by the Rugby Football Union and housed in the World Rugby Museum at Twickenham. To date there have been no academic analyses of these collections. In addition, especially since the advent of the Premier League, an expanding number of contemporary artists have used football in their work when exploring issues such as racism, national and individual identities, ethnicity, gender relations and the commercialisation of football. Again there are no academic studies of this body of work and the issues arising from this work will be considered in the thesis.

The art collections noted above are of significance and are worthy of consideration. Gordon Taylor, the chief executive of the PFA, started the PFA collection in the 1980s following a visit to the football museum in the Red Star Belgrade stadium. Taylor:

Realised then that we didn't really pay due regard to memorabilia in football in this country and developed the idea of a National Football Museum... The first memorabilia auction I attended was in Glasgow at a Christie's sale where we bought several items such as International Caps, medals etc., I have always been keen on art and we had an exhibition at the Manchester Art Gallery of a selection of our paintings...The long term purpose of the art collection is not as an investment but is to preserve a significant part of the heritage of the game.⁶⁰

The PFA collection is certainly significant, aside from memorabilia, the collection contains a number of fine art works including several paintings and drawings by Lowry. The association not only collects art but also commissions modern artists to produce work on the theme of football. For the PFA centenary in 2007, for example,

⁶⁰ Email correspondence with Gordon Taylor 19 May 2011.

they commissioned Colin Yates to produce ten fine art posters, these were displayed at the Manchester Art Gallery during the centenary year of the association. The collection also includes significant paintings, or prints of paintings, that were on display in the Football Association commissioned *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition in 1953.

The National Football Museum football art collection includes the FIFA, the Priory and the People's collections. These are diverse football memorabilia collections but all contain important fine art works. The FIFA collection has been described as the 'finest single collection of football memorabilia in the world.'⁶¹ The collection was initially assembled by football journalist Harry Langton but, following its showing at the 1990 and 1994 World Cup Finals, became jointly owned by Langton and FIFA. In the late 1990s FIFA worked with the NFM to secure funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund to buy the collection. When the NFM opened in Preston in 2001, a large selection from the collection was put on display. Although it is now owned by the NFM the collection is still named after FIFA because of its international significance. The collection contains significant pieces of fine art including works from the 1953 collection and a print of Thomas Webster's painting *Football*. As referred to above, a book about the collection was published in 1996 by FIFA.⁶²

The Priory Collection is owned by a private collector, but significant sections from the football part of the collection, over 300 items, have been loaned to the NFM. These include original fine art works and prints of the originals. Notable items include paintings by Richard Slater and Andrew Freeth, both of which were included

⁶¹ NFM web site:

<http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com/pages/collections/FIFA%20Collection.htm>.

⁶² FIFA Museum Collection: 1000 Years of Football (FIFA 1996).

in the FA exhibition in 1953. The collection also includes some fine works by Cecil Beaton.

The NFM also holds the People's Collection which is made up of donated or loaned items by the public, footballers and/or their families, as well as key benefactors. It also has several fine paintings including a watercolour of the Stadium of Light under construction and a 1936 oil painting of 1936 FA Cup Final.⁶³

The collections owned and stored by the NFM, along with the PFA collection, constitute a large collection of football art that is readily accessible to researchers. Work from these collections will be discussed throughout the thesis. An analysis of the artwork contained within these collections, plus other sourced work, historical and contemporary, will provide us with a better understanding of the cultural impact football has made upon British society and upon British art.

Conclusion

The thesis offers an original study of a category of painting that has largely been ignored by social, art and sports historians alike. There are exceptions as outlined in the literature review the two most notable being John Hughson whose paper has more of a focus on Nevinson and on the painting *Any Wintry Afternoon* rather than looking at art to examine the cultural and historical development of the football. In contrast Kühnst does adopt such an approach but his focus on football painting, especially British football painting, is limited.⁶⁴

⁶³ <http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com/pages/collections/collections.htm>.

⁶⁴ See Hughson paper on Nevinson and Kühnst's book *Sports*.

Throughout the thesis the response to the research questions will establish that football historically has been poorly represented in the visual arts but that this situation is changing as artists such as Mark Wallinger produce occasional pieces of work that explore the relationship between football and society. Moreover, Wallinger recently curated an exhibition about illusions entitled *The Russian Linesman*, the theme for which was inspired by the controversy over the 1966 World Cup Final goal scored by Geoff Hurst that may not have crossed the line. In addition to Wallinger, artists of the calibre of Lubaina Himid and Ben Kelly have produced a significant body of work related to football in the recent period.⁶⁵

To what extent football related art would best be considered as a distinct category or genre will be considered throughout the thesis. Overall, the thesis is offering an original study, a study that will explore representations of football in art; it will explore to what extent these representations provide a visual means of understanding the historical development of football from a social, cultural and sports historian's perspective. It will aim to demonstrate how the cultural practices of people:

In their manifold activities are inscribed and structured habits of thought and behaviour which contribute to our ways of seeing ourselves and others, to making sense of social relationships, and to the piecing together of some notion of what we call 'society'.⁶⁶

Football and art are key cultural cornerstones of society. Studying how they have impacted upon each other will make a contribution to our understanding of society and the relationships it reproduces.

65 Himid won the Northern Art Prize in 2011 while Kelly won first prize in the *One Love* exhibition at the Lowry in 2006. Their work will be assessed in chapter 5 of the thesis.

66 Hill op cit page 2.

Representations of Football in Art: Origins to 1918

This chapter will consider the representation of football in art from its origins up to 1918. It will include a brief overview of British Sporting Art, which emerged in the eighteenth century: this discussion will be of value to a wider understanding of the relationship between football painting and British art in general. With regard to visual representations of football this will be discussed in four separate but interlinked time periods, the first covers the period up to 1660, the second covers the period between 1660-1863, the third period will span the years from 1863 up to 1914 with the last period covering the war years, 1914-18. The chapter will also consider whether football painting should be regarded as a distinct sub-genre within art. From the second half of the nineteenth century up to 1914 various radical changes, some of them revolutionary, occurred in art. To what extent these changes impacted upon the visual representation of football will also be discussed. Also, the overarching context that links these diverse strands together is the society that both art and football were practised in. Therefore, throughout the chapter there will be bridging sections that will show how art and football are indelibly linked to society and demonstrate how changes in society impacted upon these cultural pursuits.

Extant images of football, dating from the emergence of British Sporting Art in the eighteenth century to 1863, broadly divide into three distinct types. One source stands in the tradition of Hogarth, the second source is in popular art – art produced with the aim of large-scale reproduction. The third has more in common with sporting art and realist genre painting of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Peter Kühnst: ‘the origins of British Sporting Art can be traced back to

Flemish and Dutch landscapes and genre pictures.¹ Many exiled Englishmen, who fled to northern Europe during the English Civil War and the Commonwealth period, acquired an appetite for artists such as Bruegel while abroad and upon returning to England 'brought back a taste for this realistic art.'² Moreover, British Sporting Art emerged at the 'beginning of the Romantic period' a period when religiosity in art was in decline and coincided with the desire of the landed aristocracy to have their 'interests and activities' recorded by artists in the style that appealed to them while in exile.³ Moreover, Kühnst makes the point that sporting art is the 'first truly English school of painting.'⁴

Since the emergence of sporting art in the seventeenth century there has been a tendency to categorise the work as a distinct genre, or sub-genre, an approach that will be developed in relation to football related painting in subsequent chapters of the thesis. According to one source:

Sporting art is a term used to describe a form of art which depicted the field and blood sports which were so popular from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and which were almost uniquely part of the British heritage. More recently the term has also embraced the newer sports, many of them ball games...⁵

1 Kühnst, Peter: *Sport: a Cultural History in the Mirror of Art* page 111.

2 *ibid* page 112. What is interesting about this is that Lowry was influenced by the genre paintings of Bruegel, his figures are very much like those in Bruegel's *Children's Games* for example.

3 *ibid* page 111. Landed capitalism and the emergence of merchant capitalism provided the prosperity that led to a bourgeois market for art thereby replacing the Church and monarchy as the key patrons of art.

4 *ibid* page 112.

5 Wingfield, Mary Ann: *Sport and the Artist: Volume 1: Ball Games* page 10. The case for a genre with regard to football painting will be made accumulatively throughout the thesis. Prior to 1992 the number of artists using football as subject matter in their work was small. However, this situation has radically changed with artists from a wide range of art disciplines using football in their work. Having a distinct genre based on quantity alone is not a strong argument in itself but the fact that present day artists are using the subject of football in their work to explore societal issues does reinforce the point that football related art should be considered a genre, or a sub-genre, within art.

The sections that look at representations of football up to 1863 will, although relatively brief, provide essential background to the core content of the chapter namely an assessment of the extent, or otherwise, of football in art between 1863-1914: 1863 is a significant milestone, of course, as it was the year that the rules of football were codified by the Football Association - although it was 1882 before all footballers in England, outside of public schools, played under what became known as association football rules.⁶ Also, to appreciate how art represented sport in general, and football in particular, it will be necessary to provide an overview of the social and economic changes that impacted and fostered change both in art and sport, particularly from the late seventeenth century onwards.

The Origins and Development of Football in Art and its Relationship to Sporting Art

Representation of football in art dates back to antiquity. In the National Archaeological Museum in Athens there is a marble relief of a youth keeping up a round ball with his feet, a clear indication that football of some sort was played in Ancient Greece [plate 1].⁷ Also, the FIFA Centennial book has several medieval images of football like games from various parts of Europe.⁸ Moreover, the Football Association, while preparing the milestone *Football and the Fine Arts* competition in 1953, carried a series of illustrated articles in its yearbooks from 1949 to 1955 showing how artists had captured scenes from football prior to the formation of the FA. The featured images included a fourteenth century carving in Gloucester Cathedral [plate

⁶ See Mason, Tony: *Association Football and English Society*, page 14.

⁷ Yarlouris, Nicolaos: *The Eternal Olympics: The Art and History of Sport* page 255 shows a youth practising ball skills.

⁸ Lanfranchi, P, Eisenberg, E, Mason, T & Wahl, A: *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book* pp11-15. The book also reproduces the image referred to in the above footnote.

2] and an eighteenth century etching, by an unknown artist, *Football on Crowe Street* [plate 3].⁹ In addition, the *FIFA Museum Collection* book features several European football related images among the most interesting are: *Playball at Venice*, [plate 4] 1555, from Venice; *Il Calcio*, c1595, from Padova [plate 5]; ball games at the Palace of Nancy, 1625 [plate 6]; football and handball games from Greenland, 1763 [plate 7] and *Ballspiel – football in a Russian market town*, 1810 [plate 8].¹⁰ What these images indicate is that football, in various forms, was played throughout Europe for many centuries before the game of association football was codified in 1863 and subsequently taken to the rest of the world by the British. The images also indicate that within European art, certainly prior to 1863, there is a stronger tradition of football representation in art.¹¹ Also, within the FIFA Collection there are several images that show football being played in Japan and China over 2,000 years ago demonstrating that football of some description has been played worldwide for millennia.¹²

In contrast with European traditions, artists in medieval and early modern England were not duly concerned with presenting sports such as ball games in their work, as games such as bowls and football were largely the preserve of the lower orders. In this period football, or what is sometimes called folk or traditional football, was often played during carnival or holiday times between neighbouring towns and villages. Rules for these games were virtually absent with games being played in a free-for-all

⁹ The images referred to were in the Football Association Yearbook, 1950-51. Other issues prior up to 1953 carried contemporary football images and paintings by children about football. The 1953-54 and 1954-55 issues carried a selection of images from the Football and the Fine Arts Exhibition. The 1953 exhibition will be assessed in detail in chapter 5 of the thesis. *Football on Crowe Street* is also in the Hulton Getty archive.

¹⁰ See chapter 2 above for detail about the book.

¹¹ The *FIFA Museum Collection* and Chazaud Art et Football.

¹² See the *FIFA Museum Collection* catalogue pp.9-20.

manner. This often led to riotous scenes: a situation that contributed to football being banned by the authorities on numerous occasions. Between 1314 and 1667 it is estimated that over 30 royal decrees and local edicts were used to make the playing of football illegal. Despite these attempts by the authorities to ban football the game continued to be popular with the lower orders.¹³

Somewhat perversely some of the lawmakers, such as Henry VIII and Oliver Cromwell, who attempted to suppress football played the game themselves. Although there are no extant images that show them actually playing the game a pair of football boots belonging to Henry were found in his Great Wardrobe in 1842 while the *FIFA Collection* publication mentions that Cromwell played football.¹⁴ Why then, if football was practised by leaders of the nation, does it not have wider representation in art? In Tudor Britain artists such as Holbein were commissioned to present the monarch as an authoritative ruler: subsequent Tudor monarchs, particularly Elizabeth I, also had their portraits painted in a manner that revealed their power and authority over the nation. It was important for the Tudors to be represented in art in this way at a time of national crisis, a period when Henry broke with Rome, de-established the monasteries and began the process of establishing what was to become the Church of England. Also, this was a period when England was convulsed by iconoclasm, the intention being the destruction of all figurative art associated with the 'papal past.'¹⁵ What the Tudors did not destroy was the system of

13 Dunning, Eric: 'Football in its Early Stages.'

14 See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/3496589.stm> for more details on Henry's Great Wardrobe. The BBC web article is based upon research by Dr. Maria Hayward of Southampton University. *The FIFA Museum Collection* publication, page 30, carries the detail about Cromwell playing football.

15 Graham-Dixon, Andrew: *A History of British Art* pp.9-11.

patronage in art: it would be the post-Restoration period before this system underwent radical change.¹⁶

Although the Stuart monarchs, James I and Charles I, were keen to promote sports it was under their reigns that the pursuance of sport became more and more restricted. This was partly due to increasing pressure from the Puritans, who were very keen to keep the Sabbath free of leisure pursuits. The political struggle over sports on the Sabbath became more intense following the Declaration of Sports in 1618 by James. In opposition to the Puritans both James and Charles were keen to allow the mass of the population access to traditional sports on the Sabbath. They thought that if the population associated the king with traditional sports it would both increase the popularity of the monarchy and challenge the growing power of the Puritans. However, the pulpit was the political power base of the Puritans and, along with the growing merchant class, they used it to great political effect to enforce Sunday Observance and to continually suppress sport on the Sabbath. This trend increased during the Commonwealth, 1649-1660, a regime with a strong military presence, when Puritan control over everyday life reached its pinnacle in England. However, following the fall of the Commonwealth, and the reestablishment of the Stuart Monarchy, key leisure pursuits were not only freed from legal restrictions but were encouraged by the authorities.¹⁷

16 For the changing nature of patronage in art see Gombrich, E.E: *The Story of Art* (Phaidon Press 1984 edition). Traditionally, patronage had been in the gift of the Church, wealthy merchants and rulers. However, during the course of the eighteenth century as capitalist economic relations became dominant the artist increasingly became an independent figure.

17 In 1617 James I issued the Declaration of Sports for Lancashire. The Declaration listed the sports and recreations that were to be allowed, traditional sports were encouraged as it was thought that they assisted with war preparations. Ball games were not listed. James reissued the Declaration on 24 May 1618 but this time it was given national jurisdiction. James was trying to resolve the conflict between the gentry, many of whom were Catholic, and the Puritans. Following opposition from the Puritans James was forced to withdraw the Declaration. Charles I reintroduced the Declaration in 1633 with an instruction to the clergy to read out the Declaration from the pulpit. Charles had more success than his father in implementing the Declaration but he still faced opposition from significant layers of the clergy. When Charles was executed in 1649 prohibition of sports on the Sabbath gathered pace until 1660 when

Thus, due to a combination of factors outlined above, sport was not commonplace in art prior to the Restoration. However, in the post-Restoration period, particularly after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, political, economic and social change ushered in a powerful landed aristocracy. Up to the Restoration period England was regarded as a land of yeoman farmers who owned the property they worked on. But after the Restoration land enclosures, reinforced by stricter application of the law, enabled landowners to secure, and expand, their landed estates. The Law of Primogeniture, for example, prevented the dispersion of the landed estates thus leading to greater concentration of the land into fewer hands. This trend was speeded up following the Glorious Revolution, which in turn, increased the political power of the landed aristocracy. The landed aristocracy were further assisted in acquiring more land, and in keeping their estates intact, following the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694, which provided the means for improved mortgage facilities for the wealthy. Moreover, 'from the later seventeenth century (and perhaps earlier), circumstances tended to favour the aggrandisement of estates in the hands of the great landlords at the expense of the lesser gentry and owner-occupiers.' One outcome of this was that by the middle of the eighteenth century the larger landed estates were in the ascendancy.¹⁸

It was this empowered aristocracy that increasingly turned to field sports such as horseracing, hunting with dogs and hare coursing for their leisure pursuits. Also, it

the Stuart Monarchy was restored. It should be stressed that sport was not banned per se in the Puritan period but was severely restricted on the Sabbath by the Puritans. See Hill, C: *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* pp186-198 and Hill, C: *The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714* for more detail on the Declaration of Sports, Sabbatarianism and the power of the Puritans.

18 Beckett, J.V: 'The Pattern of Landownership in England and Wales, 1660-1880' pp1-4. Between 1690-1790 the percentage of land owned by small landowners declined from 35% to 15%. In the same period the gentry and the great landowners increased their share from 60% to 70%. A century later the New Domesday survey compiled between 1872-73 showed that a million individuals owned some land but that four-fifths of total land acreage was owned by fewer than 7,000 landowners. See Beckett and Thompson, F.M.L: *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* for more detail on land ownership.

was these landowners, keen to display images of their thoroughbred sporting animals on their mansion walls, who commissioned artists to paint their prize assets. It is a branch of painting, which has come to be known as British Sporting Art, a form that has generally been regarded by connoisseurs as a lower form of art. As indicated above, in chapter one of the thesis, Sir Joshua Reynolds called it genre painting, which in the eighteenth century was regarded as the lowest form of art. It was a genre, however, that was transformed into high art by one man, namely George Stubbs.¹⁹ In the eighteenth century a healthy lifestyle was widely promoted in literature and 'artists began to exploit this in their depictions of sport, often showing the subject in views of the wide open countryside.' Paintings of the time present the landed aristocracy as 'symbols of nobility' whose wealth enabled them to relax and enjoy sport. Although horses are often prominent in Stubbs' work, he was always keen to demonstrate that he was 'far more than just a horse painter' and that he was in fact a 'history painter', the highest regarded genre in art in the eighteenth century. These factors go some way to explain why landowners were keen to commission Stubbs to paint, not only their sporting excellence, but to put their horses in the wider context of their success as landowners.²⁰ Stubbs was the most powerful influence on the genre of sporting art: 'The impulse to memorialise all of the nation's important races began with this chronicler of English rural life. With Stubbs, sporting art really arrived as an acknowledged, respected genre.'²¹

British Sporting Art provides us with a unique, if one sided view, of British sport in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Its focus on aristocratic sponsored field

¹⁹ Stubbs' reputation within the Royal Academy was such that the work he produced relating to animals was highly regarded from the outset. This point has also been developed in the introduction.

²⁰ Wingfield op cit page 10 and Layfield, Laura: *British Sporting Art* pp.3-7. A definition of genre painting was provided above in chapter one.

²¹ Kühnst page 118.

sports and pugilism reveals a lot about the sporting pursuits of the aristocracy, but totally excludes the sporting pastimes of the mass of the population. This lack of representation in art does not mean that sports such as football were not played but it does indicate that the subject was not a means for an artist to make a living in this period.²² This situation radically changes in the nineteenth century as football became the sport with mass appeal in concentrated urban areas, particularly in the industrial north. However, it is worth considering the content of sporting art, as painters who used football as subject matter in their work later used many of the techniques used by these artists. According to one historian of sporting art, Guy Paget, the genre contains three distinct types of pictures. The first type is an imaginary or composite picture that depicts scenes such as a hunt; secondly, a painting of an actual event such as a horserace; and thirdly, a portrait of an animal with or without human figures.²³ These three types overlap and often all three elements can be found in a single painting. Football art has similar elements to the ones outlined by Paget. The imaginary or composite painting is well represented by the artists who produced popular art images of football and later in the football related art of Lowry for example. Also, there are many examples of actual football matches or crowd scenes, while portraiture has a strong tradition in football painting,

22 There are numerous accounts that show that football had a long tradition in British society. See for example: Mason, Tony: *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* page 9. There were various Acts of Parliament banning football in its various forms prior to 1863 see Malcolmson, Robert W: *Popular recreations in English society, 1700-1850*. See also Hornby, Hugh: *Uppies and Downies: The Extraordinary Football Games of Britain*. Hornby's book looks at the diversity of football games prior to 1863 as well as the ones that have survived to the modern day.

23 Paget, G: *British Sporting Pictures* page 9. The Paget family were from a farming background with strong Liberal connections. The family had a large collection of sporting art.

with many football heroes being painted by artists.²⁴ In common with sporting art all three components can also be found in football paintings.²⁵

Innovations in Art in Hanoverian Britain

One of the recurring themes throughout this thesis is that art is a product of the society in which we live. Artists may have strong imaginations and good drawing skills but the material for their work comes from the society in which they live. British art during the Hanoverian period was both innovative and radical, but to understand why one has to look at changes in society from that period and how this impacted upon artists. William Vaughan has argued that:

Naturalism and Modernity are the keywords for British pictorial achievement in the eighteenth century. We think of such art as traditional now. But in its time it was largely radical and progressive, as was much of society from which it came.²⁶

Although the post Restoration period brought relative social and political stability to England, economic performance remained uneven because industry could not meet the demands of the population at this stage. The main reason for this was technological development: the inability to smelt iron for example, made the progress towards making a viable steam engine problematical, which in turn limited the development of the factory.²⁷ Also, in general, industry was adversely affected as investment was diverted into land ownership. However, as the eighteenth century developed large sums of money were made through the colonial plunder of India as

²⁴ The link between representations of sporting art and representations of football will be developed in subsequent chapters.

²⁵ Modern art has extended the subject matter of football even further, to what extent will be discussed in chapter six of the thesis.

²⁶ Vaughan, W: *British Painting: The Golden Age* page 7.

²⁷ See Klingender, F: *Art and the Industrial Revolution* chapter 1.

well as from the slave trade. Britain emerged as the key slave-trading nation following the Spanish War of Succession, a position that was reinforced following the Seven Years' War after which Britain had control of Senegal and Goree, both key slave trade outposts. In this situation, landowners sought prestige through new mansions, landscaping their estates and buying art.²⁸ Gainsborough was a beneficiary of the new-found landed wealth: he secured many commissions from this source; his *Mr and Mrs Andrews* painting is a good example of the kind of patronage that was open to artists in this period. The eighteenth century was also a period of advancement in scientific enquiry, another factor that impacted on the outlook of the artist. For example, Stubbs' horse portraits were based on anatomical inquiry while his contemporary, Constable, produced landscapes that involved 'experimentation into natural phenomena akin to scientific enquiry.'²⁹

Also, Hogarth introduced an entirely original way of depicting modern life in an urban setting.³⁰ Radical approaches to art reflected that in the eighteenth century there developed a diverse market for art:

One was the patronage provided by patrician society. The other was the clientele market offered by the merchant class who emerged on the back of trade expansion, particularly in the port areas of London, Bristol and Liverpool. The latter tended to buy rather than commission.³¹

Moreover, in this period, an era of growing bourgeois wealth and status, artists began to act less like traditional craftsmen and more like capitalist entrepreneurs. One outcome was that the number of artists working independently significantly increased:

²⁸ Hill, C: *Reformation to the Industrial Revolution* pp.230-242.

²⁹ *The Oxford Companion to Western Art* pp.155, 268 and 724.

³⁰ Vaughan, W: *op cit* pp.7-10.

³¹ *ibid* page 12.

These were the artists who produced paintings of square-shaped prize sheep for yeoman farmers or woodcuts of gruesome murders to be sold to the populace as cheap broadsheets. Sometimes referred to as 'naïve' or 'folk' art, this work is rarely either. Popular art is a better term. For its producers were by and large professionals, working to satisfy popular demands, much as commercial artists do in our own society. The late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century was a particularly rich period for such work... Popular art provides, in one sense, an alternative voice.³²

Alongside British Sporting Art the work of Hogarth, Stubbs and the popular art of the late eighteenth century all have relevance to the way football has been presented by artists, particularly since the late nineteenth century.³³ Hogarth's depictions of city life have influenced artists such as Lowry, who like Hogarth painted scenes from everyday life while Stubbs' work has showed that sport related art can be presented and accepted in high art circles. However, it is in popular art, art that has a wider appeal among the general population, where we find the first depictions of the modern game. These popular art images of football can be sourced through illustrated papers from the 1870s and on painted postcards from the 1890s onwards. However, what is evident is that before the establishment of the F.A. Cup in 1871 representations of football in art were not commonplace. This does not mean that football was not played or was not popular. Indeed at least one sports historian has indicated that traditional football - hitherto thought to be 'ailing', was a game that had fallen into 'disrepute' and was 'little practised' by the 'common people' - did not

³² *ibid* pp.19-23. The term bourgeois is used in the context of the emerging industrialist whose expanding wealth impacted upon art as they sought to buy paintings in an attempt to elevate their social status in society. In the eighteenth century landed wealth was still the key determinant of social status.

³³ It is often assumed that popular art is inferior to 'high' art. However, it should be remembered that some works that were regarded as popular art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and routinely dismissed are now regarded as works of fine art. The work of William Blake is a good example of this. More on popular art forms and their relationship with football visual representation will be mapped out below.

go into terminal decline but did in fact grow in the period prior to 1863, the year the Football Association was founded.³⁴

Football in Art 1660-1863

This section will assess the significance, or otherwise, of football in art from the Restoration up to the formation of the Football Association in 1863. As already indicated above at the start of the period the restrictions upon leisure were increasingly relaxed following the collapse of the Commonwealth in 1660. The end date of the section marks a significant point for football following the establishment of a central body responsible for overseeing the development of the game. Moreover, from 1863 onwards there is a qualitative change, not only in the way football is presented in art but also in the way this art is presented, distributed and received. As indicated above, representations of football in this period can be broken down into three distinct categories: political caricatures, art that was clearly influenced by Hogarth, fine art realist paintings that provide some documentary evidence of how football was played in the period and popular art depictions of football. Popular art depictions also provide documentary evidence that show how the game was played prior to its codification. It is usually an art form that is produced for wide appeal and is usually found in newspapers, on posters or, as Vaughan indicates, as part of a broadsheet advertising cultural and leisure events.³⁵

34 For the increase in traditional football in the period prior to 1863 see Harvey, A: *Football – The First Hundred Years, The Untold Story*. The quoted text is from Holt, R: *Sport and the British* page 38. Holt is right to assume that traditional football was in decline in the industrial north and that parliamentary legislation such as the Act of 1835 proved fatal to its survival in concentrated urban areas. From the evidence presented by Harvey it would seem that traditional football did expand but in more rural or less urbanised areas.

35 See Vaughan footnote 26 above. In modern art the term realism has become associated with art that has political meaning or carries a social message. The context for realism in this section is art that provides documentary evidence that football was played in a certain way. The work may have social meaning but it was not necessarily the intention of the artist to have the work viewed in a political way.

A most poignant image under the first category is the caricature, *Billy Lackbeard & Charley Blackbeard playing at Football, 1784* [plate 9] by Thomas Rowlandson.³⁶ It is probably the earliest visual reference to the political football metaphor. The two leading politicians of the day, Fox and Pitt are shown kicking India House back and forth to each other instead of dealing with the social problems of India and the political problems it is causing Britain. In this context the painting was intended as a satirical swipe at politicians of the day. Two other football related caricatures *Russian Amusement or the Corsican Football, 1813* [plate 10] published by Thomas Tegg and *Football, c1827* [plate 11] by Isaac Robert Cruikshank also comment upon issues of the day. In the former, Napoleon is being kicked in the air by the Russian Ambassador. Napoleon is telling the ambassador that he will not be treated in this way, but the French Emperor no longer has the power to get his own way. Cruikshank's image of off-duty military men shows a typical leisure activity by military personnel from the period. But the figure in the middle is an officer who is being ruffed-up by the soldiers; at the time there was an increasing call for military reform but conservative figures such as the Duke of Wellington, the Commander-in-Chief in 1827, blocked any such moves. Whether the image refers to this is open to conjecture, but given Cruikshank's constant swipes at high society it does seem likely that the image is a comment upon the state of affairs within the army.³⁷ Another interesting caricature, *Football in the Streets of London*, by H. Heath [plate 12] shows the rough and tumble and physical dangers of street football in an urban environment. Other than the reproduction of the image in the *FIFA Collection* there is no other information about this image. However, it is well documented that traders and shopkeepers often

³⁶ The image can be viewed on line on the James Huntingdon-Whiteley web site. Whiteley has a permanent on line football art exhibition. <http://www.jhwfineart.com/content/exhibition/6.html>.

³⁷ For the Tegg image see Huntingdon-Whiteley. The Cruikshank image is in the FIFA Collection. On Wellington and army reform see the BBC web site: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower/wellington_01.shtml.

complained about the chaos caused by street football, a situation that led to it being banned in 1835 under the Highways' Act. These football related caricatures demonstrate that the football metaphor, whether used in a political or social context, would be clearly understood by the people viewing the images, an indication, perhaps, that football as a game had deep roots in society in the early decades of the nineteenth century.³⁸

Two significant nineteenth century artists, Alexander Carse and Thomas Webster, both produced important football genre paintings. Carse, who has work in the National Gallery of Scotland collection, produced at least three images of traditional football. The first, *The Doonies versus the Croonies on New Year's Day*, 1810 [plate 13] shows the Kirkwall Ba' Game: a traditional game of football that originated in Orkney and was played at Christmas and on New Year's Day.³⁹ The other Carse paintings show two different scenes of the game between the Uppies and Doonies at Jedburgh in 1817: the first, *The Village Ba' Game* [plate 14] is in the McManus Gallery, Dundee, the other, *Foot-Ball* [plate 15] is in the Priory Collection. Both of the scenes aim to recreate the 'stramashes', which would encompass whole villages when in the throes of a football game. Stramashes in Scots means uproar, commotion or rage, words that clearly describe a game of folk football. Tony Collins, whose work which looks at the development of rugby in England, notes that '...whatever its rules or wherever it was played...folk football was extremely violent and disorderly'⁴⁰ Indeed Collins reproduces a description of football games, played at Pudsey in the 1820s and 1830s, by Joseph Lawson:

³⁸ See Holt page 38 for street football and the Highways' Act.

³⁹ Originally the side an individual played on was decided by whether the player was born up or down of the gate. The word 'gate' here derives from old Norse meaning path or road.

⁴⁰ Collins, Tony, *Rugby's Great Split*, (1998) page 1.

Down-towners playing up-towners' in wet weather, bad roads and played through the village; breaking windows, striking bystanders, the ball driven into houses; and such 'shinning', as they called kicking each other's legs. It was quite common to see these up- and down-towners kicking each other's shins when the ball was a hundred yards away. Of course many received serious injuries.'⁴¹

By extension, the descriptions offered by Collins and the Priory Collection indicates that such games were not codified but played under rules handed, but not written, down.⁴²

Thomas Webster's image, *Football*, [plate 16] first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1839, is according to one source the 'most famous football image of the nineteenth century.'⁴³ Certainly, Webster was a highly regarded artist in Royal Academy circles during the Victorian era. Webster was a regular exhibitor at the annual Royal Academy exhibitions, in his early career he would often paint semi autobiographical scenes that focused upon school and village life.⁴⁴ Webster achieved his first success at the British Institution in 1827 with a painting based on the pastimes enjoyed by schoolchildren 'this led him to concentrate on pictures of schoolchildren at play, work that earned him great popularity and prosperity.' His style followed that of David Wilkie and W. Mulready both of whom modelled their work on the genre

41 *ibid* page 2.

42 The Priory Collection has one of the largest private collections of sporting memorabilia in the world. It has loaned over 300 items, including works of art, to the National Football Museum. For further details of both organisations consult the respective web sites: www.priorycollection.com and www.nationalfootballmuseum.com. Stramashes is a word used to describe the painting in Priory Collection caption. *The Village Ba' Game* can be viewed at <http://www.mcmanus.co.uk/content/collections/database/village-ba-game>. Carse's paintings in the National Gallery of Scotland collection can be viewed at: <http://www.nationalgalleries.org/common/search/>.

43 FIFA Museum Collection page 37.

44 Moore Heleniak, Kathryn, *Webster Thomas*. Dictionary of National Biography.

school style of the Flemish school of the seventeenth century. The Flemish school was also a key influence upon the genre of British Sporting Art discussed above.⁴⁵

Webster's football painting received rave reviews from contemporary art critics as the following descriptive review indicates:

The animated character of this artist's works has long secured for them public attention. He has treated the game of foot-ball with his usual skill in the representation of boyish sports and frolics; and in a manner which must forcibly remind the happy spectator of that happy portion of his life when loud clamour, desperate struggles, sound cuffs, and broken shins, formed a principle portion of his every day's enjoyment.⁴⁶

The *Literary Gazette*, quotation indicates that football was a popular boyish sport in the early nineteenth century. Visually, the image reinforces the views presented by Carse and other artists from the period that football was not only an unregulated game but was a pastime played in a variety guises, during festive periods or as an impromptu kick around by young boys. The Webster image, however, does have added significance as it was reproduced on at least two occasions following the formation of the FA in 1863.⁴⁷ Also, of interest is how the *Literary Gazette* review equates boyish games with a form of social learning, a place where one learnt how to struggle and overcome setbacks and knocks. Interestingly, such views are often put forward today by numerous commentators, who frequently site sport as important in developing a person's character. Moreover, the modern day professional footballer is often portrayed as role model for young people to follow.

The image shows teenage boys playing football on open scrubland. Like the descriptions of football above by Collins it is a rough game, some boys are nursing

⁴⁵ Wood, Christopher, *Dictionary of Victorian Painters*, 1971, page 187.

⁴⁶ *The Literary Gazette* 1167 June 1839 page 348.

⁴⁷ The National Football Museum has a copy dated 1868 in the FIFA Collection, the Priory Collection also has a copy dated 1870. The original is in an unnamed private collection.

injuries to the shin, the arm and other parts of the body. Some have been literally trampled underfoot by the leading boy who has dribbled his way to the front and is attempting to shoot past the goalkeeper. However, another boy, whose raised foot seems to be pushing the ball away from the leading player, is thwarting him. Whether this game is based on what was to become the dribbling code is hard to determine but the ball is round and there are no apparent attempts to pick the ball up. From around the time the painting was produced some schools such as Durham and Harrow had begun to draw up rules that banned the use of the hands in open play. In such schools once a player had the ball 'it was considered unmanly to pass the ball rather than run on until overwhelmed.'⁴⁸ This is the scenario that seems to be unfolding in the Webster painting. Another factor to take in account from this period is the growing importance of team sports in developing strong people, in mind and body, who were destined to become key figures in the emerging British Empire. The nineteenth century art magazine, *Art Union*, noted that the 'spirit of rivalry' depicted in Webster's painting was an indicator that these boys were developing the necessary skills and spirit that could help build the British Empire.⁴⁹

The last category that this section deals with is football in popular art. According to Vaughan:

Popular art is hugely varied because it consists of the 'lower end' of so many different practices. It includes the work of fine artists who failed to establish fashionable careers, trained artisans and amateurs of widely differing skills and backgrounds...However, its very freedom from the pictorial conventions of high art did allow space for bold and original visual effects.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Money, Tony, *Manly and Muscular Diversions* page 99. Money extracts the text in inverted commas from the third edition of the Durham School Register, no date is provided by the author.

⁴⁹ *Art Union*, 1839 cited in Moore Heleniak, Kathryn, *Webster, Thomas*, Dictionary of National Biography.

⁵⁰ Vaughan op cit pp.174-175.

This freedom from pictorial convention can also be seen in the popular art images such as *The Thames Frost Fair*, 1684, [plate 17] *Early Football* or *Football on Crowe Street* [plate 3] and *18th Century Soccer*, c1750 [plate 18]. The latter image is by William Howitt, whereas the former images are by anonymous artists.⁵¹ The visual effects of images may be crude but they do demonstrate that football was played with great intensity both in the countryside and in urbanised areas. *The Thames Frost Fair* is the most interesting of three images in that bestride the corridor of booths selling various goods there are groups of people playing sports, including football.⁵² They also show, in the manner of Carse, that traditional football was often played across classes particularly on holidays such as Shrove Tuesday.

Also, the *Art Journal* of 1864 indicates that people's pastimes in general and football in particular were legitimate areas for artists:

As for games, November has plenty of them, some affording great scope for our artist's pencil, if he understands the game and can play it himself. There is football, for instance, a game common enough and simple enough, and yet there is scarcely a drawing in which the game is depicted correctly. Now in this as in other sports, the reality, with all its spirit and life and energy, is sure to be far more picturesque than the mere product of an artist's imagination. I have now before me three woodcuts, purporting to represent football, and all of them entirely and hopelessly wrong...In every case of football the players are represented as charging at the ball in two columns, perhaps four wide and twenty or thirty deep, all rushing as fast as their legs will carry them, although none but those in the front ranks can see the ball. There is no organisation, no leader, no goal-keepers, and no goal and all the object of the game seems to be the running violently about without any definite purpose, the artists being evidently ignorant of the fact that the game is won as much by economy of strength as by its expenditure.⁵³

51 Howitt's image is in the Hulton Getty collection as is *Early Football*. *The Thames Frost Fair* is reproduced in Kühnst page 114.

52 The Frost Fair took place following the freezing over of the Thames in 1684. Numerous stalls were erected, in between these stalls there are numerous sporting activities taking place. In addition to football there is bull baiting, men throwing at cocks and skating.

53 Rev. J.G. Wood writing in the *Art Journal* November 1864.

What football code the teams are playing under in the paintings is unclear, probably a mixture of the handling and the dribbling game, or it could be 'folk' football as played in places such as Ashbourne and Alnwick, but the quote from Wood does indicate that there was a layer of artists interested in painting people's pastimes at this time. Alas, it would seem many such works have perished. Also, in this period there was a large increase in the number of practising artists, most of them, of course, were minor artists but the point is that many of these artists worked independently. Some found employment, initially with the illustrated magazines and later with the postcard manufacturers. Some of these artists were itinerant, moving from town to town picking up what work they could find; a growing number produced etchings and engravings to satisfy the growing print market. According to Vaughan, such painters were more concerned with vivid evocation than detailed accuracy of an event or scene.⁵⁴ Clearly, popular images by minor artists became more widespread throughout the nineteenth century and it is clear from the above quote that football was considered as a legitimate subject matter by a number of such artists.

The Webster painting and the scenes of football described by the *Art Journal* reflect that football formed part of the social pastimes enjoyed by people in the decades leading up to the formation of the Football Association in 1863. However, as Collins argues 'football had developed in a rural, feudalistic setting' but with the emergence of urban society and capitalist employment regulations undisciplined sports were anathema to the development of an orderly society increasingly based on the rhythm

⁵⁴ Vaughan op cit pp.174-181. Vaughan estimates that the number of artists working in London rose from 2,500 in 1801 to 4,500 by 1851. Krieger gives the figure of 20,000 artists working on painted postcards in the Edwardian period. What is also of interest is that artists were not the only itinerant workers in this period. Skilled workers were finding their jobs being replaced by the machine. As a result, the tramping artisan emerged, workers who went in search of work from town to town. They were often supported by their trade union. For more detail on this see Hobsbawm, E: *The Tramping Artisan*.

of the clock.⁵⁵ As a critic of the Derby football game complained in 1832: 'It is not a trifling consideration that a suspension of business for nearly two days should be created for the inhabitants for the mere gratification of a sport as once so useless and barbarous.'⁵⁶ Under the Highways Act games could be 'explicitly banned' and fines of up to forty shillings could be levied.⁵⁷ Despite this ban football did not completely disappear following the Act it continued to survive 'primarily in villages and rural communities...where preindustrial forms of capitalism...predominated.'⁵⁸ Moreover as football was being suppressed 'into insignificance in urban society it was beginning to acquire utmost significance in the life of British public schools.'⁵⁹ This emerged at precisely the point when 'There was a growing interest in physical activity, especially from former public schoolboys upon whom the importance of healthy minds and healthy bodies had been impressed from an early age.'⁶⁰ What is also important to stress is that the Carse and Webster images reveal a game that:

Despite the vast differences in the mode of play and methods of organisation between pre-industrial football and its late Victorian forms, it is important to stress that many continuities and survivals from these earlier times became bound up with the culture of modern football.⁶¹

The paintings discussed in this section reveal that many aspects of folk football found their way into the modern game of association football.

The style of drawing and painting discussed in the three categories above are clearly narrative in nature and show typical representations of life in rural and urban Britain

55 Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, page 2.

56 *ibid.*

57 Holt, *Sport and the British*, page 38.

58 Collins, *op cit* page 3.

59 Collins, *op cit* page 4.

60 *ibid* page 7.

61 *ibid* page 3.

in the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century. They also indicate that there was a layer of artists interested enough to paint football. To what extent this situation developed, as Britain changed from a rural based society to an urban one will be considered below. However, before proceeding to show how football was represented in art in the later half of the nineteenth century it will be necessary to assess how social and economic change in society impacted upon, and changed, not only football, but art, leisure and culture in general.

The Nineteenth Century Revolution: The Impact Upon Society, Art and Leisure

The nature and scope of change ushered in by the Industrial Revolution is indicated by the census of 1851. The census showed that for the first time in history a country had more than half of its population living in towns and cities. A hundred years earlier only one city and one town, London and Edinburgh respectively, had more than 50,000 inhabitants: by 1801 this number had increased to eight towns and cities and to 29 by 1851. Most of these new towns and cities were located in the north of England, which coincidentally was also the cradle of professional football.⁶²

These population trends demonstrate that Britain was not only becoming increasingly dominated by urban society, a society that was based on industrial rather than rural employment, but that the centre of economic activity was also shifting from the south to the north of Britain. There are a number of consequences arising out of this that are of interest to the research. An urban society based on

⁶² For the growth of towns and cities see Hobsbawm, Eric: *Industry and Empire*, page 64, the BBC web page: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/trail/victorian_britain/social_conditions/victorian_urban_planning_01.shtml also has useful information on the census. Hobsbawm also notes that in 1851 there were 9 cities and towns with a population with over 100,000 inhabitants. For the reasons why professional football developed first in the North of England see section below: 'Space Restrictions: The Impact Upon Sport.'

industry has different social relations to a rural based one. Urban society brings a density of living with limitations of space for leisure compared to a rural based society. Urban society also ushers in better means of communications: in the second phase of the Industrial Revolution, from about 1830 onwards, communications between towns and cities were revolutionised by the railway. By 1851 Britain had 6,800 miles of railway track, a figure that increased to 22,000 miles by 1900, making travel between the major conurbations, fast, frequent and reliable. Better communications between towns and cities also made it easier for the development of national football competitions such as the FA Cup and the Football League. Both competitions emerged soon after the first great period of railway building had been completed.⁶³

Space Restrictions: The Impact Upon Sport

In the early phase of industrialisation people's ability to play sport, on ground that was considered a traditional place for pastimes, was increasingly restricted in both rural and urban areas. As indicted above, in rural areas there was an increasing trend towards the enclosure of common land: land that had been used for a multiple of purposes including the playing of sport for many centuries. Ordinary people were largely powerless to stop enclosure because before 1926 there was no 'legal obstacle to the enclosure of a common.'⁶⁴ Hence common ground used by people for sports and pastimes was taken away from a legally powerless population. Under enclosure many communities were also deprived of their customary places of leisure. Enclosure also had the effect of driving hundreds of thousands out of the

⁶³ For railway expansion see Hobsbawm op cit.

⁶⁴ Hammond, J.L. & Barbara: *The Age of the Chartists, 1832-1854* page 116.

countryside into the new towns and cities. Moreover, in the rapidly expanding urban areas, 'opportunities for recreation were restricted by the advance of building on land in private hands.'⁶⁵ A good example used by the Hammonds is the loss of the site of the present day British Museum for sports and recreation in the early nineteenth century. They also map out in detail the extent of enclosure in the period leading up to 1832. Thus a combination of factors, economic, social and political, not only limited the place where sport could be played, but also provided the basis for revolutionary change in the way sport was to be organised and received in the new urban towns and cities.⁶⁶ This is not to say that sport contracted in the first half of the nineteenth century but that it was forced to adapt to changing social conditions. Historians such as E.P. Thompson and Hugh Cunningham maintain that people have the capacity to make their own culture. Cunningham, for example, makes the point that:

Much of the history of leisure has been written on the assumption that what is new starts from high up the social scale and is diffused downwards...On the contrary what has struck me has been the flow in both directions, and in particular the degree to which essentially popular forms of entertainment in the first half of the nineteenth century influenced high culture. And this popular entertainment, although it was in many respects innovative, derived much of its strength from the experience of the past...⁶⁷

During the Industrial Revolution leisure did change but then so did the average worker who became 'subject to the tempo of the clock, more reserved and

⁶⁵ *ibid.* Chapters 8&9 on the loss of playgrounds.

⁶⁶ This is not to say that there was no continuity between the sports practised in rural society and sports in urban society. See Holt *Sport and the British* chapter 1 for a detailed analysis of such sports. Holt shows that while there was some continuity there were also radical changes in the way people received and played sport in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁷ Cunningham, Hugh: *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, page 10. See also Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working-class*.

methodical.' These changes provided the social and economic bedrock upon which commercialised sport and leisure developed.⁶⁸

The point made by Cunningham about the flow of leisure between classes playing sports can be seen in paintings by Carse and the other popular art images of football discussed above. In most of these paintings people from cross sections of society can be seen taking part in the sporting activity. Like Cunningham, Holt makes the point about the continuities in sport during the nineteenth century. However, during the second half of the nineteenth century most sports that people watch today established definitive rules, or developed distinct competitions under the control of a governing body and, in some cases, a combination of the two. Football codified its rules in 1863 and established two distinct national competitions, the FA Cup in 1871 and the Football League in 1888. The Rugby Football Union was founded in 1871 under a distinct set of rules for the handling game of football. In golf the Open Championship was established in 1860, which was in effect a championship for professional golf players.⁶⁹

The move towards professional sport, in effect the commercialisation of sport, was only sustainable if the sports in question could attract a spectator base. The most successful sport at developing a spectator base was association football, whose two competitions mentioned above quickly developed a mass following. The development of professional football was, in effect, dependent upon a combination of economic and social factors. One key economic factor was the increase in wages

⁶⁸ Thompson op cit page 451. For the significance of Thompson's work around cultural history see Hughson, John: *The Making of Sporting Cultures*.

⁶⁹ See Holt pp 4, 83-86 for the standardisation of rules and the development of national associations that developed in this period.

that occurred for most workers in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ This factor gave millions of workers disposable income that many chose to spend on leisure and sport. The key social factor was that from the 1850s onwards there was an increasing trend towards workers obtaining the Saturday half-day holiday. As more and more working people obtained free time to pursue activities outside of work a time slot, that enabled commercial leisure to develop, was created. Thus the combination of more money and free time provided the economic and social conditions for commercialised forms of sport on Saturday afternoons and music hall in the evenings. Initially, it was the skilled sections of the working-class that secured shorter hours, largely on the back of the Nine Hours Movement, with most opting for the Saturday half-day holiday rather than a shorter working day during the week. Interestingly, what little evidence we have of the social background of football spectators in this period indicates that they were largely drawn from the skilled working-class, the very section that also experienced the largest increase in disposable income.⁷¹ Moreover, by the 1890s workers living in large towns and cities with a relatively high proportion of unskilled labour, Liverpool being a prime example, had also secured Saturday afternoons off work.⁷² The Saturday half-day holiday reinforced a growing trend among the working-class in Victorian Britain who increasingly saw leisure as a necessity. This view has been confirmed by Mason and others:

Most historians are agreed that it was in the Victorian period that the separation between work and leisure first became clearly established.

⁷⁰ Most historians agree that in the second half of the 19th century the standard of living increased. See among others Hobsbawm *op cit*.

⁷¹ Mason *op cit* chapter 5.

⁷² This trend towards a shorter working week and the rise of commercial leisure and sporting facilities has been noted by numerous academics most notably, Holt, R: *Sport and the British*; Vamplew, W: *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914* Russell, D: *Football and the English* and Mason, T: *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*. For Liverpool see Physick, Ray: *Played in Liverpool*.

Industrial work rhythms, especially in the factory, led to a much clearer demarcation between time that was work and time that was not.⁷³

With regard to football, greater commercial opportunities led to the development of the Football League in 1888. Prior to 1888 the number of enclosed football stadiums had grown steadily. However, following the establishment of the league the size and number of enclosed stadiums increased dramatically. Moreover these stadiums accommodated growing numbers of paying spectators whereas in the earlier period, when the game was played in parks or on open spaces, access to watching a match was usually free.⁷⁴ It is important to note, however, that football was not just confined to enclosed stadiums; alongside the development of the professional game from c1885 there was a growing number of football teams in most major towns and cities that played on open grounds or in public parks. Indeed, the development of public parks in the second half of the nineteenth century vastly increased the number of outlets for outdoor leisure pursuits, including sport. Moreover, public parks went a long way to restoring access to free playing areas, areas that had been lost in the first phase of industrialisation. A good example of this is Stanley Park in Liverpool. When the park was opened in 1870 the Mayor of Liverpool commented at the opening ceremony that:

Although the corporation of Liverpool have several parks, such as the Sheil Park, the Wavertree Park and the Newsham Park, there is no park that has yet to be opened to the public which deserves the name of the people's park more than Stanley Park.

When I consider what large masses of people live within the space which stretches from the outskirts of this park down to the Mersey, and the confined habitations in which they dwell, and when I look at the grand scene around me today I cannot but believe that the park will be

⁷³ Mason op cit page 1.

⁷⁴ See Russell, D. *Football and the English* page 55 for the increase in football clubs. Russell also provides useful information on attendances at football grounds on pages 11-12, 38 and 55-56. For a detailed look at the development of football grounds in the period see Inglis, Simon: *Football Grounds of Britain*.

the greatest benefit in various ways to all classes of the community – a benefit both morally and physically.⁷⁵

Indeed 50/60 acres of the park's 100 acres were given over to sport and leisure provision. The park, which was the birthplace of Liverpool football, was fulfilling an urgent need for more open space in a town that had grown with immense rapidity in the nineteenth century. There was also a similar increase in the number of public parks in other major towns and cities throughout Britain.⁷⁶

The impact of urban society was not confined to sport, it also revolutionised the way art was distributed and received. In the second half of the nineteenth century illustrated journals such as *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, *The Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News* engaged fine artists to produce engravings of scenes from society. These journals had large circulations making reproductions of fine art accessible to millions of people who otherwise could only view art at places such as the Royal Academy of Art. As football became ever more popular from the 1870s onwards their football related articles and associated images also increased. Moreover, in addition to the illustrated journals, from the 1890s onwards, postcard manufacturers engaged thousands of qualified artists to produce popular images, among these images were football scenes; it is from these sources that the mass of the population received their first colour images of football.⁷⁷ Before considering the

75 For a full transcript of the speech see the Liverpool Daily Post 14 May 1870.

76 The development of public parks in Liverpool, for example, from 1860 onwards introduced large green areas that were suitable for sport. Stanley Park provided space for sports such as cricket, English baseball and, from 1878 onwards, football. Liverpool in fact had one of the lowest ratios of open public space for leisure in Britain. Two years prior to the park opening a parliamentary report noted that the parliamentary boundary of Liverpool was 7.8 square miles with a population of 500,860, or about 100 inhabitants to the acre. Manchester contained 9.9 square miles, Salford 7.9 or a combined total of 17.8 square miles. Yet these boroughs had a population density of about 46 individuals to the acre. Public parks clearly played a role in the latter half of the nineteenth century in extending the provision of sports facilities in major towns and cities. See Ray Physick *Played in Liverpool*. Other titles in the *Played in Britain* series also show the importance of parks to the development of sport in Britain.

77 A good source for this is Krieger, Eric: *Good Old Soccer – the Golden Age of Football Picture Cards*.

significance of these two sources of football imagery it will be necessary to explore the revolutionary developments in art from the 1840s onwards.

Urbanisation: The Impact Upon Art: c1840-c1880

This section will assess how the development of urban society influenced the outlook of artists and to what extent it impacted upon the representation of football in art.

John Berger has commented that:

Every art form is intimately related to a type of life experience...When somebody tries to introduce into painting a life experience which the current style or traditional styles exclude, he (*sic*) is always dubbed by the professionals, crude, clumsy, grotesque, naive, primitive.⁷⁸

Due to constant and rapid technological advances that occurred throughout the nineteenth century urban society produced a myriad of life experiences from scenes that were in constant change and flux. In an attempt to express revolutionary change in society artists, particularly from the mid nineteenth century onwards, attempted: 'To develop a form of visual expression that stayed in tune with its time, innovation became a key criterion of quality in much of the art produced from the late nineteenth century onwards.'⁷⁹

As already stressed above, urbanisation alongside technological change, had a profound impact upon art and artists. To interpret urban life artists developed new forms of visual expression and experimented with their methodological approach to art, approaches that were often accused, using the words from Berger, of being

⁷⁸ Berger, John: introduction to *Prison Paintings of Michael Quanne*.

⁷⁹ Stephens, Chris (ed): Introduction to the History of British Art page 18 in *The History of British Art, 1870-Now*.

crude, clumsy, grotesque, naïve and primitive. However, as Herbert Read has stressed: 'we must recognise that in its plainest manifestations art always embodies some interpretation of life,' and that new approaches to art were interpreting scenes from modern life.⁸⁰ In this period new approaches to art can be found in movements such as realism, the Pre-Raphaelites and the Impressionists. Artists associated with these movements often made use of the railway to travel long distances in search of new subject matter, while relatively simple changes such as the invention of the paint tube in 1841 meant that the artist could carry a supply of easy to mix paint. Prior to this invention, mixing colours outside of the studio was almost impossible.⁸¹ Also, in the Victorian period British artists such as Herkomer, Holl and Fildes attempted to document the impact of rapid social change upon the poor and the excluded. Their style was rooted in realism.⁸² Realism was a new style of representation that was adopted throughout Europe as artists sought to combine 'social conscience' and 'documentary', art that often looked at the lives of ordinary people who were on the margins of society, in their work.⁸³ The poor and dispossessed have featured in paintings since the Renaissance, but not as victims of a social system but as characters in a 'religious or moral fable.' Not much of this work was exhibited at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy: the 1874 exhibition, for example, only had

⁸⁰ Read, Herbert: *The Meaning of Art* page 171.

⁸¹ Prior to the invention of the collapsible paint tube artists would engage apprentices to mix colours. The finished product would then be transferred to a pig's bladder. Transporting paint in this way was very difficult but the paint tube and the portable easel made the task of transporting the materials needed for painting outdoors by train much easier, hence the emergence of this trend from the mid 1850s. See the Winsor and Newton, the company that invented the paint tube, web site for details: <http://www.winsornewton.com/main.aspx?PageID=7#6>.

⁸² According to the Tate prior to the nineteenth century western art had been dominated by 'history painting and high art. Then the development of naturalism began to go hand in hand with realism of the subject, meaning subjects outside of high art tradition.' See *The Tate Guide to Modern Art Terms* page 181.

⁸³ Treuherz, Julian: *Hard Times, Social Realism in Victorian Art*, Page 9. Gustave Courbet is regarded as the father of realism in painting. Courbet in effect appropriated the name for himself when he gave the title 'Realism' to his 1855 exhibition see T.J. Clark's book on Courbet for an analysis of his work. This is not to say that there were no examples of realist art prior to Courbet, there are several such examples cited in Treuherz's book, for example, that pre date 1855.

four such paintings out of a total of 1,433 exhibited. Clearly, genre painting that showed social deprivation was not for the eyes of the wealthy in society. This indicates that the majority of Victorian art was 'an art based on luxury, optimism and aristocracy.'⁸⁴ The main outlet for this sub-stream of realist art, that documented social problems, was *The Graphic*, one of a number of illustrated newspapers that emerged in Britain from 1842. According to Julian Treuherz: 'The greater emphasis on social realism in the 1870s and 1880s has more to do with developments in illustrated journalism (the commissioning of artists to provide illustrations) than any intensification of social problems at that time.'⁸⁵

It is important to note that documentary art was not produced in isolation. In Victorian Britain a quarter of the population were living in poverty, a situation that gave rise to reports on the living standards of the poor by social commentators such as Charles Booth, Eleanor Rathbone and the Rowntree Trust. The results of these reports not only revealed the extent of poverty among whole layers of the population, but also revealed the sub-standard living conditions endured by the poor in Britain's cities.

Important and significant as images of the poor were to the illustrated newspapers, they would not have obtained a mass circulation by only showing images of urban deprivation. Therefore, they also carried illustrated articles relating to people's pastimes and sport, including football. These early engravings showing football proved influential to the way football would be represented in art right up to the 1990s when more modernist approaches to the representation of the game became

⁸⁴ Cited in Treuherz page 9. It is impossible to underestimate the significance of the Royal Academy in this period, its annual exhibition was of extreme importance to all artists wishing to advance their careers.

⁸⁵ Treuherz, J page 12

the dominant theme for artists using football as a major focus in their work. The significance of these early images of the game will be assessed in the subsequent section.⁸⁶

Artistic Representations of Football in Popular Art, Illustrated Journals and Newspapers: 1863-1914

In the period following the codification of football in 1863, up to the outbreak of war in 1914, football grew exponentially from a game largely played at and between public schools to a sport that attracted millions of spectators in large conurbations. In the same period football became increasingly covered in local and national newspapers, initially without illustration, in the illustrated periodicals mentioned above, as well as in dedicated sports papers such as the *Athletic News*, which was launched in 1875. Increasingly, sports coverage was seen as essential by newspaper proprietors to attract and increase circulation with visual depictions of sport seen as essential to this strategy. Until the launch of the *Daily Mirror* in 1903, the first newspaper to exclusively use photographs for illustration, newspapers would employ artists to draw cartoons and engravers to produce images using woodblock and lithographic processes to produce high quality images.⁸⁷ In addition to newspapers and periodicals football was also given wide visual circulation via

⁸⁶ William Luson Thomas, a wood-engraver, founded *The Graphic* in 1869. Thomas believed in the power of illustration to influence public opinion. *The Graphic* commissioned artists such as Fildes, Herkomer and Holl to paint people whose lives were wrecked by poverty. Scenes of social deprivation were not intended to promote reform but the readership of illustrated newspapers included many people who were involved in philanthropic activity and it was hoped that hard hitting realist painting would encourage philanthropists to support people in dire social circumstances. See page 248 of *Paintings of the British Social Scene* by E.D.H. Johnson as well as Treuherz cited above. It was through such publications that genre painting gained a wide following among layers of the population that could never have access to the Royal Academy in this period.

⁸⁷ Early photography was unable to capture the high-speed action of football so easily. For its 1887 edition the Badminton Library did produce an engraving of a football match which was based on a photograph.

popular art: through postcards, posters and boys' comics.⁸⁸ Many of these visual reproductions provide a vivid and contemporary reference point for football historians when looking at the early development of the game. This section will assess the nature and significance of these popular representations of football.

One such example is a match between Everton and West Bromwich Albion at Anfield in 1890 [plate 19].⁸⁹ The artist has made some attempt to tell the story of the match in pictures, different scenes from the match are contained in the one image enabling the viewer to see how the match unfolded. The form of the image successfully gets across the fast movement contained within the passing game. Moreover, the artist has deemed it essential to demonstrate that this is a match watched by a large crowd. The artist has successfully transmitted to the viewer that this is a game that is competitive, a game that has to be won at all costs. Numerous other examples could be offered, one being a woodcut of the 1899 FA Cup Final [plate 20]. The tackles, the goal that Sheffield United scored to beat Derby County, the overspill crowd trying to get a vantage point in a tree and, the centrepiece of the image, the trophy itself. The artist has successfully encapsulated several of the elements that made football such a captivating game for millions of people in the late Victorian period. A contrasting woodcut from 1872 showing multiple scenes of the first soccer international between England and Scotland reveals a game with a completely different ethos, a game that is dominated by amateur values and the few supporters we see watching the game are clearly from an upper-class background

⁸⁸ Chazaud, Pierre. *Art et Football*, page 7, uses the term 'popular art' for the numerous football images in this period.

⁸⁹ The image is in the FIFA collection located at the National Football Museum, no source publication is indicated.

[plate 21].⁹⁰ These early images of the codified game reveal to us several things including the popularity of the professional game, the significance of the FA Cup as well as the differences between the way the game was received by amateurs and professionals in the mid to late Victorian period.

Following the establishment of the Football League in 1888 football emerged as a genuine mass sport; by 1900 several clubs were drawing regular crowds in excess of twenty thousand. In an age without radio, television or the internet, the only way sporting stars of the day could become known nationally was through printed matter. One of the most effective ways of doing this was through the publication and distribution of postcards.⁹¹

Prior to 1894, private printed cards were permitted by the Post Office but they had to have the official embossed Post Office stamp. This restriction was removed in 1894 when the Post Office allowed cards to be sent with a separately affixed stamp. This concession paved the way for private companies to mass-produce pictorial postcards. It is estimated that in the early years of the twentieth century such companies employed 20,000 artists to paint and design cards, many of these postcards depicted various aspects of the game. They also included top players of the day, team squads, players in action as well as instructional postcards. Many postcards were designed

⁹⁰ The three images are in the FIFA Collection at the NFM and are typical of what could be seen in the periodicals of the time.

⁹¹ Krieger, Eric: *Good Old Soccer, the Golden Age of Football Picture Postcards* for a useful overview of the football cards. Hunter Davies, *Postcards from the Edge of the Game: A Social History of the British Game* is also a good source for information but his book has culled a lot of information from Krieger. See also Alex Jackson's PhD: 'Football's Consumer Culture and Juvenile Fan Culture, c1880-c1960.' Jackson's thesis looks at football postcards in some detail but he approaches them from the point of view of their collectability and does not assess, or place, the postcards from an art perspective nor to what extent these early representations of football in art impact upon later artistic approaches towards the game.

with a space adjacent to the image to allow a message to be included by the sender.⁹² Often companies would commission artists to paint a series of cards. Typical of this is a set of six instructional cards, painted by the artist Fred S. Howard, published by Misch & Co [plate 22].⁹³ Using chromolithographic processes such companies were able to produce high quality colour reproductions of paintings produced by contracted artists. They were very popular and did serve to publicise key aspects of the relatively new game of association football. Although among the first artistic representations to have a mass circulation these instructional cards do misrepresent the stage that football was passing through in the 1890s early 1900s. Figuratively, the cards show footballers upholding the amateur values of the game. The players in this particular series, for example, are painted in Corinthian colours. Moreover, the players are almost static, in contrast to the newspaper written descriptions of the game at this time, which described football as a fast game that involved constant movement. As indicated above, these written accounts of a match were interpreted visually via multiple scenes in an attempt to get across the movement of the game. Visually this type of journalism was gradually replaced following the introduction of photography in newspapers.

Similar visual images of football were presented to young boys via comics such as the *Boys' Realm* and *Boys' Own*.⁹⁴ These publications carried moralistic stories about

⁹² Jackson has produced figures to show that by 1903 600 million postcards were posted annually, rising to 880 million by 1914. It is impossible to present a separate figure for the number of football postcards alone. See Jackson op cit page 95.

⁹³ The six instructional cards reproduced showed A Throw in; A Sound Defence; A Spill; A Neat Pass; Well Cleared and Goal. Copies of these postcards can be found in the FIFA collection at the National Football Museum. All the artists who worked on postcards, including the aforementioned Howard, S.T. Dadd, A.R. Quinton and G.D. Rowlandson were minor Victorian/Edwardian artists who worked as jobbing painters for various companies that were in the art production business at this stage.

⁹⁴ In addition to Alex Jackson's PhD thesis see Jackson, Alex: 'Sporting Cartoons and Cartoonists in Edwardian Manchester: Amos Ramsbottom and his Imps' (*Sport in Manchester* vol. 20 2009) and Jackson, Alex: *The Baines Card and its place in boys' popular culture between 1887-1922* (in Robert

saving the game of football, presumably from the evils of the professional player, portraying role model footballers with outlandish names such as Fred Reckless who, of course, was an amateur. Indeed images carried in these comics usually celebrated the amateur ethos of football. One of the finest of these images, *Goal* by Thomas Hemy painted 1885, was printed on the cover of the *Boys' Own Annual* in 1908 [plate 23].⁹⁵ Hemy captures the realism of the amateur game that was based upon, allegedly, fair play and gentlemanly conduct. The few spectators on view are clearly public schoolboys while those playing the game are once again shown in Corinthian colours. Interestingly, the image was reproduced on the inside of the annual with a moralistic message from Baden Powell:

Football in itself is a grand game for developing a lad physically and morally, for he learns to play with a good temper and unselfishness, to play in his place and 'play the game' and these are the best of training for any game of life. But it is a vicious game when it draws crowds of lads away from playing the game themselves to be merely onlookers at a few paid performers...thousands of boys and young men, pale, narrow-chested, hunched up, miserable specimens, smoking endless cigarettes, numbers of them betting, all of them learning to be hysterical as they groan and cheer in panic and in unison with their neighbours.⁹⁶

The painting is a perfect example of fine art being used in a populist manner to get across a moral message. Powell's message offers a condescending view of the working-class but it was the working-class that was flocking in their millions to watch and play football every week. It was also a game beginning to attract increasing interest from the mass circulation press, a medium that would use the

Snape and Helen Pussard (eds): *Recording Leisure Lives*, (Bolton 2009) for details about football cards and sports cartoons.

⁹⁵ Hemy also painted the famous painting of the Sunderland v Aston Villa match 1895, at the Sunderland Newcastle Road ground. Hemy is better known as a marine painter, his marine work was regularly exhibited at the Royal Academy and at provincial galleries such as the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool. Two of his brothers were also highly regarded painters of marine scenes. For more information on Hemy visit the John Nicholson and Dunelm Fine Art dealers web site: http://www.johnnicholsonfineart.co.uk/index.php?_a=viewCat&catId=48. The Sunderland v Aston Villa painting will be discussed in the section 'Fine Art Representations of Football' below.

⁹⁶ Powell, Baden, *Scouting for Boys*, 1908, reproduced in *Boys' Own* 1908 under the Hemy painting.

professional game to popularise their newspapers and use action photography instead of fine art impressions of the game. From this point onwards, except for a brief period in the 1920s, artistic representations of football became increasingly dependent upon individual artists. This had the effect of reducing the number of football related paintings being produced, a situation that remained unchanged until the post World War Two period.

Fine Art Representations of Football:

This section will look at fine art representations of football beginning with paintings that show the amateur game both prior to and after the development of professional football post 1885. There are also several fine art examples of the professional game: these will provide a useful comparison with the paintings of the amateur game as they show football in the context of urban society. With the exception of Duncan Grant, minor artists, or artists less well known, did all the paintings assessed in this section. The reasons why major artists by and large ignored football will also be assessed. The section will conclude with a comparative look at European fine art and how the responses of European artists differed from that of British artists.

Three pivotal paintings that show public school football provide interesting insights into the development of association football. The first is a watercolour, *Harrow School Footer Player*, 1833 [plate 24], by an unknown artist, the second, also a watercolour, *Warm Work*, c1880 by William Hodgson [plate 25] and lastly Thomas Hemy's oil painting *Footer at Harrow School*, painted in 1887 [plate 26]. There are also three oil paintings from the 1890s that show how hugely popular the professional game was in the industrial north. The first, *The Last Minute – Now or Never*, 1895 by Thomas

Hemy of the Sunderland v Aston Villa match at Sunderland's Newcastle Road Ground [plate 27], the second is a painting in the Priory Collection by Clarence Bretherik, *The Football Match* [plate 28] and lastly a painting by Sheffield born artist JWT Manuel *Sheffield United – The Parade, 1899* [plate 29].

The section will conclude with an assessment of *Football, 1911*, [plate 30] by Duncan Grant. Grant was the only British artist of note to produce a football related painting prior to World War One.

Together the three contrasting images of amateur soccer show that 'amateurism as an expression of Victorian *manliness* and muscular Christianity', which grew out of the 'ideology of athleticism' from the mid-nineteenth century, was prevalent at schools such as Harrow.⁹⁷ Holt has also noted that:

A wide range of cultural influences was evident in the character of amateur sport: the distinctiveness and the significance of the new games was a product of the interplay of such diverse phenomena as changing attitudes to mental and physical health; the re-definition of masculinity and the new concept of manliness.⁹⁸

The changing attitudes referred to by Holt reflected a period when Britain had emerged as the world's dominant power based upon its powerful economy, as well as its expanding empire, which was so crucial to Britain's ability to expand overseas trade. In this situation the emerging capitalist class required strong, and at times ruthless, men to take leadership positions, not only in industry, abroad in countries where there was often great hostility to British direct rule. In short 'amateurism arose at precisely the moment when a more openly competitive work culture took hold of

⁹⁷ Holt, R, 'The Amateur Body and the middle-class man', *Sport in History* 26 (3) (2006) page 353.

⁹⁸ Holt, R, *Sport and the British*, (Oxford, 1989) page 87.

Victorian Britain.⁹⁹ This is the broad context behind the ideology of muscular Christianity, which essentially was based on the notion that man could enhance his moral character through physical endeavour.¹⁰⁰ In the context of the present discussion physical endeavour equates to the growing significance of football in this period. Charterhouse school celebrated this in song as far back as 1794:

I challenge all men alive
To say they e'er were gladder
Than boys all showing who should kick
Most wind out of the bladder.¹⁰¹

While the Rev Singleton, first Warden of Radley School, showed his enthusiasm for football by writing a song about football the chorus of which is: 'For there is not a game of all those I could name, To compare with merry football.'¹⁰²

The first painting of an individual footballer raises interesting questions about sport and the individual as well as the notion of the sporting hero. Byron in *Don Juan* appeals for a hero: 'an uncommon want, When every year and month sends forth a new one.'¹⁰³ In the reformed public schools of the nineteenth century the choice of a libertine such as Don Juan as a hero would have been unthinkable. This makes the portrait, *Harrow School Footer Player*, very interesting as it indicates that sporting prowess was revered in public schools in this period. The portrait portrays a player holding a round ball, he is standing on the field of play while in the background the spires of the school are faintly revealed. The painting has significance on several

⁹⁹ Holt, R, 'The Amateur Body, page 354.

¹⁰⁰ For more on the influence of Muscular Christianity upon sport see chapter 2 of Holt's *Sport and the British*.

¹⁰¹ Cited in Money, Tony, *Manly and Muscular Diversions: Public Schools and the nineteenth-century Sporting Revival*, page 49.

¹⁰² See the Singleton archive on the Radley School web site:
<http://www.radley.org.uk/Search.aspx?q=singleton>

¹⁰³ First canto of *Don Juan* by Lord Byron.

counts. Harrow was one of the first public schools to develop rules for playing football. Moreover, football at Harrow was based on the dribbling game and some of its rules were incorporated into the laws adopted by the Football Association in 1863. Also, the painting is significant in that it portrays an individual player. Can we infer from this that in the formative years of the game teams revered the star performer? Perhaps we can also infer that images of such players, or the achievements of individual players, were displayed on the school notice boards? What is clear is that from the 1820s onwards public schools underwent significant reform as they became more and more patronised by the sons of industrialists, the rising middle class the very section of society with the power and wealth to make change happen. In this period the sixth form, which hitherto had been out of the control of the schoolmasters, was transformed into a body that led the school by example under the authority of its masters. Also, in this period football at the schools became regularised with matches being played weekly in a defined season during the winter months. Moreover, in this period football very quickly became the most important sport in public schools from where it spread to wider society.

The second watercolour, *Warm Work*, c1880 by William Hodgson shows how the two codes of football still sat alongside each other in the period before the development of professionalism in association football, particularly at public schools. The players in this image are contesting possession for the round ball with their feet, a scene that serves to demonstrate that the dribbling game in various forms had established itself at public schools. However, in the background there is a rugby type goal which indicates that teams from the handling and dribbling codes would compete against the other and would often play a game of two halves, with one code being used in the first half and the other being used in the second half. This situation would

become increasingly difficult after 1882, the year when all soccer players played under the same rules, and more or less impossible when professionalism became established after 1885.¹⁰⁴

The final image showing public school football is a restrike etching of the Thomas Hemy's oil painting *Footer at Harrow School* painted in 1887. The image shows the field in front of the school on which there are several ball and other type games taking place. In the foreground, however, there is a game of association football being overseen by a referee, who is probably a master at the school. The image reinforces the point that the reformed public schools valued sports, unlike in the early part of the century when football was opposed by the schoolmasters, but pursued by the boys at the school in opposition to the school authorities.¹⁰⁵

Together the three images provide us with a good understanding of the growing importance of athleticism in the Victorian period. The Hemy painting in particular shows that the healthy body was forged on the playing fields of public schools.

Speaking at a the conference of boarding schools in 1979 John Honey noted that:

Everything I know of the evolution of the English boarding school tradition convinces me that they... [were] designed for a toughening, extending process where your character was forged like steel in a fire...Nothing soft nothing permissive, nothing egalitarian; nothing remotely child centred.¹⁰⁶

The steeling of mind and body in this period was often based on distorting Darwin's

¹⁰⁴ In the FIFA collection there is a lithograph, *Famous English Footballers* dated 1881, that shows two teams of footballers. One player is holding a round ball while a rugby ball is in front of a seated player. The caption for the image states that matches played by two teams from different codes became less acceptable soon after 1881. The *Warm Work* painting is in a private collection, a copy of the image can be seen in the *Footballers Yearbook* published by James Huntingdon-Whiteley in 2006.

¹⁰⁵ *The FIFA Museum Collection* credits the original image to Walter Cox but most fine art dealers credit the painting to Hemy.

¹⁰⁶ cited in Mangan, J.A. & Walvin James (eds), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800 -1940*. Manchester University Press, 1987 page 142.

theories whose work on the evolution of animal life was often crudely interpreted as being based upon the survival of the fittest, when even Darwin himself had stated in the *Descent of Man* that he had 'attributed too much to the action of natural selection or the survival of the fittest.'¹⁰⁷ Darwin's theory was based on a wider view of nature where 'the slightest difference of structure or constitution may well turn the nicely-balanced scale in the struggle for life, and so be preserved.'¹⁰⁸ However, the ideas of theorists such as Herbert Spencer, who popularised the survival of the fittest aspect of Darwin's theory, gradually found their way into more general thinking about the body and mind being developed through athleticism.

The artists of these three images have placed an emphasis on the body and on the importance placed upon sports by public school authorities. The realism of the scenes contained in these paintings provides us with a visual interpretation of the way athleticism was practised in the Victorian period, particularly in public schools.

The Last Minute – Now or Never, 1895 by Thomas Hemy of the Sunderland v Aston Villa match at Sunderland's Newcastle Road Ground, in contrast to the Hemy painting discussed above, shows the vastness of the crowd standing cheek by jowl on a steep terrace behind the goal. Apart from a few people of middle-class background, who are sitting in a boxed area, the crowd is overwhelmingly working-class.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Darwin, Charles, *The Descent of Man* page 47 (online version)

¹⁰⁸ Darwin, Charles, *Origin of the Species* (unpaginated edition)

¹⁰⁹ The Hemy painting was featured in a Guardian article, 27 August 2010, under the heading: Is this the painting that wins England the World Cup Finals? Apparently members of the FIFA selection committee were impressed by the painting which hangs in the foyer of Sunderland's modern day ground the Stadium of Light.

Clarence Bretherik's, *The Football Match*, according to the Priory Collection caption is of an actual match in Lancashire probably marking a special occasion.¹¹⁰ The painting is in the tradition of realism, art that informs the viewer about an emerging cultural activity. Unfortunately, the actual location of the football ground has not been identified. However, as a modern day viewer of the painting we can readily recognise such stadiums, the terrace embankments indicate that football at this stage was attracting large crowds. In other words it has all the trappings of the professional game. This is hardly surprising given that Lancashire was the birthplace of the professional game in the 1880s. The painting has significance, as such scenes would only become fully popularised through photography in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The last painting *Sheffield United – The Parade*, 1899 J.W.T. Manuel differs from the other two as the artist has used Impressionist techniques to emphasise the shifting patterns that footballers create in their movement. Manuel's painting is of interest as his work pre-dates the work of Lowry, who also adopted somewhat similar techniques in his early football paintings. According to *The Idler* arts magazine, Manuel was a football enthusiast who aimed to produce a 'portfolio of football sketches dealing with incidents of a football match from start to finish.' Whether Manuel produced such a portfolio is hard to know as he died the following year.¹¹¹

Hemy's goalmouth scene does not get across the intensity of professional football, the players are somewhat static even though they are contesting a corner in the last

110 Priory Collection file in possession of the author. Bretherik has some non-football related paintings in the Manchester Art Gallery, although they have no biographical background about him or his work. NB: There seems to be several spellings of his name including Brethervik.

111 *The Idler* 16, January 1900 pp130-137. The tone of the article gives the impression that Manuel was a well-known artist but to date I have been unable to find more information about him. The painting referred to was reproduced in the magazine but only in black and white.

minute. Likewise the crowd behind the goal are portrayed too passively. However, his painting does reveal that Football League games between leading clubs could attract large crowds and that football was immensely popular in working-class towns and cities of the north and the midlands in this period. The Bretherik and Manuel painting are more successful in that in both paintings there is a sense of movement on the field of play. Moreover, the way Manuel has captured the stadium is more satisfactory. In comparison to the Hemy painting the spectators are presented in a more abstract way in *The Parade* this technique lends more atmosphere to the image especially as Manuel shows the closeness of the terraces to the pitch. Overall the Hemy, Brethervik and Manuel paintings stand in marked contrast to most images in this period which tended to portray football as a game still dominated by amateurism. They are, therefore, of significance to historians interested in how football has evolved from a public school dominated game to a sport played by professionals in front of vast crowds.

As suggested above, most major artists from the period covered in this section ignored football. In fact the only major British artist from the period to use a football related image in his work was Duncan Grant who was associated with the more middle-class orientated Bloomsbury Group. This group pioneered a new approach to painting: 'Based on the decorative arabesques and colour of Matisse, and the spatial awareness of Cezanne.'¹¹²

These influences can be found in Grant's painting, *Football 1911*, a mural commissioned by Roger Fry for the South Borough Polytechnic - Grant also

¹¹² *The Oxford Companion to Western Art* page 75.

produced *Bathers* as part of the same commission.¹¹³ Grant's murals are based on observational drawings of swimmers in the Serpentine and footballers in Hyde Park. The 'figures in the paintings are not carefully delineated individuals but rather provide an impression of the acts of swimming or of playing football.'¹¹⁴ Both murals are almost like a Greek or Roman mosaic, in the arabesque style referred to above. Although playing with a round ball the players are playing football under rugby code rules or a mixture of rules from both codes reflecting, perhaps, that both codes of football were still played on parks in this period. Grant's players, however, seem to be playing their game in a stadium, the obscured terracing in the background indicating that the players, though painted as classical figures, are playing the game in the modern period and in a modern stadium. Despite its ambiguity, Grant's painting is the one stand-alone football image by a major British artist prior to WW1.

The possible reasons why major artists in this period ignored football can be found in a survey undertaken by *Who's Who* in 1898 regarding the interests of three hundred artists and art curators. Not one of those asked expressed an interest in football as a pastime. The top sporting pastime was cycling, 53, followed by golf, 24, rowing, 22. Both tennis and cricket get a mention with 15 and 14 respectively. According to the article the survey showed that when artists 'turn from the studio they find relaxation more frequently in the exercise of the physical than of mental powers, and that the profession of art has as large a share as any other vocation in the maintenance of the manlier English sports.' Football, however, does not appear among the list of

113 See Tate archive:

http://www2.tate.org.uk/archive/journeys/bloomsbury/html/art_together_murals.htm. Football was purchased by the Tate in 1931. Both murals were exhibited at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1935 and again at the Tate in May-June 1959.

114 Letter to The Times by Bernard Adeney, in the Tate File Number 4566: Football, the letter is undated.

physical exercise taken by artists.¹¹⁵ Whether some of the artists mentioned above were asked to take part in the survey is unknown, as *Who's Who* does not reveal any names. What is clear is that people from the educated elite, and artists usually come from such backgrounds, did not usually follow football at this stage of its development. Moreover, most artists and art curators were southern or London based whereas football was dominated by northern based clubs from the early 1880s onwards: a situation that would persist well into the twentieth century.

European Influences Upon British Art

Between 1910-1912 three important exhibitions of European art greatly influenced the work of British artists, art that would make its full impact on football art in the inter-war years both in Britain and Europe. Clive Bell and Roger Fry organised two *Post Impressionist* exhibitions at the Grafton Galleries in London, in 1910 and 1912. Both of these exhibitions showed work by a wide range of European artists. According to one source: 'The exhibitions rocked the London art establishment and had a great impact on the work of young British artists, including artists of the Bloomsbury circle. For many it was their first encounter with Post-Impressionist art.'¹¹⁶

Also, in 1912 Filippo Marinetti hosted an exhibition of Futurist art at the Sackville Gallery in London. What these exhibitions showed to artists was that: 'Authentically modern art achieves its significant effect not through imitation of appearances but

¹¹⁵ The Art Journal, September 1898, published the results of the survey on page 276.

¹¹⁶ Tate web site http://www.tate.org.uk/archive/journeys/bloomsburyhtml/bio_fry_modernart.htm.

through the creation of form.¹¹⁷

The influence of the first exhibition can be seen in Duncan Grant's work referred to above.¹¹⁸ Moreover, these exhibitions transformed the way leading British artists approached subject matter. This is best seen through the Futurist influenced work of the Vorticists who came together on the eve of World War One under the leadership of Percy Wyndham Lewis. Along with Cubism these trends in art transformed the way artists viewed the world; it also transformed the way people viewed art. What is important to stress is that this new form of art was art 'forged' in response to a 'changing world.'¹¹⁹ The proliferation of these movements occurred at a time when combination amongst the working-class was also spreading, a period when working people not only sought better wages but also better working conditions, including shorter hours of work.¹²⁰ It was also a time of increasing international tensions throughout Europe. From a British perspective, the Edwardian period was dominated by social and political challenges to the status quo while internationally, British economic power was being challenged by Germany, a situation that finally ended in war in 1914. Politically, the Edwardian era saw the emergence of the Labour Party and the Suffragette movement. Both of these movements created

117 Harrison, Charles: 'Going Modern' (in *The History of British Art, 1870-Now*) page 44.

118 Clearly, the new art movements introduced in Britain prior to 1914 were being assimilated by British artists. It would be the interwar years, however, before we see a body of football artwork being produced in the style of modernism.

119 Tate Britain: *Manifesto for a Modern World* exhibition booklet page 3.

120 Many sections of the working-class did achieve better pay and conditions in the period prior to WW1, this in turn impacted upon leisure which expanded in this period. An analysis of trade union activity in this period is outside the remit of the thesis but it does have relevance to a wider understanding of leisure trends, and the growth of football, in the said period. There are numerous studies about the nature, extent and success or otherwise of trade union activity in this period. These include Hobsawm's *Industry and Empire* and Henry Pelling's *History of British Trade Unions*. For a regional perspective on the period see Ray Physick's unpublished MA Thesis: 'The Great Unrest 1910-1914 - An Analysis of the Strikes and the Role Played by the Rank and File Committees on Tyneside and Merseyside.' There is also an interesting correlation between the masculinity portrayed on Trade Unions banners and the masculinity that can be found in much of the Futurist art of the period. This discussion, however, is also outside the scope of the thesis.

problems for the political establishment. Problems that got exceedingly worse in the 1910-14 period when Britain was hit by a series of national strikes by coalminers and railway workers; as well as direct political action by the suffragettes. British art was slow to respond to these changing political circumstances, but in Europe social and political crises were paralleled by new art movements that revolutionised art.

It is in the context of social and political upheavals, that afflicted both Britain and Europe in this period, that art movements, such as Futurism and Vorticism, produced radical manifestoes that rejected conservatism in art and advocated an English art that 'is strong, virile and anti-sentimental.' Crucially, the Futurist manifesto of June 1914 also stated that sport should be 'considered as an essential element in art.' C.R.W. Nevinson who, of all British artists, became the leading exponent of Futurism prior to World War One countersigned the manifesto.¹²¹ A recent exhibition of futurist art held at Tate Modern displayed several paintings on sporting themes but did not show, one of the most important football images, Boccioni's *Dynamism of a Football Player*.¹²²

Unlike the Futurists, very few British artists in this period were concerned with representing people's leisure time. The few exceptions include, as already indicated, Duncan Grant, and David Bomberg. Bomberg, who was closely associated with the Vorticists, produced a fine piece of work, *Mud Bath*, 1914 that reduced 'the human figure to a series of geometric shapes' reflecting the Futurist and Vorticist fascination with the machine and city life. The geometric figures of *Mud Bath* are based on the

¹²¹ The Futurist manifesto of June 1914 was published in *The Observer* on 7 June. The manifesto was also signed by Filippo Marinetti, the founder of the Futurist movement in art.

¹²² For Boccioni see below. For a review of the Tate exhibition as well as a focus on the sporting themes contained in the exhibition see Hughson, John: 'Sport, Modernity and Ambivalence: Futurism' - review of exhibition at Tate Modern, Bankside, London, June 12 - September 20, 2009.

patrons at steam baths situated within the Whitechapel Swimming Baths.¹²³

It was left to the Futurists, or artists associated with the Futurists, to represent football in a radical way, in a form that was able to get across the movement of players during a football match. The standout painting is Umberto Boccioni's *The Dynamism of a Football Player* (1913), [plate 31] which demonstrates the desire of the Futurists to incorporate modern life into their paintings. Indeed Boccioni declared that 'there is only one law for the artist, and this is modern life.'¹²⁴ Futurism saw the world as being in a state of constant change, change that was reflected in the development of great cities, places that moved to the rhythm of the machine and its quickening pace of change.¹²⁵ In the *Dynamism* series Boccioni: '...arrives at a form of abstraction that nonetheless does not exclude recognisability of the subject in its lines of dynamic tension, since they derive from the analysis and fusion of two motions...'¹²⁶

In *Dynamism of a Football Player* no actual players are recognisable, but the swirls of paint do offer several recognisable aspects of football: the movement of the players on the field of play, the muscular tension between opposing players and the turbulent weather conditions under which football is often played. The swirls could also represent the crowd in the stadium with the circular patterns representing the cacophony of sounds coming from the terraces and the shafts of light representing the modernism of the city – the place where modern football is played at its highest level. The Futurists were captivated by the abstract notion of speed and movement

123 Antliff, Mark & Greene, Vivien(eds): *The Vorticists: Manifesto for a Modern World*. Bomberg's image is more leisure focused than sport.

124 Cited in Apollonio, Umbro Futurist Manifestos page 8.

125 See Ackley Rhythms of Modern Life and Ottinger, D Futurism for further analysis regarding the development of Futurism.

126 Ottinger, D: *Futurism* exhibition catalogue page 238.

and they tried to get the speed of modern life into their art. Boccioni produced several similar paintings, known as his *Dynamism Studies*, including one based on a cyclist and another on the human body.¹²⁷ As the 1910 Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto put it: 'To paint a human figure you must not paint it; you must render the whole surrounding atmosphere.'¹²⁸

This is what you precisely get in the Boccioni *Dynamism Studies*, the abstracted human figures are integral to the surrounding atmosphere of the city. The abstract nature of the paintings are interesting, although they are rooted in the material world of industrial society, they do reflect that humans are capable of abstract thought or, in the case of the artist, an imaginative interpretation of the real world, a world that is not devoid of social or historical experience.¹²⁹ However, outside of Futurism European football images prior to 1914 tend to be found in popular art, as was the case in Britain.¹³⁰

Football: Responses to the Outbreak of War in 1914

This section will look at three different images, which in their different contexts reveal the social, political and cultural significance of football. The first is a cartoon from *Punch* by the satirical artist and illustrator Leonard Ravenhill entitled the *Greater Game* [plate 32]: the second a poster, *The Germans Said You Were Not in Earnest*

127 See Hughson, John review of the Tate exhibition in *Sport in Society* December 2009 for further comment on Boccioni's *Dynamism Studies*.

128 Cited in Apolloni page 28.

129 For art and imagination see Read, H: *The Meaning of Art*. I have also referred to Read above when highlighting the relationship of art to the material world and how one's relationship to this world affects one's outlook and interpretation of that world.

130 See Chazaud chapter 1 for more detail about popular art and football in Europe.

[plate 33] published to attract footballers to the Footballers' Battalion and thirdly John Singer Sargent's epic painting *Gassed* [plate 34].¹³¹

The Greater Game was published in *Punch* six weeks into the 1914-15 football season. The cartoon depicts the figure of Mr Punch telling the footballer, as he emerges from the tunnel: 'No doubt you can make money in this field, my friend, but there's only one field today where you can get honour.' Listening attentively in the background are spectators who have packed out the unidentified football ground. The caption cited above is followed by an explanatory note making it clear that Football Association needs to get its priorities right: 'The Council of the Football Association apparently proposes to carry out the full programme of the cup competition, just as if the country did not need the services of its athletes for the serious business of War.'¹³²

The context of the cartoon was the refusal of the Football Association to cancel the FA Cup competition and for the Football League to abandon its league programme even though war had broken out with Germany on 4 August 1914.

The declaration of war was both problematic and controversial for professional football. From the outset there was an outcry from the press for the Football Association and the Football League to cancel their respective competitions. This proved very difficult for professional football clubs, even though the new football season was still a month away, as they already had their players under contract. Thus even if the fixtures for 1914-15 were to be cancelled, professional clubs still had

131 There is another image relating to the war that was produced in 1996 by the conceptual artist Crispin Jones, a photograph of one of Captain Nevill's footballs. This image is a reminder of the folly of all war and therefore stands outside the remit of this chapter [see plate 35].

132 *Punch* 21 October 1914 page 331.

liabilities to pay players' wages without the income coming from paying spectators. This situation led to accusations in the press that professional football players put money before the needs of the country and that they were unpatriotic.

There is another context that needs to be considered when reflecting on the response of professional football to the war effort. When war broke out in August 1914 the general opinion was that it would be over by Christmas. Moreover, enlistment until 1916 was voluntary, an indication by the government that enough resources could be acquired from the public recruitment campaign for a short-lived war. From the outset the FA co-operated with the War Office by making provision for the authorities to have recruitment campaigns at football grounds. The problem for professional football emerged as it became clear that the government had underestimated the amount of recruits it would need to combat the Triple Alliance powers. Another problem for professional football was that most amateur football leagues had closed down, as did the Rugby Football Union competitions. Indeed, two leading rugby clubs, Wasps and Saracens could report that 98 per cent of its players had joined the war effort. By contrast, prior to the introduction of conscription in 1916, just 11 professional football clubs in Lancashire had provided a mere 40 recruits.¹³³

The cartoon formed part of a wider campaign waged through newspapers such as *The Times*. Letters from establishment figures and numerous poems from readers were printed regularly all with the aim of shaming professional football. Apart from

¹³³ The reports in *The Times* and elsewhere put great emphasis on the response of amateur sportsmen to the war effort. What they did not say was that amateur football had stopped playing following the onset of war and that the vast majority of working-class football was played by amateurs. Indeed more than 300,000 players registered with amateur clubs enlisted for the armed forces in the early months of the war. For more information regarding football and the war effort see: Veitch, Colin: 'Play Up! Play Up! and win the War.'

the needs of war the cartoon shows that football had political significance during a time of national crisis. It also demonstrates that professional footballers had significant influence over the mass of spectators who were also needed for the war effort. Despite increasing public pressure and a vituperative campaign, by the press and high profile community figures to discredit professional football, and by inference its working-class supporters, both the FA and the Football League persisted with a full league and cup programme. One such high profile community figure, an East End temperance worker named Charrington, wrote to the King asking him to consider withdrawing his patronage from the FA. He also called upon Lord Kinnaird to use his authority as president of the FA to have football stopped. Both Buckingham Palace and Kinnaird were forced into a response, the former stating that the King was confident that the FA was doing all in its power to support the war effort while Kinnaird stated: 'Giving up football entirely is not so simple as you think. Contracts have been made which can be enforced in a court of law.'¹³⁴

This is the background to the formation of the Footballers' Battalion in December 1914. The Battalion was formed following a request by the Tory MP for Brentford, William Joynson Hicks, to the War Office to allow him to form a distinct battalion for football players and supporters. It was hoped that a full battalion of 1,350 men could be enlisted, although initially recruitment was aimed at unmarried footballers. Despite the formation of a special battalion for footballers only 122 professional footballers, by March 1915, had been recruited and even these were given assurances that they would not be enlisted until after the football season ended in April 1915.

¹³⁴ *The Times* 8 September 1914.

However, the formation of the Footballers' Battalion was the first step to closing down professional football for the duration of the war.¹³⁵

Football eventually fell into line with the war effort at the end of the 1914-15 season following which the Footballers' Battalion played a key role in galvanising support for the war effort among players and spectators:

The significance of the Footballers' Battalion is that it provided a focal point for the game's support of the national war effort and went a long way towards restoring the credibility of the sport after it had been, most certainly unfairly, tarnished by elements within the political establishment. It is for these reasons as well as for the many brave men who lost their lives fighting for their country that it should be remembered.¹³⁶

Once the football authorities had cancelled all football in 1915, and a footballers' battalion was established, the authorities produced a powerful recruitment poster, by an unnamed artist, that showed footballers walking onto a football pitch under the banner headline: *The Germans Said You Were Not in Earnest*. This was a reference to an article in the German press stating that young Britons prefer football to defending their country. As with the *Punch* cartoon, the poster is an example of the image being used for propaganda purposes.

Perhaps, football's significance to the wider war effort can be seen in John Singer Sargent's painting *Gassed*, 1918. In the foreground the painting shows a line of injured soldiers, all of whom have been affected by a mustard gas attack, approaching a dressing station located on the road between Arras and Doullens. Although Singer Sargent's commission to go to the front came from the Ministry of Information it was Lloyd George who asked Singer Sargent to produce a large

135 For more detail on the responses or otherwise of football to the war effort see Mason, Tony pp.251-257 and *Soccer History* Issue 1 pp3-10.

136 See PFA web site <http://www.givemefootball.com/pfa/history-of-the-footballers-battalion-part-ii>

painting for a proposed hall of remembrance that was to be built in honour of the war effort.¹³⁷ The painting depicts a column of eleven soldiers, many with bandages over their eyes, approaching the dressing station to receive treatment for the affects of mustard gas poisoning. Whether the number is symbolic of a football team is impossible to determine, but in the background there is a game of football being played by soldiers who are presumably recovering from burns and blindness following a gas attack. Such a scene seems out of place in a picture that is filled with human suffering and widespread destruction to the landscape, but the painting is a reminder that football was regarded as essential in keeping up morale at the front.¹³⁸ What Singer Sargent is trying to say, however, is difficult to decipher but one reading of the scene could be an attack upon the English public school conceit that war is just another game.¹³⁹ According to Andrew Graham-Dixon the football match ‘...may symbolise man’s indifference to man or perhaps Sargent meant to suggest that these incongruously jolly figures stand for foolish England’s ignorance of the hell its sons had been through.’¹⁴⁰

It could also stand for the dignity of the soldier who, once recovered, is still prepared to perform for his country. From this perspective the painting is in sharp contrast to Nevinson’s *Harvest of the Battle* [plate 36], which shows the harsh reality of war for German and British troops as they kill each other in the name of their respective countries.

137 Lloyd George to John Singer Sargent, 16 May 1918, in the archive of the Imperial War Museum. The proposed memorial hall was never built.

138 See Mason, Tony & Riedi, Eliza: *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960* for more detail about sport on the home and war fronts.

139 See Veitch, ‘Play Up!’ for more background on the English conceit and its links to football and war.

140 Graham-Dixon, Andrew: *The Sunday Telegraph* 9 November 2003.

In the post-war period Singer Sargent's painting was sometimes used by the peace movement. For example, the Labour Party, the TUC and the Co-operative Movement held a peace and freedom day at the Royal Albert Hall in 1933. The leaflet promoting the day featured Sargent's image.¹⁴¹ In this context the painting can be seen as an anti-war image like the one referred to above by Crispin Jones.

More recently, the journalist Danny Kelly has also seen the painting in a positive light. Kelly argues that Singer Sargent uses the football scene as one of hope at a time of national despair:

In the background to the horrors of the military hospital, life goes on, the living and the healthy carry on the carnage and maiming. Sargent was an American but has clearly identified football as a national obsession in his adopted home and uses sport to plant a message of hope in what otherwise would be a morass of unleavened despair. Think I am making this up? Count the soldiers – including the orderly gently ushering them along – 11. Call me sentimental: call me an art ponce: call me what you want. All I know is that the presence of those previously unseen footballers has turned *Gassed* from being a painting I have always admired into my favourite artwork of all time.¹⁴²

By way of contrast, *When Saturday Comes* the football magazine, suggests that the painting could be seen as 'the first ever anti-football painting.'¹⁴³ Whether this statement is true or not is open to conjecture, but the painting does reveal that football was played at the front, thus indicating that it was an aspect of 'everyday life' for some soldiers. A recent article by Iain Adams would seem to endorse this: he indicates that 'recreational kick-about' were commonplace at the front and that 'Many officers believed that sports helped increase morale, fitness, team loyalty and courage and had actively encouraged sport in periods away from the line.' At the

¹⁴¹ The leaflet for this rally is in the IWM archives.

¹⁴² *The Times* 21 May 2007.

¹⁴³ WSC 225 November 2005.

front 'men surreptitiously took their footballs with them when they entered the trenches', while London Irish rifleman Harry Tyres 'recalled asking for players to be excused regimental duties as they were needed for football.'¹⁴⁴ As Adams indicates, there is a class dimension to football being played at the front. By 1914 football was 'culturally grounded in the British working-class' and it reflected 'the camaraderie of the ordinary working class soldiers, giving them some sense of power over their own destiny and established some sort of meaning in their chaotic and incomprehensible world even as they believed they faced almost certain death.'¹⁴⁵ *Gassed* is a potent reminder that war is horror without end but that amidst such horrors leisure time is a necessity and for many working-class soldiers football was one way to forget war collectively.

As mentioned above Singer Sargent was asked by Lloyd George to produce an epic picture of war but he clearly had difficulty in finding material to produce such an image: 'The more dramatic' he wrote:

the situation the more it became an empty landscape. The MOI expects an epic - and how can one do an epic without masses of men? Excepting at night I have only seen three fine subjects with masses of men - one a harrowing sight, a field full of gassed and blindfolded men.¹⁴⁶

In this context the *Art Review* observations perhaps gets the balance right:

Their groans and gasps contrast with the urgent shouts of a match, blues v reds, taking place in the middle distance, as if Sargent needed to emphasise the physical activities presently denied to virtually everyone else in the picture save the footballers.¹⁴⁷

144 Adams, Iain: 'Over the Top: 'A Foul; a Blurry Foul!' (IJHS May 2012) page 822. Adams also reproduces a cartoon drawn by Tyres showing soldiers in gas masks charging to the front while dribbling a ball.

145 *ibid* page 823.

146 Cited Graham-Dixon, Andrew: *The Sunday Telegraph* 9 November 2003.

147 *Art Review* November 1988, page 41.

Writhing and semi-conscious wounded soldiers occupy all the other available ground. In short, *Gassed* contains enough ambiguity to suggest that it is an anti-war painting, it can also be viewed as a painting that shows the English conceit that war is just another game and, in this context, it is a painting that does not reflect well upon football. It is also a painting that shows the reality and the consequences of war at the base camp. Some are arriving for treatment, others are dying while, in the background, those that have recovered are regaining fitness in preparation for the next battle, be it on the playing fields of England or at the front.

In these contexts the painting is not just another football image, but a painting that impinges upon wider societal issues such as the ethics of war and peace. This does not mean that it does not have relevance to the thesis. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the best football images are the ones that go beyond football but also show the deep cultural significance of the game. The Singer Sargent painting has all of these elements and should, therefore, be considered as an image that represents the cultural significance of football.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that football has been represented in art since antiquity. From marble reliefs in Grecian times to abstract paintings just prior to WW1, artists have visually shown that football has deep social and historical roots. What is surprising, perhaps, given the social significance of football in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, is that so many artists chose to ignore football. There were artists from these periods who were committed to paint the social condition of the poor and dispossessed as part of a philanthropic effort to get the better off in society to

contribute to some kind of welfare relief. However, very few artists working independently were committed to presenting the working-class in a positive light, to show their leisure pursuits or their struggles to obtain a better world through political or industrial action. This lack of interest is probably rooted in the social background of artists, as the survey from *Who's Who* cited above indicates. However, in the immediate period prior to 1914, the outlook of British art began to change under the impact of foreign influences via Post Impressionism, Cubism and Futurism. As Charles Harrison and John Berger have expressed it every art form has its social and economic root; prior to WW1 it was the machine that dominated urban society and paved the way for abstraction and geometric forms in art. However, in the interwar period, deeply shocked by the horrors of war, many artists returned to the representation of the human form in their work.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, many artists also began to incorporate people's leisure time into their artwork. The importance of this work will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁴⁸ The Vorticist William Roberts for example began to paint scenes drawn from people's leisure activities after 1918. He produced a football painting, *The Goal*, in 1968.

Representations of Football in Art: 1918-1945

Introduction

This chapter will focus upon how radical changes in British society during the interwar years impacted upon sport, leisure and the arts. The analysis will also consider how individual artists adapted their work as a consequence of their war experiences, with a particular focus on the different responses of British and European artists to the new world order post 1918. Representations of football in English art were, with the exception of commissions from London Transport, confined to a relatively small number of artists in this period. In comparison to the pre-war period, however, representation of football in art by English artists advanced significantly. As explained in the previous chapter, Duncan Grant was the only major English artist to consider football as worthy subject matter. In the interwar years, however, artists of the calibre of Paul Nash, C.R.W. Nevinson and, most significantly, L.S. Lowry produced football related work. Moreover, on mainland Europe a wide range of leading artists, including artists from the fledgling Soviet Union, incorporated football into their work. This work, in contrast to the work of English artists, was often overtly political in nature. The chapter will conclude with a section on football art during the Second World War and offer an explanation as to why football was not widely represented in the arts, in Britain and Europe, even though sport was seen as an integral part of the Home Front during the war.

Some academics have suggested that the initial response of art following the horror of World War One was nihilistic in nature, but I would suggest that the processes of

change within art were both varied and complex.¹ Historically, at times of crisis, British artists have often reverted to landscape painting in an attempt 'to define or defend a sense of national identity.'² In the immediate post-war period numerous artists did present the English landscape in the way indicated by Stephens, a view also confirmed by Francis Spalding.³ By contrast, European art saw the emergence of radical art movements such as Dada and Constructivism.⁴ Interestingly, several artists involved in these movements used football in their work to express political concerns about society.

The previous chapter explored the representation of football in art with a particular emphasis on the period following the formation of the Football Association in 1863. The survey found that, in general, British artists largely ignored the game as subject matter for their work. It was established that extensive visual coverage of football could be found in popular art, a tradition within English art dating back to the late seventeenth century. In the interwar years this situation changed: popular art images were not so extensive because photography could reproduce such images more effectively. During this period the cultural influence of football in society deepened significantly, particularly after 1923, when the Empire Stadium at Wembley began to host the FA Cup Final. This in turn led to football being increasingly represented in the visual arts. Companies such as London Transport and Shell commissioned artists such as Paul Nash and Sybil Andrews to produce sport themed posters to promote

1 See for example Farr, Dennis: *English Art: 1870-1940* who discusses nihilism in art in this period. Farr's history is an essential account for art historians.

2 Stephens, Chris: *Mapping British Art* page 79. (in Stephens, Chris(ed): *The History of British Art: 1870-Now*).

3 Spalding, Francis. *British Art since 1900*. Spalding's views on British art in this period are important, they will be discussed in more detail below. On the significance of landscape in English art see chapter one of the thesis.

4 Farr, Dennis: *English Art* page 190.

their services or products. Many of these posters were produced using modernist art forms, a sign that English art was more open to European art influences in the interwar years. Meanwhile urban landscape artists such as L.S. Lowry incorporated numerous football scenes into their work. In terms of locating football within the wider context of urban society Lowry was a pioneer. Moreover, his work has become a benchmark for numerous artists in the modern period who utilise football as subject matter for their work.⁵ With the exception of Paul Nash's Shell poster, the football related art discussed in this chapter does not set out to define a distinct national identity or reinforce notions of Englishness. The work of Lowry, Paul Nash, as well as Nevinson's *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*, and the artists who produced football posters does reveal, however, the contrasting landscapes of urban and rural England. The work of these artists also provides a contrast between the heavily industrialised north with that of London, which had a more diversified economy in this period.

Building upon the views outlined in previous chapters, namely that art, sport and popular culture cannot be separated from the social and economic circumstances of its production, the following analysis will demonstrate that such a premise is even more appropriate when looking at the production of art, sport and leisure during the interwar years. With regard to Britain there was a fundamental political change from 1918 onwards following the widening of suffrage to all men over the age of 21 and to women over the age of 30. Henceforth, at least theoretically, governments were accountable to the people but, in reality the democratic process became a mechanism for taking away, or holding back, the rights of the mass of the population in the said period. This was reflected in the way Parliament passed laws to undermine the

⁵ Ben Kelly, for example, who won the One Love art prize in 2006 is heavily influenced by Lowry.

influence of the Labour and Trade Union Movement after the failure of the 1926 General Strike and the imposition of significant wage cuts for public sector workers during the Depression years of 1929-1933. Although outside the scope of this thesis some historians have noted that leisure outlets, and football in particular, had the capacity to provide enough 'social balm' to divert the working-class away from more resolute political action during a period of social and economic dislocation.⁶

At the end of the war Lloyd George promised that his coalition government would make Britain 'a fit land for heroes to live in.'⁷ Lloyd George's promise was to be a short-lived one, as following the post-war boom economic slump brought home the reality that the world, to paraphrase W.B Yeats, had been *transformed utterly* by war.⁸ The overriding situation of British and European society in the interwar years was one of social instability, political volatility, economic boom and slump, culminating in economic Depression between 1929-1931. This was followed by anaemic recovery prior to 1939. Moreover, by 1918 Britain's position in the world had also been utterly transformed politically and economically. Prior to the war Britain was arguably the most powerful nation, economically and socially, on earth only to be replaced by the growing economic force of American capitalism in the immediate post-war period. Moreover, political and social instability in Europe, which had its roots in the economic chaos that followed the end of the war, also undermined the economic stability of Britain.⁹ In 1919, 1921 and 1926 Britain faced significant challenges to government authority with major political, social and industrial movements, with the 1926 General Strike being the most significant challenge to the state. At one point,

⁶ Russell, Dave: *Football and the English* discusses this briefly, see pp. 9-11.

⁷ Cited in numerous sources. See for example: Taylor, A.J.P: *English History, 1914-1945* page 128.

⁸ From Yeats' poem *Easter* 1916.

⁹ Hobsbawm, Eric: *Age of Extremes* chapter three.

during the 1919 crisis, Lloyd George told the TUC leaders that the unions had the government at its mercy and had the power to take over the state. Thus by implication they could control the running of the economy, and establish an economy similar to that which was being formed in Russia at this time. At this crucial point, the TUC, which had no political perspective, had to admit it was a beaten force.¹⁰ Despite the defeat of the unions, economic and political crises persisted throughout the interwar years. It is in this context of the new world order of the interwar years, of Britain's changed relationships with the wider world, that this chapter will explore how the diverse cultural practices of football and art responded, adapted and were ultimately affected by changes in society.

This broad approach will prepare the foundation for a discussion about how football was represented in art in the interwar period.¹¹ Moreover, a comparison with European art will show that European artists paid more attention to football than their British counterparts during the interwar years, and that the approach and context of European art to football was, in most instances, radically different from the one taken by British artists.

A World of Social, Economic and Political Upheavals

Following the war workers throughout Europe secured a shorter working week.¹² In Britain most workers saw the working week reduced by an average of 6½ hours. Although there were fluctuations in the number of hours worked during the

¹⁰ Robert Smillie of the MFGB related this incident to Nye Bevin who retold the story in his *In Place of Fear*.

¹¹ The chapter will also consider to what extent football was represented in art during WW2 but as a distinct category.

¹² Steinberg, David, A: 'The Workers' Sport Internationals, 1920-1928' page 233.

interwar period by different sections of the working-class, in general the gains of 1919 were maintained and, in some cases improved upon, prior to 1939.¹³ Moreover, although wages fluctuated over the two decades of the interwar years, overall those in work saw both a monetary increase in their take home pay and an increase in the value of their wages as prices of food and commodities fell over the said period.¹⁴ A major outcome of these changes was that millions of workers had more time and more money to pursue their interest in sport and other forms of leisure both as participants and as spectators. This situation was noted by *The Listener*, which commented that 'the major social gain of our day is the increase which has taken place in the individual's leisure time.'¹⁵

Of course, those out of work lived in a parallel world, a world of constant want and shortages in the basic foodstuffs due to a lack of money. In Britain unemployment was endemic throughout the interwar years, rarely falling below one million in the boom years, but surpassing three million in periods of recession. During the years of the Depression the mean unemployment rate was 23 per cent but in many northern towns and cities such as Sunderland, a key football town, unemployment reached nearly 50 per cent of the insured workforce.¹⁶ Mass unemployment was also the experience for millions of workers on mainland Europe during the same period.

To summarise: those in work not only had the disposable income but also worked less hours to earn their money. Hence it is not surprising that, overall, working people devoted more time to leisure pursuits, including football, in the interwar

¹³ Jones, S.G: *Workers at Play* pp. 15-17.

¹⁴ *ibid*, also see Hobsbawm *Age of Extremes*, page 93.

¹⁵ *The Listener* 28 July 1937. Also, cited in Jones page 17.

¹⁶ Hobsbawm *op cit* pp. 92-95 and Russell, Dave *Football and the English* pp. 76-77.

years. According to Stephen Jones, taking 1936 as an example, average spending on leisure for a family with an income of £2 11s 4d amounted to 1s 3d per week, but a family earning £3 17s 6d spent 5s per week, four times as much, on leisure. It is also worth noting that the cost of buying leisure also fell in the interwar years, which meant that people could afford more forms of leisure. This goes some way to explaining the boom in leisure in the period, a trend that also found its reflection in football attendances.¹⁷

The increasing importance of leisure to working-class people in the interwar years is brilliantly captured in *Love on the Dole*, which like Lowry's work is set in Salford, by Walter Greenwood. Greenwood's novel offers us an exciting insight into the 'intoxicating' feeling of a Saturday afternoon. The Saturday shift ends at noon, the great noise of the siren marks the beginning of the weekend with no work till Monday, and with money in pocket the factory workers head for home where there is plentiful food on the table including bacon and fresh bread with butter. There was also money to buy cigarettes, to have a bet, to go the football match in the afternoon and still leave enough to go to the pictures or the social club in the evening. Moreover, on Sunday there is the roast dinner followed by a Sunday tea of tinned salmon and cakes. This celebratory scene is juxtaposed alongside the poverty, endemic in the industrial north during the inter-war years.¹⁸

Interestingly there are many elements of a Lowry painting in the scenes depicted in Greenwood's book, particularly the importance of work and leisure to the working-

¹⁷ Jones op cit pp.11-12. Of course, those who had the most leisure time, the unemployed, were often deprived access to leisure facilities. Although there were workers' sports associations, as well as miners' welfares, which provided sporting facilities for those unable to afford commercial leisure alternatives. The level of participation from these non-commercial outlets for sport and leisure is difficult to assess.

¹⁸ Greenwood, Walter: *Love on the Dole* Chapter 7.

class of Britain in the interwar years. From work comes the money to be able to purchase leisure, the once-a-week outlet from the drudge of the factory and the daily grind of the home. This helps to explain the celebratory nature of Saturday afternoon for British workers. By contrast, without work, the outlook on life became bleak very quickly.

The passage from Greenwood reflects that in the interwar years, despite economic uncertainty, the emphasis upon leisure became embedded in the mass of the population. Moreover, the development of radio brought light entertainment and sporting events directly into people's homes, which in turn helped to generate more interest in leisure and the pursuit of leisure.¹⁹

Football: The Cultural Impact

During the interwar years football in England grew rapidly. In 1919 the Football League expanded its first and second divisions from 20 to 22 clubs and introduced a third division in 1920 made up of 22 teams from the Southern League. The following year a fourth division was added when the Third Division North was established.²⁰ Geographically, the league was now more representative of the country as a whole, although the first division only had one team, Arsenal, from the south when football recommenced in 1919.²¹ Outside of the Football League there was also a dramatic expansion with the number clubs affiliated to the Football Association growing

¹⁹ Rassieur, Thomas, E: *Entertainment and Leisure* pp. 147 -149 (in *British Prints from the Machine Age*). See also Hill, Jeff: *Sport, leisure and culture in twentieth-century Britain* for a broader context re leisure and the impact of radio upon people's lives.

²⁰ Much of the following information is drawn from chapter two of Dave Russell's book *Football and the English*.

²¹ Prior to the war the league had been dominated by teams from the north and the Midlands. Arsenal were promoted to the expanded First Division in 1919 despite finishing behind Barnsley and Wolverhampton in the 1914-15 season.

threefold from 12,000 teams in 1910 to 37,000 in 1937. The game was also better supported in the interwar years with overall attendances increasing from 23,000 in 1914 to 26,000 in 1928, after falling back in the Depression years to 22,000 this figure increased to 30,000 just prior the Second World War. Moreover, in the interwar years 36 Football League clubs broke their record attendances, another indication of football's growing popularity.²² The only impressions we have in art from this period that show football crowds comes from the work of Lowry. Furthermore his paintings tend to deal with minor league football in the context of an industrial landscape. His work does indicate, however, that such football was also well supported in the interwar years.²³

These raw attendance figures and the visual impressions we have of non-league football indicate that the game was extending its cultural presence in society in the interwar period. Also, the press covered football in greater depth, as well as match reports there were regular features on the great players of the day such as Ralph (Dixie) Dean and Stanley Matthews, a factor that laid the foundations for the exaggerated stardom of players in the modern day. Other media outlets, such as radio and cinema, that developed in the period, introduced the game to wider layers in society. In 1927 the first football match was broadcast on BBC radio and, although the Football League banned the broadcast of its matches from 1931, the FA still allowed the corporation to broadcast FA cup ties, with the final itself being one of the highpoints of the BBC output. Indeed, the Cup Final in this period, especially after Wembley was opened in 1923, and even before it was broadcast by radio, became an event of national significance. From 1927 onwards, the year the BBC first broadcast

²² Attendance figures are taken from Russell op cit and Mason, Tony: 'Football' page 152 (in Mason, Tony (ed) *Sport in Britain: A Social History*).

²³ The one exception in his work in this period is the painting *Manchester City v Sheffield United* which will discussed below.

the final, it became an integral part of British cultural life.²⁴ Moreover, newsreels in cinemas showed delayed coverage of football matches being played before large excited crowds: newsreels also covered the community singing at the Cup Final. All these factors helped to deepen the cultural roots of football in Britain. Despite its growing significance, however, football was still underrepresented in the arts in comparison to other sports such as horseracing, cricket, boxing and rowing.²⁵

A World of Social, Economic and Political Upheavals: The Response of Art

War radically changed the way British artists approached subject matter in the immediate post-war period. Moreover, in Europe, particularly in Germany and in revolutionary Russia, radical art movements emerged such as Dadaism and Constructivism: both of these movements had a decidedly political approach towards the production of art. By contrast in Britain:

... there was little group effort, and instead a pursuit of the personal and the idiosyncratic...it was also a period of great diversity, producing in some instances a richly imaginative art, inventive and original. It also saw a revival of the British landscape tradition, its sense of place now made poignantly fragile by the more rootless nature of twentieth century life.²⁶

While, according to Andrew Graham-Dixon, in the post 1918 period:

An atmosphere was created in which the energies of Vorticism could not thrive, but in which the small and stifling tastes of the Bloomsbury set could persist. There was a general meek return to old genres and manners, on the part of British artists, as if they were attempting to restore order to a disturbed world.²⁷

24 For expanding media coverage of football see Russell pp. 103-108. The first match to be broadcast was the league match between Arsenal and Sheffield United on 22 January 1927, the broadcast took place just three weeks after the BBC had received its first Royal Charter. The Cup Final was broadcast each year, with the sole exception of 1929, from 1927 onwards as were most international matches.

25 See chapters one and two for the reasons why football was underrepresented in art prior to 1945.

26 Spalding, Frances: *British Art Since 1900* page 61.

27 Graham-Dixon op cit page 211.

Also, in a return to values advocated by Roger Fry, many British artists concerned themselves with form rather than subject matter. For Fry, art was better served when it achieved a 'concentration of feeling' rather than reflect ideas about society.²⁸ The contrast with European art could not have been starker: in Europe the Dadaists and Constructivists and artists such as Oskar Laske produced art that was overtly political and often anti-war. Artists from both movements, Grosz, Heartfield, Rodchencko and Lissitzky, for example, also produced football images that usually had sardonic political and social messages contained in them. Indeed, in this period:

Innumerable artists recorded their numbed, horrified reactions to the war and, when it ended, they approached the future with engaged criticism. They wanted to begin anew in politics, in art, and – consequently – sports as well. Many were determined that sports should not be misused as they were in the bloodbath of 1914-1918.²⁹

Oskar Laske's *The Ship of Fools*, 1923 [plate 37] is perhaps the best example of this in art. His painting draws upon Sebastian Brant's painting of the same name as well as the work of Hieronymous Bosch, particularly his *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Laske's anomic, unstable and alienated scenes show the horrors of war alongside sporting scenes including football, boxing and tennis. In an attack upon the hedonism of the roaring twenties the scenes also show wealthy gluttonous people dining at exclusive tables while the consequences of war is all around them. This aspect of post-war society was also incorporated into the work of Dada artists who, like Laske, used sport and football in their work to make wider criticisms about the post-war world of the 1920s.³⁰

28 Spalding op cit page 61.

29 Kühnst, Peter: *Sports: A Cultural History in the Mirror of Art* page 289.

30 *ibid* pp.289-292. Brant and Bosch were Renaissance artists. Bosch's work is particularly interesting as it often shows a world of terror and violence. Laske has tried to get across a similar world in his *The Ship of Fools*. For Bosch see P. Beagle, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*.

By contrast, in England images of football were typically non-political and were usually commissioned works by companies such as London Underground or regional railway companies. Even Paul Nash's wood engraving of 1921, *Pony the Footballer*, was commissioned for a book about the Cotswolds.³¹

Throughout the interwar years Frank Pick, a key figure in the management of London Underground in the 1920s and the merged London Transport from 1933, was responsible for commissioning artists to produce utilitarian posters. These posters, many of which were football focused, will be discussed in detail below. Several of the artists used by Pick were from the Grosvenor School, which had been founded in 1925 as a private school of art. A key figure at the school was Claude Flight, who has been described as 'the only true Futurist that this country has produced'.³² Under his direction, in conjunction with support from Frank Pick, who gave several members of the school commissions to design posters, several artists produced Futurist/Cubist inspired prints cut from linoleum, many of which featured leisure and sport. Indeed it was this school, under the patronage of Pick that explored the possibilities of poster design.³³ A recent article has noted, that although these prints provide both sports and art historians with significant visual material from which to study sport, 'the sporting images of the Grosvenor School have remained so stubbornly outside the mainstream of the history of British art.'³⁴ A similar observation could be made in relation to football art, which has largely been

31 Nash produced a series of woodcuts for the book, several of the prints, including *Pony the Footballer*, are in the British Museum collection of prints and posters.

32 Parkin, Michael: *Claude Flight and the Linocut* page 26. Parkin takes the quote from S.C. Kaines Smith, *Painters of England* (London: Medici Society, 1934). Smith also claimed that it was Nevinson who introduced Flight to Futurism.

33 in Parkin, Michael: *Claude Flight and the Linocut* page 32.

34 O'Mahony, Mike: 'Imaging Sport at the Grosvenor School Of Modern Art, 1929-1937' page 1110.

ignored by the art establishment and academics. From a football art perspective the key artist from the school is Sybil Andrews who produced posters for London Transport as well as a linocut titled *Football*. Interviewed for a retrospective exhibition of her work by Michael Parkin in 1980, Andrews thought that in the 1920s they had to fight against prejudice towards their work because, as she boldly claimed: 'We were the Avant-Garde' in the interwar years.³⁵ Although the Grosvenor School was at the forefront of art and design in the 1920s and 1930s it has been ignored by most art histories of the period. Perhaps, this is explained by the fact that much of their work was aimed at printing and the reproduction of posters as opposed to traditional fine art, which has had more exposure in art galleries. However, the lasting importance of the linocut within British art can be attributed to the work of the Grosvenor School under the direction of Claude Flight. It would seem that it is now receiving some well-deserved recognition.³⁶

London Transport Posters and the Grosvenor School of Modern Art

As indicated above, a key source for football images in the interwar are the posters commissioned by Frank Pick while he was assistant managing director of London Underground between 1921-1928 and its managing director from 1928 until he was appointed vice-chairman of the newly-merged London Public Transport Board in 1933, a post he held until 1940.³⁷ Pick started in the publicity department of London

³⁵ Parkin, Michael & Hooker, Denise: *Sybil Andrews* (Introduction to exhibition catalogue) no pagination. Andrews was formerly a pupil of the cartoonist John Hassall who produced several football images prior to WW1. Her work will be discussed in more detail below.

³⁶ Parkin, Michael: *Claude Flight and the Linocut* page 33 makes the contrast between exhibitions of art and posters. Posters have largely been collected by the British Museum rather than recognised art galleries. This may also be a factor in explaining why the work has not received its due recognition.

³⁷ The London Public Transport Board is usually referred to as London Transport, I will use this term henceforth. The merger of the London's transport companies in 1933 was a direct product of the London Traffic Act of 1924.

Underground from where he embarked on an ambitious marketing strategy. Initially, Pick was influenced by the publicity used by the North Eastern Railway Company, which used lithographic posters to attract passengers to travel by train to seaside resorts on the north-east coast. Pick understood that while most people in London travelled to work by underground, a strategy for passenger growth could be best achieved by encouraging Londoners to use the tube to get to leisure outlets. In 1923, under his direction, figures on who used, and on potential users, were drawn up with a view to developing a strategy for expanding the number of passengers on the London Underground. According to the report, passenger journeys on London Underground had grown from 750 million in 1898 to 3,110 million journeys in 1923. During the same period rides per capita had increased from 125 to 415. Of course, these figures were based on an expanding network capable of handling more passengers. What is interesting in the report is that attracting football fans to the network was seen as a major growth area for the underground. The report noted that London had 11 professional football teams who played at home on alternate Saturdays and on any one Saturday these grounds could attract up to 250,000 spectators. These figures were annualised to show that London Underground had the potential to attract up to 15 million extra passengers from football alone. This is the context in which the football posters commissioned by Frank Pick should be seen.³⁸

Pick commissioned a wide range of artists to design posters advertising the places of leisure that people could get to by London underground. These places ranged from theatres, cinemas, public parks, sporting venues such Wimbledon, Lords and London's numerous football stadiums and, from 1923, Wembley. The significance of

³⁸ File A12 (1923) 'Passenger Movement in London.' The hand-written reports are in the Frank Pick files which are located in the London Transport Museum, Acton, London.

Pick's work was acknowledged by Nikolaus Pevsner, who described Pick as: 'the greatest patron of the arts whom this country has so far produced in England and indeed the ideal patron of our age.'³⁹Pick's Obituary in the January edition of the *Architectural Review* compared him to a modern day Lorenzo the Magnificent who was a key patron of the arts in the Renaissance period.⁴⁰

The significance of the football posters commissioned by London Transport under Pick's tutelage should not be underestimated as they are amongst the most important football art images ever produced. At the time of writing the London Transport Museum web site has 67 football images, 48 of these posters were commissioned under Pick's stewardship.⁴¹ With the exception of 1939, the London Transport Museum web site displays posters for each Wembley F.A. Cup Final held in the interwar years. It was during the interwar years, particularly following the opening of Wembley in 1923, that the cup final became the most 'distinctive of proletarian rituals'⁴² and it is no accident that Pick put great emphasis on commissioning some of the best artists for an event of great national significance. In addition to the Wembley Cup Final images, London Transport also commissioned posters to promote travel to London's professional football grounds by public transport. These posters usually listed the names of the clubs and/or the grounds that were accessible by London's various modes of transport. Occasionally, the

39 Pevsner, Nikolaus: 'Patient Progress: The Life and Work of Frank Pick.' (*Architectural Review* vol. XC11 August 1942 page 34).

40 *Architectural Review* vol. XC11 January 1942.

41 The London Transport Museum at Acton, London has copies of the posters. The posters can also be viewed at:
http://www.ltmcollection.org/posters/results/results.html?_IXSR_=NezUDpbj2m5&_IXSESSION_=BZRGZQOI5yb&_IXsearch=football&_IXFIRST_=1&_IXpage=1.

42 Patrick Joyce, cited in Hill, Jeff. *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth-century Britain* page 85. I have been unable to discover whether a poster was made for the 1939 FA Cup Final. To date I have had no response from London Transport despite constant requests.

company would produce posters for one-off matches such as a significant cup-tie or an international match. Included amongst these *one-offs* is a poster for a fourth round FA Cup match between West Ham United and West Bromwich Albion in 1933. However, one of the most interesting posters from this range is the one commissioned for the controversial England v Germany in December 1935.⁴³

Are Posters Art?

Before embarking on an in-depth assessment of the football posters commissioned by London Transport, some clarification on whether posters can be considered a form of art will be of value to the wider discussion about football and art. Pick had a lot to say about the need for, and the use of, posters. Sporting posters produced by artists have a long history dating back to the nineteenth century and, since 1912, have had a strong presence in international sporting competitions such as the Olympics. Indeed since 1912 Olympic host cities have been responsible for the promotion and organisation of the Games with art designed posters being a key factor in the promotion of the various events as well as the overall programme.⁴⁴ At its root a poster is a:

Form of visual communication, specific to public places, in which pictures and/or symbols are used together to convey a message...*The role of the poster is to inform and promote. Whether this poster is used in the domain of politics, culture, sport, tourism or advertising, instant recognition and immediate comprehension remain the principal factors in the choice of graphic design.*⁴⁵

⁴³ The detail of the poster is discussed below.

⁴⁴ *Olympic Posters, Announcing the Games* The Olympic Museum 2nd Edition 2007. Unsigned and unpaginated. For further information regarding Olympic posters refer to Timmers, Magaret: *A Century of Olympic Posters* and Hughson, John: 'The Cultural Legacy of Olympic Posters.'

⁴⁵ *Ibid Olympic Posters, Announcing the Games*. Emphasis in the original.

Many of the points above were also made by Pick; his thoughts on the role and nature of posters can be found in *The Meaning of Posters*, a hand written article from 1922.⁴⁶ For Pick, a poster had to have a precise meaning with text kept to a minimum and provide some decoration or illustration. Moreover, posters should be produced with a visual economy and demonstrate how 'one point [can] be made with the least effort.' Pick was interested in art in modern life as opposed to modern art in life, which he regarded as 'dead art' because it was unchanging. One reason, he argued: 'Why modern art is poor and lacking in meaning and direction is that it is largely created for private consumption and represents the idle and odd fancies likely to please its purchasers.'⁴⁷

Pick was all too aware that posters, unlike works of art which at this time could only be viewed in an art gallery, usually only get a passing glance and 'in that moment the idea [behind the poster] must slip through the eyes into the brain...or it must hold the eyes until the brain has time to realise' its message. He also advocated a bold decisive outline and the use of strong flat colours to attract the eye to the poster.⁴⁸ The colourful spectacle of football ideally fitted into Pick's remit of producing strong visual posters, while his commissions also enabled artists to show that football was part of the modern urban landscape.

46 'The Meaning of Posters.' Pick's article was prepared for a talk he gave to the YMCA on 11 December 1922. What follows is based on Pick's article as well as an article he wrote for *Nineteenth Century* entitled 'Art in Modern Life' Vol. XCI. No 540, pages 256 to 264.

47 London Transport Museum files of Frank Pick 'A Living Wage.'

48 Pick, Frank: 'The Meaning of Posters.' Theorists such as Walter Benjamin and John Berger have made the point that in the modern age art is reproduced on a mass scale and quality versions of a work of art are readily outside of the traditional art gallery: they are available in books, on TV screens, in advertising and on the internet.

Other transport dependent companies during the interwar years also used artist designed posters to promote their goods and services. These included regional railway companies who produced posters, including football posters, somewhat similar to those commissioned by London Transport. Likewise, Shell-Mex, a company closely associated with the transport industry, under the direction of Jack Beddington, played a similar role to London Transport in commissioning artists to design posters. Wendy Coates Smith, the biographer of graphic artist Eric Fraser, suggests that:

It is also worth noting here the great contribution to improve the standard of advertising by one or two enlightened advertising men, such as Frank Pick of the London Underground and Jack Beddington, both when he was at Shell-Mex and since he has been at a well-known agency. The introduction into the realms of commercial art of such artists as Paul Nash, E. McKnight Kauffer and Graham Sutherland was due to these present day patrons of the arts.⁴⁹

One of the most significant posters produced in the period was Paul Nash's *Footballers Prefer Shell* 1933 [plate 38]. The lithograph is one of a series commissioned by Shell to promote its brand of petrol. Nash's poster clearly draws upon Surrealism and is probably influenced by the megaliths of Avebury, which had mystical significance for Nash. In this period Shell-Mex were keen to demonstrate to potential customers that the beautiful countryside of Britain was accessible by the modern mode of transport, the motorcar: hence Nash used the modernist style of Surrealism to show that ancient Britain was accessible by motorcar. The use of the footballers' slogan in the poster is intriguing. There was certainly a large growth in the number of car licences issued in London in the 1920s: in 1930 there were 261,000 addresses with car licences up from the 100,000 in 1920. How many footballer supporters or footballers were among this group is hard to determine, but Shell-Mex were clearly

⁴⁹ Coates Smith, Wendy *Eric Fraser the Illustrator* page 18 (Backemeyer, Sylvia(ed): *Eric Fraser – Designer and Illustrator*). Some of Fraser's posters are discussed below.

at ease using football to attract customers to its products.⁵⁰ Although companies such as London Transport and Shell-Mex were pioneers in using artist commissioned posters to promote their products and services, other industrial companies during the interwar years also used artists to improve the standard of their advertising.⁵¹ Likewise, artists were keen to be associated with other industries. Nash, for example, was involved in the Society of Industrial Artists, which was formed in 1930 – his Shell lithograph was clearly influenced by this involvement. Likewise, in Europe there was an alignment between art and industrial design with the Bauhaus being a clear example of this.

The merging of art with industrial design in this period is a reaffirmation that in the modernist era art was concerned with producing images that were not only socially relevant, but embraced all aspects of society. It was the poster that transmitted such images to great effect. Frank Rutter, commenting upon the significance of Pick's work at London Transport, acutely observed:

The whole nation is much less affected by what pictures are shown in the Royal Academy than by what posters are put up on the hoardings. A few thousand see the first, but the second are seen by millions. The art galleries of the People are not in Bond Street but are to be found in every railway station.⁵²

It was around the stations of London Underground where images of football were seen by millions of people everyday.

50 For the influence of Avebury upon Nash's work see Harris, Alexandra: *Romantic Moderns* page 214. Nash also compiled the Shell Guide to Dorset in 1933. For car licence growth see 20th Century London: <http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/server.php?show=conInformationRecord.321>. The Shell posters also reflected the desire of artists to have a say in how industry impacted upon the surrounding environment.

51 See *Thirties: British art and design before the war: an exhibition organised by the Arts Council of Great Britain in collaboration with the Victoria & Albert Museum*. The exhibition catalogue has a range of posters.

52 Cited in Mahoney page 1116.

Posters designed by artists should be seen in the context of the tradition of British art. Theorists such as Klingender rightly regarded engineering drawings as being part of British art tradition. In the interwar years this became more formalised, with many artists being commissioned, through the Society of Industrial Artists, to design posters that promoted consumer products as well as leisure pursuits. What is more, these designs, as will be outlined below, were often rooted in modernist art forms; art that was increasingly being incorporated into British art during the interwar years.

Frank Pick: Commissioning of Artists, Art Styles and Modernist Influences

Initially, Pick commissioned artists that were employed by commercial printers. However, he soon became dissatisfied with the output from this source and decided to commission established and emerging artists who would produce designs that reflected modernist art techniques. Pick had absorbed the influences of modern art movements such as Cubism and Futurism prior to the war. Indeed, in the 1930s Pick took delegations of London Underground staff to Europe 'to study modernism [from where he] returned to decree that every aspect of the new stations...should conform' to modernist architectural styles. These modernist influences can also be found in the posters designed for London Transport in the interwar years.⁵³

Among the artists Pick commissioned were Cosmo Clark, Gerald Spence Pryse, Sybil Andrews, Tom Eckersley, Eric Lombers, Edward McKnight Kauffer, Man Ray, Paul Nash and Graham Sutherland. The list reads like a roll call for modern British art of

⁵³ *The Guardian* Editorial *In Praise of...Frank Pick* 17 October 2008. The article was commemorating the centenary of Roundel.

the period.⁵⁴ All of these artists fitted into Pick's vision of presenting London's transport system as a modern and up-to-date service. From a football perspective, the techniques used by the artists showed football as part of modernity, an important leisure pursuit that had become integrated into the daily routines of people who lived and worked in a major European city. It cemented a visual image of football within the urban landscape of London.

To fully appreciate the significance of the London Transport posters I intend to discuss them in four distinct blocks:

- 1) Posters produced for the 1920s Wembley FA Cup Finals;
- 2) FA Cup Final posters produced in the 1930s;
- 3) Posters commissioned for one-off matches;
- 4) Posters commissioned to promote football across the capital.

This section will conclude with a comparative study of football posters produced in Europe over the same time span, including the posters produced for the three FIFA World Cup tournaments held in 1930, 1934 and 1938 in Uruguay, Italy and France respectively.

Of the six FA Cup Final posters produced between 1923 to 1929 two, the 1923 [plate 39] and 1927 [plate 40] posters, are by unknown artists. The former shows two football players challenging for an aerial ball. There are no dates on the poster, nor is

⁵⁴ Of the artists listed Edward McNight Kauffer, Man Ray, Paul Nash and Graham Sutherland did not produce football posters for London Transport. Cosmo Clark produced a football poster for the company, he also installed a football mural at the Peacock restaurant in Islington, a black and white image of this was included in the FA Year Book, 1949-50. Gerald Spencer Pryse produced a football related poster for London Underground in 1913. He also produced the *Landless*, *Workless* and *Forward! The Day is Breaking* posters for the Labour Party in 1910. Sybil Andrews was also associated with the Grosvenor School during the time of Claude Flight, while at the Grosvenor School she produced several sporting images including a football linocut, which will be discussed below.

any attempt made to depict the movement of the game through the use of modernist art techniques. The latter is not an art poster but is a landscape image, in the centre of which is a photograph of a previous Wembley match, which is surrounded by information relating to the match. Up to 1933 all the posters, with the exception of 1923 and 1924, carried the strapline, in the classic lettering commissioned by Pick, 'From Any Underground Station'. The 1924 poster has a variation stating 'To Wembley by Underground.' From 1934, reflecting that London Transport was now one body that had integrated the tube and surface forms of transport, posters carried the London Transport roundel plus information about bus, tramcar and trolley bus routes that could transport fans to the stadium. There are three other posters in the collection produced for the Metropolitan Railway Company for the 1930, 1932 and 1933 FA Cup Finals but these have no artistic intent unlike, the posters commissioned by Pick.

Two of the finest posters from the 1920s were designed by Eric Fraser (1926) [plate 41] and Percy Drake Brookshaw (1928) [plate 42]. Fraser, who was influenced by Vorticism and Cubism,⁵⁵ produced a dynamic image that portrays a spread-eagled goalkeeper who is providing a formidable obstacle to the players gathered around his goalmouth. The goalposts frame the picture; looking through the posts the viewer not only sees the players but the huge, compacted ground, which engulfs the pitch. This gives the image a sense of excitement that is also experienced by the spectator at the stadium. At the foot of the goalposts is the information required by the traveller, the date of the match and that you can get there from any underground station. The image has great movement: thereby it achieves Pick's aim of both attracting the eye while enabling the brain to absorb the necessary information.

⁵⁵ Coates Smith page 18. A copy of the poster is in the National Football Museum.

Although Brookshaw uses different techniques to Fraser his image also achieves the goals outlined by Pick. It is a modernist image with a semblance of Vorticism: the thick lines around the edge of the players' shirts not only provides shape but also provides a sense of movement between the two players challenging for the ball. The stadium is defined by an orange line, almost at pitch level, with helps to change the scale of the image and give some indication of the size of Wembley. Overall, the modernist forms used by Fraser and Brookshaw successfully portray football as a game played in a modern urban landscape.⁵⁶

Artists commissioned in the 1930s continued to present striking images for the FA Cup Finals. Design wise four cup final posters, 1932 by Vera Willoughy [plate 43], 1935 by Herry Perry [plate 44], 1937 by G.R. Morris [plate 45] and 1938 by Tom Eckersley and Eric Lombers [plate 46], also made use of modernist techniques derived from Cubism, Futurism and Vorticism. Other posters produced throughout the 1930s tended to include rather ordinary realist images that failed to get across the movement contained in the more modernist designs.⁵⁷

London Transport would also commission posters for one-off matches, such as FA Cup replays, when large crowds were expected. The most significant poster for a one-off match, however, is the England vs Germany international match held at White Hart Lane on 4 December 1935 [plate 47]. The match was controversial given that the Fascist regime in Berlin had suppressed all opposition parties and trade unions and had embarked on a programme of direct attacks upon the Germany's

⁵⁶ Brookshaw produced several sports posters for London Transport including one for the Wimbledon Championships and one for the boat race.

⁵⁷ Biographical detail for each of the artists is hard to locate. The London Transport Museum web site only has limited details about the artists.

Jewish community. Bodies as diverse as the Trade Union Congress and London based Jewish organisations approached the Foreign Office to cancel the match, a request that was refused.⁵⁸ What is interesting about the poster is that, despite the nationalist feelings and diplomatic controversy that surrounded the game, the artists Tom Eckersley and Eric Lomers produced a poster that was devoid of any nationalistic intent. The background colours on the poster are neutral, while the player's football boot is behind the ball in a dribbling pose. By way of contrast, the unofficial 1934 FIFA World Cup poster produced by Italian artist Mario Gras which depicted a footballer on top of the world giving a Nazi style salute.⁵⁹

London Transport also produced some fine posters to promote football across the capital. Most of these had a plain border followed by the travel information to London's professional football grounds. The most distinctive of the posters in this category were produced by Sybil Andrews under the pseudonym of Andrew Power. Andrews produced one group of seven lithographs simply titled *Footballer* (1933) [plate 48] that were used repeatedly by London Transport. The design showed a footballer with his boot raised to waist level, overlain on the image were the transportation details to the various grounds. Arising from her work at the Grosvenor School Andrews also produced an impressive linocut simply named *Football* (1937) [plate 49]. This typified her ability to express the rhythmic motion of human figures, fusing man with the machine in much the same as Leger did.⁶⁰ The image shows two players wrestling for the ball; it is a great action portrayal of the game that encapsulates the great physicality of football as well as the determination

⁵⁸ For a good overview of the controversy surrounding the match see Beck, Peter: 'England v Germany 1938: Football as Propaganda.' The article provides background to the 1935 match.

⁵⁹ See Chazaud page 81.

⁶⁰ *Linocuts of the machine age* pp. 78-79.

of those who play the game. This image is a development of the work she undertook for Frank Pick.

The influence of Claude Flight can be seen in several of the London Transport posters of the 1930s, particularly in the work of Andrews, Lombers and Eckersley. Given Pick's preference for modernist art he would have been attracted to the work of such artists. The London Transport posters of the interwar years not only provided information of how to get to a football match, they also provided a visual reminder of the dynamic nature of football and from Pick's perspective showed that the game was an integral part of the modern city. The posters also helped to propagate modernist ideas among English artists and have, thereby, contributed to the on-going influence of Modernism within British art.

European Football Art Posters

Artists from Continental Europe, the Soviet Union and Latin America also produced posters based on modernist designs reflecting in many cases Futurist and other avant-garde influences. Pierre Chazaud's survey of football and art in Europe in the interwar years shows that football posters were:

Characterised by purity of line, clearness of contour and plasticity of form, all of which were to be the basis of modern design. Football posters in particular exemplify this tendency, through the use of perspective, diagonals and foreshortening, or repeated opposition of formalist contrasts. The poster advertising the first world football championship in Uruguay is, for example characteristic of this tendency [plate 50].⁶¹

61 Chazaud, page 68.

In the Soviet Union the Constructivists Georgi and Vladimir Stenberg produced a poster to promote the film *Eleven Devils* [plate 51]. The poster features the actor Gustav Frohlich playing football.⁶² Both in Britain and Europe football posters presented football in positive light. Even though nationalist sentiment was spreading apace in Europe in the 1930s, and sport in fascist regimes was increasingly invested with an ideological role, the two official FIFA posters for the 1934 [plate 52] and 1938 [plate 53] World Cups did not reflect this nationalism. However, compared to the Uruguayan World Cup poster of 1930, there is a move away from modernist art towards Social Realism. Moreover, the Italian Football Association did produce more nationalistic posters that attempted to portray Italy not only as a world football power but also a world political power [plate 54].⁶³

Despite the growing social and economic turmoil of the interwar years the football posters of the period reflect the optimism often associated with sport. Sport was a reflection of the modernity of the contemporary world, a world that provided the means for enjoying mass entertainment in the stadium and/or the cinema, as well as providing the efficient transport systems, that facilitated access to the myriad of entertainment places.

The football posters that were produced in Europe and in London, under the patronage of London Transport, also demonstrate that modern art was a vehicle for promoting football in this period.

⁶² Ibid page 64.

⁶³ Chazaud reproduces some of these images on pages 81 and 83 of *Art et Football*.

The Visionary Dream World of L.S. Lowry

This section will deal with the football related artwork produced by L.S. Lowry prior to 1945. Lowry, who was a keen follower of football, as well as being a fan of Manchester City, produced some of the most revealing scenes that show people either coming or going from a sporting venue or scene. Some of his work also shows non-league football being played and watched by people who live, work and play within the vicinity of Salford and its environs.⁶⁴ In the interwar years regional and national galleries, as acclaim for his art grew, increasingly exhibited his work. In 1932 he had paintings accepted for exhibition by the Manchester Academy of Arts and the Royal Academy in London but it was 1939 before he had his first solo exhibition at the Lefevre Gallery, London. He also had work exhibited at the Salon des Artistes Francais from 1930 onwards including one of the many *Going to the Match* paintings he produced in this period, which will be discussed below.⁶⁵

Lowry's football scenes are typical of his other works that aim to show how people worked, lived and played in Britain during the interwar years. The figures that appear in these works tend to be in the foreground and are usually presented in the shadow of the broader, often panoramic, scene, which included mills and other factories, churches and rows of terraced houses. This section will assess the relevance and importance of Lowry's football related art in the interwar years. To obtain a fuller appreciation of this work some biographical details of Lowry will be

64 Lowry's interest in sport and football in particular is recorded in several sources including the North West Sound Archive which has several recorded interviews with Lowry. Mervy Levy, *Introduction to Royal Academy of Arts* page 19 relates a story about Lowry liking Billy Meredith when he played for Manchester City. Meredith, of course, also played for Manchester United. Lowry was also a keen follower of cricket. However, his work around cricket is much more limited.

65 The best source for Lowry's exhibitions record is Rohde, Shelley: *L.S. Lowry - a Biography*. The reference about exhibiting *Going to the Match* is from a National Archives document *Salford Museum and Art Gallery* GB0129 U52.

presented; his work will be placed in the context of the time and where appropriate comparisons with other artists, British and European, will be made.

In recent years Lowry's work, along with Britain's industrial past, has become part of the heritage industry that is treated like:

...another commodity that has been codified, sentimentalised, and packaged for popular consumption by the burgeoning heritage industry. In the process, a considerable amount of nostalgia has been granted for the nation's traditional industries, and for the practices of everyday life associated with them.⁶⁶

Lowry's work is often referred to as nostalgic, this is especially the case with his urban landscapes which show how work and leisure were within easy reach of where you lived. While nostalgic descriptions are insufficient to assess his work it does offer the viewer a reminder that northern Britain, the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, and by extension the working-class, was once an area dominated by heavy industry, which employed hundreds of thousands of manual workers. Indeed, Lowry's paintings 'have come to symbolise *the North* and the traditional working-class community and its everyday life.'⁶⁷ However, Lowry's 'authentic' images of Salford and its wider environs do offer a romanticised view of working-class life in Lancashire in the interwar years and beyond. As a rent collector for many years, from 1910 until his retirement in 1952, Lowry had constant access to the conditions of everyday life endured by the working-class of Salford. Despite his middle-class background, Lowry is usually portrayed as a working-class artist, or as someone who was able to produce 'representations without pity, satire or social

⁶⁶ Waters, Chris: *Landscapes of Memory: Art and Everyday Life in Post-war Britain* page 1.

⁶⁷ Waters, Chris: 'Representations of Everyday Life: L.S. Lowry and the Landscape of Memory in Post-War Britain.' page 122. Emphasis in the original.

purpose or an iota of idealisation.⁶⁸ While the critic for *Time and Tide* Maurice Collis thought that Lowry turned the 'reality of back streets, ragamuffins, courtyards, football, tow-paths and tenements, into feeling and beauty.'⁶⁹ Surely, however, Lowry only offers a partial view of working-class life in the interwar years? For example, one never sees an active working-class person in the home or in the factory. Moreover, in a period that was often the scene of intense class struggle, including a General Strike, to save jobs and maintain living standards, Lowry's work is totally devoid of such struggles.⁷⁰ His figures are usually represented as acceptors of their lot rather than people who could intervene to change their lives and society. Even the leisure scenes, so gloriously celebrated in *Love on the Dole*, usually depict people as passive receivers rather than people set out on enjoying themselves. Lowry once told *The Guardian* critic Bernard Taylor that: 'I've a one-track mind, I only deal with poverty. Always with gloom. You'll never see a joyous picture of mine. I never do a jolly picture.'⁷¹

According to Collis, Lowry's figures are 'solitaries, unable to mix with their fellows except casually, and deeply afflicted by their isolation.'⁷² Lowry's figures often feel and look oppressed. One is reminded of Marx's comment that religion 'is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions.'⁷³ In Lowry, sport and leisure of have a similar resonance to religion:

68 Rothenstein, John: foreword to *A Private View of L.S. Lowry* by Rohde, Shelley page xxii.

69 *Time and Tide* 27 February 1943 page 147. Also cited in Waters page 130.

70 There are numerous books that cover the industrial struggles of the period. Pelling, Henry: *A History of British Trade Unionism*, chapters 8-10 provides a useful overview.

71 Cited in Andrews, Allen: *The Life of L.S. Lowry* page 54.

72 Collis, Maurice *The Discovery of Lowry* page 14.

73 Marx, Karl: *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* page 244. In the same passage Marx makes the point that religion is an expression 'of real suffering and a protest against real suffering.'

sport is not a celebration of athleticism, of working-class life outside of the mill, a release from the daily grind, as is the case in *Love on Dole*, or a form of social engagement but something of a duty; it is an integral part of an organic, unchanging heartless world that has squeezed all feeling out of ordinary people.

Lowry himself was usually loathe to ascribe meaning to his paintings, but he did tell Professor Hugh Maitland that his ambition was to put 'the industrial scene on the map because nobody had done it...And I thought it a great shame'⁷⁴ He also told Mervyn Levy that 'If I had shown things as they are – it would not have looked like a vision. So I had to make up symbols. With my figures also, of course.'⁷⁵ While in another conversation with David Carr he said:

Some critics have said that I turned my figures into puppets, as if my aim were to hint at the hard economic necessity that drove them. To tell the truth I was not thinking very much about people. I did not care for them the way a reformer does. They were part of a private beauty that haunted me. I loved them and the houses the same, as part of a vision. Had I drawn them as they are, it would not have looked like a vision.⁷⁶

When asked what he meant when he described his figures as puppets he responded by saying: 'because that is what they are. We have little control over ourselves.'⁷⁷ What Lowry's vision actually was, other than putting the industrial scene on the map, is hard to determine but his work does reflect his overall view of ordinary people being puppets who are incapable of changing their environment on their own terms.

⁷⁴ Cited in Rohde page 61.

⁷⁵ Levy, Mervyn: 'Introduction to Royal Academy of Arts: LS Lowry.' 1976 exhibition catalogue page 79.

⁷⁶ Cited in Spalding, Julian: *Lowry* page 28.

⁷⁷ McClean, David: *L.S. Lowry* page 12.

In contrast to most critics and academics, John Berger has attempted to analyse the social significance of Lowry's work. According to Berger: 'Nobody, faced with Lowry's pictures whose subject matter is nearly always social, ever discusses the social or historical meaning of his art.' For Berger, Lowry's work reflects the decline of Britain as an industrial nation while at the same time showing that people that live in the shadow of the mill are often alienated from those around them. Curiously, the alienation of people is often emphasised in the paintings that show people at leisure.⁷⁸ Berger saw in Lowry's paintings the 'potential seedbed for the emergence of a realist art based on humanitarian socialist values.'⁷⁹ However, given that Lowry was a political Conservative this seems hardly likely.⁸⁰ Berger may overstate the point about the social and historical significance of Lowry's work, but he was adamant that Lowry was concerned with how people lived, worked and played and how these elements of city life fitted into his wider vision of painting industrial society. Lowry clearly saw society in an organic way, a top-down view that had the mills as the economic base of society and the church as the provider of moral virtue. These two sources of power provided the basis for the wide variety of social scenes that Lowry portrays in his paintings of Salford and Manchester in the interwar years.⁸¹ Many of these scenes included football related images and scenes from other sports such as rounders, cricket and rugby.

An appreciation of the techniques used by Lowry in his work will provide a better understanding of his work in general, and his football related scenes in particular.

⁷⁸ Berger, John: *Art and Revolution* page 101.

⁷⁹ *ibid.* Also cited in Howard, Michael: *Lowry: A Visionary Artist* page 64.

⁸⁰ Rohde *op cit* page 236, who makes the point about Lowry being a political Conservative.

⁸¹ According to John Rothenstein Lowry continued to paint these industrial scenes up to 1961 from when he concentrated on portraiture. See foreword to Rohde.

Lowry's mentor and teacher was Adolphe Valette, a minor French Impressionist whose teachings clearly influenced Lowry's interwar work. A cornerstone of Impressionism 'was a greater awareness of light and colour and the shifting pattern of the natural scene.'⁸² Of course, the shifting patterns of light in industrial Lancashire were of a different order to the outdoor open spaces along the Seine outside of Paris. Unlike the Impressionists, Lowry did not paint outdoors but made sketches at different locations, which were then taken back to his home-based studio to develop them into his composite visions of Salford and Manchester. Whether this affected his early technique is hard to determine, but he did acknowledge to *The Guardian* art critic Bernard Taylor, one of the first people to promote Lowry as an artist of repute, that he had trouble separating the figures from the background. After seeing some of Lowry's work close up Taylor reputedly said to him: 'This will never do, you'll have to do better than that...Can't you paint the figures on a light background?' It was from this time on that Lowry prepared canvases with a heavily worked impasto flake white background.⁸³ In Lowry, the heavily worked impasto gives the painting a dream like quality, an image lifted out of time. This perhaps explains why some art critics have described his work as having feeling and beauty.⁸⁴ Moreover, in a Lowry composition the figures are crucial, a point Lowry once related to the art dealer Monty Bloom: 'My first job of all was to get these figures standing out from the background, because the interest in the picture was in the figures and you had to get the background artificially light to throw the figures up.'⁸⁵

⁸² Wilson, Simon & Lack Jessica: *The Tate Guide to Modern Art Terms* page 104.

⁸³ Rohde op cit pp. 98-99.

⁸⁴ See Collis above footnote 72.

⁸⁵ *ibid* page 99. For Lowry's techniques see Spalding pp. 11-12.

Rather than a feeling of beauty, the heavily worked white impasto often gives Lowry's figures a sense of isolation, even alienation, in a world that is dominated by the economic power of the factory. Merrens and Norcliffe have noted that Lowry's monumental factories are metaphors for the economic and social power of the capitalist class.⁸⁶ Although often in the background, the mills are painted in a strong outline, which according to Spalding reflects the gloomy fatalism of Lowry. In these instances people are puppets at the mercy of wider economic powers.⁸⁷

Lowry's urban landscapes are complex paintings: his work often contains a myriad of detail, a factor that often makes interpretation of his composites problematical. It is in these contexts, as outlined above, that Lowry's football related drawings and paintings have to be placed.

Lowry's Football Related Scenes

In the interwar period Lowry produced more paintings, or images, that could constitute a football related scene, than any other English artist. Between 1923-1938 Lowry produced at least 11 drawings and paintings that have, in one way or another, some relation or a reference to football.⁸⁸ Only three of these images focus on organised football matches: *Recreation Ground, Holt Town* (1930) [plate 55], is unique among all of his football related output in that, unlike Lowry's composite views, the image depicts an exact location. The site in question was close to the centre of

⁸⁶ Merrens, Roy and Norcliffe, Glen: 'L.S. Lowry and the Heritage Movement.' page 51.

⁸⁷ Spalding, J: *Lowry* pp. 11-12.

⁸⁸ Lowry also produced two other paintings of sporting scenes: *A Cricket Match* (1938) and *Rounders* (1939). There are also scenes from Peel Park, Salford and other park scenes that show people in leisure situations. His major work on cricket was not painted until 1965 and will be considered with Lowry's post-war work in chapter 5 of the thesis.

Manchester on Ashton Road, close to Maine Road, the former home of Manchester City. The image provides a full-length view of the ground showing the ball in play at the far end of the pitch. Spectators are gathered around the touchlines, indicating that this was a non-league match. *The Football Match* 1930 [plate 56], is very similar to the oil painting *Football Match* (1932) [plate 57], and could well have been a preparatory drawing for the latter. These images depict a match between young boys on a pitch with full-sized goals; the boys are in full kit suggesting that the drawings could be of a match between local schools or local boys' clubs. The spectators behind the goal and along the left-hand touchline could be parents and siblings of the players, although with Lowry one has to be careful, as most of his paintings are composites:

...consisting of virtually interchangeable parts...Lowry seldom painted any specific scene, but rather constructed each of his paintings from miscellaneous sketches in his notebooks in order to create what became a generic industrial landscape...⁸⁹

In common with his other work of Manchester and Salford Lowry's works 'are concerned with universals'⁹⁰ with the common denominator being to put industrial society on the 'map in a very particular way.'⁹¹ As with his other sport themes these three images are essentially industrial scenes: the pitch in each case is surrounded by mills, churches and houses – the places where the universal values of society are developed and reinforced for better or for worse.

89 Waters, op cit page 143. *The Football Match* (1930) is a pencil drawing, *Football Match* (1932) is an oil painting. The latter was exhibited in the *Salon des Artistes Francais* in 1932. There is a very similar copy of the 1930 drawing in the National Football Museum but this is dated 1944. Although Lowry's most famous painting, *Going to the Match* (1953), is based at Burnden Park the overall image is a composite that pulls in scenes from other areas of industrial Lancashire.

90 Levy, Mervyn: *Paintings of L.S. Lowry* page 12.

91 Waters op cit page 144.

The other eight images from the period can be broken down into four distinct categories. The first category show spectators at a football match, the second has fans either going or coming from the match, in the third category football can be seen being played in park areas and lastly a panoramic canvas with a long view of a football pitch shows the game being played in an industrial setting. In the first two categories, other than the title, there is no visible indication that the figures are at, or are going, to a football match. However, the paintings have long been associated with football by critics. Mervyn Levy, for example, writing about *Going to the Match* (1928) regarded the image as 'another version of the football theme', which shows 'people as elements of mass, rather than individual entities.'⁹²

In the first category there are two oil paintings: *The Spectators* (1923) [plate 58] and *Manchester City v Sheffield United* (1938) [plate 59]. The title of the former suggests that it is a sports related painting but, other than a line of people standing on top of an embankment, there is little visual or written evidence, contained in the image, to inform us that this is actually a group of football spectators. The *Manchester City v Sheffield United* painting was sold in 2008 to a private buyer. The auctioneer's catalogue reference describes the image as follows:

Manchester City Versus Sheffield United is from a small and important group of paintings in which Lowry records an actual event rather than a composite image of different locations or impressions. The date of the work, combined with the title, suggests that the match depicted is Manchester City's 3-2 home win against Sheffield United on October 22, 1938...In the work, he concentrates on the home crowd rather than the team members, using the occasion of the match to concentrate on depicting the personalities of the individuals attending.⁹³

⁹² Levy, Mervyn, op cit page 62.

⁹³ Cited in the *Manchester Evening News*, 5 May 2008. Manchester City did play Sheffield United on the date indicated.

However, a close reading of the painting renders this description doubtful. In the background there is a large crowd standing in front of a low rail, but this hardly resembles Maine Road. In the foreground, a group of people who are for Lowry, in relative close up, are standing around a man holding papers, he could be a preacher, a person taking bets or, possibly, a programme seller. The title of the painting does possibly locate it to a particular date but the place is of a composite nature, one that could have been drawn from sketches of Maine Road. Be that as it may, it is hard to pinpoint the location actually used by Lowry, if indeed he used a particular location at all.⁹⁴

Like the first category the titles of images in the second category indicate that they are sport related. In chronological order they are *Going to the Match* (1925) [plate 60], *Going to the Match* (1928) [plate 61] and *Coming from the Match*, (1929) [plate 62]. All three images are pencil on paper. According to Mervyn Levy, the first *Going to the Match* is a preparatory drawing for the second image of the same name.⁹⁵ The second *Going to the Match* shows a crowd of men walking to a match with the mills in the background clearly dominating the scene. Centre left of the image there is a rugby pitch displaying a flagpole with a flag attached, which presumably has the name of the club on it. It would seem that the crowd are not going to this venue, as they appear to be walking past the indicated area. Like the other two images in this section, *Coming from the Match* does not show the sporting venue or place that had held, or was about to hold, the match. What they do have in common, however, is an attempt by Lowry to convey the movement of a crowd. In the first two drawings people are entering the picture from the right and leaving it from the left, in the third

⁹⁴ A preacher type image often occurs in a Lowry painting: see in particular *Going to the Match* (1953).

⁹⁵ Levy, Mervyn: *The Drawings of L.S. Lowry, Public and Private*.

image the crowd are entering the scene from the back and leaving at the front. These devices give the impression that there is a large crowd ready to come into, and leave, the picture. What Lowry does not do is give visual close ups of his figures, so the viewer cannot tell if the figures in the crowd are in a joyous or a sombre mood. From this perspective the subject matter in Lowry's crowd scenes, including those of workers going to or leaving the factory, are incidental: Lowry is only interested in the figures in the context of the wider industrial scene, it is only the titles that confirm their identity as sporting, probably football related, images.⁹⁶ They also suggest that the sporting occasion was of great significance, both to Lowry and the people who lived in this part of Lancashire, in the interwar period.

The third category is made up of two oil paintings, *The Park*, (1924) [plate 63] and *The Playground* (1927) [plate 64]. The two images from this category show football being played by young boys in park areas: like the football match series discussed above, both paintings show the game being played although, unlike in the other paintings, not in an organised way. Both of these scenes both indicate the deep roots that football had among boys and men during the interwar years, a trend that continued in the post 1945 period.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Authors I have consulted tend to avoid Lowry's sport related scenes. Football was a particular interest of his and he probably observed many crowds going to football matches. In common with most of Lowry's paintings they are composites.

⁹⁷ Tony Mason has noted that games periods did not become a part of the curriculum in state schools until 1906. Prior to 1906 schools were only obliged to offer drill as a form of exercise for school students, this was a way of reinforcing obedience towards authority. Mason also points that by 1914 there were national schools football associations reflecting the growth in organised football for working-class boys. What is more, the growth in the number of schools playing football continued during the interwar years, a factor that Lowry, who was a keen follower of the sport and an observer of people's outdoor pastimes, would have noticed. Along with the other paintings discussed above, these paintings reflect that football was the game most played by working-class boys during their time outside of school, something that Lowry would have been keen to record in paint.

For the development of football in schools see Mason, Tony: 'Football' pp. 148-149. For the development of schools football see Taylor, Matthew: *The Association Game* chapter 7 and Jackson, Alex: 'Football's Consumer Culture and Juvenile Fan Culture, c1880-c1960' page 34-38 (unpublished thesis). Lowry's interest in sport and football in particular is recorded in several sources.

The final painting to be discussed in this section is Lowry's panoramic oil painting *The Football Match*, (1934) sometimes referred to as *Industrial Landscape* by curators and auctioneers [plate 65]. In 1931 Lowry was included in the *Who's Who of European Painters*, where he was described as a specialist in industrial scenes.⁹⁸ It would, perhaps, have been more accurate to say that Lowry was a painter who specialised in painting industrial society. The subject matter is classic Lowry everything from the mill to the church, to social housing, all of which are served by public transport (no motor cars are included). Most important of all perhaps, are the recreation areas, or expanses of open space that can be used for recreation. Lowry painted this composite from a group of drawings he had made from a high window in the Royal Technical College, Salford in 1924.⁹⁹ In the foreground there is a football pitch, behind the only goalmouth on view, and alongside the far touchline, there are houses in close proximity to the pitch; on the nearside touchline there is a small grandstand situated in the centre of the pitch, which we assume to be full because there are spectators on the top tier. The three sides of the pitch on show are also packed with spectators, with more fans flocking towards the touchline in the foreground. Most of the obscured figures on the pitch are gathered around the goalmouth, so we assume that one team is on the attack, or that the defending team has conceded a corner or a free kick. The whole scene is painted over a heavily worked impasto of white oil paint, which helps to give emphasis, despite the domination of the smoking factories in the background, to the football match and the figures both on and off the field of the play. This is a classic Lowry image that incorporates all the elements that made up industrial Lancashire. The painting does indicate, however, that football matches, even between minor or non-league teams, attracted large crowds. It is possible that it

⁹⁸ Rohde page 107.

⁹⁹ Christie's auction catalogue: 11 December 2006.

is a match between two work-based teams or an impression of such matches that were regularly organised in this period.

The Lowry, paintings discussed above form an integral part of Lowry's output in the interwar years. For Lowry work and leisure were the cement that brought society together. Hence his mill scenes, football and other social scenes are usually composite paintings that provide a vision of a harmonious society. It was all part of his 'vision' of society, a society that was best served by people, that not only had work, but good places to live in, as well as proximity to social and recreational facilities. In essence, Lowry's football paintings are realist composite visions, which in their entirety help the viewer to understand the significance of organised sport, leisure and play in urban society.

The Absence of Football in Social Art Painting

Given the massive influence football had on society in the interwar years it is somewhat surprising that more artists did not incorporate football into their work.

Arthur Hopcraft provides one of finest descriptions of the significance of football in the interwar years:

By the 1920s football was an established employer in a community where jobs were scarce. The clubs had grown up out of pride of athleticism, in local importance, in corporate endeavour. The stadiums were planted where supporters lived, in among the industrial mazes of factories and hunched workers' houses. The Saturday afternoon match became more than mere diversion from the daily grind, because there was no work to be relieved. To go to the match was to escape from the dark of despondency into the light of combat. Here, by association with the home team, positive identity could be claimed by muscle and in goals. To win was personal success, to lose another clout from life. Football was not so much as opiate of the people as a flag run up against the gaffer bolting his gates and the landlord armed with his bailiffs.¹⁰⁰

100 Hopcraft, Arthur: *The Football Man* pp. 22-23.

Hopcraft is right to say that in a period of economic uncertainty, and at times economic dislocation, which resulted in long periods of unemployment for many, the football ground was place where working-class identity could be reinforced. During the interwar years, the FA Cup Final was a guaranteed sell-out of 100,000 and, as indicated above, many clubs were experiencing record attendances in the same period. Yet most established artists, with the exception of Lowry, paid little or no attention to football unless commissioned by companies such as London Transport and Shell-Mex.¹⁰¹

There were artists other than Lowry that painted social scenes in this period. Artists associated with the Artists International Association (AIA) and the Euston Road School (ERS) even made a conscious effort to study the effects of the Depression in the north of England. The AIA was founded in 1933 by artists such as Cliff Rowe, James Boswell and James Fitton, who were later joined by William Coldstream, Victor Passmore, Graham Bell and Claude Rogers, the founders of ERS. The AIA was more overtly political than the latter organisation. Its stated aims were to mobilise: 'The international unity of artists against imperialist war on the Soviet Union, Fascism and Colonial Oppression.'¹⁰²

101 Nevinson is another notable exception, his major football painting *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* will be discussed in detail below. Nevinson remained aloof from art groups in the interwar years following his experience with the Futurists prior to 1914. Byron Dawson an artist revered in the north east of England painted a fine painting of St. James's Park, Newcastle United's ground. Unlike Lowry, however, Dawson has not been able to attain national recognition. The artists who painted and designed the posters for London Transport were commissioned by the company. With the exception of Paul Nash, Cosmo Clark and Sybil Andrews these artists did not produce any independent football work.

102 Morris, Lynda & Radford, Robert: *The Story of the AIA*.

These aims were very close to the programme of the Communist Party, although not all AIA members were members of that organisation. One key artist associated with the AIA and the ERS was William Coldstream. He outlined the reasons why he changed direction in the 1930s to produce art that was based on social realism: 'The Slump made me aware of social problems, and I became convinced that art ought to be directed towards a wider public. Whereas all the ideas I had learned to be artistically revolutionary ran in the opposite direction.'¹⁰³

The AIA artists produced art that showed the dignity of working-class (*Buchan*, by James Boswell), of people selling the *Daily Worker* outside a factory (Clive Branson) and some stunning propaganda images in support of Spain during the Civil War period. Likewise, members of the ERS produced realist pictures of exceptional quality that showed the conditions of life in 1930s Britain. Among the finest paintings are Coldstream's and Graham Bell's roof-top paintings of Bolton. Artists associated with the AIA were not confined to producing works based on realism. In the later 1930s surrealist artists such as Edward Burra had works accepted for the annual AIA exhibitions, Paul Nash also produced some surrealist paintings that were included in the AIA canon. Overall, however, the work of these two groups was not overtly political, especially when compared with what was being produced in Europe and the USSR, particularly in the 1920s. To a much greater extent than British art, European artists did not just reproduce what was visible to the naked eye, but interpreted the social situations they saw politically. Their aim was to 'reveal the reality that is behind visible things.'¹⁰⁴ Moreover, much of this work used football and sport as a metaphor to comment upon the crises that capitalism experienced in

¹⁰³ Cited in Spalding page 120.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Klee. Klee also used a similar expression to get his point across: *Art does not reproduce the visible; rather, it makes visible.*

the interwar years. A brief comparative summary of this work will demonstrate the validity of this observation.

Dada, Constructivism and Football

Representations of football in European art prior to 1914 were very similar to the popular art reproductions of football found in British art. However, as noted in chapter two of the thesis the emergence of Futurism c1909, through the Futurist's desire to make visible the modernity of society in art, saw the incorporation of sport and football into the work of several artists. Foremost amongst this work was the *Dynamism* series by Bocciano, which is discussed above in chapter three. In the interwar years artists connected with German Expressionism, Dada, Cubism and Constructivism also produced a large body of sport and football related art that attempted to show how important sport was to society. Chazaud confirms this:

Unlike the years 1900-1914, when illustrators depicted, through the medium of postcards, the game of football as warm and picturesque, painters offered, in contrast, cold and abstract representations of the game, the reflection of a mechanical society in full development, in both Europe and the USSR.¹⁰⁵

Important artists such as John Heartfield, Willi Baumeister, Max Beckmann, Andre Lhote, El Lissitzky and Alexander Rodchenko all referenced football in their work. The continual references to football in the work of European artists reflected, not only the massive upsurge in the popularity of the game across a number of European countries, but its growing social and political importance. According to Chazaud:

From 1925, football was practised throughout [European] society, there were no exceptions. Football was no longer the sole province of sports clubs, it also became widely played within educational establishments,

105 Chazaud, Pierre: *Football and Art* page 57.

barracks, factories and religious institutions...[Moreover] Football now possessed a huge following and began to exert political influence.¹⁰⁶

Unlike in Britain football, prior to World War 1, on the European mainland did not have a strong base among the working-class. Chazaud informs us that football was an elitist activity in this period, a situation that continued up to 1920 according to the authors of the FIFA centennial book.¹⁰⁷ However, once economic and social stability returned to Europe, from about 1925, football quickly emerged as the most popular sport in countries such as Germany and France. Another factor in the popularity of football in Europe was the 'improvements in transport, especially by rail, the growth of clubs and societies and the increasing role of the sporting press [all of which] contributed to the growing popularity of football' in Europe. As a result: 'football became part of the tissue of urban social life.'¹⁰⁸

Much of the work of the Dadaists was not just party political, but was overtly anti-capitalist: their brilliant use of photomontage enabled them to use art as a form of propaganda. John Heartfield, for example, on the cover of *Jedermann Sein Eigener Fussball* (everyman his own football), originally superimposed an inflated football around the body of an anonymous political leader. He later re-worked the image placing the inflated ball over the head of a footballer. Heartfield's images were a response to the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht in 1919 by the German state. Heartfield was making two points here: the first being that the capitalist class had an inflated opinion of itself and, secondly, that you cannot kick the working-class around just as you like. Hence the bulging heads alongside the social democratic

¹⁰⁶ *ibid* page 65.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid* page 49 and Lanfranchi, Pierre; Eisenberg, Christiane; Mason, Tony & Wahl, Alfred: *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book* pp. 52-54.

¹⁰⁸ Chazaud *op cit* pp. 49-50.

politicians such as Noske and Scheidemann, both of whom were accused by many on the left of ordering the murder of Luxembourg and Liebknecht [plate 66].¹⁰⁹

From 1925 onwards, Heartfield, along with other Dadaists, such as Hausmann, and Hannah Hoch, were keen to show the consequences of industrialism and 'often portrayed the athlete, the strong man and the football player as an inconsequent personage, a disarticulated figure.'¹¹⁰ Their art demonstrated that the work rate in sport was similar to that of the machine resulting in, not just an alienated working-class, but a class that was being exhausted by the new production techniques of Taylorism. For many workers:

The intensity and sterility of work in the capitalistic production process increasingly tended to reduce job satisfaction to a minimum. To compensate for this growing alienation, there arose a corresponding need for physical fulfilment and psychological satisfaction outside the workplace. For many a working person sport came to fill this void. Through involvement in sport the individual might directly or vicariously gain a sense of self-respect and personal accomplishment missing at work.¹¹¹

The work of the Dadaists clearly reflects the class divide that existed in Europe in the interwar years. It could be pointed out that Lowry painted similar inconsequential and alienated figures but, unlike the Dadaists, Lowry did not seek to politicise his work. However, to paraphrase Berger from earlier, the work of both Lowry and the Dadaists has social and historical meaning that lay bare the class relations in this period.

¹⁰⁹ For an account of Germany in turmoil in the Weimar Years see Anderson, Evelyn: *Hammer of Anvil*. Both versions of the image are provided in the appendix.

¹¹⁰ Chazaud op cit pp. 80 and 78.

¹¹¹ Wheeler, Robert: 'Sport and Organized Labour: The Workers' Sports Movement' page 193.

Another group of artists in the 1920s were 'persuaded that technology and science could transform social life.' Baumeister, for example, produced an album of sporting figures in which 'the football player is portrayed as a smoothly running mechanical contrivance' that exuded power [plate 67].¹¹² Also in this period, the Bauhaus art school introduced sport into their educational programme, while their housing designs incorporated sporting facilities. Their ideas coincided with the ideas of Baumeister, who presented the sportsman as a metaphor for modernity, someone who could reveal that a better world was possible. Baumeister explained his approach:

The truth of existence documents itself in affirmation and activity, in the struggle against decadence and grief, against mysticism and piety. The valorisation of the power of nature by means of light, air and sport minimises the needs for doctors and drugstores. Nude bathing washes away mouldy eroticism. The new generation is a new species.¹¹³

Likewise, Baumeister was chief among several German artists who believed that sport was essential to a healthy society.

Similarly, in the fledgling Soviet Union in the 1920s the official government policy of *fizkultura* recognised the importance of sport in improving the health of the people in the devastated country, as well as improving the productivity of labour.¹¹⁴ Unlike in the West where the emphasis was on the individual and the separation of the artist from the state, in the early USSR the Constructivist movement was closely supportive of, and supported by, the Bolshevik Government, particularly by Anatoly Lunacharsky the Commissar for Education and Art. The Bolshevik Government was very keen to show that the revolution was not only creating a new world, but that

¹¹² Chazaud op cit page 70.

¹¹³ Cited in Kühnst page 304.

¹¹⁴ O'Mahony, Mike: *Sport in the USSR: Physical Culture – Visual Culture* page 23.

they were preparing the foundations of a new society, based on collective human relationships, rather than the individualism of the west. According to Chazaud: 'Sport played its part in propagating the myth of the new man, who was at one and the same time natural and machine like.'¹¹⁵

A classic example of this is Rodchenko's photomontage entitled *Political Football* [plate 68] which abandons:

The individualist vision for a meaningful commitment. He celebrates neither the individualism nor the subjectivity of the player. The football ground opens out allowing players to leave, continuing the match in the street, either with traffic police or in the midst of a military parade. These figures surge forth from a multitude of places, breaking with tradition, which places the football player at the centre of the picture.¹¹⁶

Chazaud does not grasp the whole significance of the image, which seeks to demonstrate that sport is integral to social living, unlike in the West which tends to treat sport as a separate entity that has to conform to market forces. Responding to the different political situations in different countries, artists in Europe and in the newly formed USSR incorporated sport and football in their work either to promulgate messages of political propaganda or to suggest how sport could be incorporated into the wider social planning of society. This is in complete contrast to the football related work of English artists in the same period. The only English artist that came close to incorporating a political message in a football painting was C.R.W. Nevinson, whose *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* is much more, according to John Hughson, than a painting about football. The painting is unique among English football paintings of the period and thereby warrants closer scrutiny.

¹¹⁵ Chazaud page 61.

¹¹⁶ Chazaud page 86.

Nevinson: *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*

Before embarking on a detailed discussion about *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* [plate 69], some biographical detail about Nevinson's family background, his political persuasions and his involvement with the Futurists will lay the foundation for a better understanding of the painting.¹¹⁷ As indicated in the previous chapter, Nevinson was a signatory to the Futurist Manifesto produced in *The Observer* just prior to WW1. However, the experience of war had a profound effect upon Nevinson, forcing him to distance himself from the glorification of violence, an element that was so prevalent in Marinetti's Futurist Manifestoes. In his autobiography he has stated his regret about his involvement with Marinetti: 'It is a black thought for me to look back and see that I was associated with Italian Futurism, which ended in Fascism.'¹¹⁸

This retreat from Futurism did not mean that Nevinson's work was freed from the influences of Futurism, he still retained a passion for the angular forms so typical of Futurist inspired artists. Nevinson also had a debt to Cubism, a fact he acknowledged in *Paint and Prejudice*:

I am always glad I fell under the influence of the Cubists and the Futurists when I was a very young man, and I am still more glad I did not lose my head. Undoubtedly the Cubists strengthened my work, and without them I now know it would have become increasingly flaccid, formless, and undisciplined through lack of design. I have a tendency, too, to over-elaborate, particularly form, and Cubism taught me to simplify.¹¹⁹

117 The section on Nevinson draws heavily upon the article by Hughson, John: 'Not Just Any Wintry Afternoon in England': The Curious Contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson to 'Football Art'. The painting is on permanent display at the Manchester Art Gallery. It was included in an exhibition at the gallery during the World Cup of 1966. This exhibition will be assessed in chapter 6 of the thesis.

118 Nevinson, C.R.W: *Paint and Prejudice* page 89.

119 *ibid* page 267.

Although later he professed disenchantment with Cubism:

The Cubist movement which promised so much has ended in sterility, a dehumanized geometrical formula, producing little except incomprehensible articles by Herbert Read, Grigson, Sevier, Clive Bell, Marriott, Popoffski, and Wilenski.¹²⁰

In spite of his ideological rejection of both Cubist and Futurist influences from both art forms can be found in his post World War I work, particularly in *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*.

Politically, Nevinson's views were multifaceted, much like a Cubist image. He was brought up in a radical household that had sympathy for the suffragettes and the radical movements in Russia and Barcelona in 1905 and 1909 respectively.¹²¹ In *Paint and Prejudice* the spectrum of his political thought does come across in this way:

Though actually a true-blue in politics I am yet a believer in Communism, though I know that humanity as a whole has not yet developed that trait which will make it work for the common weal, without thought of gain or personal advancement.¹²²

In trying to portray himself as a believer in equality, Nevinson is masking the fact that he is really a reactionary. Culturally he regarded himself a:

Democrat in his belief that art should be taken to the public, but was doggedly elitist in refusing to pander to perceptions of public taste, which he dismissed as catering to the 'instinct of the mob' and as a blight to democracy properly understood.¹²³

120 *ibid* page 90.

121 Nevinson, Henry: *Essays in Rebellion*.

122 Nevinson, C.R.W: page 186. Nevinson's views are reminiscent of Henry Hyndman the founder of the SDF, at times he is a radical at other times he is a high Tory reactionary bordering on the Fascism of Marinetti. Similar radical and reactionary statements could be extracted from Oswald Mosley for example.

123 Hughson, John: 'Not Just 'Any Wintry Afternoon in England''. In the same essay Hughson states that Nevinson returned to urban themes from 1920 but as the *Food Queue* and *The Workers* paintings show he was producing urban situations in 1918 and 1919. These two painting will be discussed below.

His cultural democracy did not extend to football and sport, which he generally loathed.¹²⁴ Despite his attitude towards the working-class sport of football, Nevinson was quite prepared to paint images that were sympathetic to the working-class movement and, by implication, critical of the economic system of the day. The *Food Queue*, produced in 1918, shows people queuing for food rations soon after the war had ended. Behind the people in the queue are shop windows advertising products such as tea, goods that are obviously in short supply. The ethos of the painting is sympathetic to those queuing for food and according to an influential source: 'Its use in this context could be read as a comment on the inefficiencies of the domestic economy.'¹²⁵

In 1919, Nevinson also produced a lithograph, *The Workers (Strike Demonstration)*, which was sympathetic to the industrial and political aims of the Glasgow movement for shorter hours. The description of the image by Ingleby confirms this:

When the War ended, industrial unrest broke out in Glasgow, London and many other cities throughout the country, as unions fought to establish a forty-hour week and other benefits for workers. The effectiveness of this print as a political image is created by the towering black shape of the dockyard warehouse, which, more than the gesticulating figure on the platform or the milling crowd, symbolizes the power of the workers and their threat to the status quo.¹²⁶

In both images there is an implicit statement by Nevinson that he is in sympathy with the working-class during a period of political crisis, which has resulted from the social and economic dislocation caused by the war effort. This does not suggest that

124 Ibid. Hughson deals with Nevinson's attitude towards sport in great detail in his article. Nevinson loathed football and sport and this probably explains why he did not produce other sport related work.

125 Caption associated with the picture on the Imperial War Museum web site: <http://www.iwmcollections.org.uk>. The *Food Queue* can be viewed at <http://www.iwmcollections.org.uk/dbtw-wpd/exec/dbtwpub.dll>.

126 Ingleby, Black, Cohen & Cooke: *C.R.W.Nevinson: The Twentieth Century* page 135. A version of *The Workers (Strike Demonstration)* 1919 can be seen at <http://www.londonprintfair.com/pages/exhibitor/47.html>.

he is in favour of political power for the working-class. However, unlike the people in Lowry's paintings, these people are defiant, they are not alienated from each other as in Lowry's societal images. These images provide useful contextual background to *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*.

As Hughson has demonstrated, however, not all of Nevinson's urban paintings were positive images of the city. For example:

His New York based painting *The Soul of a Soulless City* (1920), at once depicts the magnificence of New York's skyscrapers, but also an inhuman landscape devoid of people. The War's violent crushing of humanity by an insidious form of degradation in which money rules and genuine humanity becomes invisible.¹²⁷

In contrast to the Glasgow image discussed previously, Nevinson's New York paintings do not involve the positive force of the working-class, but there does still seem to be an implicit criticism of the economic system, which was in acute crisis at this time. This dual perspective on Nevinson's urban themes needs to be borne in mind when considering *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*.

Although he professed no interest in sport, Nevinson did produce several posters for London's transport companies promoting leisure facilities in and around London in 1920s. The nearest any of these posters came to sport was one about walking, *For a good start; walking*, which he produced in 1921.¹²⁸ In terms of style, the painting is far removed from his war and post-war work as is *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*. His work for London Transport reflects his immediate post-war desire 'to concentrate on modern industrialism or anything connected with human activity...Human activity

127 Hughson 'Not Just 'Any Wintry Afternoon in England'' pp. 12-13.

128 For his transport posters see <http://www.ltmcollection.org/posters/results/results.html?IXsearch=nevinson&button=GO%21>.

is my definition of beauty.'¹²⁹ *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*, however, is his one distinctive work that shows the participation of working people involved in a leisure activity. Interestingly, *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* shows similarities with Lowry's football paintings, although there is no suggestion that either artist knew each other's work. As with Lowry, the setting is a northern one and depicts the mills, houses and leisure facilities all located within a small radius.¹³⁰ It reinforces Lowry's image of sport, particularly football, as being an integral part of working-class life in urban, particularly northern, Britain. The painting also shows influences of Boccioni, who Nevinson had met in Paris prior to signing the Futurist Manifesto in 1914. The shafts of light, for example, a technique used by Boccioni in *The Dynamism of a Football Player*, emphasises where the action is. The shafts of light also drape across the factories and the rows of terrace houses. The form of the painting is also interesting: the swirls of paint make apparent the imperfections of the pitch while the diagonals make it hard to define which legs belong to which player. These techniques enable the viewer to get a feel for the movement of the game. In spite of his supposed lack of interest in football, Nevinson had evidently studied the movement of the game to some depth. In the windows of the houses stand individuals watching the football. While it would be understandable to suggest that these people are at home because of the weather, it also sends out a message that workers in capitalist society are alienated, both during the production process and at home. Perhaps Nevinson is making a political point that all the working-class has left, in the face of mass unemployment during an economic Depression, is their Saturday afternoon of football playing or watching and that the working-class is politically impotent. In this context it conveys opposite message of his Glasgow painting.

¹²⁹ The quote is from the *Weekly Dispatch* 9 March 1919, also cited in Hughson page 12 and Rippner, Steve: 'Urban Life/Urban Dynamism' page 91(Ackley, Clifford, S: *British Prints from the Machine Age: Rhythms of Modern Life, 1914-1939*).

¹³⁰ Hughson's article also argues that the painting is of a northern football match.

Frank Rutter's review of *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* makes a similar point about the economic situation and how the painting is a comment on this:

There is clarity of expression in a lighter kind of satirical painting, "Any Wintry Afternoon in England". In this whimsical and ingenious composition of footballers amid factories, the artist, without stressing his purpose unduly, gives us a great deal to think about. We enjoy this picture as a gay and amusing pattern of colours and movement, and at the same time we find ourselves wishing the great mass of our contemporaries would tackle the economic problems of the time with the energy, persistence and enthusiasm with which they tackle a game of football. It is quite unnecessary to refer to any printed title in the catalogue to perceive the significance of this composition, and this particular little 'sermon in paint' is perhaps all the more effective because the lesson is given in a gay and rather playful manner.¹³¹

This view is reinforced by Nevinson's description of the painting 'as being by way of a general statement.'¹³² And given Nevinson's professed hostility to football the painting can be seen as 'one of discontent' about the condition of England during the Depression.¹³³

In *The Workers (Strike Demonstration)*, the human activity of the working-class is presented in a more positive light than in *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*. The image of the footballers and the alienated spectators who are confined to their houses show that the economics of 1933 were somewhat different to the situation in 1919. This perhaps explains Hughson's comment that in *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* footballers are presented as 'cogs in the machine moving towards' destruction.¹³⁴ Although Nevinson rejected much of the co-signed Futurist Manifesto of 1914, his work of the interwar period, including *Any Wintry Afternoon in England*, does seem to fit in with point nine of the manifesto, which condemns the British for: 'The

¹³¹ Cited in Hughson op cit page 15.

¹³² *Manchester Guardian* 17 November 1934, cited in Hughson page 4.

¹³³ Hughson op cit page 4.

¹³⁴ *ibid* page 12.

sentimentality with which you load your pictures to compensate, perhaps, for your praiseworthy utter lack of sentimentality in life.’¹³⁵

Any Wintry Afternoon in England does not offer a sentimental view of England in art but, as Rutter observed, it is a ‘sermon in paint’ about the wintry economic conditions that were affecting Britain at the time. It is a ‘statement’ by Nevinson that the state ‘kills man’ and sport ‘kills time’ and that, through sport, the state ‘encourages reckless optimism’ when it should be concentrating on finding real solutions to the crises in society.¹³⁶

However, as discussed in chapters one and two of the thesis, how a work of art is interpreted changes over time. Rutter’s view that the painting is a sermon in paint has validity, but most people viewing the image today would see it as a football painting that shows two teams striving to play football in bad weather conditions. In the words of Rutter: ‘We [can] enjoy this picture as a gay and amusing pattern of colours and movement.’ In many ways the ambiguity of the painting gives it added poignancy. The painting can be read as showing a match between two Sunday league teams, as a comment upon the shallowness of working-class culture or as statement about the economic situation in a period of economic crisis.

Representations of Football during the 1939-1945 War

This section will focus on how football was represented in art during the war years. Although football representations in art are limited in number during this period, the

¹³⁵ The Manifesto is reprinted in *Paint and Prejudice* pp.79-81.

¹³⁶ *Paint and Prejudice* page 268. See also Hughson who uses the quotes in a slightly different context.

work that was produced is worth considering in the context of government policy towards both sport and the arts during the six years of conflict.

In contrast to 1914, both the Football League and the Football Association suspended their competitions as soon as war was declared on 3 September 1939. Within weeks, however, and with the approval of the government, regional football competitions were established with matches between Football League clubs taking place on most weekends of the football season. Although clubs retained registration of key players, all clubs allowed their registered players to play for other clubs during the period of the war.¹³⁷

The Home Front was recognised as a key part of the war effort by the government. Keeping up morale among the population at home was just as important for the government as supporting the armed services fighting abroad. Sport was seen as a key factor in maintaining unity on both fronts as Mason and Riedi have recognised: 'In 1939-45 it was largely accepted that professional sport could lift the morale of servicemen, war workers and civilians alike.'¹³⁸ As in WW1 it was also recognised that, for those fighting abroad, playing sports was vital, hence the government ensured that there was plenty of sports equipment made available to all the services. By August 1941, for example, the NAAFI had distributed 75,000 pairs of football boots, 40,000 footballs, 500,000 football shorts and 250,000 football jerseys.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Russell *Football and the English* page 124.

¹³⁸ Mason and Riedi: *Sport and the Military* page 179.

¹³⁹ *ibid* page 197. Most of the sports equipment that was manufactured during the war went almost exclusively to the armed forces, whose fitness and morale were deemed to benefit from the playing of sport. See Baker Norman: 'A More Even Playing Field? Sport During and After the War' page 131 (in Hayes, Nick & Hill, Jeff (eds): *Millions Like Us: British Culture in the Second World War*) and *Hansard* Vol. 382, cols 837-8 2 August 1942.

In common with WWI, the government also determined that it was essential to have the war on both fronts recorded by artists. However, during WWI it was 1916 before official war artists, following an initiative by Charles Masterman, the Liberal politician, were appointed.¹⁴⁰ The following year, under the guidance of the Ministry of Information, the Imperial War Museum was established with the immediate aim of collecting all documentary material that related to the war, this included the work of commissioned artists.¹⁴¹ From the outset in 1939, in contrast to WWI, a War Artists' Advisory Committee (WAAC) was established under the direction of Kenneth Clark with the specific aims of:

To draw up a list of artists to record the war at home and abroad. In co-operation with Services Departments, and other government departments, to advise on the selection from the list for war purposes and on arrangement for their employment...¹⁴²

In many respects the WAAC was also the product of the AIA, which had 'placed great emphasis on the social role of art' in the 1930s, and this was something that the WAAC was keen to replicate.¹⁴³ The WAAC met for the first time on 23 November 1939 with Kenneth Clark in the chair. All the services were represented at the meeting plus wartime ministers responsible for Supply, Home Security and War Transport. Artists on the committee included: Muirhead Bone, P.H. Jowett and Randolph Schwabe from the Slade.¹⁴⁴ Much of the work produced by artists during the war was made available to the public via touring exhibitions. Exhibitions were often held outside of the traditional art gallery circuit in public places such as

¹⁴⁰ Harries, Meirion and Susan: *The War Artists* page 7.

¹⁴¹ *ibid* page 118.

¹⁴² *ibid* page 161.

¹⁴³ Cork, Richard: *The Visual Arts* page 178.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid* page 159.

railway stations.¹⁴⁵ Clearly art, as well as its presentation, as was the case with sport, was seen as a key part of the war effort.

Many artists produced work during the war of working-class scenes: among the most famous were Stanley Spencer's paintings of the Clydeside shipyards. However, the main source for paintings of working-class themes from this time came from artists who were active, or associated with, the AIA. Artists associated with the AIA have often been referred to as the 'unofficial war artists', who concerned themselves with scenes from everyday life.¹⁴⁶ The one extant image of football from this source is an *Everyman* print, *Here They Come*, (1939-1940) by James Sylvester Holland [plate 70]. The print shows a team of older players emerging from the players' tunnel at an unidentified stadium. The *Everyman* print series, published by the AIA between 1939-1940, ran to 52 lithographs, ten of which were produced in two colours, the remaining set were monochrome. The idea behind the prints was to democratise art and to make art more accessible to ordinary people:

AIA Everyman Prints are intended for every home . . . Everyman Prints now widen the range from which the visual taste can be gratified, by offering the direct work of living artists at a price so reasonable that the outlay need not involve anxious consideration, and the collecting of prints is now within the possibility of every purse.¹⁴⁷

Production of the prints reflected the wider of aims and the primary purpose of the AIA which 'was to organise visual artists... So as to enable them to express their

145 A good example of art in public places can be found in Morris, Lynda & Radford, Robert. *The Story of the AIA*, Page 58 shows an exhibition of art in the booking hall of Charing Cross station in 1941. The exhibition was seen by 150,000 visitors. In the interwar years art was often exhibited at Charing Cross, Frank Pick was keen to display the art commissioned by London Transport at the station.

146 See Morris, Lynda & Radford, Robert, *The Story of the Artists International Association* (Oxford 1983) for more detail about the role of the AIA in the war.

147 AIA leaflet promoting the sale of AIA prints cited in Morris and Radford page 56.

commitment to social responsibility in art and to support radical, political ideas directly in terms of their practice as artists.¹⁴⁸

Moreover, AIA artists were very keen to 'align the content of their work with common experience of everyday life'¹⁴⁹ hence their work often reflected day-to-day concerns as well as key pastimes of ordinary people. Holland subscribed to these overall aims:

With my own work, I want to show something of the real life of this country which goes on in city suburbs, industrial towns, factories, shipyards, coalfields, shops and offices. This unfashionable material has only been used when falsified by a spurious romanticism. The English tradition of realism has been lost for more than century. I want to show the chaotic life under an inadequate and decaying social structure.¹⁵⁰

As a socially committed artist Holland, as with other AIA artists, was keen to document everyday life through art. The documentary form had considerable presence in the culture of the thirties especially in film, literature and theatre. But with the re-emergence of realism it also had a presence in the work of many artists who were committed to giving emphasis to the subject matter by placing it in the foreground of the painting. This was often problematic for socially committed artists keen to explore the social condition of the working-class. What to leave out, what to emphasise given the vast amount of 'realist' material at their disposal was often a difficult choice.¹⁵¹

The AIA was also committed: 'to create an interest in art among new audiences - which were largely identified with the economically and educationally deprived

148 Radford, Robert, *Art for a Purpose* page 6.

149 *ibid* page 124.

150 Cited in Radford page 77.

151 *ibid* page 79.

sections of British society.’ As discussed above this was linked to the wider aims of AIA to democratise art, a factor that was also reinforced by exhibiting their work in everyday places such as factory canteens and provincial libraries.¹⁵² It also reflects the social commitment of AIA artists whose work was not for ‘artists qua artists’ but was produced with the conscious ‘needs of the working-classes’ in mind. This approach was also linked to their wider international aims of opposing all attempts at the ‘Suppression of Culture’ which in turn was linked to their desire to have a Popular Front to oppose ‘Fascism and War.’¹⁵³

This is the context that the Holland’s image has to be seen in with the added significance, that by 1940 the AIA and its Communist Party cohorts, had become supporters of the war against Fascist Germany. In the words of George Orwell:

In England the Popular Front is only an idea but it has already produced the nauseous spectacle of bishops, Communists, cocoa magnates, publishers, duchesses and Labour MPs marching arm in arm to the tune of Rule Britannia.¹⁵⁴

The match portrayed by Holland is almost certainly a charity event in aid of the war effort. The crowd is not clearly defined in the image but a careful view shows that those standing on either side of the players’ tunnel appear to be from the working-class while those sitting above in the grandstand seem somewhat better dressed and are, probably, from a different social class. Also, one could imagine that the band is playing a patriotic tune, quite possibly Rule Britannia, as the players run onto the pitch. Such scenes would have been wholeheartedly supported by the artists associated with the AIA as well as members of Communist Party who regarded

¹⁵² *ibid* page 11.

¹⁵³ AIA pamphlet *The First Five Years* cited in Radford *op cit* page 42.

¹⁵⁴ Cited in Radford page 43.

World War Two as a people's war that could be won by uniting the nation on the lines of a Popular Front as outlined by Orwell.

Other than Holland it would appear that both the 'unofficial' and 'official' war artists ignored football during the war period. The reasons for this can be found in the terms of reference of the WAAC which placed emphasis upon artists to promote representational art that showed how people contributed to the war effort in the workplace, the steadfastness of the population in the wake of bombing raids, while scenes from the war front placed emphasis upon the heroism of those who were fighting the enemy. Moreover, the figure of Kenneth Clark must be considered. Although his intention 'was to produce a pictorial record of the war' it would seem unlikely that sport would be at the top of his agenda given his elitist background.¹⁵⁵ With regard to the AIA, given their links to the Communist Party, propaganda intent was never far removed from the work they promoted. In the 1930s several artists from the AIA were associated with campaigns in support of the Spanish Republic and with the struggles around unemployment in Britain. Moreover, once the western powers made their alliance with the Soviet Union, artists associated with the AIA were very keen that this war for 'democracy and free speech' was best reflected in showing people at work, or making sacrifices following bombing campaigns by the Luftwaffe.¹⁵⁶

Once again, Lowry was the exception when it came to showing football as being an integral part of leisure during the war. Although Lowry was an official war artist, he rarely concerned himself with reflecting the Home Front in his work, but instead

¹⁵⁵ See Harries, Meirion and Susan: *The War Artists*, chapter 28 for Clark's key role in choosing the right kind of artists to reflect the war effort.

¹⁵⁶ For the type of art produced by AIA artists see Morris and Radford pp.56-74. The AIA also campaigned for artists to be employed full-time by the state and produced manifestoes to this effect.

continued producing paintings in the distinctive style he had developed in the 1920s. The Imperial War Museum collection has Lowry's *Going to Work* painting of 1943 [plate 71], which shows factory workers going to work at the Mather & Platt factory, Manchester, in the snow. The factory made the Lancaster Bomber during the war, but Lowry does not identify the factory in the painting so, in true Lowryesque fashion, it could be any factory or any group of workers. Apart from the barrage balloons in the sky, this could be one of several of Lowry's *Going to* or *Coming from* paintings, including the football related ones discussed above. Lowry also painted several composite paintings in the war years that relate to, or show, football being played. These include the *River Scene* (1942) [plate 72], which is based on a view of the Clyde and shows one, possibly two, football matches being played on the banks of the river. *Swinbury Station*, (1939) [plate 73] shows people arriving at the station to travel to a football match between Bramleigh and Swinbury. Lowry's *Coming from the Match* (1942) [plate 74], has similar qualities to *Swinbury Station*, in that other than the title, there is no visual impression of a football match, although there is poster advertising the match on the platform. Swinbury and Bramleigh are imagined locations. Once again the image is a composite and could represent any station that has football fans converging on the platform to go to a football match. This contrasts with *Saturday Afternoon* (1941) [plate 75], which gives a partial view of a well-attended football match being played at the back of some houses and in front of a large factory. Behind the goal there is a large play area where at least one impromptu football match is being played between young boys; there are also groups of young people cycling and playing other types of games. In common with much of Lowry's work, these paintings have an industrial angle in the same way as the ones discussed above, but they reveal very little about how the Salford and Manchester areas fared in the war.

As well as the Lowry images, there are two images in the British Museum collection that show football being played in contrasting military camps. The first one, *Army Football* 1941 [plate 76], is a pen and ink drawing by James Boswell, one of the founders of the AIA, shows three off-duty soldiers playing football. One soldier is in goal waiting for the ball to be crossed from the wing to another soldier who is standing close to the goal in anticipation of the cross. It is an informal kick-around, one that was probably played out thousands of times by off-duty soldiers. The other image, *Football in Camp* (1941) [plate 77], by Erwin Fabian has more significance in that it tells us a lot about German attitudes towards Jews prior to the war, as well as British domestic policy during the war. Fabian was a German refugee of Jewish extraction who fled fascist Germany in 1938. After the fall of France in 1940, he was interned in Britain under the 'enemy aliens' policy of the British Government, a policy, which saw many thousands of refugees imprisoned. Fabian was actually transported to New South Wales in September 1940, where he was held in an interment camp until 1942 before being allowed to join the Australian army. The watercolour shows a group of huts, presumably where the internees were housed, in front of which a group of internees are playing football.¹⁵⁷

Unlike WWI, which is often seen as an imperialist war, the Second World War is usually portrayed as a war with a common cause: namely to defend democracy against Fascism. The claim is somewhat ambiguous given that a key ally, the USSR, from the 1930s onwards, was also a totalitarian regime, albeit one based on a different economic system. This is not the place to discuss war aims, but the common cause behind the war goes some way to explain why artists of all social standing

¹⁵⁷ *Football in Camp* is in the British Museum collection of prints.

enjoined in an attempt to 'reflect the experience of everyday life' of people during the war.¹⁵⁸ The Communist Party member Francis Klingender reinforces this point:

In Britain too the war has brought about a heartening revival in artistic activity and of a public interest in art. The common struggle against Fascist oppression has bridged the gap which has for so long divided the interests of artists from those of the people at large...British war art...will take its place in the great tradition of democracy.¹⁵⁹

Despite this common approach, artists were under more control by the state than in 1914. At all costs the authorities wanted to avoid the situation of having artists going to the front or working on the Home Front independently. The images presented by artists such as Singer Sargent, Nash and Nevinson during WW1 were not conducive to a common war effort. Indeed, during the war the terms of reference for WAAC were drawn up by the MOI who insisted that artists, as well as their subject matter, should be under the control of the 'Services Departments and other Government Departments.'¹⁶⁰ Clark went so far as to say:

The War Artists collection cannot be completely representative of modern English art, because it cannot include those pure painters who are interested solely in putting down their feelings about shapes and colours, and not in facts, drama and human emotions generally.¹⁶¹

Artists attached to the services were paid full-time salaries: they were expected to produce nothing 'other than Service subjects'. This explains why the 'first two artists to be commissioned by WAAC...were detailed to make portraits of military leaders, at home and in France.'¹⁶²

158 Morris, Lynda & Radford, Robert op cit page 59.

159 Cited *ibid* page 59.

160 Harries, Merion and Susan op cit page 161.

161 cited Harries, Merion and Susan op cit page 161.

162 *ibid* page 165.

With regard to the Home Front, the themes recommended by WAAC were 'we can take it', a theme reflected by artists during the Blitz period of the war and typified by Henry Moore's powerful tube station drawings. Another theme was the common endeavour of men and women on the industrial front, which has been captured by artists such as Henry Moore, Stanley Spencer and William Roberts. Artists were also asked to show the involvement of civilians in combatting the threat of invasion and coping with the shortage of supplies.¹⁶³ It would appear then that leisure scenes in general were not seen as key areas for artists to paint by the WAAC and this perhaps explains why football, despite its popularity and its importance during the war, was poorly represented in the artists appointed by WAAC.

Conclusion

During the interwar years there was a wide spectrum of football related artwork produced both in Britain and Europe. In Britain the bulk of this art was produced in the form of posters, which were commissioned by commercial companies such as regional railway companies, Shell and, most significantly, London Transport. These posters not only reveal that transport companies were keen to promote their products and services by using visual images of football, but they also demonstrate that football was a growing cultural pastime in the interwar period. Moreover, these companies, under the direction of people like Frank Pick and Jack Beddington, were prepared to engage emerging and established artists to paint and design the posters. John Hughson has commented that: 'The display of all art occurs, in one way another, within sets of social relations. But art is traditionally regarded as existing above, if

¹⁶³ *ibid* 194-208.

not beyond, the social realm.¹⁶⁴ In the context of the work commissioned by London Transport one could say that there is also an economic motive in addition to a social one. Their commissions enabled artists to make a significant contribution, not only to art, but to the representation of sport in art. Without these commissions, representations of football in art would have been very scarce indeed.

As explained above, although Lowry painted many football scenes in the period, he did so in the context of putting the industrial scene on the map as opposed to working with the specific aim of creating a painting about football. Lowry's work also exists in the social realm, in the sense that Lowry was attempting to reflect the spectrum of industrial society within which leisure has a significant part to play. Likewise, Nevinson's *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* is a painting that goes beyond football; it portrays sport in a metaphorical way in order to comment on societal and economic issues in the interwar years.

Overall, however, British artists of the period ignored football as a subject for their work. Given the lack of any documentary evidence to explain this, one can only make assertions rather than concrete statements. Prior to WW1 artists did paint realist depictions of the working-class in situations of need or want. Likewise, in the interwar period artists associated with the AIA and the ERS painted similar images, sometimes with a distinct political slant. Artists, as they were in the pre-war period, were still drawn from upper and middle-class people during the interwar years; a class of people not usually associated with football at this time. The social realm of their lives did not usually encompass football and, but for the commissions described above, they probably would not have concerned themselves with sport

164 Hughson, John: 'The cultural legacy of Olympic Posters' page 750.

and leisure scenes. The exception here, of course, is the Grosvenor School artists who were very keen to explore movement, hence their attraction to sport and leisure. However, even here there was only one artist, Sybil Andrews, who used football in her work without recourse to a commission. Moreover, in much the same way as football art, the work of this school of artists has yet to be fully accepted or appreciated by the art establishment.

Representations of Football in Art: 1945-1960

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition of 1953 and the subsequent regional tour. The analysis will look at the exhibition and tour in a social context as well as considering its legacy. Integral to the analysis will be the relationship between football art and trends within English art between 1945-1960. English art was influenced by European and American art in the period, and where appropriate, this will be referred to in the course of the chapter. The exhibition made a great contribution to establishing football painting as a distinct genre: genre in this instance refers to artworks depicting scenes of everyday life.¹ With regard to *Football and the Fine Arts*, the exhibited art clearly revealed the deep social and cultural roots of football in Britain at this time. Cultural roots that both widened and deepened throughout the 1950s.

The art of the period will be put in the context of the peace settlement that followed the war as well as the radical social and economic changes that occurred in the period following the war. Moreover, the analysis will also consider the changing nature of culture in the period, as well as the impact of government intervention in the arts.

With regard to football, unlike the post World War One period, there were no radical changes in the structure of the Football League post 1945. However, the relationship between football and wider society changed as the English game, domestically and internationally, came under increasing media focus and the relationship between the

¹ Chapter 1 has dealt with issues around football paintings being considered a distinct genre. When assessing the artwork from the *Football and the Fine Arts* (FFA) exhibition below further consideration will be given to football as a distinct genre.

clubs and their players came under increasing strain. These strains became more pronounced as, following the huge boom in attendances between 1946-50, the number of paying spectators dropped dramatically throughout the 1950s. Despite the drop in attendances, in a time of economic transition from post-war austerity to post-war boom, during which the foundations of a mass consumer boom were being prepared, 'football [still] offered a kind of periodic affirmation of collective identity.'²

The Peace Settlement

Despite its military success in the war Britain's position, politically and economically, in relation to the wider world in 1945 was somewhat contradictory. After defeating its main military and economic rival Germany in the war, it was unquestionably the dominant European capitalist country. Moreover, it still retained its empire with which it had strong economic ties; the empire also gave Britain a military presence in most parts of the world. In reality, however, Britain emerged from the war a severely weakened country. It was saddled with huge debts owed to America and had little prospect of revitalising its depleted industries without further support from the United States. The true state of world affairs in 1945 was that both America and the USSR were enormously strengthened during the course of the war and by the political settlements that followed the end of the six-year conflict. America, with more than half of the world's productive capacity, emerged from the war as the world's dominant economic power. The Soviet Union, once the various revolutions and uprisings had been defeated in Eastern Europe, was strengthened politically and militarily. From Berlin eastwards capitalism was ended in Europe, while the defeated workers' movements in countries such as Czechoslovakia and Poland

² Holt, Richard: 'Football and the Urban Way of Life' page 81.

enabled Stalinism to secure one-party states under de-facto control of Moscow.³ Broadly speaking in 1945 the world was divided into two economic camps: one camp being based on nationalised economies under the tutelage of the Soviet Union the other being based on free market economies led by the USA. This split in the world led to the Cold War, basically a war that was fought through ideology and underpinned by cultural practice with art and sport being part of the weapons used by the competing blocs. Essentially the competing power blocs, in an attempt to demonstrate that their economic and political system provided the basis for a superior social and cultural life, used culture as well as cultural pursuits in an ideological way.

With regard to Britain, following the collapse of the Coalition Government in May 1945, the Labour Party secured a parliamentary majority, for the first time in its history, in the General Election of the following July. With a majority of 159 seats over all other parties, the newly formed Atlee led government embarked on a radical programme of economic and social reform that resulted in much of the energy associated industries and the railways being nationalised. Social policy focused on the Beveridge Report, which had advocated the establishment of a welfare state, a policy that focused on providing better social conditions for families with children. Also, under direction of Aneurin Bevan a national health service was established in 1948, which enabled people to access health care free at the point of use, but funded through national insurance contributions which were deducted from workers' wages.

Unlike the post 1918 period, when the Lloyd George Government was rocked by a series of strikes, the Atlee Government functioned under a relatively stable political

³ Bartlett, C.J: *A History of Post-war Britain* pp. 1-2 and Hobsbawm, Eric: *Age of Extremes* chapter 4.

situation. There were strikes in several industries, most notably on the docks, but there was no movement to parallel the strike wave of 1919 and 1920 both of which had had the potential to bring down the government. Also, in contrast to the 1918 period, the post-war economy not only stabilized, but began to grow steadily from the late 1940s onwards into the early 1950s. Moreover, from the early 1950s economic growth developed into the prolonged post-war world economic boom that prepared the foundation for full employment and increased wages in Britain, Western Europe and America. This in turn prepared the way for a consumer boom that changed social life beyond all recognition for millions of people.

Peace, followed by economic recovery and boom, gave people the wherewithal to follow their leisure and cultural interests. All aspects of leisure and popular culture: theatre, cinema, dancing and sport boomed in the post-war period. Also, in the immediate post-war years football enjoyed the greatest attendances in its history. The five seasons between 1947-52 aggregate attendances were either above, or just below, 40 million per season with the peak coming in the 1948-49 season when attendances reached 41,271,424. Other sports such as cricket, boxing and speedway also experienced booming attendances.⁴

With regard to art, unlike the situation in 1918, when there were obvious links between art and revolutionary politics, no such art movements of a comparable nature emerged in the post 1945 period. In Britain government support for the arts was placed on a permanent footing following the establishment of the Arts Council in 1946, under the direction of Lord Keynes, and was regarded by some as the

⁴ Walvin, James: *The People's Game: The History of Football Revisited* page 154.

cultural arm of the welfare state.⁵ The new body, with its expanding budget, was able to initiate and mount exhibitions, several of which toured the country including the *Football and the Fine Arts* competition, which was organised in conjunction with the Football Association. The exhibition, which formed part of the ninetieth anniversary celebrations of the Football Association, was the first art exhibition in Britain to focus on an individual sport. Moreover, it was also the first ever exhibition of art to look at a distinctive working-class cultural activity in a thematic way.⁶ The unique contribution of the exhibition is that it provided a pictorial record of this in art. Although, several curators from regional galleries slammed the exhibition, for its apparently amateurish and conservative representations of football, it has in recent years become a benchmark exhibition for the expanding number of contemporary artists who have incorporated football, and predominately feature football, into their work.⁷

Before commencing with an analysis of football art from the period an overview of British society in the immediate post-war period will place trends in art and the development of football in a societal context and provide the foundation for looking at how artists represented football in their work between 1945-1960.

⁵ Garlake, Margaret: *New Art World: British Art in Post -War Society* page 17. The Arts Council grew out of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts (CEMA) a wartime time body that showed how important it was for the state to be involved in promoting the arts. For details about CEMA and the emergence of the Arts Council see: White, Eric: *The Arts Council of Great Britain*.

⁶ Wingfield, Mary Ann: *Sport and the Artist Volume 1 – Ball Games* page 41. There had been exhibitions of British Sporting Art in the past which focused on field sports and at times included pugilism.

⁷ Contemporary artists such as Tim Vyner, Colin Yates and Ben Kelly, who all use football in their work confirm this. See chapter six, which analyses the interviews with these artists.

Economic, Social and Cultural Change in Post-War Britain

Just Fifteen days after World War Two ended, 8 May 1945, the Coalition Government of Winston Churchill fell apart. Churchill remained as the Prime Minister until the results of the General Election were announced on 25 July; it was generally thought as the victorious war leader he would secure victory for his party.⁸ However, the campaign by the Conservative Party centred on the personality of Churchill whereas the Labour Party focused on policies such as full employment, social security, health, housing and nationalisation of strategic industries such as coalmining and the railways. During the war a political consensus had emerged across the three main parties, not just on wartime policy, with all parties being committed to making Britain a better place to live in once peace had returned. As far back as 1940 this perspective was even supported by staunchly conservative newspapers such as *The Times*:

If we speak of democracy, we do not mean a democracy which maintains the right to vote but forgets the right to work and the right to live. If we speak of freedom, we do not mean a rugged individualism which excludes social organisation and economic planning. If we speak of equality, we do not mean a political equality nullified by social and economic privilege. If we speak of economic reconstruction, we think less of maximum production...than of equitable distribution.⁹

However, the electorate soon realised that Labour Party was the only party fully committed to economic and social policies that could make Britain a fairer place to live in. Keynesianism, of course, had a profound effect upon economic thinking both during and after the war. Essentially Keynes believed that capitalism was not a self-regulating system but was a system that needed the guiding influence of the state over both economic and social policy. For many in the Labour Party, even for some

⁸ Polling took place on 5 July but with many votes cast overseas by servicemen it took time to get all the ballot papers back to Britain. The count did not begin until 25 July.

⁹ *The Times* 1 July 1940. Also cited in Bartlett pp. 2-3.

on the left, state involvement in the day-to-day running of economic and social policy did away with the need for class based politics. In other words in the General Election campaign Labour emerged as the party best suited to maintaining the political consensus of the war years and the party that would shield Britain from the economic dislocation of the 1930s.¹⁰

This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the successes and failures of the 1945-51 Labour Government, suffice to say that the range of reforms ushered in by the administration provided a platform that would transform Britain economically, socially and culturally throughout the 1950s and beyond. Moreover, the reforms carried out by the Atlee Government were not only maintained by the incoming Conservative Governments of the 1950s but were, in many ways extended, particularly in the realm of social policy such as housing and health. Social reform could be developed because, unlike the post 1918 period, the economies of the world began to grow quickly post 1945, a situation that resulted in full employment and rising wages. This in turn led to increased consumer spending as more goods became available, particularly in the second half of the 1950s. Increased consumer spending was based upon rising wages which, between 1946-1951, increased by more than a third from £6 2s 8d to £8 8s 6d for manual workers. In the immediate post-war period, however, the supply of consumer goods and clothes were still restricted and food was still rationed. Unable to spend all of their increased income on consumer goods meant that many people had a significant amount of disposable income to spend on leisure activities. Sporting events and cinema were the most popular pastimes for working-class people in the post-war period, and were also the most accessible cultural outlets. In 1946 a record 1,635 million cinema tickets were sold.

¹⁰ For Keynes and how his theories were applied by the post-war Labour Government see chapter 1 of Bartlett.

Overall 32 per cent of the adult population attended the cinema at least once during the year, while only 24 per cent did not go at all. Moreover, 65 per cent of school children attended the pictures at least once a week while only five per cent never attended.¹¹

As well as a nation of cinema-goers, British people were also a nation of readers. A Gallup Poll conducted in 1950 showed 55 per cent of the population read books compared to only 21 per cent in the United States. Newspaper reading was also extensive: in 1948 three out of four people were reading at least one national newspaper and one in four were reading at least two. Regional newspapers also had a huge readership.¹² Moreover, newspapers saw increased sports coverage as key to maintaining and increasing circulation, while greater coverage of football contributed to greater debate and interest in the sport and probably played a role in the huge increase in attendance at sporting events in this period. In some cases attendance at football matches led to absenteeism from work, particularly when the matches involved midweek FA Cup ties. In one instance during 1946 over 100,000 fans attended two midweek cup-ties in Birmingham, a situation that led to significant absenteeism across several firms and resulted in a drop in output. At a time of national shortage any drop in output was keenly felt and impacted upon the economy very quickly. To avoid absenteeism some firms even made arrangements for employees to attend matches on condition they returned to work later to make up the lost time. Eventually, in an effort to curtail absenteeism from work, the FA had to

¹¹ Marwick, Arthur: *Britain in a century of Total War* page 361 for the cinema and page 416 for wages. The average wage for manual workers in 1938 was £3 10s 11d. Increases in wages far outstripped the inflation of the period.

¹² Marwick pp.361-363. This could even be an underestimation as from personal experience newspapers were passed round during break times at work with many workers reading several papers across the three tea and dinner breaks.

stop midweek cup-ties being played following pressure from the government.¹³ However, as the consumer boom developed in the 1950s, and as more leisure opportunities arose, attendances at sporting events began to decline, a decline that most sports have found hard to reverse ever since. Another factor in the decline of the attendances was the growth in the number of households having access to a television set. In 1947 television was only available within a 40-mile radius of London and only 25,000 TV licences had been issued. By 1950 television availability was still restricted to a small section of society with only five per cent of the population owning a television set. However, throughout the 1950s the numbers of people having access to a television grew exponentially, a situation that resulted in four out of five homes having a TV set by 1962. Millions of people could now access sport on the TV as well as enjoying a wide range of programmes in the comfort of their own home.¹⁴ Barry Smart has noted that: 'As private forms of consumption grew in attractiveness and increased in scale there was a continuing displacement of old communal forms of leisure.'¹⁵ Television played a significant part in displacing these communal forms of leisure.

Another factor that contributed to the decline in football attendances was the emergence of the five-day working week, which in effect created the weekend and 'with it new non-work responsibilities and leisure options emerged' leisure outlets

13 See *The Guardian* 14 and 19 February 1946 for full details. The following year it was also decided to move the Grand National from a Friday to a Saturday to avoid absenteeism from work. For this see *The Guardian* 12 March 1947. The two matches played were Aston Villa v Chelsea, which drew a crowd of 65,000, and Birmingham City v Sunderland, which attracted 40,000 spectators. The FA Cup was played over two legs in this season, both games were second legs, both Aston Villa and Birmingham won their ties.

14 Marwick page 417 and Holt and Mason *Sport in Britain* pp. 1-3.

15 Smart, Barry: *The Sport Star* page 69.

that began to compete with football.¹⁶ Moreover, the influence of American popular culture from the middle 1950s should not be underestimated, rock 'n' roll and pop music, fashion and consumer culture all provided alternative forms of entertainment to football.¹⁷ Overall a combination of social, technological and economic factors affected lifestyles in Britain all of which impacted upon football. The most graphic illustration of this was the fall in attendances, from a peak of over 41 million spectators going through the turnstiles in 1949 to 28 million in 1970.¹⁸

At the end of the period this chapter covers 'the majority of both players and spectators' were still from working-class backgrounds. This 'specific cultural tradition'¹⁹ was uniquely captured in *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition prior to the social make-up game being radically changed in the 1960s. Before assessing the exhibition in depth, however, an understanding of the wider art trends in Britain and internationally, will help to locate the exhibition in a wider context. This will be the main focus of the next section.

The Response of Art: Two Economic and Political Blocs and Two Arts Forms

At the end of the war art became wrapped up with the Cold War. Initially, in the post 1945 period realist art, which was closely associated with the Artists International Association and the Communist Party, was the dominant art form in Britain. One source has described realism as a genre that refuses to 'separate high art

16 *ibid* page 70. This was the opposite of what occurred in the late nineteenth century when the Saturday half-day holiday created a time slot for commercial leisure activities such as watching professional football.

17 *ibid* page 70.

18 *ibid* page 70.

19 Critcher page 161.

form low life.’²⁰ However, from the mid fifties onwards Abstract Expressionism, which had its first exhibition at Tate Britain in 1956, gradually became the predominant art form in the west and for many British painters: ‘a continuing devotion to the matter-of-fact would put them on a collision course with the dominant Anglo-American critical establishment’ particularly from the 1950s onwards.²¹

It would, however, be a misconception to solely see abstract art as an American import. Prior to the Tate exhibition abstract art, thanks to the work done in the 1930s and 1940s by Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth, had a strong and developing focus in Britain, with the centre based around St Ives in Cornwall. The *New Statesman* reviewing an exhibition by Cornwall based artist Paul Feiler at the Redfern Gallery in 1953 noted that non-figurative painting migrated from Britain to the Latin world where it had been adapted by artists such as Nicolas de Stael, Pierre Soulages and Maurice Esteve. Their influences were in turn finding their way into the work of British artists: ‘This new form of thick abstraction has its adherents here: Scott, Hilton, Lanyon, Davie and now Paul Feiler who gets a great deal from de Stael, even though he is not as yet completely non-figurative.’²²

Moreover, in 1954 a book featuring nine abstract artists was published in London, all the artists included in the volume had been based in Cornwall in the 1940s. Among the most significant of the nine were Victor Pasmore and Terry Frost. Some of these

20 Hyman, Timothy: ‘The Persistence of Realism in British Painting’ (in *The History of British Art, 1870-Now*) page 112.

21 *ibid* page 112. Abstract Expressionism genre of painting was largely imported into Britain from America. See below for the development of abstract art in England.

22 *New Statesman* 14 February 1953, page 176. Feiler had work accepted for inclusion in the FFA, see below for the responses to this work.

artists, particularly Pasmore, were attempting a 'Constructionist recapitulation of the Constructivist tradition that had its origins in the art of the Russian Revolution of 1917.'²³ This movement was influenced by the American abstract artist Charles Biederman, whose book *Art as the Evolution of Visual Knowledge* (1948) had considerable influence upon English abstract artists. Unlike, the Russian Constructivists, however, who adhered to the principle that function should dictate form and that art should have a social purpose, the art of the English Constructivists was more concerned with art for its own sake, without reference to the real world.²⁴ Unsurprisingly, in this context the art of the English Constructionists lacked 'the kind of resonance with potential social change that enlivened the art of the Constructivists.'²⁵ Although the traditions of abstract art date back to the 1930s in Britain, its influence was gradually eroded, and eventually superseded, by American Abstract Expressionism. However, it should be noted that in the interwar years art, even abstract art, was infused with influences from society, influences that led artists to explore ideas for social change. Herbert Read even claimed that abstract art was a practical pointer to 'the art of the new classless society.'²⁶ However, the:

...dominant modernist theory of the immediate post-war period issued not from Europe but from New York, where the tendency of artists and writers was to associate programmes for the unification of the arts not with a 'possible...universal freedom,' but rather with a disastrously failed utopianism.²⁷

Hepworth's 'universal freedom' may have had a different context in the 1930s but in the context of the 1950s, abstract art was more concerned with the 'more complex

23 Harrison, Charles: 'Going Modern' (in *The History of British Art, 1870-Now*) page 52.

24 Alley, Ronald: *Catalogue of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art other than Works by British Artists*, pp.52-3.

25 Harrison, 'Going Modern' page 52.

26 Read, Herbert: *What is Revolutionary Art*. Also cited in Harrison op cit page 52.

27 Harrison op cit page 54. The text in inverted commas used by Harrison is from Barbara Hepworth.

inner self' than with wider society.²⁸ In other words universal freedom became associated with the freedom of the individual, as opposed to freedom of the people in a more equitable society.

By the end of the 1950s, such was the impact of American art, John Berger conceded that in Western Europe Abstract Expressionism and New Dadaism had replaced realism as the dominant art form.²⁹ Moreover, abstract art, Clement Greenberg could declare, had become 'the major mode of expression' while 'any other mode is necessarily minor.'³⁰ Ideologically, in the post-war period, abstract art was 'associated with a 'free' society' while realism represented totalitarian or undemocratic states.³¹ Despite the link with totalitarianism John Berger, who was closely associated with promoting realism in the period, believed that 'the realist attitude breaks down the studio wall and projects the artist into ordinary life.' Moreover, the subject matter presented by the artist did not present a barrier to a wider understanding of the painting.³² In 1952 Berger curated an exhibition, *Looking Forward*, at the Whitechapel Gallery with the specific aim to show work:

Of painters who draw their inspiration from a comparatively objective study of the actual world: who inevitably look at a subject through their own personalities but who are more concerned with the reality of that subject than with the 'reality' of their feelings about it.³³

28 Mark Rothko, cited in Harrison page 54.

29 See Berger's article in the *New Statesman* 31 October 1956. Also cited in Steyn, J: *Realism versus Realism in British Art of the 1950s* page 154. New Dadaism was associated with American artists such as Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg.

30 Cited in Hyman page 112.

31 Spalding, Frances: *British Art Since 1900* page 171.

32 Berger, John: *Looking Forward* exhibition catalogue. Also cited in Steyn, J page 149. Berger regarded the work of Francis Bacon and Lucien Freud as art that put barriers in the way of understanding the wider meaning(s) contained in a painting.

33 *ibid* Berger and Steyn page 148.

With Berger's comments in mind, it is worth considering the limited amount of football art that was produced in the period prior to the 1953 *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition. Berger's exhibition was drawing upon the work of the Artists International Association (AIA) in the 1930s. Many of the artists associated with the AIA made a conscious effort to 'to establish a social role for the artist' and to 'broaden the audience for contemporary visual arts.' Their work was included in several exhibitions promoted by the AIA prior to Berger's Whitechapel Gallery exhibition. In general, the curators of these exhibitions did, not choose football paintings or other aspects of popular culture.³⁴

However, there are several football paintings worthy of consideration from this period, including work done by Lowry.³⁵ Lowry, whose work was growing in reputation during this period, was once again the single most important artist from the period to represent football in his work.³⁶ His painting *Football Match*, (1949) [plate 78] offers a similar panoramic view of industrial society to the 1934 image of the same name. However, there are differences between the two paintings: the crowds that line the four sides of the pitch, for example, seem more extensive. According to Edwin Mullins: 'Lowry's aim is to capture the jubilation of a post-war afternoon in England.'³⁷ He thought that:

No other known work provides such an engaging panoramic birds-eye view deep in to the action on the pitch, through such extensive crowds, with the greater, highly detailed context of the homes and factories,

34 Morris, Lynda and Radford, Robert: *AIA: The Story of the Artists International Association* back cover. The authors also argue that the ideas of AIA influenced the Arts Council in the post-war period. An interesting observation given the role of the Arts Council in organizing FFA.

35 See chapter 3 for an overview of Lowry's earlier football related work.

36 Critics such as John Berger championed the work of Lowry in this period. See Berger's article in *The Moment of Cubism and other Essays*. For Lowry's growing reputation see among others Shelley Rhode: *L.S. Lowry a Biography*.

37 Mullins, E: Notes to accompany the sale of the painting at Sotheby's 13 May 1992.

flanking all four sides of the pitch, which are central to the livelihood of the supporters depicted.³⁸

The painting offers an insight into the major themes contained within Lowry's industrial landscapes which often encompass 'the working man at play' in densely populated areas. Alongside this we see not only the places of work but the working-class of all ages at play and going about their everyday lives. The *Football Match* provides an insight into working-class culture and community:

An extensive panorama presents the onlooker with a cityscape peppered with rooftops; chimneys full of billowing smoke; spires; houses and street scenes with incidental domestic moments, including children at play, and mothers pushing prams, all held in thrall to the compulsion of the crowd who surge to catch the action of the game. This juxtaposition of the tension of the crowd watching the game, and the slow pace of the individuals who stroll around the multi-layered streets and wastelands beyond, is captured by the artist who towers over the action pulling the viewer over the rooftops and beyond into the drama below.³⁹

Lowry painted similar scenes in the same period including, *The Park* (1946) [plate 79], *The Pond* (1950) [plate 80], which Lowry regarded as his finest industrial landscape, and *Industrial Landscape* (1953) [plate 81].⁴⁰ All of these paintings show numerous scenes that are hard to define clearly but some do include some of Lowry's figures playing football. Also, all three paintings are in effect industrial landscapes that follow a similar pattern to other 'Lowryscapes', in that mass forms of leisure take place against the backdrop of industrial society. Unlike artists such as Leger who regarded industrialisation as the basis for a human utopia, Lowry was always out to show 'the de-humanising effects of the industrial process' which in his view

38 *ibid.*

39 *ibid.*

40 *The Pond* is in the Tate Collection, the information with regard to it being his finest landscape can be found at <http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?cgroupid=99999961&workid=9010&searchid=9380>.

restricted the 'freedom of mind' of the working-class even when they were outside of work.⁴¹

In 1946 Lowry also produced another football painting, as well as a pencil drawing, both were titled *Going to the Match*. The painting shows a crowd of supporters heading towards an unnamed stadium, which can just about be detected in the background by a red flag that is waving above an edifice [plate 82]. The form of the painting differs from many of the other football themes he produced. To get to the stadium the fans have to push through a narrow passage between two buildings. It would appear that in this painting, in contrast to his 1953 painting of the same name, Lowry is interested in the mass of people converging on a single point. By concentrating on this Lowry gets across the intensity of the crowd hurrying towards the ground and graphically conveys the huge nature, as well as the great intensity, of football crowds in the post-war period. Although, the industrial world is in the background, the painting is not panoramic when compared to his other football associated paintings of 1934 and 1949. The pencil drawing, *Going to the Match*, is in the National Football Museum collection. The caption that accompanies the drawing seems to imply that the image was preparatory work for the painting Lowry entered in the FA exhibition. There is no real evidence for this. Moreover, there is no factual information that Lowry painted *Going to the Match* (1953) especially for the exhibition. Lowry was notorious for spending prolonged amounts of time on a painting. It would seem likely that the oil painting entered in the FA competition was one that had been long in preparation and may well have been finished for the FA sponsored exhibition. Lowry often incorporated interchangeable scenes across paintings, in effect taking a scene from one painting and placing it into another painting, almost

41 Howard, Michael: *Lowry a Visionary Artist* see page 128 for the comparison with Leger and pp.135-136 for the dehumanising effects of industrial society.

like a modern day cut and paste action. In all his *Going To* and *Coming From* paintings, however, Lowry demonstrates that he had an 'uncanny understanding of the mood of the crowd' particularly the sporting crowd reinforcing the point made above that Lowry had a unique way of presenting working-class culture and the sense of community within densely populated urban areas in art.⁴²

Although Lowry's paintings are often considered outside the traditions of English art - mostly because of the way he presents the 'city as spectacle' whose inhabitants are directed by an 'all-powerful puppet-master'⁴³ - his work does conform to the traditions of English art. A tradition that includes the work of the Pre-Raphaelites, the Camden Town Groups, the Euston Road School and the northern artists associated with the Artists International Association. What makes Lowry's work unique is the preponderance of leisure scenes, which include of course, his football related work. However, work depicting football and other leisure activities was not the sole preserve of Lowry in this period. Before considering the 1953 exhibition this work will need to be considered, as much of it resonates with the work selected by the judges for the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition.

Other notable English painters who produced football paintings prior to the exhibition included Carel Weight whose painting *The Village Cup-Tie* (1946) [plate 83] once again reflects that large crowds were attracted to relatively minor games prior to the emergence of sport on television.⁴⁴ Birmingham born artist Henry Cotterill Deykin's painting *The Cup Final at Wembley* (1951) [plate 84] shows the crowd

⁴² Mullins, E: Notes to accompany the sale of the painting at Sotherby's 13 May 1992.

⁴³ Howard *op cit* page 128.

⁴⁴ Weight's painting was influenced by Brueghel's *Winter Landscape with Skaters*. The painting was bought by the PFA in June 2011 for £29,000.

celebrating Jackie Milburn's second goal against Blackpool. The painting was part of a commission Deykin received from Acto, the lawnmower manufacturers, to paint 22 grass-based sports.⁴⁵ James Boswell, who also produced a wartime painting of football, continued his football work with a watercolour titled *The Winning Side* (1951) [plate 85].⁴⁶ The satirical nature of the painting shows a very cold goalkeeper and two defenders standing glumly on a rain-soaked pitch. They might be on the winning side but the exposed nature of a community football pitch does not offer them much comfort in this scene, as they look on with arms wrapped round their bodies to keep them warm. Lastly, a watercolour by Russell Sidney Reeve, *Yoghourt Rangers Football Club* (1947) [plate 86], seems to show the build-up to a community benefit match for ex-servicemen. There is a photo-shoot for one of the teams taking place while in and around the pitch there are numerous men in service uniform as well.⁴⁷ In common with the majority of British football related paintings produced in this period, these football images reflect that in the post-war period the dominant art form was social realism, the very form that would dominate the *Football and the Fine Arts* competition.

On mainland Europe football attracted relatively few artists unlike the interwar years when European artists, especially artists associated with Dada and Constructivism, successfully incorporated football into their work. However, post World War Two Europe, where much of the land war had taken place, was not a place for art experimentation. The reasons for this are complex, but the separation of

45 Wingfield reproduces 10 of Deykin's works in her book. The original painting is in the FIFA collection at the National Football Museum.

46 Alongside Lowry Boswell had a painting accepted for the Football and the Fine Arts Competition. There are numerous works by Boswell in the Tate and British Museum collections.

47 Reeve was a lieutenant in WWI. After the war he studied at the Slade, 1919-1992 and had work exhibited at Royal Academy on a regular basis. The *Yoghourt Rangers Football Club* is on permanent display on the James Huntington-Whiteley web site.

art into ideological camps in the post-war period forms part of the explanation. Moreover, unlike post 1918 the political and economic blocs that emerged from the war were conservative, even anti-revolutionary, in nature. In the interwar years positive depictions of the working-class, at work or pursuing leisure activities, were not uncommon in European art. In the immediate post 1945 period the same positive images of the working-class do not appear to the same extent. The art historian Edward Lucie Smith has noted that despite its horrific outcomes the 'events of World War II...did not have the same impact on the avant-garde.'⁴⁸ As already commented on above, the revolutionary movements that did occur in the post-war period were very quickly suppressed in Eastern Europe while the people in countries such as France and Germany were too exhausted by the war to contemplate social movements on the scale of 1918-1924. Moreover, two strong powers, the Soviet Union and the USA, used their powers in different ways to ensure there was no revolutionary threat to their respective systems. For these reasons radical art movements expressing social and political discontent did not emerge in the post 1945 period.

It is in this broad context, apart from 24 outstanding canvasses produced by the French based artist Nicolas de Stael between 1952-53, representation of football in art by European artists was somewhat limited prior to the World Cup of 1954.⁴⁹ De Stael's work emerged out of a visit to Parc des Princes to watch France play Sweden on 26 March 1952. The artist was carried away by the atmosphere created in the stadium, by the fervour of the crowd as well as the clash of colours both on and off

⁴⁸ Lucie-Smith, Edward: *Art Today* page 8.

⁴⁹ Chazaud page 98-99.

the pitch.⁵⁰ Although abstract in nature the human form is clearly apparent in the canvasses. Moreover, by placing the silhouetted figures against a flattened background De Stael was able to get a sense of movement into his canvasses. De Stael, who was influenced by Courbet, successfully combined realist and abstract forms to produce a fine series painting that show the existential nature of football.⁵¹

Clearly, prior to the *Football and the Fine Arts* competition and exhibition tour of 1953-54 artistic representations of football were not only limited in nature but were few in number. In this context it is easy to understand why the first line of the *Football and the Fine Arts* souvenir booklet bemoaned that: 'Compared with cricket, there is no tradition in Britain of football painting.'⁵² However, this statement is only partially accurate as shown above football, in one form or another, has been represented in the visual arts for hundreds of years prior to the exhibition and had been represented in the arts for much longer than cricket.

The next section will look in some detail at *Football and the Fine Arts* competition and tour, will consider how it came about, determine whether the whole concept was a success, not just in art terms, but whether it provided a catalyst for the Football Association's overall aim to encourage art and artists to consider football a worthy subject matter.

50 Chazaud page 100.

51 For influences upon de Stael see Cooper, Douglas: *Nicolas De Stael*.

52 *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition catalogue page 1.

Establishing the Football and the Fine Arts Competition and Tour

Just whose idea it was to have a football related arts competition, to celebrate the ninetieth anniversary of the FA, has not emerged from the extant files located in the National Art Library or from the FA Council minutes located in the National Football Museum. However, there are indications that the main person behind the idea was Sir Stanley Rous, secretary of the Football Association between 1934-1962. Rous, who was also a key figure in the Central Council for Physical Recreation, was an executive member on the organising committee for the 1948 Olympic Games. From this position he would have had first hand knowledge of the arts competition that had been organised for the XIV Olympiad by the Arts Council at the Victoria and Albert Museum 15 July to 14 August. Moreover, the structure adopted for the FA fine art competition was very close to one organised by Fine Arts Olympic Committee in 1948. The guidelines for artists contained in the XIV Olympiad *Art Competition* booklet states: 'The connection between sport and art will be liberally interpreted so as to give the artists more liberty in the execution of their work.'⁵³

Likewise the FA guidelines for artists outlined in the FA Yearbooks and the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition catalogue were also very broad in nature with an emphasis on giving artists the scope to interpret the subject matter widely. The 1951-52 Yearbook, which provided notification of the arts competition, stated that the competition would be open to all artists regardless of style and that: 'Entries may deal with any aspect of Association football, not only the game itself, but all its

⁵³ *Art Competition* booklet page 10. Published by The Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad London 1948.

related activities - scenes in changing rooms, views of grounds, training sessions, and so on.⁵⁴

The catalogue for the FA exhibition also gave a résumé of the rules that artists were expected to follow when submitting their entries:

Competitors were invited to submit entries dealing with the game of Association football in England, or any scene connected with it. It was stated that there would be no limitations on the artist's style; symbolic treatment would receive the same consideration as more naturalistic treatment⁵⁵

While the press release promoting the exhibition stated that: 'As well as pictures of players in action there will be portraits, pictures of crowds on the terraces, of the dressing room, views of famous grounds and other scenes connected with the game...'⁵⁶ Similarly, the guidelines for the different art categories issued to artists for the *Football and the Fine Arts* competition follow very closely the guidelines for the X1V Olympiad arts competition. In 1948 under the heading *Painting and Graphic Art* the following categories are listed:

1. All classes of painting: Oil, watercolour, pastel, fresco, tempera, gouache, etc.;
2. Graphic Art and Design: wood and copper-plate engravings, etchings, lithographs etc.;
3. Applied Art: posters, diplomas, stamps seals etc.;

54 FA Yearbook 1951-52 page 95.

55 *Football and the Fine Arts Exhibition* catalogue page 1.

56 Press release issued by the Football Association, October 1953. In the V&A archive.

4. Sculpture – the following works will be eligible: sculpture (in the round), reliefs, medals and plaques.⁵⁷

Categories, or classes as the FA called them, for the FA art competition closely resembled those outlined above for the Olympiad art competition. These were as follows: paintings, drawings and watercolours, engraving and lithographs and sculptures.

The *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition was clearly long in gestation. For example, the year after the London Olympics, the FA reproduced examples of football art in its yearbook. Moreover, over a period of six years, between 1949-1955, the FA Yearbooks continued to show that football representation in art went back to antiquity. These factors would also seem to indicate that the XIV Olympiad Art Competition had planted the idea into the minds of the Football Association officials. The 1949-50 FA Yearbook drew upon work by contemporary artists including a mural by Cosmo Clark that had been installed in the Peacock restaurant in Islington, two community football scenes, one by James Bostock, the other by William Gaunt and an ink drawing of a footballer, by Mimma Riccabaldi del Bava of Italy. Both the Bostock and Riccabaldi images had been exhibited in the Olympic art competition held at the Victoria and Albert museum in 1948.⁵⁸ The yearbook of 1950-51, showed art dating from the fourteenth to nineteenth century including the Webster painting *Football*, which had been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1839 and reproduced as

⁵⁷ *Olympic Art Competition* booklet pp. 9-10. The final report of 1948 Games contained a recommendation that the painting section should be sub-divided into separate classes for paintings, drawings and watercolours, engraving and lithographs and sculptures. This format was followed by the FA for its art competition. The 1948 arts competition was the last one held at an Olympic Games so the recommendation was never carried out by the IOC.

⁵⁸ Cosmo Clark did a series of football murals for the restaurant. Alas the Peacock was bombed during the war, the building, along with the murals, was destroyed. I have been unable to trace the source of the FA Yearbook picture of Clark's mural. Wingfield does not reproduce it in her book.

a print in the 1870s soon after the FA Cup was established. Particularly poignant is the 1951-52 yearbook, which reproduced seven football images drawn by schoolchildren for the *Daily Express*. To include children's visual impressions of football in an official publication demonstrates that FA was keen to show that the game was embedded in all age groups of society. It is only in the recent period that the work of schoolchildren has been considered worthy of publication by large and powerful institutions such as the Football Association. This edition of the yearbook also carried information about the *Football and the Fine Arts* competition. The yearbooks from 1952-53 and 1953-54 carried further information about the *Football and the Fine Arts* competition while the 1954-55 edition reviewed the exhibition and tour in detail. Moreover, in a preface to Percy Young's book *The Appreciation of Football* published in 1951, Rous argued that in an age 'of intensive specialisation' there has developed a divide between sport and culture, a situation that has seen the 'essayist, the artist and the poet' shun football in preference to cricket.⁵⁹ This argument was also pursued in the yearbooks and in the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition catalogue. Young's book also carried several illustrations of football paintings and sculpture including Jacob Epstein's bust of Herbert Chapman, a painting by Charles Cundall of Chelsea playing Arsenal at Stamford Bridge and Cosmo Clark's mural referred to above. Moreover, the cover was a reproduction of Lowry's *Football Match* (1932) drawing over which the title of the book was printed.⁶⁰

Final arrangements for the art competition were made by an FA sub-committee, established to prepare the ninetieth anniversary celebrations, on 15 May 1952 and

⁵⁹ Rous, Stanley: preface to: Young, Percy: *The Appreciation of Football* page 11.

⁶⁰ Young, Percy, M: *The Appreciation of Football* pp.11-12. The Cundall painting does not appear in the final Arts Council list for FFA. However, it was reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, the implication being that it was part of the exhibition and tour. The details of the painting do not appear in my database, which lists all the works mentioned in the Archive of Art and Design file.

endorsed by the FA Council later that month. The sub committee was made up of six people including Rous as the secretary. Verbatim minutes of the sub committee meeting have not survived but of the six people listed Rous is the only one to appear in the subsequent correspondence between the FA and Arts Council. Overall, the evidence points to Rous as being the main person at the FA behind the fine art competition and tour although he had no involvement in the content or the selection of the artwork for the competition.⁶¹

Interestingly, the main purpose of the art competition and exhibition was not just to stimulate 'an interest in football' but was to establish 'the nucleus of a permanent exhibition of football pictures and sculpture at 22, Lancaster Gate.'⁶² Alas, this was never formalised. The FA did purchase some paintings and sculptures from the exhibition but did not present them as part of a coordinated exhibition at Lancaster Gate nor at Soho Square. The paintings the FA bought from the 1953 exhibition are not on show at the FA headquarters, now located at Wembley, but have been placed in storage for safekeeping.⁶³ It is only relatively recently, following the opening of the National Football Museum in 2001 that some artworks, from the exhibition have been placed on permanent public display.⁶⁴

Wanting to host a fine art competition and exhibition to celebrate its ninetieth anniversary was one thing for the FA, the question now was how were they to get

61 To counterbalance this Rous' PPA has indicated to me via email that he had no real interest in the visual arts. Email correspondence 14 December 2011. Also, Rous makes no reference to the FFA in his autobiography.

62 Minutes of the FA 90th Anniversary Sub-Committee, 15 May 1952.

63 Email correspondence with David Barber, FA official historian 5 December 2011.

64 The NFM also has several paintings, or prints of the originals, from 1953 in store at its Preston site. The public museum at Preston closed in 2010 and re-opened in July 2012 in Manchester. Alas, the selection of football paintings at the new site is much diminished.

the art world to respond. The short answer to this is the formation of the Arts Council in 1946. The following section will consider the remit of the Arts Council during its early years and the role it played in organising the exhibition and tour.

The Arts Council and the Football and the Fine Arts Competition and Tour

In the immediate post-war period, the Arts Council of Great Britain was established, replacing the wartime Council for the Encouragement of Music and of the Arts (CEMA). The primary objective of this new body was to 'encourage knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts' with an emphasis on broadening the base and the audience for the arts.⁶⁵ According to *The Manchester Guardian*, paraphrasing J M Keynes, the first chairman of the Arts Council, the new body was to:

...be concerned with nourishing a living interest in the arts all over Great Britain and with raising the standard of presentation in the metropolitan centres...[and] to foster a high standard in the arts of the nation and to make them as widely accessible as possible.⁶⁶

Arising from Keynes' statement it is clear that the newly formed Arts Council was a body that was committed to taking the arts to a wider public, and the sponsoring of the FA exhibition was a clear indication of this commitment. Although there are no surviving documents that reveal how the Arts Council agreed to host the Football and the Fine Arts competition, the detailed correspondence in the archive and Art and Design at the Victoria and Albert Museum details that the Arts Council did have overall responsibility for the 1953 exhibition.⁶⁷

65 The quotation is from Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking in the House of Commons, 12 June 1945, cited in Steyn page 155 and *The Manchester Guardian* 13 June 1945.

66 *Manchester Guardian* 13 June 1945, page 3. Keynes had been a patron of the arts and was also closely associated with the Bloomsbury Group.

67 John Gill the curator of the *Offside* exhibition in 1996 opens his introduction to the exhibition catalogue by stating that 'During the 1950s the Arts Council mounted a football exhibition...' Wingfield also asserts that the Arts Council were responsible for the exhibition.

As indicated above the 1951-52 FA Yearbook invited artists to submit work for the art competition and subsequent exhibition. The response to the FA's invitation was overwhelming with a total of 1,710 pieces of art submitted for the consideration of the judges.⁶⁸ Prizes for the competition totalled £3000: £1000 each for paintings and sculptures, £250 each for drawings and watercolours and engravings and lithographs, together with 20 honourable mentions worth £25 each. Most sources state that there were 152 artworks selected for the London exhibition, broken down into: 78 paintings; 28 drawings and watercolours; 24 engravings and lithographs and 22 sculptures. However, the final programme listed in the Arts Council archive, located at the Victoria and Albert Museum, lists 156 artworks, which included:

- 81 paintings;
- 29 drawings and watercolours;
- 24 engravings/lithographs;
- 22 sculptures.⁶⁹

Prize-winners in the different categories were as follows:

- Paintings: four shared £1,000: Brian Robb, *Football*; L S Lowry, *Going to the Match*; L. L. Toynbee, *Midweek Practice at Stamford Bridge*; Alfred Daniels, *Fulham FC*.
- Watercolours: one winner received £250: Susan Benson, *Stamford Bridge Stadium*.

⁶⁸ The four judges were: Professor William Coldstream from the Slade; Sir John Rothenstein, director of the Tate; Sir Philip Hendy, director of the National Gallery; Philip James, director of the Arts Council.

⁶⁹ See the exhibition catalogue and Wingfield, *op cit* for example.

- Engravings and Lithographs: five winners received £50 each: Arthur Goodwin, *Saturday Afternoon*; Susan Benson, *Saving a Goal*; Geoffrey Clarke, *Study of the Ball Striking the Net*; Michael Rothenstein, *Moment of Victory*; Robert Taverner, *The Changing Room*.
- Sculpture: only £600 of the £1000 was awarded: two winners received £150: F B McWilliam, *Football*; Jack Daniel, *Footballers*; three received £100: Willi Soukop, *Goalkeeper*; Roger Young, *Spectators*; Peter L Peri, *The Players*.⁷⁰

The three-week-long exhibition was held at the International Faculty of Arts, Park Lane House, between 21 October and 7 November 1953. Although the exhibition was given a royal opening by HRH Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, who also bought Lilla Fox's painting *Boys Playing Football*, the idea for the exhibition was conceived before the schedule for the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II was announced. The majority of the work was also shown on the subsequent year-long national tour that took the exhibition to 12 English towns and cities as well as Aberdeen. Each gallery showed the exhibition for a three-week period.⁷¹ It is not entirely clear who had the idea for the tour. Correspondence in the Art and Design archive has various items showing that both Rous and staff members of the Arts Council were in contact with regional galleries, but none actually reveals who, or what group of people, actually initiated the idea for the tour.

Although the costs for the original exhibition were met by the Arts Council,

⁷⁰ There were also 20 honourable mentions broken down as follows: paintings 14, watercolours 3, engravings and lithographs 2, sculpture 1.

⁷¹ Many other galleries and museums expressed interest in hosting the exhibition. Some had to refuse due to lack of space, others because their programme was already fully booked for the year ahead.

escalating overheads for the nationwide tour forced Philip James, Director of the Arts Council, to write to Sir Stanley Rous asking for a contribution of £500 from the FA towards the tour. James explained to Rous that hiring fees for artists for the year-long tour would amount to £1,000, with transport costing an additional £700. Hiring fees for artists' work were paid as follows:

- Oil paintings £12 per annum;
- Watercolours £6 per annum;
- Drawings £6 per annum;
- Sculpture £15 per annum (artists that had two sculptures accepted received £25 per annum).

With these costs in mind, and upon Rous' recommendation, the FA eventually acceded to James' request.⁷²

Initially regional galleries were offered the tour free of charge but because of higher than expected costs, and despite the donation from the FA, the Arts Council was forced to levy a hire charge of £1 per day for the exhibition. This fee proved too much for some galleries who had been initially informed that only insurance and transport costs would fall upon them. Galleries that declined after initial interest included the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool as well as galleries and museums in Burnley, Stafford and Rochdale.

Another gallery that expressed interest was Lancaster who wrote directly to Sir Stanley Rous:

⁷² James to Rous, Archive of Art and Design and internal Arts Council memo from Elisabeth Davison to the finance department requesting payment to the artists. As with the original idea for the exhibition there are no surviving documents that indicate whether a tour was part of the original plan. Correspondence to galleries in relation to the tour start to appear in the spring of 1953, this would indicate that the idea to tour the exhibition came later.

I am sure the exhibition would prove of great interest, not only in Lancaster, but also in the Borough of Morecambe, which has no art gallery, and as you know both of these towns have good football teams, and in addition there are a large number of teams in the city and adjoining villages whose members and followers would probably take advantage of seeing an exhibition such as this.⁷³

Alas, there proved to be no room in the schedule to accommodate Lancaster. That so many galleries expressed interest in hosting the exhibition reflects both the aims of the Arts Council, making art more accessible, and the growing interest of the art world in football. Other galleries such as Birmingham had rejected 'the football exhibition' from the outset because they 'already had an overloaded programme' while other galleries did not feel football was a suitable subject for art.⁷⁴

Although many galleries expressed an interest in hosting the exhibition, overall the response to the FA's invitation was mixed. This reflects, perhaps, the views held by the majority of art critics and curators as well as some academics – and which has only recently begun to change – that most football-related art produces pictures 'that might appeal more to the public than the art critic'.⁷⁵ Indeed, reports from regional art galleries to the Arts Council about the exhibition reinforce Lanfranchi's comment. However, the extant regional reports do reveal that the exhibition was popular with the viewing public, especially when the artworks were shown alongside football artefacts. During the course of December 1953 to December 1954, over 85,000 visitors attended the touring exhibition. No attendance figures for the London exhibition appear in the archive held at the V&A. Attendance at the regional galleries was variable; some areas saw record crowds while others received a poor response. The

73 Letter to Rous from Lancaster city librarian and curator dated 4 May 1953.

74 Correspondence, Archive of Art and Design.

75 Lanfranchi *et al* 2004, page 208.

Williamson Art Gallery in Birkenhead, for example, attracted over 21,000 people, almost a quarter of the aggregate total. By comparison Sheffield and Blackpool had disappointing attendances totalling, 7,000 and 2,000 respectively, for the two three-week periods. Reporting to J. St John, Joanna Drew of the Arts Council observed that: 'The exhibition had its greatest success at Birkenhead as you can see from the numbers, it created an unprecedented stir in a town which doesn't take to art exhibitions.'⁷⁶

However, to what extent art was the attraction is open to question. To broaden the appeal of the exhibition, Birkenhead adopted the strategy of showing the four Football League Championship trophies, the FA Cup, Stanley Matthews' cup winners medal and personal souvenirs from the collection of Ralph (Dixie) Dean, the former Everton centre-forward, as well as several souvenirs from the Everton and Liverpool trophy rooms. This seems to have been a decisive factor in attracting visitors, the majority of whom would never have seen trophies such as the FA Cup close up. The first day's attendance at the gallery totalled 1,500, compared to the weekday average of 30. The next best attendance on the tour was Manchester with nearly 12,000 visitors while Bootle attracted 5,000 visitors, a record for a single exhibition at the gallery.⁷⁷ Some galleries were clearly disappointed with the attendance. At Bradford, for example, attendance totalled 5,773 for the duration of the exhibition. Expressing his disappointment, the art director of Cartwright Hall partly blamed the poor weather but overall 'it [the exhibition] did not appeal to anything like the extent we had anticipated, despite the fact there are two Football

⁷⁶ Drew to St John, Archive of Art and Design.

⁷⁷ Both Everton and Liverpool football clubs provided trophies and artefacts for the Bootle leg of the exhibition. The Birkenhead gallery has a series of newspapers cuttings in their archive relating to the exhibition.

League Clubs in the city'. The gallery had expected to draw a minimum of 3,000 persons for each week of the exhibition.⁷⁸ Overall, however, the Arts Council was pleased with the tour. Writing to Rous, Phillip Green, the director of the Arts Council, informed him that:

On the whole it has been extremely successful and particularly well received at Sheffield and Birkenhead and at Wolverhampton, where it was pronounced the most popular exhibition of the year. At Salford and Bradford the success was not so great but at Luton...seven hundred people attended in 1½ hours and it...attracted an entirely new public to the gallery.⁷⁹

Wolverhampton had adopted a similar strategy to Birkenhead by displaying the Division One League Championship and the FA Cup, both of which were held by two local teams at the time of the exhibition: Wolverhampton Wanderers and West Bromwich Albion respectively. Clearly, the Arts Council was pleased that it was attracting new audiences to art galleries, whether this was maintained for subsequent exhibitions is hard to determine.

Those who saw the exhibition were generally excited by the content on show. By contrast the response of some regional curators towards the content of the exhibition was somewhat condescending. At Leeds the curator reported that the exhibition 'irritated those who knew about football and failed to satisfy those who knew about painting.'⁸⁰ He was unable to substantiate this with verbatim reports however. An unnamed regional association wrote to the Arts Council stating that 'the show was

⁷⁸ The figures are contained in the report from Cartwright Hall to Arts Council, Archive of Art and Design. At this time both Bradford Park Avenue and Bradford City were members of the Football League. Park Avenue were voted out of the league in 1970 and replaced by Cambridge United.

⁷⁹ Green to Rous, Archive of Art and Design.

⁸⁰ Regional Reports Archive of Art and Design.

an excellent scheme by the Football Association but I doubt whether it did much good for the cause of art.’⁸¹

Scott Campbell from the North East Arts Council reported that the region had three showings, at Sheffield, Leeds and Bradford. He agreed with the sentiments expressed by Leeds and went on to say:

People with whom I discussed the show – painters and others – disliked it more often than not for the reasons Musgrave [of Leeds Art Gallery] suggests. My personal impression was one of size and garishness... Three huge rooms full of footballers is too much for anyone, especially in view of some of the horrors included.⁸²

Getting away from curatorial impressions, a report from another unnamed region stated that ‘visitors to the exhibition were pleased to see contemporary painters facing up to the expression of such a popular theme in so many varied ways’ while the Kettering curator noticed:

...that some visitors came to see the exhibition primarily for its subject. Visitors of this type preferred the more straightforward pictures such as No 2 (Allinson: At The Goalmouth) and the various dressing room scenes. They were plainly bewildered by such pictures as No 1 (Adams: The Two Captains) and No 26 (Feiler: Mousehole v Paul) [plate 87]. These visitors often had technical comments to make about the inaccuracies in the pictures (eg goalkeepers do not have numbers as other players). Such pictures as No 8 (Bone: Arromanches, 1944) [plate 88], No 47 (Lamb: Village Football), No 49 (Lowry: Going to the Match) [plate 89], No 69 (Tucker: A promising Lad) and No 76 (Williams: Highgate Schoolboy) [plate 90] were popular and there was a good deal of interest in the sculpture, particularly in No 150 (Wood: Player in Wire).⁸³

Although the FA and the Arts Council placed no restriction on the style of work it would seem that the more popular works were those that were presented in the

81 Regional Reports Archive of Art and Design.

82 Regional Reports Archive of Art and Design.

83 Regional Reports located in the Archive of Art and Design. I have been unable to obtain images for *At the Goalmouth*, *The Two Captains*, *Village Football*, *A Promising Lad* and *Player in Wire*.

realist tradition.⁸⁴ Although most of the work in the exhibition was presented in realist form, there were several Modernist pieces that were selected by the judges. This included work by Michael Rothenstein, Walter Hoyle, Daphne Chart, Clifford Fishwick and Paul Feiler. It is impossible to provide a definitive list as many paintings either have not survived or are not readily accessible as they are in private collections. Overall, the work on show did reflect upon how the game was played, the numerous places where it was staged and just how popular football was in Britain at this time.

The Artwork in Context

According to the artist Mark Wallinger, artistic practice should get under the skin of the viewer and challenge people's received opinions of the way artists cover a particular subject.⁸⁵ The themed nature of *Football and the Fine Arts* competition produced a challenging exhibition: for the first time in the history of football an exhibition of fine art gave the public the opportunity to view the game through the imaginative eye of the artist. Moreover, as the regional reports above show, the exhibition got under the skin of and irritated the art establishment, a situation that *The Times* arts correspondent also confirms: 'Many of the pictures and sculptures have the look of works done to order on a not very congenial theme.'⁸⁶

By contrast *The Manchester Guardian*, commenting upon the Manchester leg of tour, argued that:

⁸⁴ This work will be discussed in detail below.

⁸⁵ Wallinger and Warnock. *Art for All? Their Policies and Our Culture*, page 133.

⁸⁶ *The Times* 21 October 1953.

...football provides the artist with a great variety of excellent pictorial materials which he [sic] had hitherto neglected – panoramic crowd scenes, figures in vigorous action and in strikingly dramatic attitudes, formal patterns of goalposts and nets, striped jerseys, and great corrugated iron stands, geometrically marked out fields, spectators underneath giant advertisements hoardings, and small dirty boys in back streets and empty plot.⁸⁷

Two other contemporary accounts, by David Sylvester and John Berger for *The Listener* and *The New Statesman* respectively, gave the exhibition a critical but favourable review. Sylvester's main criticism was that football '...has neither the historical universality of a sport like horse-racing nor the metaphysical universality of sport which is a matter of life or death, like bull fighting.'⁸⁸

For Sylvester 'subjects tend to be painterly in so far as they are universal.'⁸⁹ Universality in art tends to be associated with the abstract notions of beauty, which derive from Greece, or with historical epic paintings that have come to represent the values of a nation.⁹⁰ His main criticisms, perhaps supporting the arts correspondent of *The Times*, were aimed at paintings that depicted goalmouth scenes which, he felt, had been produced from studies of photographs and resulted in static images:

The players are frozen in a fantastic tableau which corresponds hardly at all to what the human eye sees on the field of play and yet whose relation to reality is not arbitrary, as the conception of a human mind would be if a painter tried to invent something equally unexpected. This, of course, tempts the artists to paint from news-pictures of football.⁹¹

Sylvester is probably referring to the many goalmouth scenes that were accepted for inclusion by the judges, several of which are somewhat static and photograph like.

⁸⁷ *Manchester Guardian* 30 March 1954.

⁸⁸ Sylvester, David, *Football and the Fine Arts* (*The Listener* 29 October 1953).

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ See the discussion on genre in chapter 1 for more detail on genre and history painting.

⁹¹ Sylvester *op cit.*

However, unlike the actual game itself, which, for Sylvester, was an almost impossible subject to paint, the setting of the game 'provides a wealth of material for the painter' especially pictures of grounds and the crowds, both inside and outside of the stadium.⁹² Sylvester regarded Lowry's *Going to the Match* [plate 89] as the finest among this category. Lowry's painting had the universal values of the 'Lancashire townscape' that Sylvester was seeking from the artists.⁹³ A later review of Lowry's work was also praiseworthy: 'Lowry has a masterwork of a crowd flowing into Bolton Wanderers' ground: a composition of flexibly arranged Xs.'⁹⁴

Whether Lowry based his flexible Xs on the Union Jack is unclear but given that the painting was completed during the build up to the Coronation of Elizabeth II this cannot be ruled out.

Other paintings highly regarded by Sylvester included Anthony Eyton's *Fog at St James's Park* [plate 91] and L.L. Toynbee's *Midweek at Stamford Bridge* [plate 92], both of which Sylvester thought were heavily influenced by Euston Road School artists, particularly Coldstream's work *St Pancras* [plate 93].

John Berger took the unique approach of reviewing the exhibition alongside an unnamed professional footballer. The footballer noted that some painters had made basic mistakes. Goalkeepers, for example, were sometimes shown wearing the same coloured shirt as the outfield players. These basic observations confirmed both Sylvester's and Berger's general criticism that the artworks that deal directly with the

92 *ibid.*

93 *ibid.*

94 McNay, M.G: *The Guardian* 12 July 1966.

game 'lack[ed] profound observation.'⁹⁵ Overall, however, Berger welcomed the exhibition and particularly praised the FA for 'a sensible attempt to give artists and the public a common interest.'⁹⁶ The professional footballer liked W. Turner's *The Night Before the Cup-Tie* [plate 94] which shows a woman ironing a shirt in the kitchen and in his opinion was 'real' if a 'bit exaggerated' as he felt that the mother figure would not allow football boots on the table. Berger thought that Daphne Chart's painting *Clapham Common* [plate 95] successfully transferred the action of the game to the canvas.⁹⁷

In general, however, the art establishment recoiled from the subject matter of the exhibition. One is reminded of the conservative attitude of the Royal Academy in the late 19th century towards the artists who sought to combine social conscience and documentary in their work. Their work was also looked upon condescendingly by the art establishment.⁹⁸

Since the early twentieth century the main source for viewing images of football has been through journalistic photography. Unlike the photo-journalist, however, the artist does not seek to give an exact representation of cultural practice but rather to present personal impressions of life or an aspect of life. This explains the response of the public, as outlined in the report from the Kettering gallery, to some of the more

⁹⁵ Berger, John: *Taste and Soccer* (*New Statesman* 31 October 1953).

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ *ibid.* Turner's painting was bought by the Williamson Art Gallery, Birkenhead. The painting is still in their collection but not on display. See below for more detail of Chart's painting.

⁹⁸ See Treuherz (1987) for the attitude of the art establishment towards social documentary art in the nineteenth century. This is discussed in chapters 1, 2 and 3 of the thesis.

abstract works in the exhibition, most notably the Feiler painting.⁹⁹ Several regional reports indicated that the exhibition did bring new audiences into the galleries; the majority of these new visitors were probably drawn from working-class football supporters many of whom would not have been exposed to abstract art before. However, the varied nature of the exhibition reinforces my earlier comment that the range of styles in the exhibition meant that there was something in it to accommodate all tastes: especially the paintings that were documentary in nature.

It would seem that not all of the paintings from the exhibition have survived, but from the 75 reproductions, and the full list of exhibitors presented in the exhibition catalogue, it is possible to break down the paintings into various subject categories. Excluding action scenes, such as goalmouth tussles, there were some 40 images that showed football stadiums, most of which have football fans either approaching the stadium or packing the terraces. London grounds dominate, particularly Stamford Bridge and The Valley, but there are also interesting paintings of the Goldstone Ground, Brighton, Fratton Park (Portsmouth), Brunton Park (Carlisle) and three of Burnden Park in Bolton. Lowry's painting of Burnden Park, *Going to the Match*, has, since the exhibition, emerged as the most important painting that was on display in 1953. The Professional Footballers' Association bought the painting in 1999 for £1.9m. Gordon Taylor, the PFA Chief Executive, regards it as the most important football painting since for him it represents 'the heart and soul of the game and the anticipation of fans on their way to a match.'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The Feiler painting was included in a retrospective exhibition of his at Tate St Ives in 2005, the catalogue fails to mention that *Mousehole v Paul* was first exhibited in the FFA exhibition. This indicates that the art establishment are still largely unaware of the 1953 competition, exhibition and tour.

¹⁰⁰ BBC website 1 December 1999.

Compared with modern British grounds, which tend to be built to standardised designs and lack embellishment, some older grounds do have some excellent architectural features. Gerald Cains' painting, *Saturday Taxpayers* [plate 96], shows a section of Fratton Park which reveals a 'classic [Archibald] Leitch balcony, with his trademark criss-cross steelwork in blue on a white background.'¹⁰¹ From an artist's perspective the Fratton Park image, along with other pictures of stadiums, showed the 'fine opportunities stadium architecture offers for constructing satisfying relationships of lines and planes in space.'¹⁰² But in general the paintings reveal the poor conditions under which fans had to watch football in the 1950s. Cundall's painting, and others of Stamford Bridge [plate 97], for example, shows a vast stadium that had limited cover for the majority of fans.

Some artists captured the differences between fans attending a league match compared with those attending a FA cup-tie. For league games, very few fans are portrayed displaying their team's colours through the wearing of a scarf, rosette or hat whereas for cup-ties the opposite is the case. R. A. Bailey's line and wash image, *The Cup Tie* [plate 98], depicts raucous fans wearing such regalia as well as swirling football rattles above their heads. K Lek's *Off To The Match* [plate 99], a wood engraving, shows this even more graphically, while the celebrity nature of a cup-tie is brilliantly captured by Michael Rothenstein's abstract engraving *Moment of Victory* [plate 100], which amongst other things, shows football rosettes swirling like Catherine wheels. These images demonstrate the uniqueness of cup football in this period. No other national domestic football competition had the deep cultural roots of the FA Cup and these paintings help to reveal that cultural significance.

101 Inglis, S 1996, *Football Grounds of Britain* 294.

102 Sylvester, David *Football and the Fine Arts*.

Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, the next most popular scene represented in the exhibition is football being played in a community setting. There are approximately 27 such paintings that depict the game being played on council-owned playing fields, on the common, in the back-street or wasteland near to, or in close proximity to, houses. The football action showed in these paintings is far more satisfying than the stylised images that show football being played between top-level league teams. These non-professionals are shown playing football with more freedom; the situational goalmouth scenes present in the league games, in general, show a somewhat static view of the game with perhaps the notable exceptions of Michael Ayrton's painting *Arsenal v Aston Villa* [plate 101], and the prize winning entry Susan Benson's *Saving a Goal*. The communal football images in the exhibition show the game being played on makeshift areas, a situation that was not uncommon in the 1950s. This was a period when streets in working-class areas were largely free of motor cars and waste ground near houses was used for all sorts of pastimes: scenes brilliantly shown in *Tomorrow's Professionals* [plate 102], by W H Newton Taylor, which depicts boys playing in the back entry as mothers look on. Another painting, *On the Heath* [plate 103], by Paul Bullard, reveals how important playing fields were, and are, for the myriad of football teams that play in local leagues at weekends. Overall the paintings in this section tend to confirm many of the scenes that Lowry attempted to capture, namely that sport and leisure, and football in particular, had deep social and cultural roots among the working-class in Britain. By extension these communal scenes also reveal the nature of social housing and in the context of a stark urban environment. Also, in conjunction with Turner's painting, the *Night Before the Cup Tie*, the paintings give us some insight into the role of women in this period, a position that has radically changed since the time of the 1950s.

Approximately 15 artists covered action on the pitch. Many of these paintings were long shots that captured players plying their trade in a packed stadium. There is also a tendency to place the football ground in its wider environment, showing, amongst other things, the close proximity of residential housing and industrial complexes, such as power stations and mills, to places of leisure. However, the most satisfying paintings in this section are ones that focus on the fans on the terrace talking passionately about the game. One such image, *Offside Dispute* [plate 104], by Victor John Kuell, shows an angry young man pointing his finger towards the penalty area while talking to two elderly fans, presumably about the injustice of the goal awarded by the referee.

Football, of course, is about scoring goals, and there are several paintings showing just this. Perhaps the best painting in this section is a surrealist-influenced oil painting by Walter Hoyle simply titled *Goal!* [plate 105]. The goal net, which seems to wrap around the players, acts as a metaphor for the entangled goalmouth area which shows opposing players tangled up in each other's challenges. The goalkeeper has missed the ball, it has been headed towards the goal and is about to cross the line. The whole scene gets across the physicality of the game, the efforts players make both to score and to stop goals being scored. In a single image the artist has captured the great intensity of the game and successfully communicated the reason why people play and watch football. Daphne Chart's *Clapham Common* (1953) [plate 95], a Cubist inspired painting offers a more realist, if abstracted, impression of a goalmouth scene. The viewer sees the action through the goal net, to all intents and purposes the view of the spectator, but the players are in close up here. As with Hoyle's painting, the players seem to be a part of the goal net, but in this instance the players are challenging for the ball as the goalkeeper attempts to punch it clear.

Chart demonstrates that football can be just as engaging on the common and as exciting as a match that is played in a large stadium.

In addition to Rothenstein's and painting referred to above, there was at least one other abstract painting in the exhibition, *Mousehole v Paul* [plate 87], by German born artist Paul Feiler. Feiler came to England in 1933 following the seizure of power by the Nazis. The abstracted football pitch is actually located in Paul village, Cornwall and is on Mousehole Road. Feiler has created an ethereal image that suspends the goalposts in the air. Beneath the posts players are emerging out of what could be a tunnel of some description, it could even be a tin mine, to indicate that it was tin miners who were the keenest football players in the area. Underneath the players is an aerial shot of the actual football pitch possibly based on a photograph taken while Feiler was accompanying Peter Lanyon the Cornish landscape artist on one of his many glider flights.¹⁰³

Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, the portrait section of the exhibition was small, only nine paintings of individual footballers were selected by the judges. The footballer as a hero is usually defined by his abilities on the field of play but in the early 1950s top footballers had not yet developed into the national and international celebrities we know today and this perhaps explains why there were very few portraits in the exhibition. Tony Mason has strongly made the point that professional footballers were a product of working-class culture who, by and large, remained

103 For further details of Feiler see Tate exhibition catalogue *The Hear and the Far: Paintings 1953-2004*. For Cornish miners and football see <http://www.cornish-mining.org.uk/delving-deeper/sports>. Feiler was a close friend of Lanyon. Lanyon's landscapes were based on photographs he took from a glider, Lanyon was usually the pilot of the aircraft.

'local heroes representing the local community against all comers.'¹⁰⁴ Developing Mason's point Barry Smart indicates when this situation began to change:

Footballers remained local heroes and the game primarily a working-class cultural form until the 1960s when a series of factors began to have an impact. The ending of the maximum wage, abolition of the retention and transfer system, an increase in international football and the advent of the television age began to radically transform the game and players prospects.¹⁰⁵

In this period national sporting heroes were primarily found in cricket. In fact, compared to football, international cricket was much more developed and this goes some way to explaining why so few England internationals featured in the exhibition.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, cricket journalism placed greater emphasis on the cultural significance of the great batsmen. In short football journalism could not compete with the writing of Neville Cardus, E.W. Swanton and John Arlott in creating cricket sporting heroes.¹⁰⁷

The approach of the artists towards portraiture was traditionalist in style. It is important to note, however, that portraits are more than just a record of the great and the good; they often reflect social realities.¹⁰⁸ Three of the most prominent portraits in the exhibition were of Raich Carter [plate 106], Wally Barnes [plate 107] and Frank Swift [plate 108] all very fine players in their day. Surprisingly there were no paintings of Stanley Matthews, the most famous British footballer of the era, or of

104 Mason, Tony: 'Our Stephen and Our Harold' (in Mangan, J.A. et al, *European Heroes; Myth, Identity and Sport* page 84.)

105 Smart, Barry. *The Sport Star*, pp68-69.

106 See Mason op cit page 72 for a comparison between footballers and cricketers as sporting heroes.

107 Richard Holt has written extensively on the sporting hero. See for example 'Jackie Milburn, 'footballer and gentleman': regional culture and popular masculinity in post-war England' (in Wagg, Steve and Russell, Dave, *Sporting heroes of the North* edited by Northumbria UP 2010).

108 Brilliant, Richard: *Portraiture* pp.7-21.

Billy Wright the England captain at the time of the exhibition, in the portrait section. The professional footballer who accompanied John Berger at the exhibition was quite taken with the Swift portrait and commented that he was 'the finest goalie we ever had'.¹⁰⁹ Despite this elevated praise by a fellow professional each portrait effectively transmits the understated social status of professional footballers in this period.

In the three portraits being discussed here each player's national identity is given prominence; in the case of Barnes and Swift they are seen wearing the kit of their national team, while the painting of Carter, who is wearing the colours of Hull City, has a badge in the top left corner which is inscribed with the word 'England'. According to one source, overall the portrait section was full of 'dull academic' paintings that presented professional footballers almost like aldermen rather than people who excited large crowds week-in-week-out.¹¹⁰

Despite this criticism the paintings do reveal important aspects about professional football players. The immediate post-war period was one of economic austerity, at the time of the exhibition aspects of wartime food rationing were still in place while the male, if not the sole breadwinner in the family, was the dominant provider of money that maintained the family. There was an emphasis upon masculinity, upon the male provider who had the strength and tenacity to hold down a physically demanding job in support of his family and football was 'a game closely tied up with notions of masculinity' in this period.¹¹¹ Although still very much rooted within their working-class roots star footballers in 1950s attained hero status among football fans.

¹⁰⁹ Professional footballer to John Berger. See Berger article cited above.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.* Berger makes the point about aldermen in relation to the Frank Swift portrait in his *New Statesman* article cited above.

¹¹¹ Mason, Tony: 'Football' (in Mason, Tony(ed) *Sport in Britain*) page 179.

Interestingly, football heroes were often referred to as gentlemen, both on and off the field. As indicated above, Holt has written widely on the subject of the gentleman sportsman. His article about Jackie Milburn provides relevant insights into how one could approach the portraiture in the exhibition:

Gentlemanliness had long been considered the defining characteristic of the English. Victorian Britain saw the emergence of a reformed gentlemanly culture, a code of honour, modesty and fair play closely associated with the idea of 'sportsmanship'. This gradually filtered down the social pyramid. Gentility 'is at the root of things, permeates the being and is a philosophy of life for all classes' noted a contributor to the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1908. This notion gathered momentum between the wars. It is striking how often professional cricketers such as Hobbs and Woolley were referred to as 'gentlemen'. Footballers lagged behind - Dixie Dean or Hughie Gallacher could hardly be called gentlemen - but gentlemanly ideals were steadily democratised. The idea of the gentleman was no longer tied to social class.¹¹²

The portraits in the exhibition tend to show how integrated the players were with their working-class backgrounds. Increasingly, as the working-class enhanced their social position within society, respectability became a central tenet within working-class culture. Later in the decade, when the concept of the teenager among youth, this vision of the footballer began to change. Duncan Edwards was among the first examples of this new type of player he has been described by Arthur Walmsley as having 'that surging irrepressible determination for self expression and self reliance of the post-war teenager', yet remaining identifiably working-class.¹¹³

In common with Mason and Holt, Chas Critcher associates the professional footballer with working-class culture:

The core values of the game as a professional sport - masculinity, aggression, physical emphasis and regional identity meshed, according to one account, with other elements of that (male dominated) working-class culture, elements carried within its network of small-scale organisations and supportive mechanisms (working men's clubs, mutual insurance schemes, co-operatives, public houses, trade unions)

112 Holt, R, 'Jackie Milburn, 'footballer and gentleman'.'

113 Walmsley, Arthur, 'Duncan Edwards' (in Arlott, John, *Soccer, the Great Ones* page 132.

and in a myriad of smaller leisure-time groupings (pigeon fanciers, trade unions, amateur footballers and the rest.¹¹⁴

Also, in the post-war period trade unionism among the working-class deepened, as it did among professional footballers as they strove to improve their economic situation:

From 1945 to 1963 professional footballers were engaged in a continuous collective to improve their economic situation. The details of that struggle have been adequately recounted elsewhere: the annual bargaining over the maximum wage ceiling, the obdurate behaviour of the Football League, the strike threats, the players' final victory with the abolition of the maximum wage in 1960; then the struggle over contracts, culminating in a High Court judgement against Newcastle United in an action brought by George Eastham in 1963.¹¹⁵

The three portraits under discussion reflect the wider ethos of the professional footballer in this period. Although traditionally he was 'a kind of working-class hero, and knew himself to be such. He came from, and only moved marginally out of, the same economic and cultural background as those who paid to watch him.'¹¹⁶ The overwhelmingly majority of football supporters in this period were male manual workers the very section of society that produced top professional footballers. The common values of decency, gentlemanly conduct and a culture of unionism as a method of bettering one's life, are all embedded in the portrait section of the exhibition.

Superficially, the paintings in the exhibition demonstrate that the artists approached their subject matter in a conservative manner. Their approach to the subject as indicated above, with a few exceptions, was overwhelmingly realist. However, the artists did not just focus on pitch action; they presented the viewer with a wider

¹¹⁴ Critcher, Chas, *Football Since the War*, page 161.

¹¹⁵ *ibid* page 162.

¹¹⁶ *ibid* page 163.

vision of football, that included scenes from before and after the match, landscapes of empty stadiums, the stadium full of fans watching the action, fans approaching the stadium, the celebratory nature of being at and going to a match and views of the players in contemplative mood in the dressing room. Two of the finest paintings in the latter category are Andrew Freeth's *Watford Football Club Dressing Room* [plate 109] and Clifford Fishwick's *Changing Rooms* [plate 110]. The former painting shows players in contemplative mood after the match while later shows several players in the dressing room bath.¹¹⁷ In both instances the paintings reveal the intimacy of players' changing rooms as well as the togetherness, the camaraderie, of the players prior to, and after, the game. Taken as a whole, the exhibition encompassed many aspects of the game, including how ordinary people in the community played and watched football.

The artist Frank Auerbach has commented that when painters arrange things on a surface they need to have 'a permanent sense of the tangible world'. Such awareness enables artists to not merely reflect the world, but to make a permanent statement about it.¹¹⁸ Overall the 1953 exhibition shows how a significant portion of the population accessed and received their leisure: the football ground paintings in particular show them in locations very close to the place of work and close to where people lived. In this respect the exhibition brought together a body of work that was not only socially relevant at the time, but has also provided sports historians with lasting images of how football was embedded into the mores of society in this period. The exhibition also prefaced the modern era of football, a period that has seen the

¹¹⁷ Freeth is regarded as a portrait artist. He has numerous works in the National Portrait Gallery collection. Fishwick was a product of Liverpool Art College but settled in St Ives where he became a well-known landscape painter. He was a friend of Paul Feiler and Peter Lanyon.

¹¹⁸ *The Hard-Won Image* exhibition catalogue 1984, 26.

high art of painting seeking out football rather than the other way round. In this context the exhibition conforms with Auberbach's pronouncement referred to above, in that the exhibition has left a permanent statement about football, and its cultural significance, in the immediate post-war years.

Football and the Fine Arts Competition - The Impact and its Legacy

Juliet Steyn has observed that: 'Exhibitions are sites where ideas are mediated and values formed. They create meanings by bringing together works in particular ways out of which narratives emerge.'¹¹⁹

The 1953 exhibition focused upon in this chapter marks an important milestone in the visual representation of football, it provided a visual narrative of a significant cultural pastime, one that was rooted in the working-class in this period. The exhibition was pioneering in the sense that it attempted to attract a sceptical art world to football; it was also the first art exhibition dedicated to football that was presented through a network of publicly owned galleries. The response of the artists, the Arts Council and art galleries from around the country demonstrates that football was, even in 1953, the only national sport that was capable of attracting such broad support for a nationwide art exhibition about a particular sport. While critical acclaim was generally lacking for the exhibition, and subsequent tour, it did demonstrate that art could be taken into areas of the population that had hitherto been ignored by the art establishment. It also demonstrated that working class people could be attracted to art given the right subject matter or approach by artists and art galleries. The exhibition also demonstrated that art can be popular in style

¹¹⁹ Steyn, J: *Realism versus Realism in British Art of the 1950s* page 147.

and subject matter without compromising the quality of art produced by artists. Like all exhibitions, the work exhibited in 1953 was of mixed quality. Works by Lowry, Rothenstein, Freeth, Fishwick and Chart stood out against the lesser work, but given the broad sweep of the exhibition it was a remarkable achievement that the exhibition was regarded as both a success and of a good standard by the judges, and the organisers.¹²⁰

The FA had hoped that the exhibition would act as a catalyst to promote further interest in football by artists. Despite this huge effort by the FA to promote football-related art, the art world reverted to type following the exhibition and once again, with some notable exceptions, largely ignored football: although it has to be said that football did not follow up its aim of developing a permanent presence for the work that was shown in 1953. Examples of artists that did focus on football include Geoffrey Clarke, one of the winners from the FA competition, who made an etching, *The Footballer I* (1954) [plate 111] and a sculpture, *Child with Ball* (1954) [plate 112].¹²¹ The occultist painter Ithell Colquhoun's surrealist inspired *Game of the Year* (1953) [plate 113] shows a figure formed out of multi-coloured shapes standing behind two goalposts. The painting has similar qualities to another painting from the same year *The Crucifix*. Worship of the game could be one theme but the multi-colours of the human type figure probably represents the wide range of football kits used by football teams. It has also been suggested by her biographer that it could be named after the 1953 Cup Final.¹²² Cornish based painter William Edward Narraway

120 Green to Rous, Archive of Art and Design.

121 Clarke has work, non football, in the Tate collection.

122 The painting was bought by Harry Langton from Colquhoun in 1985. It is now part of the FIFA collection at the National Football Museum. The source of the name is open to question. It would seem likely that Colquhoun's painting was entered in the FFA but not selected by the judges. The deadline for the competition was 31 March 1953, some weeks before the cup final. Email correspondence with her

produced two realist action studies painted in oil, *Chelsea v Arsenal* (1956) [plate 114] and *Footballers* (1957) [plate 115]. Both paintings have a shaded background to give emphasis to the action of the players. Another sourced painting from the period is also a very traditional presentation of football by Cecil Beaton *The Tackle* (c1960) [plate 116].

There are numerous other works dating from 1953 by the following artists: Brian Harland Rees *The Football Game* [plate 117], Colville Barclay *Footballer* [plate 118]; William Gear *Footballers* [plate 119]; Louis le Bocquy *Football* [plate 120] and Marek Zalawski *The Goalkeeper* [plate 121]. These could all have been submitted in the FA exhibition but rejected by the judges. Likewise there are extant works from the same year by artists that had work accepted for the exhibition. This artwork could either have been preparatory work for the exhibition or was actually submitted to the judges but rejected. To date I have identified the following such artists: Michael Salaman *Football*, [plate 122] Clifford Fishwick *Goal* [plate 123] and Ghisha Koenig *Footballers in Physiotherapy* [plate 124].¹²³

Three Key Exhibitions and The Significance of Pop Art

This section will explore how new forms of art, such as Pop Art, played a key role in placing popular culture at the centre of art. From the early 1950s onwards, new innovative and significant art forms were being introduced by artists such as Richard Hamilton, Nigel Henderson and Eduardo Paolozzi all of whom were instrumental in bringing the Pop Art movement to the wide attention of the art world and beyond.

biographer reveals that Colquhoun had no interest in football but was very keen to enter art competitions to get her work known.

123 The Fishwick painting is in the FIFA Collection at the National Football Museum.

Pop Art looked at how the mass media industries, consumerism and popular culture were transforming people's lives. It was through this source that radical representations of football would emerge in the 1960s and beyond. To understand Pop Art, as well as the impact it had in looking at contemporary society from the 1950s onwards, it will be necessary to have a broad understanding of three key exhibitions held in London: *Parallel of Life and Art* (1952), *Man, Machine and Motion* (1955) and *This is Tomorrow* (1956).

As indicated above both Herbert Read and John Berger emphasise that all forms of art embody some interpretation of life and that new forms of art are often dubbed crude and unrepresentative of art. Berger spent much of the 1950s, writing for the *New Statesman*, advocating realism in art because 'the realist attitude breaks down the studio wall and projects the artists into ordinary life.' For Berger the realist work of art should reveal the 'typical truth' about the 'world as it exists' and not succumb to 'seeking consolation for its shortcomings in private dreams.'¹²⁴ The problem for critics such as Berger was that realist art had become associated with Communist Party and 'unglamorous scene[s] of everyday domestic life' typified by likes of John Bratby and Jack Smith or artists associated with the 'Kitchen Sink School.'¹²⁵ Realism as it emerged in the nineteenth century sought to combine 'social conscience' with 'documentary' of everyday life.¹²⁶ Realism, however, was not a static genre but underwent change as society changed. In revolutionary Russia, for example, the Constructivist Naum Gabo produced a *Realist Manifesto* (1920), which advocated that art should be everywhere: 'At the bench, at the table, at work, at rest, at play, on

¹²⁴ Berger, John: *Looking Forward* pp. 1-2.

¹²⁵ *The Times* 27 September 1955 page 3, 'The Realism of Mr. John Bratby.' See also Steyn 'Realism v Realism.'

¹²⁶ Treuherz, Julian: *Hard Times, Social Realism in Victorian Art*, Page 9.

working days and holidays...at home and on the road...in order that the flame to live should not extinguish in mankind.'¹²⁷

For Gabo and his Constructivist cohorts 'today' was all encompassing while the past was to be left behind as 'carrion.'¹²⁸ In 1930s Britain, artists such as Coldstream tried to re-establish the 'broken communication between the artist and the public' with a realist approach to subject matter, work that was based on studies of northern England.¹²⁹ The problem for Berger and the Communist Party was that in the 1950s realism was not only becoming associated with the unglamorous scenes of domestic life, but was doing so at the very point when the post-war economic boom was transforming people's lives at work, in the home and socially. When the emphasis on individualism and individual achievement was becoming ever more pronounced.

This is the economic and social context to the demise of post-war realism and the ever-increasing dominance of abstraction in art during the 1950s: it is in this context that the three exhibitions *Parallel of Life and Art* (1952), *Man, Machine and Motion* (1955) and *This is Tomorrow* (1956) will be discussed. Instrumental to the organisation of the three exhibitions were artists such as Nigel Henderson, Eduardo Paolozzi and Richard Hamilton, all of whom were key members of the Independent Group, a group that acted as a cultural pressure group within the newly established Institute of Contemporary Arts. The group organised talks about art and culture in pubs and in people's homes, discussions that considered the problem of visual representation

127 Bann, Stephen(ed): *The Tradition of Constructivism* page 10. The volume reproduces Gabo's manifesto in full.

128 *ibid* page 11.

129 Quoted in Spalding pages 120-121. Coldstream was a member of the AIA.

in an age of social modernisation and mass culture.¹³⁰ All three exhibitions 'sought to break down the separations of modern life and to promote integration and living wholeness' and to 'break through the closed shop of the critic gallery. Its only advantage is in its *contacts*. Contact the public and the aesthete will vanish.'¹³¹ Unlike the Abstract Expressionists the group did not seek a break with realist art for ideological reasons. Their aim was to make art more representational not less. For Henderson, Paolozzi and Hamilton:

The evolution of mimetic art enlarged man's ability to see the world of nature. Non-mimetic constructed art, will increase his ability to fashion and respond to the man-made world, the planned environment. It is an art that deals with carefully ordered visual stimuli, and in so doing conditions responses to these stimuli. The challenge of the world today, offers to both art and architecture the choice between phantasy, and the reality of a more precise aesthetic. A challenge to investigate the process inside our skins and outside, that will determine the shape of our environment.¹³²

The exhibitions provided the bridgehead to a new art genre, Pop Art, a genre that increasingly looked at the position of the individual in relation to popular culture, including football. The aims of the exhibitions were to provide 'dialogue between life and art' a dialogue drawn from 'hundreds of [appropriated] images.'¹³³ Nigel Henderson's installation for *Parallel Life in Art* looked more like a 'department store catalogue than an exhibition under the headings: Scale, Anatomy, Architecture, Art, Calligraphy, Motion, Nature, Stress, Football, Science Fiction, Medicine, Geology and Material.' Among the exhibits was a cut-out image of men playing football.¹³⁴ Henceforth, Henderson's collages would often include football images including

130 Mellor, David Alan: 'The Independent Group' (in *The History of British Art, 1870-Now*) page 160-161 and Massey, Anne: 'The Independent Group Towards a Redefinition.'

131 *This is Tomorrow* exhibition catalogue (unpaginated).

132 *ibid.*

133 Sanger, Alice: *Untitled (Study for Parallel of Life and Art)* 1952 available from the Tate web site: http://beta.tate.org.uk/art/work/T12444?text_type=short_text.

134 Osterwold, Tilman: *Pop Art* page 68.

headlines from newspapers that named actual football teams. The work of Henderson and subsequent artists such as Peter Blake, who invariably included football in his work, was an indication that culture 'was increasingly determined by the mass media, by new technology and by social change' and that opinion formers, such as artists, increasingly saw football as an integral part of cultural life.

Conclusion

Prior to the war social and economic conditions changed the way many artists worked. Artists such as William Coldstream sought to reconnect with society by reflecting the harsh conditions of life in 1930s Britain. Crucial to this trend in art was the Artists International Association which recruited artists whose work was largely based on realism: many members of the AIA were also committed to taking art into working-class communities where they would organise art exhibitions. Many of the ideals of the AIA were incorporated into the objectives of the Arts Council which aimed to make the arts as widely accessible as possible. Many of the artists who had work exhibited through AIA channels also had work accepted for the 1953 exhibition.¹³⁵

The return of peacetime conditions following the end of the war resulted in working-class people returning in vast numbers to their pre-war leisure pursuits. Most notable among these pursuits was watching professional football, a predominately male working-class preserve in this period, as well as going to the cinema. Commenting upon E.P. Thompson's definition of culture John Hughson has emphasised the important role culture plays in developing working-class identity.

¹³⁵ A list the artists who were members of the AIA and also had work accepted for *FFA* will be produced as an appendix.

The working-class should not be seen as a mass per se, a group of unthinking people, 'but as a culturally creative social collectivity'¹³⁶ whose identity, regional and national, often finds expression through their cultural pastimes. The football art of the period often reflects the creative and fertile nature of working-class culture, particularly when viewed through the stadium scenes that were exhibited in the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition. Fans can be seen walking to the match, or standing on terraces, deep in conversation: conversations that would no doubt include comments about their club and the state of the game in England.

Culture is not a static concept, it is constantly undergoing change alongside changes taking place in society. Sports historians often point to the decline of attendances at football matches in the 1950s as other forms of leisure emerged, including home-based leisure, during the decade. Despite this numerical decline in attendances at football grounds, however, the cultural influence of football expanded in this period. Moreover, ever increasing numbers of supporters from the middle-class became attracted to the game. The explanations for this are varied and include the increasing prominence of international football, especially as England now participated in the quadrennial FIFA World Cup. Historically, football had been associated with local identity but the emergence of international football competitions that could rival test cricket helped to foster a national identity for football as well. Also, in the post-war period, as the economy expanded, greater numbers of working-class people found employment among the professions, usually as a consequence of a university education, and this also contributed to a the changing social base of the football constituency. Moreover, as television developed the technology to broadcast football directly into people's homes the support base of the game was broadened, to include

¹³⁶ Hughson pp. 54-56 *The Making of Sporting Cultures*.

women and growing numbers from the middle-class. In short in the post-war period the BBC, in contrast to the interwar period, found a 'popular voice' to attract listeners and viewers from all social backgrounds. The popular voices included live sports broadcasts of cricket, horseracing, boxing and, most notably, with football in the forefront of this trend.¹³⁷

Parallel to these trends at the BBC artists, who were still predominately drawn from the middle-class, began to look at the impact of mass culture and consumerism upon society. Pop Art began this process in the 1950s, a process that has since led many artists to concern themselves with everyday issues in their work.

Prior to 1953, football still remained at the margins as far the arts were concerned, the arts in this instance are defined by literature as well as fine art. However, as artists increasingly turned their attentions to the impact of popular culture and mass consumerism upon society, images of football began to appear in their work as well as in literature. This trend continued into the 1960s and has gathered pace since. The importance and significance of this work will be assessed in the next chapter.

¹³⁷ For the development of BBC programming see Hill, Jeff: *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* pp.95-114.

Representations of Football in Art: 1960-2010

Introduction:

This chapter will explore the significant developments in the representation of football in art between 1960-2011. Prior to 1960 the representation of football in art was not widely prevalent in the fine arts. As discussed in previous chapters, there were, however, notable exceptions such as the proliferation of football in popular art produced in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, the commissions artists received from Frank Pick to produce football related posters for London Transport during the interwar years and the landmark *Football and Fine Arts* exhibition in 1953. Aside from these exceptions the only English artist to produce a significant body of football related artwork prior to 1960 was Lowry, who placed football, mostly of fans going and coming from a football match, in the context of the industrialised Lancashire landscape and in the broader context of working-class culture and society.

However, in the post 1960 period this situation began to change with Pop Artists such as Peter Blake and Nigel Henderson readily incorporating football and sporting scenes into their collages. Representation of football in art continued to develop, albeit slowly, in the 1970s and 1980s, artists such as Alan Lowndes and Ruskin Spear for example, looked towards football as source material for their work.¹ It was in the 1990s, however, that that representation of football in art really took off. The reasons for this are not too hard to find: the birth of the Premier league in 1992 linked to the live transmission of games via satellite television. Football had clearly been a global game for many decades, but satellite broadcasts of English football gave the domestic game a global market and an audience that could now be counted in billions. These two factors redefined the way football was both presented and received in Britain

¹ The work of Spear and Lowndes will be discussed below in more detail.

and throughout the world. English football not only developed a global audience in the 1990s, it also became increasingly entwined within the globalised capitalist economy. Enriched by monies from satellite TV, corporate sponsorship, replica kit sales and increased revenue from ticket sales, clubs from the Premier League were not slow in attracting the best football talent from around the world. Hitherto, clubs had largely drawn their top players from within the British Isles: up to the 1980s most of these players were also from a white background. However, from the late 1970s onwards a significant number of British born black players, mostly of Caribbean origin, emerged as key players in leading First Division clubs. Moreover, in the post 1992 period it would be unusual for a Premiership club not have a player from Africa, Latin America or Europe in its squad. This has been a remarkable turnaround for English football, which 'for almost all its history' had been known for its insularity. An:

...insularity which bred a disdain of foreigners based on the unacceptable contradiction of a natural assumption of superiority, endured during long and bitter defeats. For many years a related prejudice was turned inward towards the black players who gradually and with extreme difficulty began to infuse the game with their character in the 1970s.²

Prior to the Premier League era black players had to endure varying degrees of racist abuse from the terraces. To what extent this still persists will be discussed throughout the chapter, but particularly in connection with the work of Lubaina Himid.

Also, in the Premier League era, as footballers became ever more wealthy, stories about their private lives increasingly found their way into all media forms. The star footballer has increasingly been seen as a celebrity who had more in common with a

² Williams, Richard: 'The Outsiders' page 36 (article in the *Offside* exhibition catalogue)

movie star than the working-class football fan. Moreover, the cult of the celebrity footballer deepened in this period and was given a further push following the Bosman Ruling in 1995. From this point onwards the balance of power between club and players, a relationship that had been undergoing evolutionary change since 1961, changed dramatically in the favour of the players.

Thus economic and cultural factors played a part in heightening the profile of the game. Moreover, societal issues such as racism, identity, gender as well as violence in society, which was played out as hooliganism in football, became centre-points for debate within the game. In other words whereas in the past coverage of the game had largely been confined to performance on the pitch now the wider cultural dimension of football, as well as the social problems associated with the game, became a factor when it was being talked about in the media, among academics, and among people within the football industry.

These introductory comments supply the broad context, as to why in the Premier League era there have been a growing number of artists who have used football in their work, to explore and interpret wider societal issues such as globalisation and its impact upon sport and society. In addition to societal issues, artists have also explored the nature of the football celebrity as well as issues around identity, ethnicity and gender in their work.

As well as an increasing number of artists dealing with football there has also been, unsurprisingly, a steep rise in the number of exhibitions dedicated to football during the Premier League era. The first such exhibition held in the period covered by this chapter was held at Manchester Art Gallery to coincide with the 1966 FIFA World

Cup, which was held in England. There would be thirty-year gap, however, before football received such attention from an important regional gallery again: this time the landmark occasion was Euro '96, the UEFA European championship for nation states. Once again Manchester led the way, hosting an important festival of soccer, which included several football related exhibitions across the city including the landmark *Offside* show of Modernist art. Also, in 1996 the private art dealer, James Huntingdon-Whiteley organised *England's Glory*, an exhibition of football art held at a private gallery in Cork Street, a key area of London for buyers of contemporary art. Such was the success of this exhibition Huntingdon-Whiteley has subsequently organised several similar exhibitions at the aforementioned gallery. He also provides a permanent online exhibition of football paintings and sculpture. Since 1996 the rapidity of football art exhibitions has increased, most of the major international football tournaments organised by FIFA and UEFA have been accompanied by, official and unofficial, football art exhibitions including *Art et Football*, 1998, *Em Jogo*, 2004, *Rundlederwelten* 2006 and *The Eleven Football and Art – South Africa 2010 x Brazil 2014*.³ In Britain dedicated football art exhibitions, other than those mentioned above, include two solo exhibitions by Peter Howson in 1997 and 1998 and the *One Love* football art prize held at the Lowry Galleries in Salford in 2006. The later exhibition was modelled on the 1953 FA exhibition and was sponsored by Umbro.

Another interesting aspect of the Premier League period has been the tendency for major collections of football art and memorabilia to be brought together by bodies such as the National Football Museum and the Professional Footballers' Association. The role of the National Football Museum has been crucial in bringing together a large archive of football memorabilia, art as well as traditional archive materials

³ The four exhibitions were in Paris, Lisbon, Berlin and Johannesburg respectively.

including minute books and other paper based source material. To date the museum has bought private collections such as the FIFA collection, which has a significant body of football art contained within it, or has been loaned collections of art by the owners of the Priory Collection.⁴ Moreover, the Professional Footballers' Association is a prodigious buyer of football art. It has purchased significant football related paintings, such as Lowry's *Going to the Match*, and is supportive of several modern day artists. The association also loans work for football related exhibitions on a consistent basis.⁵

Prior to discussing these developments in football and art in the period covered by this chapter, an overview of the political and economic situation will provide the wider context for the radical cultural change that occurred in Britain in the fifty years up to 2010. Cultural change that also ushered in radical developments in the way football was represented in the arts.

Political and Economic Background 1960-2010

In the period covered by this chapter Britain changed rapidly, not only economically and politically, but it also experienced revolutionary social and cultural change. At the start of this period, Britain was still regarded, albeit a declining one, as an industrial nation, a country that produced manufactured goods on a large scale. At the end of the period Britain's industrial base was radically diminished with the economy being over-dependent upon the service sector, or more accurately a major producer of intangible goods such as financial services. An over dependence upon the service sector since the 1980s, has changed the nature of the British workforce.

⁴ For details about the Priory Collection see chapter one of the thesis.

⁵ See chapters one and two of the thesis for more detail regarding the NFM and PFA collections.

This in turn has impacted upon the social composition of the football crowd. Traditionally, a large proportion of British football crowds have been drawn from the skilled working-class but as Britain's industrial base rapidly declined in the 1980s, following the large-scale closure of coalmines, shipyards, steel plants and other places of primary manufacture or mineral extraction, attendances at football matches also declined rapidly. When recovery in attendances occurred from the late 1980s onwards, in line with an improvement in the economy and a decline in unemployment, supporters were being increasingly drawn from a wider range of social classes.⁶

Politically, the period saw power equally shared by the two major political parties, Conservative and Labour. The period up to 1979 saw both the Wilson and Heath Governments undermined by industrial action by powerful groups of workers such as miners, the car workers and public sector employees.

The post 1979 era ushered in significant changes in the power balance between government and the trade union movement in favour of the state, especially after the defeat of the miners by the Thatcher Government in 1985. The 1980s also marks both a political and economic watershed in Britain. It was in this period that the broad political consensus between the two main political parties, in broad terms a consensus that had been apparent since the formation of the wartime coalition in 1940, began to fragment, a situation that persisted until 1997 when the Labour Party was returned to office under the leadership of Tony Blair. Economically, during the 1980s and the 1990s, Keynesian approaches to the economy were largely pushed to one side, with the doctrine of monetarism, essentially balanced budgets rather than

⁶ The social base of football spectators will be discussed below in more detail.

deficit financing, providing the base for economic theory and policy. Economic policy in the 1980s accelerated the decline of Britain's manufacturing base: in 1976 manufacturing as a percentage of UK GDP stood at 31.7 per-cent, falling to 21.1 per-cent by 1992, by 2005 this had shrunk to just 13.6 per-cent of GDP, a trend that has little chance of being reversed during a worldwide recession.⁷ According to one source: 'Between 1973 and 1989 the UK de-industrialised faster than any comparable OECD country other than Belgium.'⁸ Hobsbawm has also produced figures to show that between 1953 and 1994 the financial services grew from 3.5 per cent of GDP to 19.2 per cent: 'Yet by the 1990s British competitiveness in financial services, as in so much else, was under challenge.'⁹ De-industrialisation had the greatest impact upon northern towns and cities, many of which went into decline, leading to a myriad of social problems during this period. By comparison the south-east region of England became increasingly prosperous, although there are significant areas in the south of England facing social problems similar to that of the north of England.¹⁰ Even North Sea Oil, which enabled Britain to become self-sufficient in oil during the 1980s, did not resolve the country's economic problems because it resulted in the pound rising against other world currencies, which in turn made British manufacturing even more uncompetitive.¹¹

Industrial decline led to social decline, but the response of successive British governments to resolving societal problems arising from industrial decline was

⁷ <http://earthtrends.wri.org/text/economics-business/variable-217.html>. See also *Manufacturing in the UK: Supplementary* (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2010). According to recent reports in the press manufacturing now accounts for only 10 per cent of the British economy.

⁸ Hobsbawm, Eric: *Industry and Empire* page 312.

⁹ *ibid* page 308.

¹⁰ Morgan, K: *op cit* pages 208-218.

¹¹ Hobsbawm, Eric *op cit* pages 298-316.

ineffective because, once again, social investment did not match social needs. Indeed, social spending as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product was lower in Britain compared with the OECD average: between 1960-1975 Britain spent 5.9% p.a. compared to the OECD average of 8.4%; between 1975-1980 this dropped to 1.8% p.a. compared to 4.8% in the OECD: a trend of under-investment that has continued up to the present day.¹²

Football was not immune from the social, political and economic changes that took place in the period covered by this chapter. To what extent football did change in this period will be the focus of the next section.

The Changing Face of Football

Football underwent constant revolutionary change throughout the period. During the 1940s and 1950s footballers increasingly became regarded as entertainers whereas hitherto their reference point with regard to their employment status had been within the labour aristocracy.¹³ However, since the 1960s football has increasingly become part of the global entertainment industry, a trend that has turned many top professionals into stars with celebrity status, a factor that has become of increasing relevance in the internet age.¹⁴ Also, clubs such as Arsenal,

¹² *ibid* page 302.

¹³ Wagg, S: *The Football World: A Contemporary Social History* page 102. The labour aristocracy was a term used by Marx to describe the better paid industrial workers in nineteenth century Britain. Somewhat incongruously Joyce Woolridge in her article: *Mapping the Stars: Stardom in English Professional Football, 1890-1946*, suggests that footballers from the early period of the game should be regarded as stars because they were entertainers. Clearly footballers did entertain people in front of large crowds in this period but to call footballers stars is taking the word out of its modern context, which, in her words often refers, to a person's value [monetary] and to someone who is instantly recognisable. For all his fame Meredith, her main example, still remained a part of, not outside, the local community and was not a commodity (monetary value) in the sense that football stars are today.

¹⁴ Davis, John *The Beautiful Game Show*.

Chelsea, Liverpool and Manchester United attract celebrity fans that are drawn from all sectors of the entertainment industry.

The period between 1960-2010 started with the abolition of the maximum wage in 1961, a reform that resulted in the wage of the professional footballer rising from £1,173 in 1960 to £15,200 in 1983. In 1960 a footballer's wage was very close to the national average of £948 but by 1983 it was double that of a typical spectator, a male manual worker. The abolition of the maximum wage, along with the partial contractual victory over the 'retain and transfer' policy in 1963, unleashed economic forces that culminated in the Bosman Ruling in 1995, which gave professional footballers even greater powers when negotiating contracts: a situation that has resulted in top professional footballers earning millions of pounds a year in wages and sponsorships.¹⁵ By contrast the majority of football fans earn less than £40,000 p.a., a sum most top professional players can earn in less than a week. Thus, at the beginning of the period the player and spectator had lifestyles that were not too dissimilar, whereas in the modern day the professional footballer mixes in the 'rarefied atmosphere of show business and stardom' and is far removed from the everyday fan.¹⁶

By 1960 football attendances had been in decline for more than a decade. The 1960-61 season saw 28,619,764 spectators go through the turnstiles of the 92 league clubs, within 12 years football had lost 13 million fans.¹⁷ Attendances continued their

¹⁵ For the abolition of the maximum wage and issues around the retain and transfer system see Walvin, J: *Football and the Decline of Britain* Russell, Dave: *Football and the English*.

¹⁶ Walvin, J: *Football and the Decline of Britain* page 35. See also the annual Fan Surveys commissioned by the Premier League for average fan income by club. According to the Premier League fan survey of 2000-08 the majority of fans earned £40,000 or less per year. See below for more detail.

¹⁷ See chapter four for post-war attendance figures.

terminal decline, with occasional exceptions, year on year until the 1986-87 when only 16.5 million spectators paid to watch league football. In total, since the peak year of 1948-49, attendances at Football League grounds had declined by 25 million spectators. The reasons for this are complex and varied but include the impact of television, wider leisure opportunities and more focus on the family weekend following the establishment of the five-day week. However, much of the decline from the 1970s onwards can be attributed to the return of large-scale unemployment in the mid 1970s and mass unemployment in the early 1980s. Although attendances declined by 9.7 million between 1977-1986, six million from this total were lost between 1980-83 the very period when unemployment passed the three million mark for the first time since the 1930s. Despite this steep decline in attendances football was still the nation's most watched sport.¹⁸

Another major factor that contributed to the decline in football attendances between 1960 and 1987, as football became increasingly associated with youth culture, was the increasing incidences of hooliganism in and around football grounds.¹⁹ Moreover, throughout the 1970s and 1980s sections of spectators, at several top clubs, associated themselves with the far right fascist and racist groups. Also, several football grounds became places where 'collective violence' was seen as a threat to the majority of fans who just wanted to watch their team win.²⁰ In trying to stop fans invading the pitch most stadiums in the top divisions became 'fortified amphitheatres' as perimeter fencing was installed.²¹ Further measures to control fans within the ground were introduced following the Heysel disaster of 1985. Taken together crowd control

¹⁸ Russell, D, pages 180-182.

¹⁹ Walvin and Russell both regard hooliganism as a factor in the decline of attendances in this period.

²⁰ See Walvin *Football and the Decline of Britain* page 61.

²¹ *ibid* page 14.

measures that were introduced, including the erection of perimeter fencing, ultimately contributed to the deaths of 96 Liverpool fans at Hillsborough in 1989. The Hillsborough disaster proved to be a turning point in the way fans were treated inside football stadia in Britain. The Heysel disaster reflected badly upon the people of Liverpool. Auberon Waugh writing in the *Spectator* dammed the city region and its people: 'None of these Merseyside animals were poor and few, apparently, were unemployed. They were quite simply our wonderful, overpaid 'workers' on a spree and in a festive mood.'²² But despite the shrill noises from the Thatcher Government and the press the death of 39, mostly Juventus, football supporters the disaster showed that there were fundamental social problems within Britain as a whole and that:

In times of marked industrial decline and major urban decay in the areas from which the game of football has traditionally drawn its support, many of the tensions, frustrations and antipathies of local life are likely to find expression in local football, although this is equally true of other forms of contemporary popular culture.²³

Despite the welfare state, which was established to protect the vulnerable in society, Britain was still a 'markedly unequal society' in the 1980s.²⁴ It also showed that since the 1970s, when social dislocation was becoming ever apparent in Britain, football had become the centre-point for the collective breakdown of discipline in society and was 'a fertile soil for some of the nastier features of English urban life, of which the malignancy and well-publicised racism is perhaps one of the most dangerous.'²⁵

22 Cited in Taylor, Ian: *Putting the Boot Into Working-Class Sport: British Soccer After Bradford and Brussels* page 182.

23 Walvin op cit page 77.

24 Morgan op cit page 201.

25 Walvin op cit page 78. Morgan makes the point about football being a centre-point for the social breakdown in Britain, see page 257 for the detail.

Indeed, Walvin also noted that the racist right saw football grounds as a place where they could recruit disaffected white youth to their cause:

...fascist and racist political groups use the facilities of football grounds not only to recruit and to disseminate their ideas (in which they may well be unsuccessful), but more importantly they use stadiums as a platform from which they can project their venomous views, in the simplest and most obvious forms, into millions of homes. It is, at once, both obvious and yet important that the racism of the far right can achieve greater (and cheaper) publicity at a major football match than they can hope to achieve by years of conventional political campaigning.²⁶

Football cannot be separated from society, social and economic problems will always find a way of expressing themselves, particularly in areas that have been affected by mass unemployment, which in turn leads to social breakdown and usually to violent responses. Walvin also recognises this as a problem:

The tight codes of discipline, overlapping and mutually reinforcing, in traditional working-class communities – within the family, the school and then the workplace – have all been progressively changed or partly destroyed by economic and social forces which have transformed and largely disfigured the face of urban England.²⁷

In this situation football became ‘a slum sport played in slum stadiums and increasingly watched by slum people, who deter decent folk from turning up.’²⁸ Football in effect provided a mirror image for the economic and social decline of Britain, a decline that led to severe societal problems.

From a football art angle there are several important paintings and conceptual images and installations that visually reveal the points made above. The work of

²⁶ *ibid* page 79.

²⁷ *ibid* page 92.

²⁸ *The Sunday Times*, 19 May 1985 cited in Walvin *op cit* page 8 and Taylor, Ian: *Putting the Boot Into Working-Class Sport: British Soccer After Bradford and Brussels* page 182. Graham Kelly repeated this quote when giving evidence to the House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee in 2010.

John Hewitt, Neville Gabie, Roderick Buchanan and Christine Physick are just some of the artists whose will be discussed in this context.²⁹

The factors outlined above not only alienated the majority of, overwhelmingly white, fans but it also had the effect of deterring fans from the black and Asian communities at a time when more and more black players were coming to the fore at leading clubs.³⁰ Moreover, at the time when black players were becoming more prominent in the game TV programmes such as *Till Death Do Us Part* revealed the casual racism of football fans through the figure of Alf Garnett, a West Ham United supporter.³¹ In recent years there has been a concerted campaign to rid football of racism with the Kick It Out campaign playing a leading role. Their task has been a difficult one given the widespread institutional racism that existed, and still persists in certain quarters, in Britain in the post-war era. In the present period artists have not shied away from exploring the problem, and the roots of, racism in society. Much of this work has centred on football especially in the work of Lubaina Himid, Ravi Deepres Tim Vyner and Colin Yates. Their work will be discussed in detail below, when issues of race and identity are analysed in the context of globalisation.³²

²⁹ See below The Artwork in Context.

³⁰ See Walvin, *Football and Decline* pages 78-79. Also, in this period some clubs, notably in London, developed a following from groups of white-skinheads who openly targeted the Asian community. Known as 'Paki-bashing' the skinheads would openly seek out groups of Asians to beat them up. An excellent football related image by John Hewitt, discussed below, from 1984 shows the social roots of alienated white youth. It was from such sections of society that the far right recruited in the 1970s and 1980s.

³¹ It should be said that Johnny Speight, the writer, and Warren Mitchell who played Alf Garnett, both loathed racism. By allowing a hideous bigot to express his bigotry, Speight made fun of those who feared change. Speight's series did, however, highlight the nature of casual racism among football fans and other sections of the white population at this time.

³² Himid, Yates and Vyner have work in the PFA Collection.

Between 1987-1992, there was an improvement, as unemployment fell and the economy improved, in attendances at football matches especially in the top two divisions. This improvement gathered pace following the establishment of the Premier League in 1992. Parallel to the introduction of all-seater stadiums, which have been compulsory for Premiership clubs since the 1994-95 season, attendances at football matches have continued to increase across all four divisions with the biggest, percentage and actual, increase being in the Premier League. According to a recent report produced by the House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee a number of factors came together that reinvigorated football:

From 1992, four factors came together to create a perfect storm for football. First of all, stadia were modernised with a 25% subsidy from 1992 to 1997 from a levy on the pools betting duty. English teams had just re-entered European football in 1990. The pay TV revolution had just started, and we had just started 15 years of uninterrupted economic growth through to 2007, and as we all know, as growth rises, a disproportionate amount is spent on leisure.³³

All these factors played a part in broadening football's social appeal across society, and also had the effect of increasing attendances at football matches. As already indicated increased attendances at football matches also coincided with a significant shift in the social composition of the football crowd. English Premier League games are now broadcast to 212 countries a fact that has seen Premiership clubs such as Manchester United, Chelsea, Arsenal and Liverpool gain a worldwide fan base something that they are very keen to develop in an age of globalisation. Also, in this period, a kind of football tourism emerged with clubs such as Liverpool and Manchester United openly encouraging support from overseas. In the 2010-11, for

³³ House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee: *Football Governance: Seventh Report of Session 2010-2012* page 9. For more on the link between increased spending on leisure and income see chapter three of the thesis.

example Premier League football grounds attracted 750,000 overseas visitors.³⁴ One negative side effect of all these changes has been a steep rise in ticket prices, a trend that has accelerated since the introduction of all-seater stadiums, which in turn has put football beyond the means of many working-class supporters. Recent surveys of fans serve to reinforce this point. The F.A. Premier League fan survey of 2007-2008 noted that only 25 per-cent of fans were from working-class backgrounds, made up of 16 per-cent from social background C2 and 9 per-cent from social background DE. This is compared with an overall total of 31 per-cent for the 2002-2003 season. By contrast the percentage of supporters from social backgrounds AB and C1 has increased from 69 per-cent to 72 per-cent over the same period. The report found that the average income of a spectator for 2007-08 was £38,000, for Chelsea fans the average was over £50,000, for other London clubs the average was lower at £45,000. The trend is quite clear, football is now attracting its spectator base from across all social classes but the dominant social class that attend are from people employed as professionals or the AB and C1 social classes.³⁵ This change in the make-up of football crowds has come about through a combination of factors. These include marketing by the Premier League, the increasing focus upon footballers as celebrities and the cost of watching the game, which has increased dramatically since 1992. Remarkably, the majority of fans that watch Football League games also come from the top two social classes, at 69 per-cent, a total that is very close to the Premier League's average. However, the Football League does attract more working class support, 31 per-cent compared to 25 per-cent received by the Premier League.³⁶

34 Culture, Media and Sport Committee, page 9. See Visit Britain website for the figures of football tourism: <http://www.visitbritain.org/mediaroom/pressreleases/plandvb.aspx>.

35 Premier League Fan Surveys 2002-02 and 2007-08. It should be remembered that wide layers of skilled jobs were also lost in the years that preceded the rise in ticket prices.

36 The Football League Supporters Survey 2010 page 83.

The Premier League survey does not give a detailed ethnicity background of its support. However, 95 per-cent of its respondents described themselves as white: in the case of Arsenal this dropped to 86 per-cent. The survey also reveals that 23 per-cent of its support comes from women. From these figures it is quite clear that the average football crowd in England is still overwhelmingly male and white. Given the number of black players that now grace the football pitch the number of non-white fans attending football matches provides grounds for concern. Perhaps this is one reason why several artists, including Lubaina Himid, have used football to explore issues of class, ethnicity, identity and gender in their work, as football is a key sector of society where these divisions reflect the unequal and fragmented nature of British society.

Parallel to the change in the social composition of the football crowd has been the rapid expansion of live television broadcasts of Premier League football. The Premier League Fan Survey only asked those fans who attended matches about the impact of satellite TV coverage but other surveys show that most working-class supporters of football now receive their football through the television set. An exhibition during Euro '96 clearly revealed the change in the way football was being received by millions of people:

In the 1990s satellite TV ushered in blanket live coverage of the game, this alongside all-seater stadia changed the traditional culture and 'composition of football supporters' factors that were highlighted in *The Beautiful Game Show* at the People's History Museum in Manchester during Euro '96.³⁷

It is important to note that blanket coverage of football only confirmed a trend that had started in the mid 1960s onwards which saw more people experience the game through TV rather than through attendances at a live match. This trend has gathered

³⁷ Davis, John: *The Beautiful Game Show*.

pace since the establishment of the Premier League and the reconfiguration of the European Cup into the Champions League in 1992.³⁸

Russell, meanwhile, has noted how greater television exposure has contributed to the broadening fan base of Premier League clubs. Clubs also use their growing popularity to merchandise their exclusive range of products:

In the Premier League era the fan base of football clubs have extended worldwide – football teams are now products and are advertised as such by satellite TV stations who have helped to make football clubs global products.³⁹

There is an interesting image by P.J. Crook, *Armchair Supporters* (2004) that shows a group of supporters watching football around a television set. In the modern era an increasing number of football supporters have been forced to receive live football away from the football ground. The painting reinforces the point that for many football fans tickets prices, as well as ticket availability, for top football matches are too expensive. It also reflects that for many fans watching the match with an alcoholic drink, something now banned at football grounds for the ordinary fan, adds to the social occasion [plate 125].⁴⁰

Another artist Glen Baxter has produced several images of football that on the surface just pokes fun at the game. One such image shows three footballers wearing undersea diver helmets with a strapline that in effect criticises the state of English football pitches compared to European ones. The one that has most relevance to the present discussion is his surreal image *Despite Financial Cutbacks, Rovers Still Managed to Complete All Their Midweek Fixtures*, which shows three footballers with candles, in

³⁸ Russell op cit page 181 and Wagg and op cit page 121.

³⁹ Russell op cit pp.183-184.

⁴⁰ Crook's painting, and other football related images can be viewed on the BBC web site: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/armchair-supporters-82725>

the shape of a ball, on their heads [plate 126].⁴¹ In the background, around the pitch, there are hoardings that carry advertising boards from yesteryear, the hoardings separate the fans from the pitch. This is not a corporatised ground like the modern Premier League stadiums, which are littered with advertising boards promoting products of multinational companies such as Nike and Adidas. It is sometimes hard to get a full handle on the work of Baxter but the financial cutbacks image does refer to the plight of Leeds United. However, the content and context of the work could be applied to almost any English football club. What is more, Baxter's work is a reminder that year-on-year the majority of Premier League clubs make significant losses. In the 2010-2011 season the aggregate loss incurred by Premier League clubs was £380 million while total debt stands at an unsustainable £2.4 billion.⁴² In this situation the Holy Grail of attracting more-and-more corporate sponsorship will continue. In addition to revenues from television broadcasters football clubs are becoming increasingly dependent upon revenue streams provided by multinational companies in the guise of sportswear promotion and other products such as alcohol, financial services and high technology goods.

Liverpool Football Club is a good example of this ever-increasing drive to find new and more lucrative forms of sponsorship. Upon announcing its new shirt sponsorship with Standard Chartered on 16 September 2009 the club unwittingly showed the power of the visual image. Beneath a short article, titled Global Launch, on the club web site, the club reported:

Liverpool's record sponsorship agreement with Standard Chartered sparked off jubilation in the leading bank's branches across the globe.

⁴¹ Baxter's football work is in the PFA Collection.

⁴² *The Guardian* 31 May 2012. The figures quoted in the Guardian report have been extracted from the Deloitte report into football finance. The Deloitte report is only available through subscription and was, therefore, not available to the writer.

This is how the news was greeted by some of Standard's Chartered 70,000 staff in their own countries.⁴³

Beneath the caption there were five revealing photographs showing staff, holding Liverpool scarves and wearing Liverpool shirts, from Standard Chartered branches in Pakistan, Malaysia, United Arab Emirates, Indonesia and Singapore. The Far East happens to be the fastest growing market for personal finance and insurance services, the very market Standard Chartered is growing fastest in. It also happens to be an area where Premier League clubs are keen to develop a mass supporter base. Sports sponsorship is crucial to the global reach of football clubs and multinational companies as they seek greater penetration in overseas markets. The growth in sponsorship by multinational companies grew nearly threefold between 1993-2003 from \$10 million to \$27 billion: at least two-thirds of the 2003 market is attributable to sport of which football is taking an increasing share [plates 127-131].⁴⁴

It is this global reach, discussed above, that artists have sought to interpret in their work, emphasising a point made throughout the thesis about the power of art to make people think about the wider issues in society. Perhaps Glen Baxter's image is a fitting reminder that ever-growing streams of sponsorship are not a guarantee against financial insolvency and perhaps football needs to look at itself in a more analytical way.

To summarise, football changed dramatically in the five decades between 1960-2010. Spectators from the Edwardian, interwar or the immediate post-war years would recognise the game as one being played between two teams of eleven players. However, in contrast to their day these spectators would also see the multi-national

⁴³ <http://www.liverpoolfc.tv/news/latest-news/photo-special-global-launch-for-reds-deal>

⁴⁴ Smart, Barry op cit page 90.

nature of teams, the all seated stadium with its corporate slogans, players wearing shirts displaying the name of a multinational company and fans in the stands wearing replica shirts. Moreover, many of these fans would be from outside the locality, at some grounds such as Old Trafford and Anfield a significant proportion would have travelled to support the home team from abroad to watch a domestic league game. This situation would show the fans of yesteryear that the ethos of the game had changed beyond recognition.

Football and Art in a Globalised World

Since the establishment of the Premier League English clubs have been aware that commodities such as replica kits provide significant revenue streams. In addition to replica kits, clubs have also developed fashion ranges with a view of maximising revenue streams. Replica shirts, however, are the cornerstone of the football fashion industry hence the reason why clubs change their kits on an annual basis in an attempt to get fans to buy the newly styled shirt. Moreover, these shirts are sold with the name of the club's main sponsor emblazoned across the chest area of the shirt. These sponsors are usually multinational companies, or more accurately transnational companies. These companies may have a national origin, Adidas for example is a German company, but in reality such companies mostly manufacture their goods, or have their commodities made, and trade from Third World countries. They in effect do not conform to the earlier norms of capitalism in that they do not recognise national boundaries when it comes to the production of commodities. Football has now become a major facilitator for such companies wishing to export goods, reflecting that the game is also an integral part of the global fashion industry. This is not to say that top football clubs have abandoned the home market as

Matthew Taylor as noted: 'It would be mistaken to assume, however, that the British game simply jettisoned local and national concerns for European and global ones.'⁴⁵ However, in the age-old fashion of capitalism, football clubs are constantly seeking ways to expand their revenues and as the home market reaches saturation point new fields of investment are constantly required. Hence the ever-increasing global reach of Premier League clubs.

The term globalisation is a slippery one. According to at least one source it does not have a 'widely accepted theoretical definition.'⁴⁶ Ratnam, however, has suggested that:

A provisional definition of globalisation understood in a more general sense might point to a series of effects that result from the world becoming more interconnected through increased volumes of international trade, the movement of currencies and peoples, and of related cultural interchange.⁴⁷

However, it is important to see that globalisation has been a process that has been developing since the nineteenth century when major imperialist countries such as Britain France and Belgium divided up key continents such as Africa. According to Jonathan Harris 'Globalisation...is not a recent event or process – understanding it is a matter of identifying its phases and transformations over many hundreds of years of human settlement and interaction.'⁴⁸

A view reinforced by the art historians Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger who place the arts in the context of globalisation:

45 Taylor, Matthew: *The Association Game* page 397.

46 Ratnam, Niru: *Art and Globalisation* page 286.

47 *ibid* page 281.

48 Harris, Jonathan: *Art, Value and Politics* page 5.

The phenomenon of 'globalisation' extends far beyond the arts. Indeed its impact on the arts is in some ways a secondary effect of deeper and wide-ranging economic, technological and political changes. The emergence of a global system has not, of course, been an overnight phenomenon. Earlier twentieth-century imperialism knitted most areas of the world into a system dominated by western capitalist countries.⁴⁹

In the present period some artists have begun to reflect the 'global and political and economic realities' of globalisation in their work, demonstrating that artists acknowledge the need to interweave their art 'with wider social, economic and political issues'.⁵⁰ In this respect artists working in this field are reinterpreting the ideas of the avant-garde, which were highly critical of capitalism, in effect showing that 'the modern condition has never been far from modern art.'⁵¹ Like the avant-garde, modern day artists tend to be critical, sometimes in an overtly political way, of the western world. A non-football example is the work of Steve McQueen whose films include *Western Deep*, a film about black gold miners, who work in horrendous conditions, this shows how the miners are highly exploited by a multinational company. McQueen's work stands in the tradition of the avant-garde 'of using devices of art to highlight the contradictions of reality.' In this case reality is highlighting the consequences of capitalist rule by foreign governments and by multinational companies.⁵²

Disguising the contradictions of reality is the role of mass culture and ideology in the modern world an issue that both Hill and Russell have referenced in their work.⁵³

49 Wood, Paul and Gaiger Jason: *Art of the Twentieth Century* page 289.

50 Ratnam op cit pages 281-286.

51 Wood and Gaiger op cit page xxii.

52 ibid page 281-282.

53 See chapters one and two of the thesis for further detail on the role of ideology in sport.

The role of art in highlighting the contradictions of reality will be explored in more detail below.

In the post 1945 period realism in art was the dominant art form before it was gradually superseded by a return to abstraction, Pop Art and other modernist art trends that once again placed the emphasis on form rather than reflect the real world in an apparently straightforward manner. While much of this art drew upon influences from Dada and Surrealism it also exploited new technologies and incorporated iconography from popular culture.⁵⁴ Up to 1960 football had been represented in arts mainly through realist images with the dominant artist being Lowry, who continually placed football in the context of the urban landscape. As referred to above, the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition included numerous paintings that showed football and the football ground ensconced between residential and industrial areas. In the period from 1960 up to the present, however, football has been represented in all forms and styles of art reflecting that in this period football was attracting a more middle-class audience that included people from the art world. As indicated above greater exposure through television helped football to attract a more diverse fan base including sections from the professional classes, middle-class as well as support from the politicians, music and cinema stars and high profile artists such as Peter Blake and Mark Wallinger. Even royalty, which hitherto had played a largely ceremonial role at major football matches such as FA Cup Finals, now openly support and attend league games.⁵⁵ In short the art world

⁵⁴ Harrison, C: *Going Modern* page 55.

⁵⁵ For example, Prince Harry is an Arsenal fan, Prince William an Aston Villa supporter while Prince Charles supports, apparently, Burnley.

has become less antagonistic to football a factor acknowledged by *Art Monthly* in 1996.⁵⁶

The next section will show how cultural change in football has mirrored cultural change in society.

Cultural Change in Britain 1960-2010

The changes that took place within football have to be placed in the context of the wider social and cultural transformation that occurred in Britain between 1960 and 2010. In the post-war period the hold that religion had upon the general population weakened considerably under the impact of cultural change. Religion was undermined by consumerism and the greater availability of culture both inside and outside the home. Unlike religion, culture helps to liberate the individual and provides the basis for a more open-minded society.⁵⁷ Also during the 1960s the Labour Government under Harold Wilson oversaw a number of liberal reforms, reforms that gave legal endorsement to what is now known as the permissive society. Access to the contraceptive pill, the legalisation of abortion and the decriminalisation of homosexual relations between men aged over 21 changed Britain 'in spectacular fashion visually and morally' from the mid 1960s onwards.⁵⁸

Moreover, the state recognised the need to legislate in the realm of race relations by passing the Race Relations Act in 1968, which outlawed discrimination on grounds

⁵⁶ *Art Monthly* Jul-Aug 1996. See chapter one of the thesis for the full context of the *Art Monthly* article.

⁵⁷ A point made by Barry Smart: Smart, Barry *The Sport Star: Modern Sport and the Cultural Economy of Sporting Celebrity*, page 9.

⁵⁸ Morgan page 259.

of colour, race, ethnic or national origins. The Act was introduced in direct response to the racist campaign conducted by the Conservative Party in Smethwick during the 1964 General Election when supporters of the Tory candidate Peter Griffiths were reported to have circulated the slogan, 'If you want a nigger for a neighbour - vote Labour.'⁵⁹

In cultural terms under the guidance of the arts minister Jennie Lee, government spending on the arts increased threefold between 1965 and 1971, from £3.2 million to £9.3 million.⁶⁰ The aim of Lee's White Paper of 1965 was to expand and broaden access to the arts: 'In any civilised society, the arts and associated amenities, serious or comic, light or demanding, must occupy a central place. Their enjoyment should not be regarded as something remote from everyday life.'⁶¹

Jennie Lee's policy for the arts was a radical departure from the previous period in that it laid the foundation for popular cultural pursuits such as sport and light entertainment to be regarded as culture as opposed to popular entertainment. This change of emphasis on what was to be considered culture, was already being reflected in fine art through new art genres such as Pop Art and played a big part in making popular culture, including football, appealing across all social classes.

Changes in society, brought about by social change, usually impact upon the structure of government. By the 1960s the growing economic influence of sport and culture resulted in Harold Wilson developing new ministerial portfolios. In addition

⁵⁹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/west_midlands/7343256.stm

⁶⁰ Morgan page 240.

⁶¹ Lee, Jenny: *A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps* reprinted in Wallinger and Warnock: *Art for All* page 146.

to appointing Jennie Lee as the first Minister for the Arts he appointed Dennis Howell, a former football referee, as the first Minister for Sport. This was a radical departure, particularly in relation to sport. Indeed, 'until the 1960s...central government played little or no part in sport.'⁶² Since these first appointments, however, the importance that government has given to sport and culture has increased considerably along with the political importance of both sport and the arts within society. So much so, that a recent report of the *Culture, Media and Sport* noted that:

Football is our national game. As well as having contributed £970 million to the Exchequer in 2009/10, it is also a significant and high profile national cultural institution that plays an important role in the community and supports wider initiatives in a number of fields such as education, health and social inclusion. Above all else, it generates strong emotional attachments that are hard to convey in statistics or on the pages of a report but are nevertheless real and powerful.⁶³

In short government now recognises that football reaches, and is embraced, by wide layers of society. Indeed, other than the Minister for Sport, the game has become a constant concern for a number government ministries, especially for the Home Office, both due to its increasing importance in society but also because problems off the field often mirror wider problems within society. In this broad context it is not surprising that football has attracted the interest of artists, because at its root art responds both to the values and ideas being expressed by the artistic community, which in turn are influenced by cultural, social and economic change in society.⁶⁴

⁶² Hill, Jeff: *Sport Leisure and Culture* page 161. It should be noted that the Atlee Government had introduced the Arts Council but it was not overseen by a specific arts minister.

⁶³ *Football Governance: Seventh Report of Session 2010-2012* page 5.

⁶⁴ For how art and artists respond to society see chapter 1 of the thesis. Clark, T.J. *On the Social History of Art* (in Frascina and Harrison) also has a lot to say about the how society influences art.

In the period covered by this chapter this can be first observed in Pop Art. The next section of the chapter will look at how Pop Artists merged popular culture and football in their collages.

Pop Art, Popular Culture and Football as Culture

As indicated above Jennie Lee's White Paper *A Policy for the Arts*, published in 1966, paved the way for sport and other forms of popular entertainment to be rebranded as popular culture. However, for a decade prior to the White Paper artists such as Richard Hamilton, Eduardo Paolozzi, Nigel Henderson and Peter Blake, had incorporated images of popular culture into their work. Their pioneering work blurred the dividing lines between popular culture and so-called high culture.⁶⁵ Indeed, both Henderson and Blake produced several collage-based images that included aspects of football, horseracing, popular music, drink and tobacco adverts as well as pin-ups from magazines. These two artists clearly demonstrated that there was a distinct way to present football art without recourse to uncritical realist images, that had hitherto merely reflected the game, rather than provide cultural and social insights into the meaning of football to society. The work of Henderson and Blake anticipated a time, in effect pointed to the current period, when the 'visual language of football has won through because of all its associated meanings and memories.'⁶⁶ More than ever football is aware of its visual presence, a factor that has also attracted many modern day artists to interpret the game in many different ways.

⁶⁵ The distinctions between high and popular culture were discussed in chapter one of the thesis.

⁶⁶ Leslie and Burgoyne: *FC Football Graphics*, page 9.

Peter Blake's earlier work from the 1950s was 'steeped in nostalgia for childhood' but by the 1960s he was 'continually trying to establish a new pop art one which stems directly from our time' and presents the viewer with a string of 'seemingly opposing things coming together: the old meets the new, fine art meets popular culture.'⁶⁷

Likewise, the work of Henderson 'leaves the spectator with the feeling that the barriers between the artist, the scientist and the technician are dissolving in a singularly potent way' while the juxtaposition of images such as:

...a dismembered typewriter and primitive alphabet; a ploughed-up airfield and locomotive; an enlarged engraving of a sea urchin and a wide-angled photograph of sky-scrapers: the apparent correspondence between such disparate acts as a powerful stimulant to the imagination, arousing a sense of mystery and bewilderment, as if one had stumbled upon a set of basic patterns for the universe...'⁶⁸

His work, along with that of Blake, present a myriad of objects and scenes from all walks of life, the familiarity of which makes a fine art image readily recognisable to a wider and broader audience than is normally case with art. Blake's cover for the Beatles album Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, which included the former Liverpool footballer Albert Stubbins, achieved Blake's 'mission of reaching and really communicating with the masses.'⁶⁹ The work of both Blake and Henderson helped to place football in a wider cultural setting. Henderson produced a series of collages in the late 1960s and early 1970s that focused upon male, mainly working-class, culture. Soft porn coupled with football imagery, associations with the drink and tobacco industries are recurring themes within his work, as is the association with gambling. Other sports such as boxing, darts and fishing are also prominent.

⁶⁷ Faulkner, 'Simon: Painting Like a Fan' (in Grunenber, Christoph and Sillars, Laurence(eds): *Peter Blake: A Retrospective*) pp.19-22 and page 41.

⁶⁸ Reviews of Henderson's work cited in Walsh, Victoria: *Nigel Henderson* page 89.

⁶⁹ Livingston, Marco: 'The First Real Pop Artist' (in Grunenber, Christoph and Sillars, Laurence(eds): *Peter Blake: A Retrospective*) page 86.

These images show that sport has long been associated with the unholy trinity of drink, sex and gambling and prefaced the modern period when sport has 'influenced fashion, music [and] art...'⁷⁰ In this context Henderson's work provides a bridge to the work of present day artists who tend to associate football with complex issues such as the game's association with multinational companies many of which are associated with alcohol, the betting and fashion industries [plates 132-134]. Having such images shown in national galleries and reviewed in the press also helped to bring popular culture and football to a new audience namely the professional classes, the section of society that most frequent art galleries.

The influence of Pop Art is strong among contemporary artists who use football in a more prominent way in their own work. The work of Scottish artist Colin Brown, for example, 'offers an alternative to the multitude of images and text that demand our attention on a daily basis, reinventing them as a mechanism for thought rather than consumption.'⁷¹ Unlike the work of Henderson, Brown's work focuses up individual players whose greatness as players is generally acknowledged by a wide range of people in the game. Brown's work contains a nostalgic wistfulness that locates great players in numerous famous but typical scenes. His *Wedding Present* collage focuses upon George Best and shows him not only as a great player but also the first British footballer to have pop cult status. *King Kenny* celebrates Dalglish as a national hero of Scotland while *Jinky* shows the great Celtic winger as one of the Lisbon Lions from 1966 [plates 135-137]. His work provides the modern day football fan with a collection of snapshots from the player's career usually focusing upon landmarks in the player's career or the player's hero status among football fans. For many football

⁷⁰ Leslie, J and Burgoyne, P: *FC Football Graphics* page 7.

⁷¹ Coburn, Georgina: *Exhibition Review* (July 2008). Coburn was reviewing Colin Brown's exhibition held at the John Briggs Gallery in Stonehaven in 2008. His football work will be discussed below in more detail below.

fans past glories often provide the basis for future hope, no matter unrealistic these hopes may be. His collages also reflect a trend within football club's whose marketing strategies include sales of memorabilia that celebrate past glories. Aside from such a strategy being lucrative in financial terms, such strategies also help to reinforce a sense of loyalty to the club among the modern supporter many of whom do not have the same local ties of yesteryear. The celebrity status of the modern footballer has also been imposed upon former great players, they have in effect, been reinvented as figures of popular culture. Brown's work skilfully exploits these factors. In this sense his work is a development of the work previously done by Blake and Henderson.

The subsequent sections of the chapter will explore both the growth and significance of football art outside of Pop Art between 1960-2010. This will be prefaced by a short contextual overview.

The Artwork in Context

Visual representations of football are now a part of everyday life in Britain. They appear across all media platforms, in the fashion industry, in sports sections of newspapers and in specialist football publications such as *Four Four Two* and *When Saturday Comes*. Visual images of football in the media and specialist football magazines are not confined to photographs, special features in such publications are often accompanied by images that have been specially commissioned and produced by artists. Indeed in May 2010 *Four Four Two* carried a six-page feature entitled *Kick and Brush* to mark the 'biggest exhibition of football art since 1953.' The exhibition, *England's Glory: Football Meets Culture*, brought together over 200 pieces of football

art dating back to the eighteenth century.⁷² Since 1996 football art exhibitions have occurred on a more frequent basis, usually, but not exclusively, to coincide with international football tournaments. However, the first such exhibition to coincide with a football tournament in England was held at Manchester Art Gallery to coincide with the 1966 World Cup. The significance of this exhibition and other football paintings between 1960-1980 will form the introduction to the next section.

Realist Football Painting 1960-1980

The first dedicated exhibition of football painting at a British gallery after the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition was a small affair held in the Athenaeum Annex of the Manchester Art Gallery in July 1966 to coincide with the FIFA World Cup, which was hosted by England. In retrospect this small exhibition, entitled *Football in the Picture*, has taken on a significance beyond its first showing as it became a reference point for the same gallery in 1996 to host another football related exhibition to celebrate Euro '96, which was also staged in England. Of interest is *The Guardian* review of the 1966 exhibition as some of the comments made by the reviewer of the exhibition, M.G. McNay, impacts upon the argument whether football paintings should be regarded as a distinct sub-genre within art.⁷³ Firstly, he noted that 'as one of the fringe arts football painting has yet to throw up a work of art as well known as the Mona Lisa, let alone the figure incorporated into the Jules Rimet Trophy.'⁷⁴ Even though football had a peripheral influence in the arts in this period McNay refers to

⁷² *Four Four Two* May 2010. The exhibition was organised by James Huntington-Whiteley a well renowned dealer in football art. Huntington-Whiteley has a permanent on line football art exhibition: <http://www.jhwfineart.com/content/exhibition/6.html>.

⁷³ McNay was the long-standing arts correspondent of *The Guardian* and in the 1980s became the assistant editor of the paper.

⁷⁴ McNay, M.G: *The Guardian* 12 July 1966.

football painting as one of the fringe arts. In other words football painting had a legitimate place in art. Furthermore, McNay then goes on to argue that football painting should be regarded as a genre.⁷⁵ Interestingly, since McNay's review Lowry's football painting *Going to the Match* has developed a worldwide reputation, not on the scale of the Mona Lisa of course, but nevertheless it is a work of international renown.

From the limited amount of information available about the *Football in the Picture* exhibition hosted at the Manchester Art Gallery in 1966 it would seem that the dominant form of painting in the exhibition was in the style of realism.⁷⁶ The exhibition seems to have had a strong local influence with Lowry's *Going to the Match* and Nevinson's *Any Wintry Afternoon* being the two most high profile paintings showing football at both ends of the playing spectrum. Lowry's painting features fans approaching the Burden Park, then the home ground of Bolton Wanderers, while Nevinson's image, despite it being played on 'a rain-soaked muck heap', is often thought to be an interpretation of a match between the two Manchester based league clubs.⁷⁷ Although the painting contains strong Futurist and Vorticist influences McNay makes the point that the strong part of the painting is its realist depiction of football in a northern industrial town. In this sense it has similarities with Lowry's painting.

The localism theme was continued by two artists unknown to this author: the first was Leslie Scott whose paintings depicted 'pictures of Maine Road, Old Trafford and Altringham' and a montage of footballers that included Dennis Law, Bobby Charlton,

⁷⁵ McNay's comments on genre are developed fully in chapter one of the thesis.

⁷⁶ Manchester Art Gallery has an exhibition catalogue listed in its archive but cannot find an actual copy in their files.

⁷⁷ Nevinson's painting is on permanent display at the Manchester Art Gallery. The caption alongside the painting suggests that the teams in question are Manchester City and Manchester United.

George Best and Paddy Crerand, all players for Manchester United at the time, by an artist named Whitehead. Lastly, there were a number of sculptures from Geoffrey Clarke, who had exhibited in 1953 in the FA football art exhibition, which 'symbolised incidents in a game of football.' According to McNay, Clarke's sculptures captured 'another aspect of football that is all too forgotten - they are fun.'⁷⁸ McNay's analysis of the exhibition shows that there was no attempt by the curators to place football in a wider social context. It was a passive display of pictures to show that football was fun, but it was not an exhibition that set out to reveal the growing social, political and cultural importance of football. Indeed following the World Cup victory for the home nation, football took on even more cultural significance.

There were several other lesser known painters presenting football in a similar fashion during the 1960s into the 1970s including Alan Lowndes, [plate 138] a painter of northern working-class life in the mould of Lowry, who painted several football scenes, and Scottish artist Grace Starkings, whose figures in the painting that shows a match between Dundee and Kilmarnock, are clearly Lowryesque [plate 139]. The former *Private Eye* cartoonist Barry Fantoni produced several portraits of footballers, for the *Radio Times* and *The Listener*, including a striking portrait of George Best [plate 140]. Fantoni draws upon Cubism to get across the ruggedness of his subject but does seek to portray Best as a football star or celebrity.

Aside from the Pop Art work discussed, football paintings between 1960-1980 were still largely realist depictions of the game similar to those showed in the 1953 exhibition. Although realist interpretations of football continued into the 1980s a new

⁷⁸ For exhibition details see McNay op cit. Some of Clarke's work was discussed in chapter five above. I have been unable to locate the work of the local artists referred to in the text.

style of art emerged which was termed as critical realism by academics such as Brandon Taylor and Juliet Steyn.⁷⁹ It was a form of art that used realist imagery to attack the social and political consequences of government policy in the 1980s. How football was represented in this style of art will be the main focus of the next section.

Critical Realism: Football Art of the 1980s

The term critical realism comes from the Hungarian critic Georg Lukacs who argued that artists should concern themselves with typical characters who live under typical circumstances. Lukacs in turn, was heavily influenced by a letter that Engels wrote to Miss Harkness in April 1888 in which he argued that realism implies 'truth of detail' and 'the truthful reproduction of characters under typical circumstances.'⁸⁰

Two artists, Chris Stevens and John Hewitt, from the 1980s produced work that made insightful social comment both on the state of English football, which in turn reflected on the social condition of the country. Their work is figurative, has a leftward political slant and shows football fans in realistic situations that were typical of the 1980s. Their work is not without humour. Stevens was appointed as artist-in-residence at Roker Park in 1983, the football art he produced looked at issues of fandom, which did not shirk away from the issue of hooliganism in football. By contrast Hewitt, to the best of my knowledge, produced only one image that related to football, entitled *Pretend Rifle*, that was part of a touring exhibition, *Critical Realism*, in 1984. His image is concerned with the social breakdown of Britain during the first Thatcher Government, his characters in the image are recognisable to anyone

⁷⁹ See essays by Taylor and Steyn in *Critical Realism: Britain in the 1980s Through the Eyes of 28 Artists*.

⁸⁰ For the Engels letter see letter from Engels to Miss Harkness dated April 1888 in Marx, Karl and Engels, Friederich: *Selected Correspondence*. For Lukacs see his *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*.

with a reasonable knowledge of the period. In addition to the above, there are two profound works by Adrian Henry and Georg Eisler respectively, which focus upon the Hillsborough disaster. They will also form part of the narrative in this section. Although their work is not in the style of critical realism it does have relevance to the wider aims of this section.

Stevens' residency was a collaborative project between the Sunderland based Artists' Agency, Northern Arts and Sunderland Football Club. The residency was the first of its kind in Great Britain, the work that emerged from the exhibition looked at the wider context of football not just at the action on the pitch.⁸¹ The main focus of Stevens' work was on the skinhead fan and the culture associated with skinheads in 1980s. Typical of his work is *Can Can*, [plate 141], which shows a Sunderland fan standing on the terraces wearing a gas mask. In the foreground is a police officer who seems to be moving away from the scene. Another typical painting is *Ignorance is Strength*, [plate 142] which depicts an ignorant looking skinhead looking rather mean. The work that Stevens produced was not popular with some Sunderland fans. George Foster, who was vice chairman of the Sunderland AFC Supporters' Association complained:

I am anti-skinheads so I didn't like that side of the work, I think we see too much of that image in football. I would have liked to see Chris portraying the ordinary sort of supporter - the average bloke who just gets along because he wants to watch a game. After all we have got to clean up this game. We want the rowdies out of it, and we don't want any more publicity for them than they already have. I can't help wishing that Chris had left out that side of football, but I accept that he's only reflecting what he saw. It's just that I prefer to look on the cheerful side.⁸²

⁸¹ The information pack that was sent to candidates for the post made the claim that it was the first residency of its kind. My research to date would endorse this claim.

⁸² *The Art of Roker Park*, Arts North September 1984.

By the cheerful side of football Foster probably means the celebratory side of game, fans cheering their side on from the terraces as in the 1980s painting by Ruskin Spear [plate 143]. But Steven's style is not suited to popular reproductions of football as the following statement makes clear:

I always use figures in my paintings. I use them to challenge the preconceptions we have about people due to media stereotyping. The paintings are concerned with identity, class, race, gender and the environment. This narrative is an essential element in my work, without a narrative I lose interest. I am however also concerned with the language of paint and the abstract nature of the process.

I am not concerned with traditional portraiture as the people I paint are like actors on a stage depicting a type rather than an individual identity. The irony is that I know all the people I paint be it that they are friends, family or students that I teach and as a result it is inevitable that they do not stay anonymous. This is the element of the painting that transforms the subjects from anonymous stereotypes to people with an individual identity.

*The figures are set against sparse backgrounds which are usually reminiscent of a decaying urban environment. There are also additional images introduced which juxtapose with the central characters to help to create the narrative.*⁸³

From the above it is clear that Stevens' work is full of symbolism, *Can Can* for example, was produced during the miners' strike during which whole parts of Durham Coalfield were virtual no-go areas. Wearmouth Colliery, the present site of the Stadium of Light, was very close to Roker Park and fans going to the match would have seen lines of police blockading the picket lines.⁸⁴ According to Stevens the miners strike provides 'a social and political backdrop to the residency and consequently a subtext in the paintings I made' during that time.⁸⁵ Moreover, his work is concerned with: 'The underlying idea of societies stereotyping [people] and

83 My emphasis. <http://www.axisweb.org/seCVFU.aspx?ArtistID=11106> Work from the residency is in the National Portrait Gallery and the National Gallery of Wales. During the residency Stevens would invite fans into his studio, several of these fans actually became models for his work.

84 I lived in Sunderland myself at this time, very close to the Colliery, and witnessed some violent scenes.

85 Email correspondence with the artist 18 May 2012.

bigotry is a constant theme in my work and has been since the early eighties.’⁸⁶ Clearly, in the 1980s there was a lot of antipathy towards skinheads and other young people who did not conform to the norms expected by authority. Anti-authority attitudes were nothing new in Britain, but the extent and level of disaffection among youth in 1980s Britain was exceptional. It was a problem that the Thatcher Government sought to address with draconian measures, a political situation that impacted upon football all too tragically.

In contrast to current politicians the Thatcher Government of the 1980s did not recognise football as a worthwhile pastime and sought to bring the control of fans under the tutelage of the state through the use of ID cards: at one stage it was even proposed that perimeter fencing should be electrified. In the case of Stamford Bridge, following several pitch invasions during the 1984-85, Ken Bates, the then Chelsea chairman, actually had such a fence installed. However, the fence was never electrified due to a court injunction taken out by the Greater London Council.⁸⁷

In the 1980s many football stadiums in England were in a state of disrepair reflecting the poor conditions of life in many urban areas of country. The Bradford fire, for example, occurred in what was a decrepit soccer stadium, similar to many other grounds in Britain at the time, most of which were located in the rundown working-class areas.⁸⁸ During the 1980s, the philosophy of free market economics, or *laissez faire*, was put forward as the best way to restructure and restore Britain’s ailing economy. If this meant cuts to public services and the closure of factories in the short

⁸⁶ Taken from a statement on Chris Stevens’ web site:
http://www.chrisstevens.co/Chris_Stevens/Notes_about_recent_work.html

⁸⁷ Taylor, Ian: *Putting the Boot Into Working-Class Sport: British Soccer After Bradford and Brussels* page 174.

⁸⁸ *ibid* page 182.

term it was a price worth paying. In some quarters it was argued that football should not be immune from the process. Following the Bradford fire and the Heysel Disaster the *Sunday Times*, which at this stage was among the strongest supporters of the free market, argued that:

Clubs should be given a minimum period of time to meet those requirements.

Those that fail should be closed down. Since improvements are likely to be expensive, only those clubs that can attract large gates will be able to afford them. The rest will go. This would be no bad thing; most of England's '92' first-class' clubs are, in fact, distinctly third-rate...The football leagues need to be thinned out. The *game* needs to be leaner, healthier, safer, more prosperous and more fun...The begging bowls are already being rattled under the government's nose and there is always the danger that the tax-payer will have to foot the bill.

But, on past experience, such a subsidy will not be enough to transform the game and there is something quite absurd about using government money to finance a professional sport anyway. Subsidy will do no more than help keep football miserably alive, like a clapped-out Victorian factory producing a product nobody wants to buy.⁸⁹

This free market attitude advocated by *The Sunday Times* did not totally find its way into football until the 1990s by which time the economy was about to embark on a prolonged economic boom. A boom, that saw multinational companies and finance capital develop stronger links with Premier League football clubs.

Prior to the formation of Premier League very few football clubs focused upon improving the grounds inhabited by thousands of football supporters each match day. Riots and general disorder in society often found its reflection in and around football grounds: football hooliganism was a substantial problem throughout the Thatcher years as witnessed by the response of Ken Bates at Chelsea. A touring exhibition organised by Nottingham Castle in 1984, *Critical Realism*, reflected the social crisis facing many urban areas in Britain in the 1980s. The exhibition brought

⁸⁹ Cited in Taylor, op cit pages 181-182.

together a body of work that effectively criticised the consequences of government economic policy in the 1980s. A powerful image from the exhibition by John Hewitt, *Pretend Rifle*, [plate 144] portrays three typical, as often depicted in the media of the time, 1980s football fans walking past a closed menswear shop, which is fenced off like a football terrace. One fan is carrying a flag, England is inscribed around the four edges, in the centre of the flag sits one of the three lions, the symbol of national team. Another fan is portrayed as a typical lager lout who, holding a can in one hand, is shouting some form of abuse at unseen people. The leader of the group has just kicked something and is now holding a pretend rifle, which he is firing at unseen targets. The targets of abuse remain unseen, but one imagines that they are shouting at people who are unhappy with their aggressive behaviour. The image is an artistic attempt to represent the social breakdown that was occurring in many areas of Britain in the early to mid 1980s. In this instance the artist is using the metaphor of football to get across his message.

The Thatcher Government of the 1980s promoted a crude patriotism that invoked Britain's imperial past, which drew one of its last gasps during the Falklands War. For the government, yobs such as those at Heysel were letting the side down and needed to be dealt with via legislation. One memorable piece of legislation, following the Heysel disaster, was the misconceived plan to introduce ID cards for football supporters wishing to gain entry to a football ground. The figures in Hewitt's image are precisely the people the act was aimed at: disaffected youth who may or not be associated with the far right, a layer of the population which through unemployment and social exclusion have often been among the first to assert a crude English nationalism. What Hewitt's image shows is that football is not above society, but is in fact integral to it, and in a country that has acute societal problems social disaffection,

incidents of violence and racial intolerance can find their way into, or around, the football ground. Hewitt hoped that his work would 'be viewed as one-scene plays, very short stories or two minute clips from a film.'⁹⁰ In other words his work presents a slice of life in Britain of the 1980s. Life scenes that all too frequently produced scenes of violent resistance on the streets of Britain: a resistance that found its reflection in football hooliganism and tragically in the disaster at Heysel. The response of the policing authorities towards Liverpool fans at Hillsborough in 1989 should also be seen in this context.

The latter disaster was captured in art by at least two artists, Georg Eisler and Adrian Henry.⁹¹ The Eisler painting, simply titled *Hillsborough*, shows the struggle of the crowd to escape suffocation by clambering on to an upper level of the stadium. *Hillsborough* represents a recurring theme in his work, which often highlighted 'social divisions and injustices, and the often violent confrontations between the individual and the state' [plate 145].⁹²

Eisler had earlier painted scenes from the 1984-85 miners' strike, which also detailed struggles between people against the state. Given the context of Hillsborough and the furore over the role of the police, the painting needs to be seen as a struggle against injustice. Integral to an understanding of Eisler's work is an understanding of the past.⁹³ By way of contrast Adrian Henry's painting *Flowers for Liverpool* focuses on

⁹⁰ Taylor, Brandon: *Critical Realism* (intro to Exhibition catalogue page 13).

⁹¹ Georg Eisler was the son of the Charlotte and Hans Eisler both of whom were musicians and associates of Bertolt Brecht. Adrian Henry was a musician, poet and painter based in Liverpool. Both Eisler and Henry were known for their radicalism.

⁹² Walker Art Galley, Liverpool, notes to the artwork. The gallery owns the painting: http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/walker/collections/foreign/hillsborough_georg_eisler.aspx

⁹³ See artwork description on the Walker Art Gallery web site.

the pitch at Anfield the day after the disaster [plate 146]. Henry's emotional picture although abstract in nature, gets across the intense 'public grief expressed in flowers' as a tribute to those who had lost their lives. The painting is owned by Liverpool Football Club and is on permanent display at the club's museum.⁹⁴ Although different in style to the work of Stevens and Hewitt the two Hillsborough paintings are powerful examples of how art can make a powerful commentary upon society in general and on the condition of football in particular.

The artwork discussed in this section was not produced in isolation. Other artists such as Ken Currie and Peter Howson, along with satirical cartoonists such as Steve Bell and Gerald Scarfe, produced work that showed 'the utterly downtrodden victims of social decay.'⁹⁵ Howson's work also included several football paintings that concentrated upon sectarian violence at football matches in Glasgow. One striking painting titled *Just Another Bloody Sunday*, (1987) 'recalls the famous rivalry between Glasgow Rangers and Celtic, the battle on the pitch mirroring the territorial struggle taking place in the terraces' [plate 147].⁹⁶

The work discussed in this section has been described in a different context as disaffected realism by Andrew Graham Dixon⁹⁷. Art that examines, unearths and reflects 'that the condition of the working-class in Britain is one of considerable dislocation, especially by comparison with the conditions of that class in the period

94 Alongside the painting is a poem written by Henry titled *The Bell*.

95 Taylor, Bandon op cit page 13.

96 Howson's work in the National Galleries of Scotland collection. See <http://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-a-z/H/2623/artistName/Peter%20Howson/recordId/612> for a fuller description of the painting. His football work also refers to the sectarian nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland.

97 Graham Dixon: *A History of British Art* page 224.

between 1945 and the mid-1960s.⁹⁸ All too often football was a symbol of this disaffection: a disaffection that was captured in art by artists.

Exploring Problems of Britishness, Englishness, Race and Identity in a Globalised World

This section will explore the controversial and complicated issue of English identity and its association with sport in a globalised world. Branching out from identity are of course issues of race, racism and ethnicity. These issues have come to the fore in football over the course of the past fifty years and have gathered greater importance as the football pitch and the stadium have ceased to be areas that are totally dominated by white males. They are issues that cannot be 'readily or easily disentangled' while 'English nationalism remains volatile material.'⁹⁹ Campaigns within football, such as the *Kick it Out* and the *Give Racism the Red Card*, have done sterling work in trying to rid football of racism. However, the recent controversies regarding Luis Suarez and John Terry, and the ejection of a small number of fans from the stands for racial abuse, have shown that the issue of racism has not been totally overcome within English football. John Barnes, the former Liverpool footballer, has spoken recently about racism, arguing that: 'Passive racism is inherent in all of us and the way we feel about a group of people is based on what we have been told for 200 years.' He also talked about the need not just to stop racist chanting at football grounds but of the necessity to overcome racist feelings that are contained within the inner self but not overtly expressed in words.¹⁰⁰ Barnes' goal will be a

98 Taylor, Ian op cit page 181.

99 Gilroy, Paul: *Foreword* page xiv (Carrington, Ben and McDonald, Ian: '*Race*', *Sport and British Society*).

100 Lecture by John Barnes *What is Racism* given at University of Liverpool 17 May 2012. Barnes is of course referring to the slave trade, which for black Africans was a Holocaust on the scale carried out by the Nazis in the 1930s and 1940s.

difficult one to achieve given the 'centuries-old European racism' that was 'shored up bogus science [and] racist popular beliefs.'¹⁰¹

Several artists have been exploring issues of racism and identity in football in their work over a number of years. These include Roderick Buchanan and Nick Waplinton, both of whom had work in the *Offside* exhibition on the theme of identity, Lubaina Himid, professor of art at the University of Central Lancashire, Joe Magee and Ravi Deepres, both of whom are freelance conceptual artists who work with photography and film, and Tim Vyner and Colin Yates. Vyner and Yates have both received extensive commissions from the PFA. Vyner received support from the PFA to go to Japan for the 2002 World Cup while Yates was commissioned to produce ten posters to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the players' union.

In addition to his video work discussed below Roderick Buchanan exhibited portraits, *Work in Progress*, of five-a-side teams wearing Inter and AC Milan shirts for the *Offside* exhibition. The idea behind the portraits being that identity in the modern world is problematical particularly in Britain, a country that is made up of four distinct national identities and also has a large section of the population that has a dual nationality and/or identity. In such a situation identifying with a local team is often easier to accept but even this simple concept, in the globalised world of football, is difficult to assess as fans do not necessarily support the team of their locality. That Buchanan chose Glasgow, a city with a strong identity and with a footballing tradition rooted in sectarian rivalry, makes for an interesting slant. But in a globalised world even cities such as Glasgow have had their traditional identity

101 Carrington, Ben and McDonald, Ian: 'Race', *Sport and British Society* page 2.

challenged as a result of the mass movements of peoples from across the globe; movements that have altered the demographic make up of most cities in Britain:

What city or nation do they represent if not Milan? After searching the physiognomy of the group for clues, for national characteristics etched in bone, and failing, we scrutinise the shirt and realise that apparel is only a fleeting indicator of preference and loyalty, to be worn with pride and to be discarded in a moment [plates 148-149].¹⁰²

Perhaps Buchanan is making a double point, the football shirt maybe a symbol of loyalty to the fans, but to a player the shirt can be easily swapped, in order to fulfil personal ambition, if he gets a better offer from a bigger club. Moreover, in a world dominated by global trade the football shirt is perhaps another means of expressing not only cultural diversity but Third World exploitation.

Nick Waplington's work also plays on undermining standard notions of identity. He displayed four large-scale photographs based on team portraits titled *The Best of British* [plates 150-151]. The players displayed however, are not British but foreign nationals playing for English teams. Waplington has touched up the photographs on a computer to suggest that imported players bring glamour to the game and that these players are responsible for reinvigorating the English domestic football. The ambiguity inherent in the images, however does play on the wider problem with identity both within football and wider society.¹⁰³

Commenting on both sets of photographs John Gill, the curator of the exhibition has suggested that:

¹⁰² Gill, John: Introduction to the *Offside* exhibition catalogue page 8.

¹⁰³ See interview with the artist on the iniva web site:
http://www.iniva.org/library/archive/people/w/waplington_nick/gallery/offside_interview_with_nick_waplington.

The photographic process used here corrupts and remakes the image, and offers multiple choices for the representation of the team player. In a sporting culture...where players move between clubs nationally and internationally, these two sets of photographs are a portentous reminder of the transience and ambivalence of loyalties.¹⁰⁴

If anything Gill's comment about the transience and ambivalence of loyalties have even more relevance today especially as the grip of foreign ownership of English football tightens.

Lubaina Himid's work is based upon depictions of black people in *The Guardian*, a newspaper that prides itself upon its liberal traditions. The paper is an open advocate of a multicultural Britain, a place that should celebrate the diversity of the nation. Himid contends, however, that the way the paper presents black people, particularly footballers, in its pages serves 'to undermine their identity.' Her work, however, goes beyond *The Guardian*, it raises wider issues of identity and representation throughout the whole of British society. Himid's work focuses upon the presentation of the photograph in the paper, how it is lit as well as its relationship to the headline that associates the photograph with the article. Of particular significance is her series of images entitled *Negatives and Positives*, which looks at how *The Guardian* represents black sportsmen and women through its sports pages and how these images, and the text associated with the image, undermines their identity. Himid maintains that the images often carry a subliminal racist message. She over-paints the page of the paper with African iconography to reinforce her point that the west has long been a player in the suppression of peoples of Africa. The political context of her work was the 200th anniversary of the Act of Parliament abolishing the slave trade. Himid explains her work in the following terms:

¹⁰⁴ Gill op cit page 8.

It was in this context that I began looking at images of black people in *The Guardian* to determine how a newspaper, that is widely read by those who work predominantly in the health service, social services, education and the media, depicted black people.

It was with this in mind that the project began. Every edition of the paper that year was examined for its juxtaposition of image and text in which a black person played a central role.

I found that *The Guardian*, no doubt in the interests of good design and witty narrative, used black people, especially from the sports world, and very often footballers, in a very subtle way which could be said to undermine their identity.¹⁰⁵

Examples of her work include a Micah Richards article in *The Guardian* from September 2007, which shows Richards training with England. Above an action shot of him competing with Stuart Downing is the headline: *Rough Diamond Richards Retains a Dash of Venom* [plate 152]. Richards' mouth is wide open indicating, according to Himid, that Richards has venom coming from his mouth. The wider context of the image is that Richards is being associated with animals while the rough diamond aspect of the headline is associated with people of a lower class 'some kind of East-End Drinker' on the one hand and, on the other hand with a commodity that has brought a lot of conflict to the African continent.¹⁰⁶ Himid has over-painted part of the page with an iridescent snake that shines like a diamond in an attempt to highlight how the headline and the image serves to undermine Richards in particular and black identity in general.¹⁰⁷

Another article from the same newspaper shows an image of the former Aston Villa player Curtis Davies under the headline *I don't deserve a game in a pub team admits*

¹⁰⁵ Statement by the artist printed in the *Football in Frame* exhibition booklet.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with the artist September 2009.

¹⁰⁷ *The Guardian* article was published 6 September 2007.

Villa's £10m debutant [plate 153].¹⁰⁸ At the bottom of the same page there is an advertisement for Tetley beer. Himid maintains that the juxtaposition of images is not accidental its 'As if him not deserving to be in a pub team is linked to the advert.'¹⁰⁹ Himid points to several other examples where the identity of black footballers has been undermined including articles about Didier Drogba, Thierry Henry, Paul Ince and Titus Bramble. Himid's aim is to redress the 'visual imbalance' of black people not just in *The Guardian* but across all media platforms. The articles in her view suggest that institutional, if unconscious, racism persists across British society and unless the problem of 'how the world sees black people' is addressed the problem of racism in society will not be overcome.¹¹⁰

In the 1980s the English flag was often associated with the far right. However, during the course of the 1990s through to the present day, different groups of people, including academics, rock stars and artists, made a determined stand to reclaim the flag from far right groups such as the British National Party. One strand, around the academic Mark Perryman, has tried to use the patriotism of England fans in a positive way, although in his academic writing he has acknowledged that there are problems with this approach: 'Following England, especially abroad, is all about finding our nation, but in an international, a continental, a global context. What we English carry with us though - more than any other nation - is our history.'¹¹¹ History is the problem, especially in the way it is interpreted by English fans travelling abroad: 'Think about the teams that made it to France '98: our hosts, the

¹⁰⁸ *The Guardian* 28 September 2007.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with the artist September 2009.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹¹ Perryman, Mark: *The Ingerland Factor* page 20.

French, we stuffed them at Waterloo...Germany, two world wars and one World cup...'¹¹²

Perryman in fact provides a long list of the nations involved in the World Cup of 1998 and alongside each one he appends some ditty that is sung or chanted by English fans in the stands or in the bars around the stadiums where England happen to be playing. Perryman's book of edited essays is, in part, his attempt to provide the case for Englishness as a progressive force in contradistinction to the fascist or racist right.

Four notable artists Ravi Deepres, Joe Magee, Tim Vyner, and Colin Yates are exploring the notion of Britishness, Englishness and patriotism in their work. The latter two have worked with Perryman on organised exchange visits when England play abroad. Like Perryman these artists are attempting to reverse the association of the flag with far right groups, to proclaim Englishness for English people based around a fan led popular, but not nationalistic, nationalism. What these artists are attempting to assert is that the culture of fandom does not have to be associated with the far right but that one can be patriotic while at the same time not advocate that the English are some kind of supremacist race. Indeed these artists celebrate the fact that in any nation cultures mix and their work does reflect this.

To counteract the jingoism associated with the flag the four artists have used positive depictions of the cross of St George in their work. Tim Vyner, for example argues that social relationships are the point of the connection. For him the English flag can be used in a positive way:

¹¹² *ibid* page 21.

Every time England travel abroad I draw a St. George plaque – an emblematic sign with a message contained within the plaque. Such forums have been held at war memorials in places such as Poland and Belarus. The plaque is laid before the memorial almost like a wreath. The idea behind the whole thing is to debunk the perceived attitude that all England fans are fat drunks with ultra nationalist attitudes. The plaques carry positive messages such as ‘We still believe in Football’.¹¹³

Sometimes the word ‘football’ is substituted by the word ‘fans’ or the phrase ‘in our team’. Vyner’s paintings, which supplement his photographic work, show England fans, regardless of colour, carrying the English flag emblazoned with the slogan *England My England*. For Vyner the English flag stands for a multiracial country, one that is inclusive. Vyner would undoubtedly concur with the Singh Twins, whose work is also concerned with identity, who assert that: ‘National pride is about being proud of who you are not disrespectful of other people and racism comes from disrespecting other people.’¹¹⁴

The significant thing about Vyner’s work is that it shows, even chronicles, that a layer of English fans are interested in cultural exchange and that football can bring different peoples together while still celebrating national pride. To what extent these exchanges have been successful is open to debate, although the delegations of England fans that have travelled to away matches have been received by fans of the host nation as well as from representatives from the British Embassies and UEFA [plate 154].

In July 2010 the Public Gallery, West Bromwich, hosted a series of curated exhibitions about football, fanaticism and national identity entitled *State of Play*. Among the exhibitors was Birmingham based photographic artist Ravi Deepres who

113 Interview with the artist 4 September 2009.

114 *ibid* Singh Twins interview. ‘Disrespective’ was the term used in the interview by the twins. Their work will be discussed below.

exhibited a sequence of prints highlighting the patriotism of people, towards the country where they live, many of whom have a shared or dual identity. His images were drawn from previous exhibitions, most notably the touring exhibition *Patriots*, versions of which have been shown in various countries during international football tournaments and have been endorsed by UEFA. The photographs from *Patriots* show football fans from all ethnic sections of the population proudly wearing the colours of England to football matches:

Deepres is concerned with how the idea of patriotism, the vigorous support of one's country, is expressed by individuals following sport, their football club or the national football team. Through his photographs he observes the behaviour of individuals momentarily enraptured by the game, or – cast adrift from the sea of the crowd – washed up in their own emotions. Furthermore, his photographs suggest a trans-cultural tribalism whereby a country's flag and its colours are appropriated for display.¹¹⁵

Patriots is an exploration 'of national, social and individual identity through observation of the dynamics and iconography of football supporters many of whom come from diverse ethnic backgrounds.' Indeed the emphasis of Deepres' work focuses upon the ethnic diversity of fans supporting England during international football tournaments and home internationals [plate 155].¹¹⁶

Colin Yates adopted a different approach to Deepres for his *State of Play* exhibits. His photographic series, *Patriotism not Jingoism*, shows how popular support for England is strongest, especially during international football tournaments, on rundown housing estates. It is impossible to determine the political allegiance of the people living on these estates, but Yates would argue that that such people are expressing their patriotism in a non-political manner. The images do, however, carry a political

115 *State of Play*, exhibition booklet.

116 See <http://www.surely.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/patriot/patriot.htm> . Images from *Patriots* can be viewed on the web site.

message when displayed in gallery. A message that says Englishness is inclusive, not the preserve of the majority white population [plate 156].¹¹⁷

A video installation at the same exhibition by Joe Magee extended Deepres and Yates' photographic impressions. His: 'Short film explores the spontaneous and abundant display of the flags on an English housing estate during the Euro 2004 tournament.'¹¹⁸ Magee is interested in how people interact and communicate in a technological age; his work explores how football engenders a common identity. In a remarkable sequence his film shows that the white squares of the flag of St George have been overdrawn with the crescent of the Pakistan flag demonstrating that people with dual identity have little trouble in supporting their adopted country, the country where they live, during international football tournaments. For such people there seems little contradiction in expressing their support for English football although it would be interesting to explore what their allegiance would be during cricket international matches and international tournaments [plate 157].¹¹⁹

What these artists have consciously set out to do is to make a political point, using the visual image of the English flag, in an understated way. They have chronicled a series of international football tournaments and presented them creatively, thereby making people deliberate upon the problems of national and/or dual identity. The presentations are not overtly political but they aim to subvert the racism that has become associated with the flag of St George, and in this way they are attempting to make a powerful political point in the process. Whether this political point reinforces

117 Yates also displayed this work in the *Football in the Frame* exhibition held in Preston February 2011.

118 *State of Play*, exhibition booklet.

119 This issue of dual identity is dealt with in greater detail below.

jingoism in a different form is hard to determine at this juncture. The work of these artists, however, does show that:

Football provides a powerful arena for the construction of national identity by its very obvious identification of the nation with the national team. While it may be difficult adequately to define what 'Englishness' is in a multicultural, multi-national society...it becomes a lot easier when a football match between 'us' and 'them' is in progress.¹²⁰

Likewise, the artists in question are attempting to show that Englishness is a complex concept especially in a nation that is, on the one hand multiracial, and other the hand has a racist past. A past that is indelibly linked to the slave trade and imperialism. It is a bold attempt, if at times a naïve one, to reconfigure the perceived image of England fans by these artists who are exploring issues of identity and attempting to portray English football in a positive light with the football fan at the centre.

In the formative years of the Premier League social documentary in art relating to football largely disappears from the work of artists. However, by the mid 1990s into the early years of the new century several artists have made earnest attempts to locate football within the context of the wider social environment. Several of the artists who had work accepted for the *Offside* exhibition of 1996 referred to social issues that revolve around football. The video installations of Buchanan, for example, record a series of football games on pitches, in parks and on open ground, in Manchester, Glasgow, Budapest and Nantes. Another conceptual artist Neville Gabie has photographed goalposts located in various social settings. The goalposts are in effect social sculptures that reveal that the age old of practice of street kick-a-bouts and of impromptu matches played on waste ground is alive and, quite literally, kicking. Liverpool based artist Christine Physick's collage based work uses abstracted images made up of found objects, photographs and items of football

120 Poulton, Emma: *Fighting Talk from the Press Corps* page 119 (in Perryman *The Ingerland Factor*).

memorabilia to get across the urban decay around the football grounds of Everton and Liverpool. The work, and the differing styles they employ, of these diverse artists will be considered in the next section.

The Social Impact of Football: Football Art in the Premiership Years

Of interest to the wider representation of football in art is the way numerous artists have turned to conceptual art to get across the social significance of football in society. Conceptual Art rejects the basic forms by which art is recognised – a sculpture or a painting in a gallery, for example. It has disrupted the ‘modernist critical practices, in which divisions such as those between painting and gallery, artist and spectator were taken for granted.’¹²¹ In conceptual art ‘there [is] often a strong socio-political dimension to much of the work...produced, reflecting wider dissatisfaction with society and government policies.’¹²² In short, conceptual artists give priority to the concept, or the idea, behind the work and use whatever form is appropriate.¹²³ Not all the work, however, is of a political nature. A good example of this is Angela Bulloch’s *West Ham – A Sculpture for Football Songs* 1998, [plate 158] which presents a series of belisha beacons in the colours of West Ham United. The beacons change colour in response to the different anthems sung by West Ham United supporters, which were recorded during a home game at Upton Park. The concept, or the idea, was to get across the importance of football anthems to football fans and how singing helps to generate atmosphere at football grounds. The installation also gets across the idea that football anthems play a part in developing a

121 Brigstocke, H: *The Oxford Companion to Western* page 147.

122 http://www2.tate.org.uk/archive/journeys/reisehtml/mov_conceptual.htm

123 Wilson, Simon and Lack, Jessica: *The Tate Guide to Modern Art Terms* page 52.

distinct identity among different sets of supporters.¹²⁴ The form of the sculpture was dictated by the idea. Often how form derives from the idea is difficult to decipher, perhaps in this instance Bulloch is playing upon the idea of how communal singing can light up a football stadium and create solidarity between people who do not know each other but have a common cause or a distinct identity. In this instance they identify with West Ham United but Bulloch's piece also has universal values in that it can apply to all football grounds.

In the case of Buchanan his video installation for the *Offside* exhibition, entitled *One in a Million*, is based on the concept that communal football pitches are 'havens of personal space' hence his concern for the social provision for football. For Buchanan football provides a 'universal language' that highlights that culture has 'become more homogenised' in the modern day [plate 159]. *One in a Million*, is a video of 10 amateur football pitches in Manchester located: 'at the heart of parkland or wasteland, housing or industrial estates, demolition and building sites.'¹²⁵ Buchanan makes the startling observation that 'there maybe 100 million such football parks in the world.'¹²⁶ The thrust behind the piece is to show the universality of football and how it can also reflect upon wider issues in society:

Also, the universal aspect of football culture, which seems to transcend differences of nationhood, social class and culture, was intriguing. Even if you don't know anything about football it is possible to find a message in Buchanan's work. Using football as a metaphor in his investigations of the value of community and difference, he visualises the complexity of reality, dream and exclusion, and the universal nature of football. For

124 The work is part of the Tate Collection and can be viewed, but not heard, at <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/bulloch-west-ham-sculpture-for-football-songs-t12307>

125 *Offside* exhibition catalogue page 8. Buchanan had earlier recorded similar scenes in Glasgow, Budapest and Nantes although these were not shown in Manchester.

126 Quote taken from Buchanan interview with *Offside* curator. The interview is on line at http://www.iniva.org/library/archive/people/b/buchanan_roderick/gallery/offside_interview_with_roderick_buchanan

Buchanan football is secondary to the idea he wants to explore. It becomes a way to see the world we live in.¹²⁷

His work, alongside that of Neville Gabie shows that football is the chosen, and spontaneous, game that captures the imagination and the passion of hundreds of millions of people.

Neville Gabie's goalposts demonstrate why football is more important, and bigger, than any other team sport. They show that if you have a ball, the prime aim of the game, to score goals, can be achieved: 'football can be played anywhere, at any time with any amount of people. A couple of lads with a ball and something to represent goalposts and you've got a game. It may just be three and in but it's still football. Football at its purest.'¹²⁸

In reality in any urban environment, on a field or on a piece of waste ground the game can be played even by a single person, how many boys have played this way and have imagined themselves scoring the winning goal in an important match when in reality the goal is no more than a series of chalked or painted lines on a wall? For many generations individuals, groups of boys have played the game in this way often in the shadow of the football stadium where the home team plays league and cup football. Gabie's book features goalposts painted on walls in close proximity to both Anfield and Goodison Park, stadiums that are separated by an urban park, which also happens to be the birthplace of football in Liverpool [plates 160-161]. The painted goalpost on the urban wall, the open field, the urban park and football stadium are all places of social engagement where football is played out, argued about and celebrated. Gabie's, work, along with the work of Buchanan, encapsulates

127 Brandtzaeg, Kari, J: *Glasgow A Presentation of the Art Scene in the 90's* page 13.

128 Drummond, Bill: *Playing Away UK* (postscript to Neville Gabie exhibition catalogue). Unpaginated.

how the game of football has become both ensconced in the memory and the imagination of the millions of people living in often very deprived areas of Britain:

I became increasingly aware of the wooden goalposts, standing out like beacons of human endeavour in often vast, empty spaces. I was fascinated by the sheer inventiveness of their construction...As the project developed, I began to see how the posts mirrored the environment. Where there was no wood to hand, stones, string, metal, chalk or paint could be used. And without a field in which to play, a garage door, a street corner or a car park become reasonable substitutes. With minimal means these goalposts eloquently expressed much of what I was trying to achieve through making sculpture. They encapsulate our dreams and fantasies, and the uniqueness of 'place', in the language which is universally understood.¹²⁹

Gabie's work also shows that 'football presents a communality of culture' even in areas of sectarian violence such as Northern Ireland [plates 162-163]. Despite the sectarian imagery that surrounds the goalposts 'they do demonstrate that people from different cultural backgrounds do have things in common - the commonality of the football pitch. Although football has also been a place for extreme sectarian violence in Northern Ireland.'¹³⁰

If Buchanan's and Gabie's work reveal the deep social roots of the game Christine Physick's football landscapes show that the national game is often played in great and/or famous stadiums that are surrounded by rows of terraced housing. Her football artwork emerged out of a Young Roots project she led. The work looks at the setting of two Victorian football grounds, Anfield and Goodison Park, both of which are surrounded by declining residential areas. In the case of Anfield the residential area has atrophied over a period of decades as Liverpool Football Club has acquired properties in streets adjacent to the stadium with a view to having them demolished. Demolition was supposed to lead to the redevelopment of the football ground, which

129 Gabie Neville, cited in Drummond postscript to *Playing Away UK*.

130 Interview with the artist October 2009.

in turn was linked to the regeneration of the Anfield and Breckfield areas of the city. Also, her work raises wider concerns, that go beyond the Anfield/Everton areas, about the continual disappearance of open spaces and areas of play, places that can and once were used for sport, in urban and rural areas.

Liverpool Football Club has been talking about renovating Anfield, or developing a new stadium on Stanley Park for well over a decade. The most recent planning application for building a new stadium on the park looked at the problem of social decline in the area historically. It also acknowledged that the delay in building a new stadium was leading to social and environmental blight, a problem that has its roots in the old stadium being built in a high-density urban area:

The original football ground comprised a local facility with small stands at the Anfield Road and Walton Breck Road ends. It was constructed in an area of, already, high-density terraced 'workers' housing; the proximity of that housing has been a key factor affecting the ongoing growth and development of the Club over many years.¹³¹

The club also acknowledges that:

The stadium is uninspiring in terms of its architecture and gives little in terms of its relationship with the surrounding context. It is completely out of scale with the adjoining high-density terraced housing and is an incongruous and dominant feature in the street scene and wider area.¹³²

Somewhat incongruously the planning statement argues that it is important to ensure that 'environmental and social issues associated with the existing stadium are not transferred to the housing areas in closest proximity to the new stadium site' when quite clearly the houses closest to Stanley Park have either been demolished or

131 Planning Statement submitted by Liverpool Football Club to Liverpool City Council, 2007 (Available on CD-Rom).

132 *ibid* page 19.

are in need of refurbishment.¹³³

And finally the report goes on to say that 'to do nothing in Anfield/Breckfield is not an option and that the area will undoubtedly continue to decline unless its problems are tackled comprehensively.'¹³⁴

This is the general and immediate background to the series of collages by Christine Physick that focus upon Anfield and the streets that run parallel to the stadium. Her body of work is extensive, comprising some 25 mixed media collages three of which will be considered here: *King Kenny*, *This is Anfield* and *Supporters on Lothair Road* [plates 164-166].

Before considering her work some general background will provide a better understanding of the ideas and meanings contained in the images. The work is concerned with:

The breakdown in the relationship between the club and the immediate neighbourhood, as well as its relationship between the club and its supporters. The neighbourhood has clearly declined as the club has become more powerful which in turn reflects how big business is not interested in community. This has also impacted upon the game within the stadium and spilled out into the locality. This in turn has alienated the people who live in the area: a once tight community has become fragmented and rundown as properties have been left empty and have become derelict waiting for the club to make up its mind with regard to the stadium.¹³⁵

Interweaved in the works are past and present images of Liverpool Football Club. In this sense 'the work goes backward and forward to the hey-day of the club and

133 *ibid* page 59.

134 *ibid* page 59.

135 Interview with the artist 28 March 2012.

comments upon its present state.¹³⁶ *King Kenny*, for example might be a celebrity but he is:

A celebrity for the right reasons – known for his football not for using his status to promote commodities even though the club he represents is part of the global economy. He is typical of the working-class player who traditionally thought that it was an honour to play the game for a big club, in contrast to the modern day when clubs have to prove their worth to the players.¹³⁷

The evolution of Premier League football clubs, from their roots in Victorian England, has seen them evolve from local teams that play in a national league to clubs that need a global presence if they are going to compete. This in turn has ‘changed the look and the purpose of the stadium which now has a corporate focus.’ This is the background to the *Lothair Road* collage, which shows fans in a goalmouth at the foot of the street – the *No Entry* sign is a symbol that they are denied access to the ground because of the cost, and the restrictive nature of the ticket system employed by the club. The pitch at the bottom of the image makes the double point that street football, the typical training ground for generations of players is also denied to the young generation:

Originally fans associated with the club lived and played in the type of streets that surround the stadium. These fans walked down the very streets to get to the match that are now strewn with bordered up houses. Many of these fans are now excluded from matchdays because going to a match has gone beyond the wherewithal of such supporters.¹³⁸

The once local fan is now a barrier to the growth of the club commercially. This is symbolised by the sponsors logos, which appear in many of the images. There is a certain irony here. The role of sponsorship, which on one level has enabled the club to have an expansionist policy, has at the same time placed the club at the mercy of

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid. Lothair Road runs parallel to the Main Stand at Anfield. The car park behind the stand butts onto the backyards of the houses.

finding ever more lucrative sponsorship deals. Increasingly expensive ticket prices have alienated and disenfranchised the working-class fan base. A concern for business has led to a disinterest in the environment around the football ground. In effect the club has contributed to the social decline of a once proud area. These features also appear in *This is Anfield*, the fans that line the roof of the stand show the pleasure that football brings to millions of fans but, in the Liverpool example, it has come at a cost to the locality. Initially, the establishment of the football club provided a focus for the area, even helped local businesses to flourish but now the 'club has outgrown the area, has in effect turned against the community that once welcomed the club. The club has in effect been a crucial factor in the overall decline of the area.'¹³⁹

The artwork of Hewitt and Stephens, discussed above, and the current work of Christine Physick, present abstracted snapshots of Britain. The outcome of their work reflects badly upon local and national politicians as well as the football clubs who have presided over a decaying social fabric for 60 years and more. These artists offer an array of visual collisions that are a stark reminder of the failure of both the British economy and the decline of society in the post-war period. The work of Buchanan and Gabie stands, in some respects, in sharp contrast to the work of the above artists but what their work also points to is the lack of social amenities in urban Britain.

The social decay that features strongly in the work of the artists discussed in this section stands in sharp contrast to the lifestyle of the modern day celebrity footballer. How artists have portrayed the modern day player will provide the basis for the next section.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*

The Nature of the Celebrity Footballer in a Globalised World

As indicated above football has in effect become a part of the global entertainment industry a factor that is reflected in the high profile and celebrity status of the game's key players. In the modern day sport has the power to deliver powerful images into all walks of people's lives hence the growing interest of big business in the sporting star. This section will show how the modern day footballer has been represented in art. Artists throughout history have painted famous people, usually because the famous person happened to be the artist's patron. Today as celebrity culture exerts a growing influence within society numerous artists have been drawn towards depicting stars, in the context of how they represent certain values of capitalist society. In the context of the modern day society's values are increasingly shaped by consumerism, even shopping has become a cultural experience, many of the consumer goods sold are promoted by sports stars through media advertising. Thus the modern day sports star has a constant presence in our daily lives. Whereas in the past, the footballer would be largely confined to the sports pages, today he can be found on all media fronts: the front page, the fashion pages and the news pages of newspapers as well as in the cinema and on the television. In the global age the meanings behind the image becomes: 'transmittable: that is to say it becomes information of a sort, and like all information, it is either put to use or ignored.'¹⁴⁰ Moreover: 'advances in communication technology, such as mobile phones, satellite television and the internet' has speeded up this process.¹⁴¹

140 Berger, John: *Ways of Seeing* page 24-25.

141 Ratnam op cit page 286.

Hence the increasing desire of transnational companies to have instantly recognisable stars or celebrities whose global image, thanks to modern technology, can be instantly transmitted around the world to potential consumers.

Star footballers are often promoted as role models in society, particularly for young boys from deprived backgrounds. The greater the fame, the more wealth and product endorsements a player has in his portfolio, the greater significance of his role model lifestyle. Despite this role model aura presented for and by football and footballers the type of products endorsed by the game's echelons are often associated with poor diet and, more alarmingly, with violence in society. FIFA, for example, has McDonalds sponsoring the 2014 World Cup while the same company endorses the Football Association's Community Awards programme, which helps to promote football among young people. The main thrust for McDonalds is to promote their convenience food as a healthy alternative when the ethos behind the sponsorship is supposed to promote and foster a healthy lifestyle among people.¹⁴² Likewise, both the Football League and the Football Association have accepted sponsorship from alcohol producers for their cup competitions. Alcohol has often been blamed as a primary cause of violence at football games and events, yet the game's governing bodies openly endorse such products, and by inference encourage the football supporter to drink these alcoholic drinks. Frequent reports from the Royal College of Physicians have criticised the links between football and the drinks' industry. One report from 2008 noted that more than half of Premier League clubs have beer companies as sponsors. The report also criticised the way alcohol sponsorship

¹⁴² Issues around the food produced by McDonald's has drawn criticism from various health and environmental sources. This debate is outside the scope of the thesis. For their take on healthy food see the company's web site.

encouraged binge drinking.¹⁴³ In the context of this report it is hard to escape the conclusion that money is the main motive behind corporate sponsorship for football clubs, not what benefits a product can bring to society as a whole.

The number of artists working in this field is large and growing. To provide a representative overview of this area of work the following artists will be considered: Michael J Browne, Samuel Fosso, Amrit and Rabindra Singh. The work of Browne and Fosso reveal the cult status that surrounds many modern day footballers whereas the work of Singh Twins shows how star players have become an integral part of the advertising industry in promoting commodities. Manchester born Browne regularly produces ‘controversial and “tongue-in-cheek” artwork.’¹⁴⁴ His two football based images *The Art of the Game* and the *Transfiguration* controversially show the former Manchester United players Eric Cantona and George Best as Christ-like figures: his work is heavily influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites. Kenya born Samuel Fosso’s work looks at African identity, he had work shown in the *Em Jogo* football art exhibition shown in Portugal for Euro 2004. Although Fosso is not a British artist the fact that some high profile African born players ply their trade in the Premier League makes his work relevant to the wider context of this section. Amrit and Rabindra Singh produced a body of work for the Manchester Commonwealth Games entitled *Sportlight*. Contained in this series are two portraits: *From Zero to Hero*, which shows David Beckham on a throne, and *The Beautiful Game*, which depicts David Ginola surrounded by high profile consumer products.

143 See the *Daily Telegraph* 18 November 2008 for a summary of the report. For more up-to-date reports see the Royal College of Physicians web site.

<http://www.rcplondon.ac.uk/search/node/sport%20and%20alcohol%20sponsorship>

144

http://www.bbc.co.uk/cumbria/content/articles/2009/09/08/mie_browne_kestwick_feature.shtml

Michael J Browne's Christ-like image of Eric Cantona, references the *The Resurrection of Christ* by Piero Della Francesca and presents the player standing guard over an improvised heavenly theatre of dreams, with Alex Ferguson above him in god-like fashion about to be crowned [plate 167]. The sprawled figures of Beckham, Gary Neville and Nicky Butt, all young players at the time, in the foreground are like disciples lying in wait for commands from their masters, in this case Ferguson and Cantona. According to the artist:

I believe that the media creates much of the directive towards celebrities, with its judgmental nature...I can then see that there are similarities to worshiped people of the past. But I feel compassion, or learn something from them. Some kind of guidance, or warning of an outcome. But I am not looking for a celebrity to offer me something beyond my life! Just within my life! I do have a hunger for seeing supreme talent, especially when I've been educated with their superb vision. I think that's where our 'awe' of them lays.¹⁴⁵

For Browne the supreme skill of the player puts us in awe of the talent that is played out in front of millions of people each week. How society has come to revere the special skills of the artist and the footballer were explored in chapter one of the thesis, but essentially the exaggerated opinion we have of such people has grown to its absurd height, as other skills in society have become obsolete or have become downgraded due to technology. Browne's painting is also a comment on the decline of religion in society, how it has left a vacuum which is being increasingly filled with reverence for sporting celebrities: hence their exaggerated position as society role models.¹⁴⁶

Samuel Fosso's *Les Nouvelles Indenties d'Afrique* (2004) has a similar theme to Browne's painting discussed above. The star footballer's lifestyle is something to

145 On-line interview with the artist. Can be viewed at: (http://www.arthistory.upenn.edu/vlst/2010-studentsites/lew/Site/Michael_J._Browne.html)

146 See Smart, Barry, op cit page 9 for the vacuum left by religion and the emergence of the sport celebrity.

aspire to or dream of [plate 168]. Fosso's image is based upon 32 photographs of himself in a Real Madrid kit shot in sequence to give a cinematic feel to the image. The background, an idealised image of planet earth, is to inform the viewer that this is a global game being played by a 'global character, as idolised as a Hollywood star...and thus a model for projecting personal identity.'¹⁴⁷ Indeed, Fosso: 'represents everyone's dream made "galactic" in a photographic studio, whether this is Africa or any other continent.'¹⁴⁸ The 'global character' in the image, in a European club football kit, also represents the fact that the finest resources of Africa are still destined for Europe. A reminder that the consequences of globalisation, which has dominated Africa since the nineteenth century, still continues to do so.

In contrast to the two works discussed above Rabindra Singh's painting of David Beckham sitting on a throne with his wife, Victoria, and his son, Brooklyn, refers directly to the sponsorship deals that star footballers receive [plate 169]. The image carries a multitude of meanings including the relationship between:

...the world of sport, media and celebrity. In particular it looks at the role that both the media and the commercialisation of sport have played in turning the humble sportsman into a universal hero, celebrity superstar, and popular cultural icon. In a wider context it also comments on how, in a world obsessed with materialism and the cult of the celebrity, secular icons have come to replace the traditional spiritual role models offered by world faiths. Epitomising this theme, the symbolic portrait of David Beckham reflects an image of the footballer as portrayed through TV, newspapers, magazines and internet sites.¹⁴⁹

Beckham is wearing Adidas Predator boots and is being attended to by four representatives from the fashion industry who offer him 'designer labels on golden trays.' One of the labels carries the name of Beckham 'this denotes...how he has

¹⁴⁷ Amado, Miguel op cit page 58.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Singh, Rabindra: *Worlds Apart* page 64.

become a product himself with his own trademarks' which in the case of Beckham includes his tattoos and his controversial hairstyles.¹⁵⁰

Amrit Singh's portrait of David Ginola also looks at the power of product placement in sport and the significance of the star footballer to reinforce the idea of consumerism as being an essential part of everyday life [plate 170]. For this reason Amrit's portrait associates Ginola with the cosmetic industry to show 'modern society's preoccupation with the body beautiful but in particular, the growing male obsession with the self image.' The work also 'highlights how the sports personality has become an important icon both for influencing established attitudes and perceptions and for reflecting general trends in shifting patterns of social behaviour.'¹⁵¹ In other words, whatever the product, be it sportswear or other commodities, it only achieves market penetration and wider acceptance via the use of advertising, and that the sports star is crucial in the marketing of such goods.

Two other aspects of the image are worth considering: the first being how certain footballers have become involved in political causes. In the past governments governed without pressure from celebrities, or other high profile people, to effect political change. Now, however, footballers such as Ginola are involved with popular causes such as anti-landmine campaigns. They are trying to use their privileged status to demonstrate that footballers can be used 'as a force for good in the world.'¹⁵² Interestingly, there are a growing number of footballers that are establishing their own foundations. These include Craig Bellamy, who has a

¹⁵⁰ *ibid* page 65.

¹⁵¹ Singh, Amrit: *Worlds Apart* page 76.

¹⁵² *ibid*.

foundation for deprived children in Sierra Leone, and Steven Gerrard who has established a foundation for deprived children in Britain. These may be laudable attempts to effect change in society, but it does have dangers in that national politicians are becoming less relevant and less effective in the age of globalisation, a factor that is linked to the increasing power of transnational companies. Another contradiction is that such footballers are also endorsing products that exploit people both at home and abroad.

Secondly, the image plays on football's overseas connections and comments on:

How commercialisation has eroded notions of national loyalty and identity in sport, encouraging the emergence of multi-nation football teams whose individuals play for whoever pays the most...This in turn highlights issues relating to what many consider the unfair advantage of wealthier countries over poorer nations who struggle to compete in a global sports business where success can be bought by those who can afford the best players.¹⁵³

In this context sport reflects society, which is increasingly dominated by multinational companies and whose products frame our cultural perceptions through advertising: a forum that is increasingly filled by the product endorsements of celebrity footballers.¹⁵⁴

Football Art: Fashionable Football and the response of Art in a Globalised World

This section will consider the work of three artists, Freddy Contreras, Gabriel Kuri, both of whom had work exhibited for the ground breaking *Offside* exhibition, and

¹⁵³ Singh, Amrit: *Worlds Apart* page 77.

¹⁵⁴ A report by Share The World Resources in 2006 noted that in 2002 just 500 multinational corporations control 70 per cent of world trade. The report is available on line at: <http://www.stwr.org/multinational-corporations/multinational-corporations-mnacs-beyond-the-profit-motive.html>

Leo Fitzmaurice who makes pastiche replica football shirts from discarded cigarette packets. In addition to this the section will also consider the work of two commercial artists, Paul Shearer and Tony Davidson, who were employed by Nike and Adidas respectively to design posters to promote the sale of sports clothing.

The *Offside* exhibition contained a strong body of work that looked at football from an international perspective, work that was largely concerned with issues such as globalisation and how football was becoming increasingly influenced by free market economics. The exhibition in effect showed that: 'Cultural and economic moments are almost always intertwined and interdependent.'¹⁵⁵ The essence and the aims of the exhibition can be found in a funding bid made by the Manchester Art Gallery to North West Arts: 'Football is now more than a game. It has developed into a multi-million pound industry around the world. Some of the biggest clubs make more money from merchandising than they do from the gate...'¹⁵⁶ This is the context of the work of Freddy Contreras and Gabriel Kuri both of whom are highly critical of the way the football industry has become intertwined with the fashion industry.

Freddy Contreras' installation, *Stud*, based on a series of Vivienne Westwood stiletto shoes fitted with football studs, was a play on the relationship between fashion, sex and sports advertising [plate 171]. The artist's brief to the curators succinctly describes what the work aimed to do:

The proposal submitted for FOOTBALL '96 is a direct attempt to manipulate the relationships of sport and fashion, art and advertising,

155 Ratnam op cit page 287.

156 Details of the bid can be found in the *Offside* archive located at the Manchester Art Gallery. The bid is undated.

sexuality and gender divisions: using an ironic interplay of female and male macho associations.¹⁵⁷

The installation plays on the relation between fashion, sex and sports advertising. It is also concerned with the place of production for such goods. Designer clothes, like sports clothing, are overwhelmingly made in Third World countries, places where the workers who make the goods are grossly exploited.

In a similar attack upon commodity production associated with football Gabriel Kuri's market stall was adorned with merchandise from around the world. The goods on display were objects found at football stadiums long after the crowds had left the area. Kuri reconfigured the products by labelling them with phoney logos. Official merchandise sold by football clubs is a key source of income but these goods, just as much as phoney goods, are made by a labour force that are exploited by ruthless companies. Football clubs argue that they are not responsible for such goods but in effect their extortionate pricing of official merchandise forces many fans, keen to be identified with their favourite club, into buying fake goods. Kuri's world trade market stall of phoney goods was both a condemnation of how football clubs are exploiting both the worker in the Third World and the football fan at home. It is also a comment upon market forces that fills a void, in this instance with phoney goods, in the market no matter what the human and environmental cost [plate 172].

The work of Contreras and Kuri demonstrate that conceptual art is a powerful medium for getting across a multitude of ideas about society through art using football as the overriding visual image.

¹⁵⁷ The artist's brief submitted with application form for the exhibition is located in the *Offside* catalogue located in the Manchester Art Gallery. The working title of the exhibition was FOOTBALL '96 before the curators decided on *Offside*. Emphasis in the original.

Recognising that the visual image has great power in sending out subliminal messages the fashion industry often employs highly skilled artists, not only to promote their products, but to increase the desire for such goods. This is particularly evident with sportswear companies such as Nike and Adidas who target their products at young people with disposable income, the very section of society that is being increasingly drawn towards football products. What is of interest, is the way the industry has extended the inherited graphic language that was largely the creation of football itself:

From pitch markings to team strips and from match programmes to club badges, football has created its own graphic language over the last century that transcends national and cultural boundaries. There are certain colours – royal blue, scarlet, white – which are football colours, others – pink, brown, grey – are not. Certain graphic – stripes, hoops, quarters – are football styles, others – chevrons, triangles, zig-zags – are not. Part heraldic, part tribal, these stylings have emerged for most part, independently of the design industry.¹⁵⁸

In an age where replica football shirts are seen as essential fashion accessories traditional designs developed by football clubs over decades have been replaced, with an eye to the market, with more abstracted designs via the use of chevrons, zig-zags and other shapes. In effect multinational companies have employed artists and designers ‘to tweak and twist a team’s original stripes or colours out of all recognition.’¹⁵⁹ In the process ‘non-football’ symbols such as chevrons, distorted colours and zig-zigs have been used to ensure that the sponsor’s name becomes identified with the club.

In 1996 Nike engaged artist Paul Shearer who designed a poster that featured Eric Cantona, the Manchester United Striker. Alongside the image of a stern-faced Cantona the text reads: ‘ I have worked hard to improve English football now it must

¹⁵⁸ Leslie, J and Burgoyne, P: *FC Football Graphics* page 7.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*

be destroyed' [plate 173].¹⁶⁰ The V&A description of the poster sums up the aims of Nike and other multinational sports companies:

Young people are Nike's target market, and therefore their agency decided to use the 'cool' image of the street, an essential part of youth culture. For the British market, they concentrated on posters 'with attitude'. Stock photographs of leading sportsmen and women are given a creative edge by the design and powerful directness of the captions. These often emphasise the athletes' single-minded determination and egotism.¹⁶¹

Likewise, Adidas commissioned artist Tony Davidson to promote their Predator Traxion football boot. Like the Nike poster discussed above the poster is in the V&A Collection [plate 174]. What is striking is that both companies have adopted similar techniques to promote their products. The V&A outline of the poster confirms this:

The popular sportswear brand Adidas, like other companies, relies on the consumer's association of a product with a celebrity...The design incorporates three strands of barbed wire made up of photographs of Paul Ince, the former Manchester United and England national team football player, in a dynamic athletic pose. The three lines of barbed wire are also visually linked to Adidas' three-stripe brand identity.¹⁶²

The posters placed emphasis upon top-level footballers with a view to promoting sales of football shirts, the market leader for most sportswear companies retailing in Britain. The shirt, once the main identifier of the club or the club's traditions, has now been sold to the highest bidder. In fact, football clubs are as much a commodity

160 The poster is in the V&A Collection. The PFA have a poster in their collection which is modeled on the Nike poster. Cantona has been replaced with the head of Gordon Taylor. The strapline to the poster reads: FOR THE GOOD OF THE GAME. In sharp contrast to the Nike poster the subtext on the poster talks about redistributing football's income to those that need it. Alas, the name of the artists is not acknowledged in the PFA file.

161 For description see:

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?offset=0&limit=15&narrow=&extrasearch=&q=football+posters&commit=Search&quality=0&objectnamesearch=&placesearch=&after=&after-adbc=AD&before=&before-adbc=AD&namesearch=&materialsearch=&mnsearch=&locationsearch=>

162 *ibid*

as their star players, they have become a vehicle for promoting multinational companies and their products be it alcohol, finance services or mobile phones.

The work of Leo Fitzmaurice both amplifies and undermines the advertising techniques of companies such as Nike and Adidas. His *Post Match* series of football shirts made out of found cigarette packets visually reinforce the 'grubby business of smoking and football' [plates 175-176].¹⁶³ Fitzmaurice's football shirts are made in such a way that the maker of the cigarette brand appears across the chest area of the shirt. In this context the shirts are making a statement that the real football shirt personifies the big business ethos that drives top-level football clubs in more ways than one. The flip-top pack, which form the arms of the shirts, often have symbols on them that are reminiscent of the chevrons and zig-zags used in modern designs of real football shirts. Fitzmaurice's football shirts symbolise the commercialisation of the game and that big business is at the forefront in maximising the commercial potential of football clubs. Historically, the football shirt was worn to distinguish one team from another:

For a long time the football shirt was a simple thing. Its function was to distinguish one team from another, nothing more. First introduced in the 1870s, for the next hundred years it remained plain and unadorned... Yet, despite such developments, football shirts maintained a Corinthian integrity. The only thing that ever adorned them was the club badge, usually based on the town or city crest.¹⁶⁴

Players may still kiss the badge but the badge, once a symbol of civic and club pride, has now become of secondary importance to manufacturers stripe or chevron. The shirt has become a necessary part of the big business package that now dominates

163 Wallinger, Mark: Foreword *Post Match* (exhibition catalogue) page 9.

164 Pearson, Harry: intro to *Post Match* page 11.

football; it is wrapped up with satellite TV coverage, the executive box and the fashion industry, all of which have become crucial to the commercial success of clubs.

The everyday fan has been incorporated into this commercial process but the match attendee, despite large increases in ticket prices, does not provide sufficient revenues to drive commercial expansion, hence the need for top level clubs to have a worldwide presence to ensure sales of the club shirt on a mass level. This situation has led to a success at all costs culture, football reflects big business, a world where to knock out a competitor and establish a monopoly is the epitome of success.

Fitzmaurice's work shows that the football shirt has become a commodity 'dominated by the laws of the market, for which an emblem is no more than a product that is saleable like any other.'¹⁶⁵

The work of Fitzmaurice and other artists highlights how football has a visible presence in all works of life and that the work of artists is crucial in making football both visible and attractive to the wider world. However, art in this period has not merely reflected the world of football or presented it as a fashion accessory. More and more artists, and exhibitions dedicated to football art, often use football in their work as a metaphor for wider cultural and social issues because the game articulates 'ideas about life and the world we live in' and this explains why 'artists are using football...to open up other ideas like nationalism, commercialisation, fanaticism...Football has a huge breadth of interest for the artist.'¹⁶⁶

165 Miguel Amado, curator of *Em Jogo* exhibition, commenting upon Fitzmaurice's work Catalogue page 58.

166 John Gill, curator of the *Offside* exhibition. Cited in Leslie, J and Burgoyne, P: *FC Football Graphics* page 8.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how football radically changed in the post 1960 period, changes that cannot be separated from the revolutionary change that occurred in society as whole. Also, the economic structure of football changed radically, once again these changes in many ways reflected the changes in the wider British economy. As Britain moved away from being a producer of manufactured goods to one that made its wealth from financial services and banking the structure of the workforce also changed. In 1960 the football stadium was filled with workers who were mostly employed in the manual trades. By 1992, however, football supporters were increasingly drawn from the professional classes. Clearly, television has made a big impact upon the game. In 1960 only matches of national significance were broadcast, yet from 1992 all clubs based in the Premier League could be regularly seen around the world thanks to satellite TV. Cultural change was also profound throughout the period, once again television was a prime instigator of change. The arts in various forms but particularly fine art, music and drama were regularly broadcast directly into people's living rooms via television, which in turn made cultural practices, that had once been the preserve of the elite, more accessible. Revolution in cultural practice was given further impetus with newer technologies with the internet revolutionising culture in a much more dramatic form. People can now access many cultural platforms from their personal computer, their mobile phone and more recently from a computerised tablet most commonly accessed via an i-pad.

As outlined above football emerged in this period, as not only the most popular sport, but as a cultural phenomenon that drew interest from all classes in society.

Moreover, football became a place where issues such as identity, class, race and social decline could all be discussed with relevance. Artists, always ready to find source material for their work, have increasingly turned to football. However, unlike the previous periods discussed in this thesis, artists did not merely reflect the game but used football to express ideas and concerns about society. Previously, football art was mostly presented in the style of realism whereas in the modern period all forms of art were used as artists strove to get their ideas across about the impact of the game upon society.

Conclusions

The thesis has brought together a diverse body of visual material relating to football dating from antiquity to the present day, art that has never been considered as a whole before by academics. Much of this work has not been produced by, what is termed by the establishment, great artists or art that is produced by the great masters. However, throughout art history there has always been artwork produced by artists sometimes viewed by their contemporaries as inferior, only at later date for the work to be re-evaluated and become part of the canon. Blake, Turner and Lowry are just three examples from British art history; all three artists were not readily accepted in their day, yet today their work is highly regarded across large sections of the art world.

As discussed in the first two chapters of the thesis, there are many ways of approaching art. It can be appreciated aesthetically, studied without prior knowledge of the period or of the artist who produced the work. Such an approach has in past been supported by the art for art's sake movement, which advocated that art should not have to serve any moral or utilitarian purpose. However, the '*art for art's sake*' approach had to be dismissed because it does not facilitate the study of the social, historical and cultural representation of football in art. The overriding methodology used throughout the thesis is social art history, a method that looks at art in its social and historical context. This method has current academic currency through the work of T.J. Clark, but its roots can be traced back to the nineteenth century when art theorists such as John Ruskin studied art in the context of society. Given that football is a social and cultural pastime, this seemed the most suitable methodology to adopt when looking at the representation of football in art. It is, therefore, in this context that the artwork in each chapter was discussed.

This is not to say that art and cultural practice always provides a mirror image of society, at times it can reveal, or even try to find solutions for, significant problems that exist in society. This was clearly seen in the work of German and Russian artists in the interwar years and more recently by contemporary British artists. Chapter four of the thesis examined the work of the Dadaists, an art movement that used sport and football to make wider criticisms about the post-war world of the 1920s. By way of contrast in the same period, Baumeister produced a body of work that not only showed that sport could produce healthy bodies but could also provide the basis for a better world. While contemporary British artists do not share the same political intent as the early Dadaists they have used their work to raise concerns about major social issues such as racism, social decay, economic policy and, as football becomes increasingly incorporated into the capitalist economy, of the football fashion industry. The fact that these issues have been presented in football art does provoke debate as to how such issues can be resolved or tackled: a debate that is constantly developing as the problems raised by these artists reflect similar situations in society.

The introduction, parts one and two, provided the theoretical framework to the thesis. A theoretical framework underpinning the thesis was essential as it provided the basis for answering the research questions which posed the problem of considering football art as a distinct genre, or sub-genre, within art and to what extent the representations of football in art reflected trends within British art.

After introducing the research questions a wide-ranging discussion around the problems of art history was undertaken with a view to finding the best methodological approach to the artwork. As indicated above, social art history

methodologies as discussed in Hauser, Antal, Wolff and Clark were considered the most appropriate for the research.

Once the methodological approach had been decided upon it was necessary to look at the traditions within British art. This was far from straightforward as the section shows, but the survey did reveal that tradition within British art is hard to pin down because there has been such a huge diversity of painting that covers all the five genres that were laid down in France in the seventeenth century. History painting can be found throughout the history of British art, as can the linked genre of portraiture, which is so often dominated by great historical figures. Landscape, rural and urban painting, also feature strongly in British art, as does still life, both of which have a constant presence in the work of many artists. However, of most interest to the research was the fifth category, namely genre painting. Genre art is regarded as work that provides pictures of everyday life. Of interest to the research, is that football art from the outset has been about reflecting the game, how it is played and who watches it. Clearly, the genre categories laid down by the French Royal Academy were not fixed for all time, but were broad general principles of how art should be considered. Hence, within the genre category, for example, a number of sub-genres have evolved. Most notably, with regard to British art, the work of Hogarth and British Sporting Art are referred to as distinct genres within art. It is in this context that football art, as a sub-genre within art, should be considered.

Subsequent chapters adopted a chronological approach to art and football. Each of these chapters provided an historical overview of British society and the developments within art and football in the stated period. Also, by way of comparison, sections on European art, with the exception of chapter six, were

incorporated into each chapter. Prior to 1945 representations of football in art were somewhat different in Europe to that of Britain. However, in the post-war period these differences have become less pronounced to such an extent that modern day British and European artists, who use football in their work, have remarkably similar approaches to presenting the game in art.

Chapter three provided a short introduction to the representation of football in art prior to 1863, the year the Football Association was established. The majority of this chapter concentrated on visual representations of football from the late Victorian era into the Edwardian period. The chapter established that in the period prior to World War One representations of football in visual culture were mostly found in popular art. The situation was similar in Europe, although with the emergence of Futurism, sport in art including football, gained greater importance on the Continent. The chapter concluded with an overview of how football was represented in art during the 1914-1918 World War. While not much art was produced on a football theme during the war years, what was produced was propagandist in nature or, as in the case of *Gassed* by John Singer Sargent, showed that football had deep cultural roots within the British working-class.

The main focus of chapter four was how football was represented in art during the interwar years. In this period the presence of football in art expanded considerably, largely as a result of the patronage of Frank Pick, who became the managing director of London Transport in 1928. Under his direction the company commissioned artists to design posters to advertise ways of getting to football league grounds via public transport. Pick had an interest in Modernism, which led him to engage artists working in styles such as Cubism and Futurism; thus some of the first football art

images of note were influenced by European art movements. Also, in the early 1920s, a yet unknown artist, L.S. Lowry began to regularly include images associated with football in his work. The only other artist of note to work with football, outside of commissions from public or private companies, was C.R.W. Nevinson, whose *Any Wintry Afternoon in England* is much more than a painting about football, it also had a lot to say about the social and economic condition in England in the 1930s. The chapter also showed that on the European continent, particularly in crisis-ridden Germany and revolutionary Russia, artists were using football to carry through or reinforce political points about contemporary society. The football images of Heartfield and Rodchenko, it was argued, are of particular significance. Overall, however, much like the previous chapter it was shown that, given football's increasing cultural significance, representations of football in art were somewhat limited in quantitative terms although visually how the game was presented in art had significantly progressed.

Chapter five looked at the developments in football art between 1945-1960. The most significant milestone with regard to football representation in art was the ground breaking *Football and the Fine Arts* competition organised, with Arts Council support, by the Football Association as a part of its ninetieth anniversary celebrations. In total the organisers received over 1,700 submissions for the competition from which they selected 152 pieces for the exhibition and tour. Prior to the 1953 exhibition there had been several images of football included in the art exhibition that accompanied the 1948 Olympic Games. One of the aims behind the FA exhibition, openly stated by the FA, was to promote and encourage more artists to focus on football. Overall this aim was not achieved but as the austerity years of the 1950s gave way to greater consumerism, and popular culture became of greater interest to art and artists,

football began to feature in the work of more and more artists. The rise of consumerism led to the introduction of a new movement in art, which became known as Pop Art. Pop artists concerned themselves with representing popular culture in art, with football being considered as a part of this broadening base of culture. Thus from the mid to late 1950s onwards the nature of football representation in art began to change. Hitherto, football representations in art, with the exceptions mentioned in chapter four, had largely been presented in narrative forms with little or no attempt by artists to associate football with wider society.

Chapter six covered the fifty-year period between 1960-2010. What is significant about this period is that society was revolutionised socially, technologically and culturally. All these factors affected both football and art in unprecedented ways. At the start of the period English league football was still largely played by and watched by people from the British Isles. At the end of the period the English game was played and watched by people from around the world. Technological developments have resulted in football being beamed live to all major cities of the world. Top-level football clubs also became an integral part of multinational capitalism, or globalisation as it is now referred to.

Football in art at the start of the period was still at the margins of artistic practice but since the formation of the Premier League in 1992 artists have sought out football in ever-increasing numbers. Moreover, the diversity of art styles employed to represent football has also been extended. Today football is reflected in all forms of art from realist to abstract art, from conceptual installations to complex collages, all produced in a wide range of styles.

Given the number of artists now incorporating football into their work it has been impossible to give blanket coverage to the scope of work that is now taking place in art. However, a representative selection of the work being produced by contemporary artists has been assessed. Overall this chapter provides a representative overview of the range and diversity of current styles and approaches to football by contemporary artists. However, the thesis has provided a strong theoretical and visual base from which the further study of football art or football in art can progress.

Quantitatively, within the thesis nearly 200 football images have been discussed, but they account for only a small proportion of the images that have been collated into a database, which totals over 1,200. What is more, this figure is only a small reflection of the amount of work that is available to sports and cultural historians. Nevertheless this thesis will provide the foundation for future work in the representation of football in art. Other areas for future research include: a study of football sculpture, this was only briefly referred to due to limitations of space in the thesis, and the increasing amount of video art relating to football. Video art is important with regard to football as it is capable of recording aspects of the game that are usually left to one side by academics for example, sporting venues located within large rundown estates. This is discussed in the thesis in relation to the video work of Roderick Buchanan but it is an area that is receiving growing attention by artists. Video can also document the growing importance of fan culture both inside and outside the football stadium. In short, the documentary style of video has the potential to take the representation of football in art to a higher level.¹

¹ The 2D work of Neville Gabie and Christine Physick, discussed in chapter 6 also provides a documentary account of football in the community but video art can be develop this in a different way.

Relating back to the research questions football has not always been effectively represented in the arts. As the game emerged as a mass spectator sport in the late Victorian period popular art depictions of football were commonplace but these images, which largely presented the amateur ethos of the game, did not get across the growing cultural significance of the sport. There were exceptions: the Clarence Bretherik and Thomas Hemy paintings, of games being played in Lancashire and at Sunderland, show professional football being played before large crowds. Also, the Singer Sargent painting *Gassed* does tell us something about the cultural significance of football to the working-class. Football continued to be under-represented in the visual arts right up to the emergence of the Premier League in 1992. Once again there are significant exceptions to this generalised assertion. The work commissioned by Frank Pick for London Transport showed that football was an important cultural pastime in the interwar years. In the same period Lowry emerged as an artist with a growing reputation. It was shown in the thesis that throughout his career football was never far away from the industrial landscapes painted by Lowry. Another milestone for football painting was, of course, the *Football and the Fine Arts* exhibition of 1953. The exhibition has since become a reference point for many modern day artists who have employed football as a central focus in their work.

Whether the scope of art produced since 1863 provides us with the visual means for understanding the cultural, social, political and historical development of the game was a key a debate throughout the thesis. Once again the conclusion to this question is mixed. The early depictions of football in popular art do show the amateur roots and ethos of game but at the expense of the more important professional aspect of the sport. However, as football has become steeped into the culture of Britain, artists have also seen that the game provides an opportunity to explore social issues such as

Englishness, identity, race and gender. Once again it was the modern period of football, defined in the thesis as post 1992, before such issues became prevalent in the work of English artists. However, prior to this point, particularly through the work exhibited in 1953, artists did explore the nature of the football crowd, the significance of football played in urban areas by men and boys on the heath or in the back street. In common with Lowry, many of the artists who produced this body of work de-facto showed the inter-relationship between football and industrial society. Although, such work, with the exception of Lowry, was not consistently produced it can, when studied as a whole, enable sports historians to understand more about the social and historical significance of football and its relationship to culture and society. This is not to suggest that the study of football painting can ever be a substitute for other forms of historical research such as in-depth analyses of archives, newspaper reports and, where available, oral testimonies.

Whether football painting sits within the traditions of British Art is also problematical. Firstly, as asked in chapter one of the thesis, just what are the traditions of British art? Andrew Graham-Dixon has shown that much of the art produced prior to the Tudor period was destroyed as militant iconoclasm gripped the nation.² Through their patronage the Tudors established a very strong tradition of portraiture in art, a genre that still finds favour in British art today. Likewise from the Restoration onwards many great landowners were very keen to have their power and wealth represented in art. But as rural society gave way to urban conurbations artists have sought to depict the city through realist art forms. Realism in art clearly forms part of the tradition of British art from Hogarth to the social documentary art of the Victorian period. Also, the work of significant art groups such as the Camden

² Graham-Dixon pp.12-46.

Town Group and the Euston Road School who continued to portray urban settings in an overtly realist form. Of particular relevance is the work the Artists International Association, which was founded in the 1930s, by artists keen to reflect working-class lives in art. Representations of football in art throughout the period can be found in realism, which clearly forms part of the British art traditions. Moreover, innovation in art is often based on what has gone before. Cubism, for example, is often seen as a new departure in art as it overturned four hundred years of Western single viewpoint perspective. However, the movement had its roots in the simplification of form developed through the work of Cezanne. In turn the work of Cezanne was influenced by Impressionism, a style he eventually reacted against because he thought it lacked structure. New changes in artistic practice, stemming from European art, were being introduced into English art prior to World War One, by Clive Bell and Roger Fry via two exhibitions of post-Impressionist work held in London. The work contained in these exhibitions made an immediate impact upon English artists as reflected in the work of Duncan Grant, which was discussed in chapter three of the thesis, followed by the establishment of the Vorticist group in 1914. These innovations in form and style were followed through during the interwar period and can be seen in the work of Nash, Nevinson and in London Transport posters commissioned by Frank Pick.

Clearly, art tradition is made up of many forms and styles but what artists try to do is to interpret the world around them and they often use the latest technological developments to produce their art. Technological change has abruptly altered the visual nature of artistic output, this can be seen most starkly in the work of conceptual artists. Throughout, the thesis it has been shown that football art, although not always widely, has been represented in all forms of art and that these

forms and styles, when considered together, form the traditions of art within England.

The final research question, was linked to the issue of genre in art and asked whether football painting could be considered a distinct genre, or sub-genre within art? The response to this question has also to be linked to way football art has been received by the art establishment, which in the recent past did not look favourably upon football painting as a suitable subject matter for art or artists. It was shown in the thesis that prior to 1992, in quantitative terms, football was not widely represented in the arts. However, since 1992 there has been a significant change within the art world leading to a large body of artists using football, and issues relating to football, as subject matter for their work. There has also been a *volte-face* in the way football painting is now received by important institutions of art. Manchester Art Gallery was the innovator in this area. The *Offside* exhibition they hosted in 1996 proved that a section of the art establishment was less antagonistic towards dedicated exhibitions about the game. Today moreover, several national galleries, including the Tate, the National Portrait Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum, all have contemporary football related artwork in their collections. The Football Association in 1953 had hoped that their exhibition would encourage the artist to seek out football. This did not happen immediately, but now there is clearly a trend, even a movement, in this direction. Hitherto, cultural custodians of art have not considered football related art as a distinct sub-genre, perhaps there has not been a sufficient time lapse for this to be considered by such people. However, there are indications that this is now in the process of change. In 1966 *The Guardian* arts' correspondent, for example reviewing an exhibition of football art referred to football painting as a distinct genre within art, stating that 'looking at this exhibition it is clear football

painting is a genre, and as such should not be judged simply on its painterly qualities.’ Moreover, John Gill, who curated the *Offside* exhibition remarked that football is ‘a source of ideas and imagery for contemporary artists...they are aware of the multiplicity of debates which underscore the game, and that current visual arts practice frees them to approach the subject in new, inventive and perhaps more challenging ways.’³ This is precisely how contemporary artists are approaching football and demonstrates that the art establishment are taking seriously the work of such artists. This is because the nature of current football art looks at wider issues in society as opposed to merely replicating straightforward visual aspects of the game. Moreover, artists I have interviewed freely call their work ‘football art.’ Additionally, as discussed throughout the thesis there are now substantial collections of football art located at the National Football Museum, the Professional Footballers’ Association as well as private collections held by John Huntingdon-Whiteley and the Priory Collection. Gordon Taylor has recognised the importance of collecting football related art. In an email already noted in the introduction, he states that: ‘The long term purpose of the art collection is not as an investment but is to preserve a significant part of the heritage of the game.’⁴

Taking all these factors together: football related art is displayed in major national and regional galleries including the National Football Museum, a significant body of work is held in private collections, the rise in the number of football dedicated art exhibitions, including the permanent display supplied by John Huntingdon-Whiteley, and the number of contemporary artists working in the field: it becomes

³ Gill, John: *Offside* page 6.

⁴ Email correspondence with Gordon Taylor, 19 May 2011.

clear that football related art, is not only a mainstream style⁵ in art, but has a distinctive identity within art.

This author is of the opinion that the further study of football related art would be facilitated if it were considered as a distinct body of work, within the context of other artwork, as well as in the context of the social and historical development of football.

⁵ For a definition of style in art see chapters 1 and 2 above

Bibliography

Books

Ackley, Clifford. S. *British Prints from the Machine Age: Rhythms of Modern Life, 1914-1939*. London: Thomas Hudson, 2008

Alley, Ronald. *Catalogue of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art other than Works by British Artists*. London: Tate Gallery and Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1981

Andrews, Allen. *The Life of L.S. Lowry*. London: Jupiter Books, 1977

Antliff, Mark & Greene, Vivien(eds). *The Vorticists: Manifesto for a Modern World*. London: Tate Publishing, 2011

Arlott, John. *Soccer: The Great Ones*. London Pelham Books, 1968

Armstrong, Gary & Giulianotti, Richard. *Football Cultures and Identities*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1999

Arvon, Henri. *Marxist Aesthetics*. London: Cornell University Press, 1970

Anderson, Evelyn. *Hammer or Anvil*. London: Victor Gollanz, 1945

Backemeyer, Sylvia(ed). *Eric Fraser – Designer and Illustrator*. London: Lund Humphries, 1998

Bairner, Alan. *Re-appropriating Gramsci: Marxism, hegemony and sport* (in Carrington, Ben & McDonald, Ian: *Marxism, cultural studies and sport*. London Routledge, 2009)

Bairner, Alan. *Sport, Nationalism and Globalisation, European and North American Perspectives*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2001)

Baldwin, M, Harrison, C and Ramsden, M. *Art History, Art Criticism and Explanation* (in Fernie, Eric, *Art History and its Methods*)

Bale, John. *Sport, Space and the City*. London: Routledge, 1993

Bale, John. *Landscapes of Modern Sport* . Leicester: Continuum International Publishing, 1994

Bann, Stephen(ed). *The Tradition of Constructivism*. London: De Capo Press, 1990

Bartlett, C.J. *A History of Post War Britain*. London: Longman, 1977

Beagle, P. *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. London: Picador, 1982

- Bell, Clive. *Art*. (unpaginated eBook Project Gutenberg, 2005)
- Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. London: Pimlico, 1999
- Berger, John. *The Moment of Cubism and other Essays*. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1969
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: BBC, 1972
- Berger, John. *Art and Revolution*. London: Writers and Readers Co-operative, 1969
- Bevan, Aneurin. *In Place of Fear*. Wakefield : EP Publishing, 1976
- Brigstocke, Hugh (ed). *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*. London: Oxford University Press, 2001
- Boddy, Kasia. *Boxing. A Cultural History*. London: Reaktion Books, 2008
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*. London: Polity Press, 1993
- Brilliant, Richard. *Portraiture*. London: Reaktion Books, 1991
- Butler, Christopher. *Post Modernism, A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002
- Carrington, Ben & McDonald, Ian. *'Race', Sport and British Society*. London: Routledge, 2001
- Carrington, Ben & McDonald, Ian. *Marxism, Cultural Studies and Sport*. London: Routledge, 2009
- Cashmore, Ellis. *Sports Culture – an A-Z Guide*. London: Routledge, 2000
- Cashmore, Ellis. *Making Sense of Sports*. London: Routeledge, 2005
- Chazaud, Pierre. *Art et Football, 1860-1960*. London: Mandala Editions, 1998
- Clarke, John, Critcher, Chas and Johnson, Richard(eds). *Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory*. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1979
- Clark, T.J. *The Conditions of Artistic Creation*. (in Fernie, Eric(ed): *Art History and its Methods*)
- Clark, T.J. *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973

- Clark, T.J. *Farewell to an Idea* (in Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul(eds): *The Art of the Twentieth Century*)
- Clarke, Graham, *The Photograph*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997
- Collins, Tony. *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*. London: Frank Cass, 1998
- Collis, Maurice. *The Discovery of L.S. Lowry*. London: Alex Reid and Lefevre Gallery, 1951
- Comer, Stuart(ed). *Film and Video Art*. London: Tate Publishing, 2009
- Connor, Steven (ed). *The Cambridge Companion to Postmodernism*. Cambridge: CUP, 2004
- Cooper, Douglas. *Nicolas De Stael*. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1961
- Cox, Richard, Russell, Dave, Vamplew, Wray (eds). *Encyclopaedia of British Football*. London: Frank Cass, 2002
- Cork, Richard: *The Visual Arts*. (In *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Crafts, Nicholas. *Britain's Relative Economic Performance: 1870-1999*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 2002
- Cunningham, Hugh. *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c1780-c1880*. London: Croom Helm, 1980
- Davies, Peter. *A Northern School – Lancashire Artists in the Twentieth Century*. Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1989
- Dyos, H.J. and Wolff, Michael. *The Victorian City: Images and Realities Volume 2*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973
- Davies, Hunter. *Postcards from the Edge of the Game: A Social History of the British Game*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2010
- Farr, Dennis. *English Art: 1870-1940*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978
- Fer, Briony, Batchelor, David & Wood, Paul. *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism: Art between the Wars*. Milton Keynes: The Open University, 1993
- Fernie, Eric(ed). *Art History and its Methods*. London: Phaidon, 1995
- The Football Association. *The History of the Football Association*. London: Naldrett Press, 1953

Ford, Boris. *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain: The Edwardian Age and the Inter-War Years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989

Foster, Hal, Krauss, Rosalind, Bois, Yve-Alain & Buchloch, Benjamin. *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Anti-modernism and Post-Modernism*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2004

Frascina, Francis and Harrison, Charles(eds): *Modern Art and Modernism. A Critical Anthology*. Milton Keynes: Open University, 1982

Freeland, Cynthia. *Art Theory, A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001

Frow, John. *Cultural Studies & Cultural Value*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995

Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul(eds). *The Art of the Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003

Galeano, Eduardo. *Football in Shadow and Sun*. London: Fourth Estate, 1997

Garlake, Margaret. *New Art New World: British Art in Post War Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998

Goldman, Paul. *Sporting Life: An Anthology of British Sporting Prints*. London: British Museum, 1983

Gombrich, E.H. *The Story of Art*. London: Phaidon Press, 1984 edition

Gombrich, E.H. *In Search of Cultural History*. (in Fernie, Eric: *Art History and its Methods*)

Giulianotti, Richard. *Football: A sociology of the Global Game*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1999

Graham-Dixon, Andrew. *A History of British Art*. London: BBC, 1996

Green, Christopher. *Leger and the Avant-Garde*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976

Greenberg, Clement. *The Pasted-Paper Revolution*. (in Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul(eds): *The Art of the Twentieth Century*)

Greenberg, Clement. *Convention and Tradition*. (in Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul(eds): *The Art of the Twentieth Century*)

Greenberg, Clement. *Modernist Painting*. (in Frascina, Francis and Harrison, Charles(eds): *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*)

Gruneau, Richard. *Class, Sports and Social Development*. Massachusetts :The University of Massachusetts Press, 1983

- Grunenberg, Christoph and Sillars, Laurence(eds). *Peter Blake: A Retrospective*. London: Tate Publishing, 2007
- Hadjinicolaou, Nicos. *Art History and Class Struggle*. (in Frascina, Francis and Harrison, Charles)
- Haftmann, Werner. *Painting in the Twentieth Century, vols. 1 and 2*. London: Lund Humphries, 1965
- Hall, Stuart. 'What is this "black" in Black Popular Culture. (in Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul(eds): *The Art of the Twentieth Century*)
- Hallet, Mark and Riding Christine. *Hogarth*. London: Tate Publishing, 2007
- Hammond, J.L. & Hammond, Barbara. *The Age of the Chartists, 1832-1954: A Study of Discontent*. London: Longmans Green & Co., 1930
- Hargreaves, John. *Sport, Power and Culture*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1986
- Harries, Merion and Susan. *The War Artists*. London: Imperial War Museum and Tate Gallery, 1983
- Harris, Jonathan (ed). *Value: Art: Politics*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007
- Harrison, Charles & Wood, Paul (eds). *Art in Theory, 1900-1990, An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992
- Harrison, Charles. *English Art and Modernism, 1900-1939*. London: Allen Lane Indiana University Press, 1981
- Harrison, Charles. *Art Object and Art Work*. (in Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul(eds): *The Art of the Twentieth Century*)
- Harvey, Adrian. *Football – The First Hundred Years, The Untold Story*. London: Routledge, 2005
- Hatt, M. *Art History, A Critical Introduction to its Methods*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006
- Hauser, Arnold. *The Social History of Art vol.4: Naturalism, Impressionism, the Film Age* London: Routledge, 1962
- Hayes, Colin. *Robert Buhler*. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1986
- Hayes, Nick & Hill, Jeff (eds). *Millions Like Us: British Culture in the Second World War*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999

- Held, David and McGrew, Anthony. *The Global Transformations Reader*. Oxford: Polity Press, 2003
- Heartney, Eleanor. *Postmodernism: Movements in Modern Art*. London: Tate Publishing, 2001
- Hill, C. *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England*. London: Panther, 1969
- Hill, C. *The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714*. London: Abacus, 1978
- Hill, C. *Reformation to the Industrial Revolution*. London: Pelican, 1969
- Hill, J & Williams, J. *Sport and Identity in the North of England*. Keele: Keele University Press, 1996
- Hill, Jeff, *Rite of Spring: Cup Finals and Community in the North of England* (in Hill, J & Williams, J. *Sport and Identity in the North of England*)
- Hill, Jeff. *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth-century Britain*. London: Palgrave, 2002
- Hill, Jeff, Moore, Kevin and Wood, Jason(eds). *Sports, History and Heritage: Studies in Public Representation*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Industry and Empire*. London: Penguin Books, 1999
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Capital*. London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1962
- Hobsbawm, Eric *The Age of Empire*. London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1987
- Hoggart, Richard. *The Uses of Literacy – Aspects of working-class life, with special references to publications and entertainments*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957
- Holt, Richard. *Sport and the British*. Oxford: (Oxford University Press, 1989
- Holt, Richard. *Football and the Urban Way of Life*. (in Mangan, J.A: *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*)
- Holt, Richard & Huntington-Whiteley, James. *The Book of British Sporting Heroes*. London: National Portrait Gallery, 1998
- Holt, Richard, Jackie Milburn, 'Footballer and Gentleman': *Regional Culture and Popular Masculinity in post-war England* (in *Sporting heroes of the North* edited by Steve Wagg and Dave Russell.)
- Holt, Richard & Mason, Tony. *Sport in Britain, 1945-2000*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000
- Holt, Ysanne. *British Artists and the Modernist Landscape*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003

- Hopcraft, Arthur. *The Football Man*. London: Aurum, Press 2006
- Hopkins, David. *Dada and Surrealism, A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004
- Hornby, Hugh. *Uppies and Downies: The Extraordinary Football Games of Britain*. London: English Heritage, 2008
- Howard, Michael. *Lowry: A Visionary Artist*. Salford: Lowry Press, 2000
- Howells, Richard. *Visual Culture*. Oxford: Polity Press, 2003
- Hughson, John, Inglis, David and Free Marcus. *Uses of Sport*. London: Routledge 2005
- Hughson, John. *The Making of Sporting Cultures*. London: Routledge, 2009
- Hughson, John & Inglis, David(eds). *The Sociology of Art: Ways of Seeing*. London: Palgrave, 2005
- Hughes, Robert: *The Shock of the New: Art and the Century of Change* (Thames and Hudson 1996)
- Ibrahim, Zawawi. *Globalisation and National Identity*. (in Sato, Yoichiro: *Growth and Governance in Asia*. APCSS, 2004
- Ingleby, Black, Cohen & Cooke. *C.R.W.Nevinson: The Twentieth Century*. London: Merrell Holberton, in association with the Imperial War Museum, 1999
- Inglis David. *Thinking Art Sociologically*. (in Inglis, David & Hughson, John (eds). *The Sociology of Art: Ways of Seeing*.)
- Inglis, Simon. *Football Grounds of Britain*. London: Harper Collins, 1996
- Inglis, Simon. *Played in Manchester*. London: English Heritage, 2004
- Inglis, Simon. *Engineering Archie, Archibald Leitch – the football ground designer*. London: English Heritage, 2005
- Jeffares, Bo. *Landscape Painting*. London: Phaidon, 1997
- Jameson, F. *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London: Verso, 1991
- Johnson, E.D.H. *Paintings of the British Social Scene: from Hogarth to Sickert*. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1986
- Jones, Amelia. *Every Man Knows where and How Beauty Gives Him Pleasure*. (in Harris, Jonathan (ed): *Value: Art: Politics*)

- Jones, S.G. *Workers at Play*: London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986
- Hemingway, Andrew. *The Norwich School of Painters, 1803-1833*. London: Phaidon, 1979
- Kalman, Andras. *L.S. Lowry – Conversation Pieces*. London: Chaucer Press, 2003
- Klingender, Francis. *Art and the Industrial Revolution*. London: Evelyn, Adams & Mackay, 1968
- Krieger, Eric. *Good Old Soccer – the Golden Age of Football Picture Cards*. London: Longman, 1983
- Kühnst, Peter. *Sports: A Cultural History in the Mirror of Art*. Amsterdam: Verlag der Kunst, 1996
- Jackson, Alex: *The Baines Card and its place in boys' popular culture between 1887-1922* (in Snape Robert and Pussard Helen (eds): *Recording Leisure Lives*, (Bolton 2009)
- Lambourne, Lionel. *Victorian Genre Painting*. London: HMSO, 1982
- Lanfranchi, Pierre; Eisenberg, Christiane; Mason, Tony & Wahl, Alfred. *100 Years of Football: The FIFA Centennial Book*. London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 2004
- Lanfranchi, Pierre & Taylor, Matthew. *Moving with the Ball: The Migration of Professional Footballers*. Oxford: Berg, 2001
- Layfield, Laura. *British Sporting Art*. Barnard Castle: Bowes Museum, 2010
- Leber, Michael & Sandling, Judith. *L.S. Lowry*. London: Phaidon Press and Salford Art Gallery, 1987
- Leslie, Jeremy & Patrick Burgoyne. *FC Football Graphics*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998
- Leppert, Richard. *Art and the Committed Eye – The Cultural Functions of Imagery*. Oxford: Westview Press, 1996
- Levy, Mervyn. *The Drawings of L.S. Lowry, Public and Private*. London: Jupiter Books, 1976
- Levy, Mervyn: *The Paintings of L.S. Lowry*. London: Jupiter Books, 1975
- Levy, Mervyn: *The paintings of L.S. Lowry: Oils and Watercolours*. London: Jupiter Books, 1975
- Lucie-Smith, Edward, Cohen, Carolyn & Higgins, Judith. *The New British Painting*. Oxford: Phaeton, 1989
- Lucie-Smith, Edward. *Art Today*. London: Phaidon, 1999

- Lukacs, G. *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*. London: Merlin Press, 1963
- Luke, Timothy W. *Shows of Force: Power, Politics, and Ideology in Art Exhibitions*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University, 1992
- Luke, Timothy W. *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002
- Lunn, Eugene. *Marxism and Modernism: An Historical Study of Lukacs, Brecht, Benjamin and Adorno*. London: Verso, 1982
- Lupson, Peter. *Across the Park: Everton FC and Liverpool FC Common Ground*. Liverpool: Trinity Mirror, 2008
- McKibben, Ross. *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991
- Malcolmson, Robert W. *Popular recreations in English society, 1700-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973
- Mandell, Richard, D. *Sport a Cultural History*. Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1984
- Mangan, J.A. *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*. London: Frank Cass, 1988
- Mangan, J.A. & Walvin James (eds). *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800 -1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987
- Marwick, Arthur. *Britain in the Century of War: War Peace and Social Change, 1900-1967*. London: Bodley Head, 1968
- Mangan, J.A., Lanfranchi, P & Holt, R. *European Heroes: Myth Identity and Sport*. London: Frank Cass, 1996
- Mason, Tony. *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*. Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980
- Mason, Tony. *Our Stephen and Our Harold: Edwardian Footballers as Local Heroes*. (in Mangan, J.A., Lanfranchi, P & Holt, R. *European Heroes: Myth Identity and Sport*.)
- Mason, Tony (ed). *Sport in Britain: a Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989
- Mason, Tony & Riedi, Eliza. *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010
- Marx, Karl and Engels, Friederich. *Selected Correspondence*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1955

- Miliband, Ralph. *Marxism and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977
- Money, Tony. *Manly and Muscular Diversions: Public Schools and the nineteenth-century Sporting Revival*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd, 2001
- Morgan, Kenneth. *Britain Since 1945: The People's Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990
- Morawaski, Stefan. *Introduction to Marx and Engels of Literature and Art*. New York: International General, 1977
- Morris, Lynda & Radford, Robert. *The Story of the AIA: 1933-1953*. Oxford: The Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, 1983
- Mortimer, Raymond. *Duncan Grant* London: Penguin Books, 1944
- Neville, Ralph. *Old Sporting Prints*. London: Spring Books, 1970
- Nevinson, Henry, W. *Essays in Rebellion*. (1923 version, on line copy no publisher indicated)
- Nevinson, C.R.W. *Paint and Prejudice*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938
- O'Mahony, Mike. *Sport in the USSR - Physical Culture/Visual Culture*. London: Reaction Books, 2006
- Osterwold, Tilman. *Pop Art*. London: Taschen, 2003
- Ottinger, Didier. *Futurism*. London: Tate Publishing, 2008
- Paget, Guy. *Sporting Pictures of England*. London: Collins, 1955
- Panofsky, Erwin. *The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline*. (in Fernie, Eric: *Art History and its Methods*)
- Pelling, Henry. *A History of British Trade Unionism*. London: Pelican Books, 1970
- Pery, Jenny. *The Affectionate Eye: The Life of Claude Rogers*. London: Samson & Company 1995
- Perry, Gill and Wood, Paul(eds). *Themes in Contemporary Art*. Milton Keynes: Open University, 2004
- Perryman, Mark(ed). *The Ingerland Factor: Home Truths from Football*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1999
- Physick, Ray. *Played in Liverpool*. London: English Heritage, 2007

- Physick, Ray. *Football and the Fine Arts: The Football Association Art Competition and Exhibition, 1953*. (in Hill, Jeff, Moore, Kevin and Wood, Jason(eds), *Sports, History and Heritage: Studies in Public Representation*)
- Quanne, Michael: *Prison Paintings*. St. Albans: John Murray, 1985
- Read, Herbert. *The Meaning of Art*. London: Faber & Faber, 1931
- Read, Herbert: *Contemporary British Art*. London: Pelican, 1951
- Robertson, John: *Uppies and Doonies*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1967
- Rohde, Shelley. *A Private View of L.S. Lowry*. London: Collins, 1979
- Rohde, Shelley. *L.S. Lowry - a Biography*. Salford: The Lowry Press, 1999
- Rothenstein, John. *Modern English Painters - Lewis to Moore*. Harmondsworth: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1956
- Russell, Dave. *Football and the English*. Preston: Carnegie Publishing, 1997
- Scannell, Vernon. *An Anthology of Sporting Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987
- Schapiro, Meyer. *The Nature of Abstract Art*. (in Gaiger, Jason and Wood, Paul(eds). *The Art of the Twentieth Century*)
- Shone, Richard. *British Painting Since 1900*. London: Phaidon, 1977
- Smart, Barry. *The Sport Star: Modern Sport and the Cultural Economy of Sporting Celebrity*. London: Sage, 2005
- Snape Robert and Pussard Helen (eds). *Recording Leisure Lives*. Bolton 2009
- Spalding, Frances. *British Art Since 1900*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986
- Spalding, Julian. *Lowry*. London: Phaidon, 1979
- Sparrow, Walter Shaw. *British Sporting Artists: From Barlow to Herring*. London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1922
- Stanton, Richard. *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions: The Story of Olympic Art Competitions of the 20th Century*. Victoria: Trafford, 2000
- Stephens, Chris(ed). *The History of British Art: 1870-Now*. London: Tate Publishing 2008)
- Sumner, Colin. *Reading Ideologies: an Investigation into Marxist Theory of Ideology and Law*. London: Academic Press, 1979

- Taylor, A.J.P. *English History 1914-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965
- Taylor, Matthew. *The Association Game: A History of Football*. London: Longman, 2007
- Thompson, David. *Half Time: Football and the Cigarette Card, 1880-1940*. Murray Cards International, 1987
- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working-class*. London: Pelican, 1968
- Thompson, E.P. *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*. London: Merlin Press, 1978
- Thompson, F.M.L. *English Landed Society the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963
- Timmers, Margaret. *A Century of Olympic Posters*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2008
- Tomlinson, Alan (ed). *The Sports Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 2007
- Tomlinson, John. *Globalisation and Cultural Identity*, (in Held, David and McGrew, Anthony. *The Global Transformations Reader*.)
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *Classic Essays on Photography Classic Essays on Photography*. New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980.
- Treuherz, Julian. *Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian Art*. Manchester: Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987
- Trotsky, Leon. *On Literature and Art*. New York: Pathfinder, 1970
- Vamplew, Wray. *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988
- Vaughan, William. *British Painting: The Golden Age – From Hogarth to Turner*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999
- Upstone, Robert (ed). *The Camden Town Group*. London: Tate Publishing, 2008
- Wagg, Stephen. *The Football World: A Contemporary Social History*. Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1984
- Wagg, Steve & Russell, Dave. *Sporting heroes of the North*. Newcastle: Northumbria Univeristy Press, 2010
- Waggoner, Diane. *The Pre-Raphaelite Lens: British Photography and Painting, 1848-1875*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2010.

- Walker, John. *Art and Celebrity*. London: Pluto Press, 2003
- Wallinger, Mark and Warnock, Mary. *Art for All? Their Policies and Our Culture*. Hemel Hempstead: Peer, 2000
- Walsh, Victoria. *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2001
- Walvin, James. *The People's Game: The History of Football Revisited*. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994
- Walvin, James. *Football and the Decline of Britain*. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1996
- White, Eric. *The Arts Council of Great Britain*. London: Davis-Poynter, 1975
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1993
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Materialism, Selected Essays*. London: Verso, 1980
- Williams, Raymond. *The Long Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Chatto & Windus, 1965
- Wilson, Simon & Lack Jessica. *The Tate Guide to Modern Art Terms*. London: Tate Publishing, 2008
- Wingfield, Mary Ann. *Sport and the Artist Volume 1 – Ball Games*. London: Antique Collectors Club, 1998
- Wolff, Janet. *The Social Production of Art*. London: MacMillan Press, 1981
- Womack, Mari. *Sport as Symbol: Images of the Athlete in Art Literature and Song*. London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2003
- Wombell, Paul. *Sportscape: The Evolution of Sports Photography*. London: Phaidon Press, 2000
- Wood, Christopher, *Dictionary of Victorian Painters*. London: Antique Collectors Club, 1971
- Wood, Christopher. *Victorian Painting in oils and watercolours*. London: Antique Collectors Club, 1996
- Yarlouris, Nicolaos. *The Eternal Olympics: The Art and History of Sport*. New York: Caratzas Brothers, 1979
- Young, Percy. *A History of British Football*. London: Stanley Paul, 1968
- Young, Percy. *The Appreciation of Football*. London: Dennis Dobson, 1951

Zayas de, Marius. Photography and Photography and Artistic Photography. (in Trachtenberg, Alan. *Classic Essays on Photography Classic Essays on Photography*)

Books Pre 1900

Shearman, Montague. *The Badminton Library: Athletics and Football*. London: Longman, 1887

Strutt, Joseph. *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*. London: William Tegg and Co., 1875

Webb, Sidney. *History of Trade Unionism*. London: Longmans, 1894

Journal Articles

Adams, Iain. Over the Top: 'A Foul; a Blurry Foul!'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, 6, (April 2012): 813-831

Adams, Iain & Hughson, John. 'The first ever *anti-football* painting'? A consideration of the soccer match in John Singer Sargent's *Gassed*. (unpublished paper submitted to *Soccer and Society*, December 2012)

Antal, Frederick: Remarks on the Method of Art History. *The Burlington Magazine* 91, 552, (March 1949): 73-75

Baxandall, Michael. The Language of Art History. *New Literary History* 10, 3, (Spring 1979): 53-65

Beck, Peter. England v Germany 1938: Football as Propaganda. *History Today* 32, 6, (July 1980)

Beckett, J.V. The Pattern of Landownership in England and Wales, 1660-1880. *The Economic History Review* XXXVII, 1, (February 1984): 1-22

Bertling, Christoph & Schierl, Thomas. Disabled Sport and its Relation to Contemporary Cultures of Presence and Presence and Aesthetics. *Sport in History* 28, 1, (March 2008): 39-50

Berger, John. Taste and Soccer. *New Statesman and Nation* 31 October 1953

Best, David. The Aesthetic in Sport. *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 14, 3, (1974): 197-213

- Brandtzaeg, Karl, J. Glasgow A Presentation of the Art Scene in the 90`s. *Institute For Research Within International Contemporary Art* 1996 (available online www.forart.no/index2.php?option=com_iarticles)
- Christiansen, Ask Vest. The Relationship Between Sport and Aesthetics Illustrated by Two Classic Cycling Films. *Sport in History* 29, 1, (March 2009): 49-68
- Cunningham, Hugh. The Language of Patriotism. *History Workshop* 12, 1 (1981): 8-33
- Efron, J.M. Critique of Pure Football. *Sport in History* 28, 1 (March 2008): 123-150
- Davis, John: The Beautiful Game Show. *Social History Curators Group News* 40, (Autumn 1996): 15
- Guttmann, Allen. Does Clio Need Help? A Plea for a More Extensive Use of Literary Texts. *Sport in History* 28, 1, (March 2008): 104-122
- Moore Helenaik, Kathryn, Thomas Webster. *Dictionary of National Biography* (available online at www.oxforddnb.com)
- Fagg, John. Sport and Spectatorship as Everyday Ritual in Ben Shahn's Painting and Photography. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28, 8-9, (may-June 2011): 1353-1359
- Hobsbawn, E. The Tramping Artisan. *The Economic History Review, New Series* 3, 3, (1951): 299-320
- Holt, Richard. The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain. *Sport in History* 26, 3, (2006): 352-369
- Holt, Richard. The Appeal of Spectator Sport: Historical Reflections on Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's In Praise of Athletic Beauty. *Sport in History* 28, 1, (March 2008): 51-63
- Holt, Richard. Golf and the English suburb: Class and Gender in a London Club, c.1890-c.1960 *The Sports Historian* 18, 1, (May, 1998): 76-89
- Hughson, John. *Sport, Modernity and Ambivalence: Futurism* - review of exhibition at Tate Modern, Bankside, London, June 12 - September 20, 2009. *Sport in Society* 12, 10, (December 2009): 1378-1396
- Hughson, John. The Postmodernist always Rings Twice: Reflections of the "New" Cultural Turn in Sports History" (paper delivered at Keele University 16 December 2009)
- Hughson, John. The Cultural Legacy of Olympic Posters. *Sport in Society* 13, 5, (June 2010): 749-759)
- Hughson, John. Sport and the British and British Cultural Studies. *Sport in History* 31, 2, (June 2011): 163-166)

- Hughson, John. Not just Any Wintry Afternoon in England: the curious contribution of C.R.W. Nevinson to 'football art'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, 28 (2011): 2670-2687
- Jackson, Alex. Sporting Cartoons and Cartoonists in Edwardian Manchester: Amos Ramsbottom and his Imps. *Manchester Region History Review*: 20, (2009): 68-90
- Jacobson, Howard. The Proud Provincial Loneliness of L.S. Lowry. *The Guardian* 26 March 2007
- Jones, S.G. State Intervention in Sport and Leisure in Britain between the Wars. *Journal of Contemporary History* 22, 1, (1987): 163-182
- Leber, Michael. The Remarkable Legacy of L.S.Lowry. *Manchester Region History Review* 1, 2, (1987-88): 13-22
- Lewis, Adrian. British Avant Garde Painting 1945-1956 Part 1. *Artscribe* 34, (March 1982): 17-33
- Lewis, Adrian. British Avant Garde Painting 1945-1956 Part 11 *Artscribe* 35, (April 1982): 16-32
- Martin, Simon. In Praise of Fascist. *Sport Sport in History* 28, 1, (March 2008): 64-82
- Massey, Anne. The Independent Group Towards a Redefinition. *The Burlington Magazine* 129, 1009, (April 1987): 232-242
- Mattick, Paul. Form and Theory: Meyer Schapiro's Theory and Philosophy of Art *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 55, 1, (Winter 1997): 16-18
- Merrens, Roy & Norcliffe, Glen. L.S. Lowry and the Heritage Movement. *Manchester Region History Review* 8, (1994): 50-53
- Mosquera, Gerardo: Marxist Aesthetics, and Abstract Art. *Oxford Art Journal* 17, 1, (1994) 76-80
- Nicolson, Benedict. Post Impressionism and Roger Fry. *The Burlington Magazine*. 93, 574, (January 1951): 11-15
- O'Mahony, Mike. Imaging Sport at the Grosvenor School Of Modern Art, 1929-1937 *International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, 8-9, (May-June 2001): 1105-1120
- Parkin, Michael. Claude Flight and the Linocut. *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 6, (Autumn, 1987): 26-33
- Passmore, John. History of Art and History of Literature. *New Literary History* 3, 3, (Spring, 1972): 575-587

- Pearson, Lynn. Anything But Football: A Critical Survey of Sporting Images in the Decorative Arts (Paper delivered at BSSH Conference 2008)
- Petersen, Andrea. The Olympic Art Competitions, 1912-1947: A Project Description *Olympic Review* (1986)
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. The Englishness of English Art (available on the BBC web site: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00h9llv>)
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. Patient Progress: The Life and Work of Frank Pick. *Architectural Review* XC11, (August 1942)
- Pick, Frank. The Meaning of Posters (unpublished in the London Transport archive)
- Pick, Frank. Art in Modern Life. *Nineteenth Century* XCI, 540, (1922): 256-264
- Pollard, Sidney. Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution. *Economic History Review* 16, 2, (1963): 254-271
- Read, Christopher. Roger Fry: The Art of Bloomsbury. *The Burlington Magazine* 142, 1165, (April 2000): 262-265)
- Saler, Michael. Making it New: Modernism and the 'Myth of the North' in Interwar England. *Journal of British Studies* 37, 4, (October 1998): 419-440
- Sanger, Alice: Untitled: Study for Parallel of Life and Art 1952. (available at: http://beta.tate.org.uk/art/work/T12444?text_type=short_text)
- Smith, Andrew. A Conception of the Beautiful C.L.R. James' Glasgow Herald Cricket Articles. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23,1, (2006): 46-66
- Steinberg, David, A. The Workers' Sport Internationals, 1920-1928. *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, 2, (April 1978): 233-251
- Steyn, Juliet and Cherry, Deborah: The Moment of Realism: 1952-1956 *Artscribe* 35, (April 1982): 44-50
- Steyn, Juliet. Realism versus Realism in British Art of the 1950s. *Third Text* 22, (March 2008): 145-156
- Storch, Robert. The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England, 185-1880. *Journal of Social History* 9, 4, (Summer 1978): 481-509
- Sylvester, David. Football and the Fine Arts. *The Listener* (29 October 1953)
- Taylor, Ian. Putting the Boot Into Working-Class Sport: British Soccer After Bradford and Brussels. *Sociology of Sport Journal* 4, (1987): 171-191

- Thompson, E.P. Christopher Caudwell. *Critical Inquiry*. 21,2, (1995): 305-353
- Thompson, E.P. Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism. *Past and Present* 38, (1967): 56-97
- Veitch, C. Play Up! Play Up! And win the War: Football the Nation and the First World War, 1914-1915. *Journal of Contemporary History*. 20, 3, (July 1985): 363-378
- Waters, Chris. Representations of Everyday Life: L.S. Lowry and the Landscape of Memory in Post-War Britain. *Representations*. 65, (1999): 121-150
- Wingfield, Ann. The Relationship between Sport and the Arts. *BSSH Bulletin* 12, (1992)
- Woolridge, Joyce. Mapping the Stars: Stardom in English Professional Football, 1890-1946 *Soccer and Society*. 3, 2, (Summer 2002): 51-69
- Woolridge, Joyce. Cover Stories: English Football Magazine Cover Portrait Photographs. *Sport in History*. 30, 4, (December 2010): 523-546
- Vaughan, William. The Englishness of English Art. *Oxford Art Journal*. 13, 2, (1990): 11-23
- Young, Christopher. Kantian(a)esthetics, Problems and Possibilities of Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's in Praise of Athletic Beauty. *Sport in History* 28, 1, (March 2008): 5-25
- Wheeler, Robert. Sport and Organised Labour: The Workers' Sports Movement *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13, 2, (April 1978): 191-210

Theses:

- Faulkner, S: *A Cultural Economy of British Art: 1958-1966* (Manchester Metropolitan University, 1998)
- Jackson, Alex: *Football's Consumer Culture and Juvenile Fan Culture, c1880-c1960* (Leeds Metropolitan University 2011)
- Preston, Thomas, John: *The Origins and Development of Association Football in Liverpool District, c1879 until c1915* (UCLan 2007)
- Woolridge, Joyce Helen: *'From Local Hero to National Star? ' The Changing Cultural Representation of the Professional Footballer in England, 1945 - 1985.* (UCLan 2007)

Archives, Minutes, Newspapers, and Reports

Planning Statement submitted by Liverpool Football Club to Liverpool City Council,
2007 (Available on CD-Rom)

FA Minutes

Arts Council of Great Britain Archive, V&A: ACGB/121/390

City of Manchester Art Gallery *Offside* Exhibition archive

Salford Museum and Art Gallery GB0129 U52 in the National Archives, Kew Gardens

FA Yearbook

The Graphic

The London Illustrated News

The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News

The Guardian

The Times

The New Statesmen

Art Monthly

The Art Journal

The Idler

Exhibition Catalogues and Artist's Books

Alley, Ronald *Catalogue of the Tate Gallery's Collection of Modern Art other than Works by
British Artists*

Anstoss: Fussball Kunst exhibition catalogue (Germany 2006)

*Thirties: British art and design before the war: an exhibition organised by the Arts Council of
Great Britain in collaboration with the Victoria & Albert Museum* (Victoria and Albert

- Museum; Arts Council of Great Britain; Hayward Gallery 1979)
- An American Pulse: The Lithographs of George Wesley Bellows* (San Diego Museum of Art 1999)
- Critical Realism: Britain in the 1980s Through the Eyes of 28 Artists* (Nottingham Castle Touring Exhibition, 1987)
- The Arts Council: *British Sporting Painting, 1650-1850* (1974)
- Em Jogo (On Side) Centro De Artes Visuais Coimbra Portugal, 2004
- England's Glory: The Art of Football (John Huntingdon-Whiteley 2010)
- FIFA Museum Collection: 1000 Years of Football (FIFA 1996)
- Fitzmaurice, Leo: *Post Match* (Locus, Newcastle 2009)
- Football: An Exhibition of Football (John Huntingdon-Whiteley 1996)
- Football and the Fine Arts (The Football Association, Naldrett Press 1953)
- Football in the Frame (International Football Institute 2011)
- Gabie, Neville: *Playing Away UK* (Oriol Mostyn Gallery 2004)
- Harris Museum and Art Gallery: 100 - Nil: A Celebration of One Hundred Years of the Football League (1988)
- Lowry Art Gallery: One Love: The Football Art Prize (Lowry Press 2006)
- Manchester City Art Gallery: Offside: Contemporary Artists and Football (1996)
- Man, Machine and Motion (The Hatton Gallery, Newcastle 1955)
- Nottingham University Art Gallery: L.S. Lowry, 45 Paintings and Drawings (1974)
- Parkin, Michael & Hooker, Denise: *Sybil Andrews* (Introduction to exhibition catalogue no pagination) (Michael Parkin Fine Art Limited 1980)
- Paul Feiler: The Near and the Far: Paintings 1953-2004 (Tate 2005)
- Parallel of Life and Art (ICA 1952)

Royal Academy of Arts: LS Lowry 1976 (Hillingdon Press 1976)

Singh Twins: *Worlds Apart: Paintings by the Singh Twins* (Twin Studio 2005)

Sport in Art from American Museums (The National Art Sport Museum 1990)

State of Play: A Series of Curated Exhibitions about Football (The Public Arts Centre, West Bromwich 2010)

The Institute of International Visual Arts: *Boxer, An Anthology of Writings on Boxing and Visual Culture* (inIVA 1996)

The Footballers' Yearbook (James Huntingdon-Whiteley 2002)

This is Tomorrow (Whitechapel Gallery 1956)

The Hard-Won Image (Tate Gallery 1984)

Thirties: British Art and Design before the War (The Hayward Gallery 1979)

Reports:

No Ball Games Here, A report to mark the 80th anniversary of Living Streets (August 2009)

Football Governance: Seventh Report of Session 2010-2012 (House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee, July 2011)

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills: *Manufacturing in the U.K: Supplement* 2010

The FA Premier League Fan Surveys, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2007-2008

The Football League Supporters Survey 2010

Skaliotis Michail and Thorogood, David: *Migration statistics and globalisation: challenges for the European Statistical System* (Demographic and Migration Statistics, Eurostat)

Papers for the European Commission. Available on line at:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/conferences/documents/93rd_dgins_conference/SESSION%20II%20DOC%205.PDF

Web sites

<http://earthtrends.wri.org/text/economics-business/variable-217.html>

Earth Trends provide economic data for most countries.

<http://www.jhwfineart.com/content/exhibition/6.html>

JHF Fine Art is the web site of James Huntingdon-Whiteley. Huntingdon-Whiteley has a permanent online football art exhibition and has also curated several football art exhibitions at a private gallery in Cork Street London.

www.bbc.co.uk

Web site of the BBC, essential resource for sport and art.

www.priorycollection.com

Host to one of the largest private collections of sporting memorabilia in the world. Has loaned many football paintings to the National Football Museum.

www.nationalfootballmuseum.com

The National Football Museum has important art images of football in three significant collections: The FIFA Collection, The Priory Collection and The People's Collection

<http://www.mcmanus.co.uk/content/collections/database/village-ba-game>

The McManus Gallery, Dundee has images of Alexander Carse's football related work.

<http://www.nationalgalleries.org/>

Has image of Alexander Carse's football related work.

http://www.johnnicholsonfineart.co.uk/index.php?_a=viewCat&catId=48

Fine art dealers, site has information regarding the work of Thomas Hemy.

www.tate.org.uk

Contains invaluable information re art concepts plus extensive biographical details of numerous artists.

<http://www.givemefootball.com/pfa/history-of-the-footballers-battalion-part-ii>

Web site of the Professional Footballers' Association. The PFA has an extensive art collection.

http://www.queensroyalsurreys.org.uk/museum/agq_0105.html

Queens Royal Surrey Regiment web site. Has information regarding Captain Neville and the four footballs he took to the front. Relates to the work of Crispin Jones.

<http://www.winsornewton.com/main.aspx?PageID=7#6>

Art materials web site. Gives information about how technological innovation changed art.

<http://www.visitbritain.org/mediaroom/pressreleases/plandvb.aspx>

Visit Britain web site. Gives information about football tourism.

<http://www.surely.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/patriot/patriot.htm>

Information about the work of Ravi Deepres

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>

Contains detail of various football posters

Oral Interviews:

The Singh Twins

Leo Fitzmaurice

Tim Vyner

Neville Gabie

Laura Green

Colin Yates

Lubaina Himid

Christine Physick

Colin Brown

Ben Kelly

Appendix 1 List of Plates

List of Plates

Plate No.	Title of Artwork	Artist	Source	Collection	Year Produced
1	Ball Skills	Unknown	Yarlorouris, Nicolaos: <i>The Eternal Olympics: The Art and History of Sport</i>	National Archaeological Museum, Athens	4 BC
2	Gloucester Cathedral Carving	Unknown	FA Yearbook 1950-51	Getty Archive	14 th Century
3	Football on Crowe Street	Unknown	FA Yearbook 1950-51	Getty Archive	18 th Century
4	Playball at Venice	Unknown	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1555
5	<i>Il Calcio</i>	Unknown	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	c1595
6	Palace of Nancy	Unknown	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1625
7	Football and Handball Games from Greenland	Unknown	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1763
8	Ballspiel	Unknown	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1810
9	Billy Lackbeard & Charley Blackbeard playing at Football	Thomas Rowlandson	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1784
10	Russian Amusement or the Corsican Football	Thomas Tegg	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1813
11	Football	Robert Cruikshank	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1827
12	Football in the Streets of London	H.Heath	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	19 th Century
13	The Doonies versus the Croonies on New Year's Day	Alexander Carse	http://www.nationalgalleries.org/common/search/.	National Gallery, Scotland	1810
14	The Village Ba' Game	Alexander Carse	http://www.mcmanus.co.uk/content/collections/database/village-	McManus Gallery,	1817

			ba-game.	Dundee	
15	Foot-Ball	Alexander Carse	www.priorycollection.com	The Priory Collection	
16	Football	Thomas Webster	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1839
17	The Thames Frost Fair	Unknown	Sports: A Cultural History in the Mirror of Art	Private Collection	1684
18	18th Century Soccer	William Howitt	http://www.istockphoto.com/stock-photo-3890708-18th-century-soccer.php	Hulton Getty	c1759
19	Everton v West Bromwich Albion	Unknown	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1890
20	1899 Cup Final		National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1899
21	England v Scotland	Unknown	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1872
22	Instructional Playing Cards	Unknown	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	
23	Goal	Thomas Hemy	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1908
24	Harrow School Footer Player	Unknown	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1833
25	Warm Work	William Hodgson	Footballers' Yearbook	Private Collection	c1880
26	Footer at Harrow School	Thomas Hemy	FIFA Collection Catalogue	FIFA Collection	1887
27	The Last Minute - Now or Never	Thomas Hemy	Various	Sunderland AFC	1895
28	The Football Match	Clarence Bretherik	Priory Collection Catalogue	Priory Collection	1897
29	Sheffield United-The Parade	JWT Manuel	The Idler	Unknown	1899
30	Football	Duncan Grant	Tate Gallery Archive	Tate	1911
31	Dynamism of a Football Player	Umberto Boccioni	Various	Unknown	1913
32	The Greater Game	Leonard Ravenhill	Punch	FIFA Collection	1914
33	The Germans Said You Were Not in Earnest	Unknown	On line copy	FIFA Collection	1915
34	Gassed	John Singer Sargent	IWM on line copy	IWM	1918
35	Captain Nevill Ball	Crispin Jones	Offside Collection	Unknown	1996

36	Harvest of the Battle	C.R.W.Nevinson	IWM on line copy	IWM	1918
37	Ship of Fools	Oskar Laske	P. Beagle	Unknown	1923
38	Footballers Prefer Shell	Paul Nash	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1933
39	FA Cup Final 1923	Unknown	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1923
40	FA Cup Final 1927	Unknown	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1927
41	FA Cup Final 1926	Eric Fraser	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1926
42	FA Cup Final 1928	Percy Drake Brookshaw	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1928
43	FA Cup Final 1932	Vera Willoughy	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1932
44	FA Cup Final 1935	Herry Perry	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1935
45	FA Cup Final 1937	G.R. Morris	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1937
46	FA Cup Final 1938	Tom Eckersley and Eric Lomers	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1938
47	England v Germany	Tom Eckersley and Eric Lomers	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1935
48	Footballer	Sybil Andrews	London Transport Web Site	London Transport	1933
49	Football	Sybil Andrews	British Museum (scan of print)	British Museum	1937
50	World Cup 1930	Guillermo Laborde	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1932
51	Eleven Devils	Georgi and Vladimir Stenberg	On line copy	Unknown	1927
52	World Cup 1934	Mario Gros	FIFA Web Site	FIFA	1934
53	World Cup 1938	Unknown	FIFA Web Site	FIFA	1938
54	World Cup 1934	Mario Gras	Pierre Chazaud	FIFA	1930
55	Recreation Ground, Holt Town	L.S. Lowry	Christie's Auction Catalogue 2005	Private	1930
56	The Football Match	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1930
57	Football Match	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1932
58	The Spectators	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1923

59	Manchester City v Sheffield United	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1938
60	Going to the Match	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1925
61	Going to the Match	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1928
62	Coming from the Match	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1929
63	The Park	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1924
64	The Playground	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1927
65	The Football Match	L.S. Lowry	MacConnal- Mason Gallery	Private	1934
66	Part of the Jedermann Sein Eigner Fussball Series	John Heartfield	Pierre Chazaud	Unknown	1923-1929
67	Fussball	Willi Baumeister	Peter Kühnst	Unknown	1928
68	Football Politique	Rodchencko	Pierre Chazaud	Unknown	1930
69	Any Wintry Afternoon in England	C.R.W. Nevinson	FIFA Centennial Book	Manchester Art Gallery	1930
70	Here They Come	James Holland	British Museum and the NFM	British Museum	1939-40
71	Going to Work	L.S. Lowry	IWM website	IWM	1943
72	River Scene	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Glasgow Art Gallery	1942
73	Swinbury Station	L.S. Lowry	Mervyn Levy series of books on Lowry	Private	1939
74	Coming From the Match	L.S. Lowry	Clark Art web site	Unknown	1942
75	Saturday Afternoon	L.S. Lowry	Christie's auction catalogue 2011	Unknown	1941
76	Army Football	James Boswell	British Museum Archive	British Museum	1941
77	Football in Camp	Erwin Fabian	British Museum Archive	British Museum	1941
78	Football Match	L.S. Lowry	John Rothenstein	Unknown	1949
79	Park	L.S. Lowry	Michael Howard	Unknown	1946
80	The Pond	L.S. Lowry	Michael Howard	Unknown	1950
81	Industrial Landscape	L.S. Lowry	Tate Britain	Tate Collection	1953
82	Going to the Match	L.S. Lowry	Christie's Auction Catalogue 1995	Unknown	1946
83	The Village Cup-tie	Carel Weight	Footballers' Yearbook	PFA	1946

84	The Cup Final at Wembley	Henry Cotterill Deykin	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1951
85	The Winning Side	James Boswell	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1951
86	Yoghourt Rangers Football Club	Russell Sidney Reeve	Footballers' Yearbook	Unknown	1947
87	Mousehole v Paul	Paul Feiler	The Near and the Far: Paintings Catalogue	Unknown	1953
88	Arromanches	Stephen Bone	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
89	Going to the Match	L.S. Lowry	National Football Museum	PFA	1953
90	Highgate Schoolboy	Kyffin Williams	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
91	Fog at St James's Park	Anthony Eyton	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
92	Midweek at Stamford Bridge	L.L. Toynbee	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
93	St Pancras	William Coldstream	On line copy	Unknown	1937
94	The Night Before the Cup-Tie	W Turner	Williamson Art Gallery Birkenhead	Williamson Art Gallery	1953
95	Clapham Common	Daphne Chart	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1953
96	Saturday Taxpayers	Gerald Cains	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1953
97	Stamford Bridge	Charles Cundall	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
98	The Cup Tie	R.A. Bailey	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
99	Off to the Match	K. Lek	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
100	Moment of Victory	Michael Rothenstein	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
101	Arsenal v Aston Villa	Michael Ayrton	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1953
102	Tomorrow's Professionals	W.H. Newton Taylor	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
103	On the Heath	Paul Bullard	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
104	Offside Dispute	John Kuell	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
105	Goal!	Walter Hoyle	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
106	Raich Carter	R.F. Spencer-Ford	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
107	Wally Barnes	Derek Fowler	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
108	Frank Swift	Frederick A Deane	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
109	Watford Football Club	Andrew Freeth	National Football Museum	Priory Collection	1953

	Changing Room				
110	Changing Rooms	Clifford Fishwick	Football and the Fine Arts Catalogue	Unknown	1953
111	The Footballer 1	Geoffrey Clarke	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1954
112	Child with Ball	Geoffrey Clarke	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1954
113	Game of the Year	Ithell Colquhoun	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1953
114	Chelsea v Arsenal	William Edward Narraway	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1956
115	Footballers	William Edward Narraway	National Football Museum	FIFA Collection	1957
116	The Tackle	Cecil Beaton	National Football Museum	Priory Collection	c1960
117	The Football Game	Harland Rees	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1953
118	Footballer	Colville Barclay	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	PFA	1953
119	Footballers	William Gear	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1953
120	Football	Louis le Bocquy	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1953
121	Goalkeeper	Marek Zalawski	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1953
122	Football	Michael Salaman	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1953
123	Goal	Clifford Fiswick	National Football Museum	Priory Collection	1953
124	Footballers in Physiotherapy	Ghisha Koenig	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Unknown	1953
125	Armchair Supporters	P.J. Crook	National Football Museum	Unknown	2004
126	Despite Financial Cutbacks, Rovers Still Managed to Complete All Their Midweek Fixtures	Glen Baxter	Professional Footballers' Association Booklet	PFA	2002
127	Standard Chartered	Liverpool Football Club	Liverpool Football Club web site	LFC	2009
128	Standard Chartered	Liverpool Football Club	Liverpool Football Club web site	LFC	2009
129	Standard Chartered	Liverpool Football Club	Liverpool Football Club web site	LFC	2009
130	Standard Chartered	Liverpool Football Club	Liverpool Football Club web site	LFC	2009
131	Standard Chartered	Liverpool Football Club	Liverpool Football Club web site	LFC	2009

132	Untitled Collage	Nigel Henderson	Victoria Walsh	Unknown	c1960s
133	Untitled Collage	Nigel Henderson	Victoria Walsh	Unknown	c1970
134	Untitled Collage	Nigel Henderson	Victoria Walsh	Unknown	c1970
135	Wedding Present	Colin Brown	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2006
136	King Kenny	Colin Brown	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2006
137	Jinky	Colin Brown	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2006
138	The Football Match	Alan Lowndes	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Private	1970
139	The Football Match	Grace Starkings	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Private	c1960
140	George Best	Barry Fantoni	James Huntingdon-Whiteley	Private	1971
141	Can Can	Chris Stevens	Supplied by the Artist	Syco Systems, London	1984
142	Ignorance is Strength	Chris Stevens	Supplied by the Artist	National Gallery of Wales	1984
143	Football Match	Ruskin Spear	Christie's Auction Catalogue 2011	Private	1982
144	Pretend Rifle	John Hewitt	Critical Realism Exhibition Catalogue	Unknown	1984
145	Hillsborough	Georg Eisler	Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool	Walker Art Gallery	1989
146	Flowers for Liverpool	Adrian Henry	Liverpool Football Club	LFC	1989
147	Just Another Bloody Sunday	Peter Howson	National Galleries Scotland	National Galleries Scotland	1987
148	Work in Progress	Roderick Buchanan	Offside exhibition catalogue	Unknown	1996
149	Work in Progress	Roderick Buchanan	Offside exhibition catalogue	Unknown	1996
150	The Best of British	Nick Waplington	Offside exhibition catalogue	Unknown	1996
151	The Best of British	Nick Waplington	Offside exhibition catalogue	Unknown	1996
152	Micah Richards	Lubaina Himid	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2007
153	Curtis Davies	Lubaina Himid	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2007
154	England My England	Tim Vyner	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2006
155	Patriots	Ravi Deepres	State of Play exhibition booklet	Unknown	2009
156	Patriotism not Jingoism	Colin Yates	Supplied by the Artist	Unknown	2009
157	Untitled	Joe Magee	Video Still	Unknown	2009

158	A Sculpture for Football Songs	Angela Bulloch	Tate Britain	Tate	1998
159	Video Still	Roderick Buchanan	Offside exhibition catalogue	Unknown	1996
160	Goalpost (Liverpool)	Neville Gabie	Playing Away UK	Unknown	2004
161	Goalpost (Liverpool)	Neville Gabie	Playing Away UK	Unknown	2004
162	Goalpost (N. Ireland)	Neville Gabie	Playing Away UK	Unknown	2004
163	Goalpost (N. Ireland)	Neville Gabie	Playing Away UK	Unknown	2004
164	King Kenny	Christine Physick	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2010
165	This is Anfield	Christine Physick	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2010
166	Supporters on Lothair Road	Christine Physick	Supplied by the Artist	Private	2010
167	The Art of the Game	Michael J. Browne	The Book of British Sporting Heroes	Unknown	1997
168	Les Nouvelles Indenties d'Afrique	Samuel Fosso	Em Jogo exhibition catalogue	Unknown	2004
169	From Zero to Hero	Rabindra Singh	Worlds A-Part	Unknown	2002
170	The Beautiful Game	Amrit Singh	Worlds A-Part	Unknown	2002
171	Stud	Freddy Contreras	Offside exhibition catalogue	Unknown	1996
172	Untitled	Gabriel Kuri	Offside exhibition catalogue	Unknown	1996
173	Nike Advert	Paul Shearer	V&A archive	V&A	1996
174	Adidas Advert	Tony Davidson	V&A archive	V&A	1997
175	Football Shirt	Leo Fitzmaurice	Post Match exhibition catalogue	Unknown	2009
176	Football Shirt	Leo Fitzmaurice	Post Match exhibition catalogue	Unknown	2009

Appendix 2 - Plates

NB:- Due to copyright restrictions some plates were only available for download from the internet. Hence some of the images do not reproduce very well in print. For this reason I have supplied a disc of images for the examiners.



Plate 1 – Marble Relief of boy playing ‘keepie uppies’ (Ancient Greece)



(1) *Misericorde carving*, under a 14th century choir-stall seat in Gloucester Cathedral
Plate 2 - Gloucester Cathedral Carving, (14th Century)



(3) *Football in Crowe Street*. An 18th century print of a 'street football' free-for-all

Plate 3 - Football on Crowe Street, (18th century)



Plate 4 - Playball at Venice, 1555



Plate 5 - Il Calcio, c1595

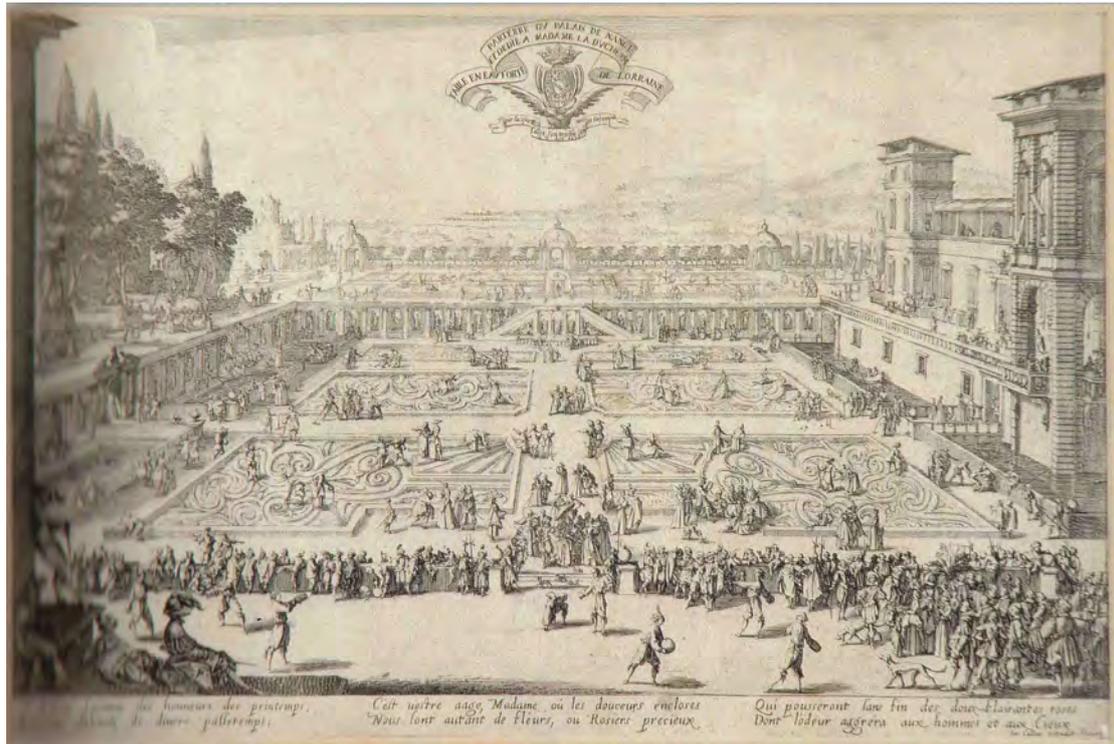


Plate 6 - Palace of Nancy, 1625

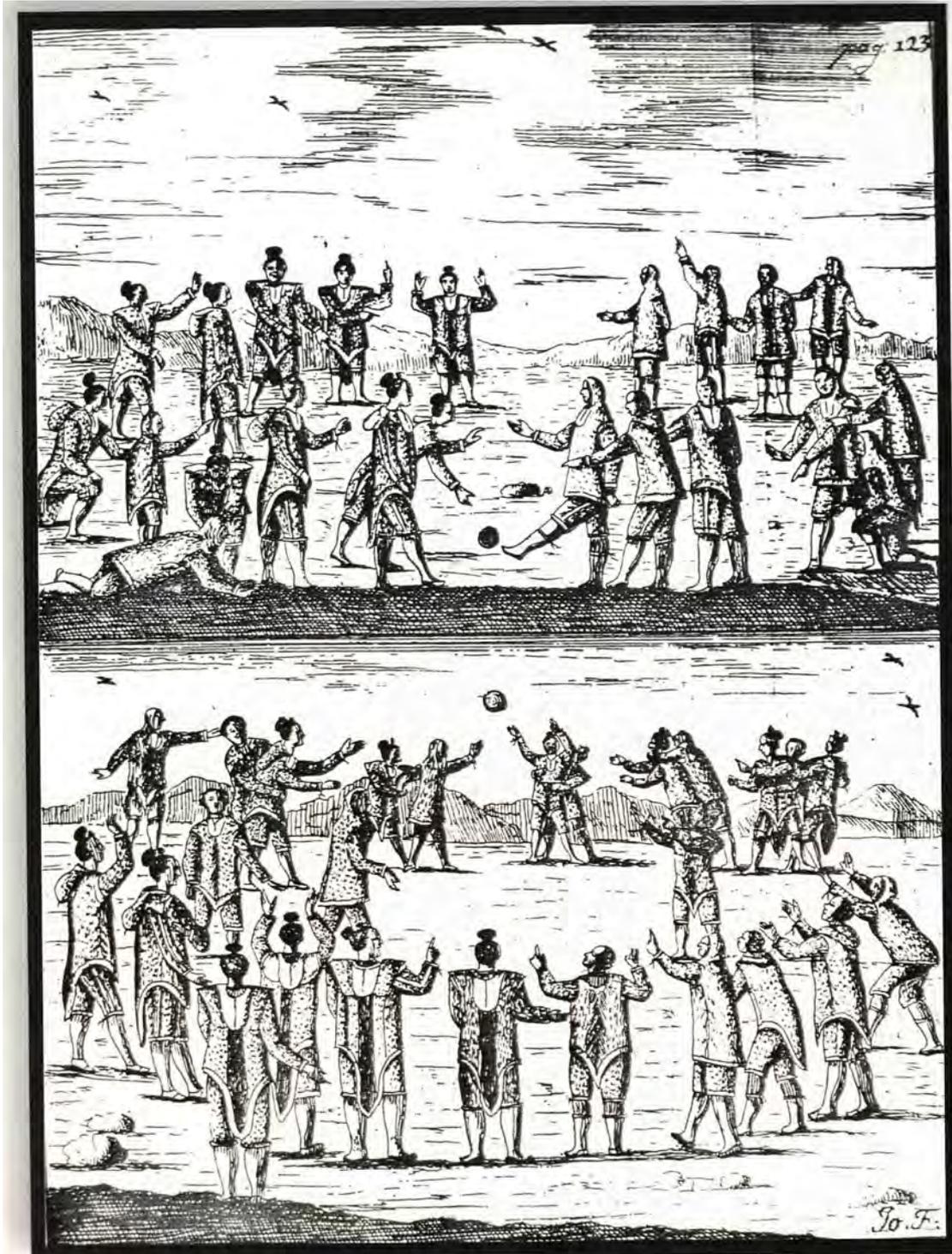


Plate 7 - Football and Handball Games from Greenland, 1763



Plate 8 – Football in a Russian Market Town, 1810

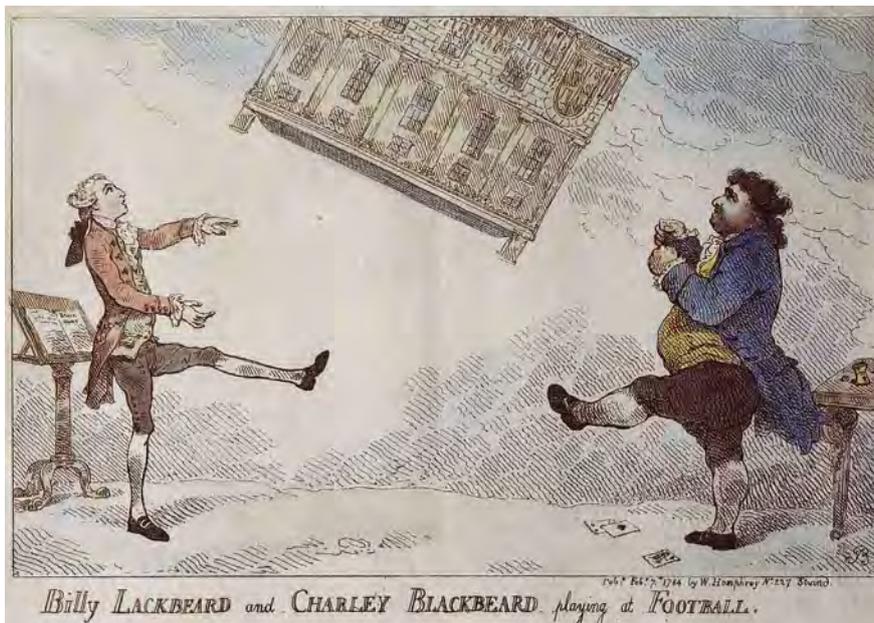


Plate 9 - Charley Blackbeard playing at Football, 1784



Plate 10 - Russian Amusement or the Corsican Football, 1813



Plate 11 - Football, c1827

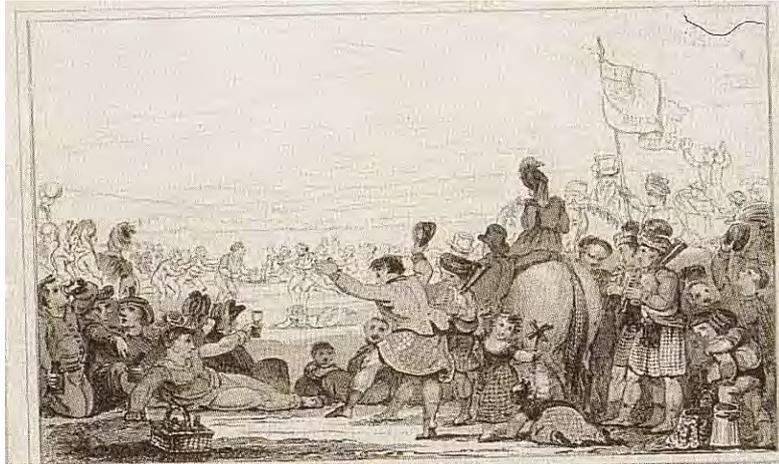


Plate 12 - Football in the Streets of London, c1820



Plate 13 - The Doonies versus the Croonies on New Year's Day, 1810



Plate 14 - The Village Ba' Game, 1817

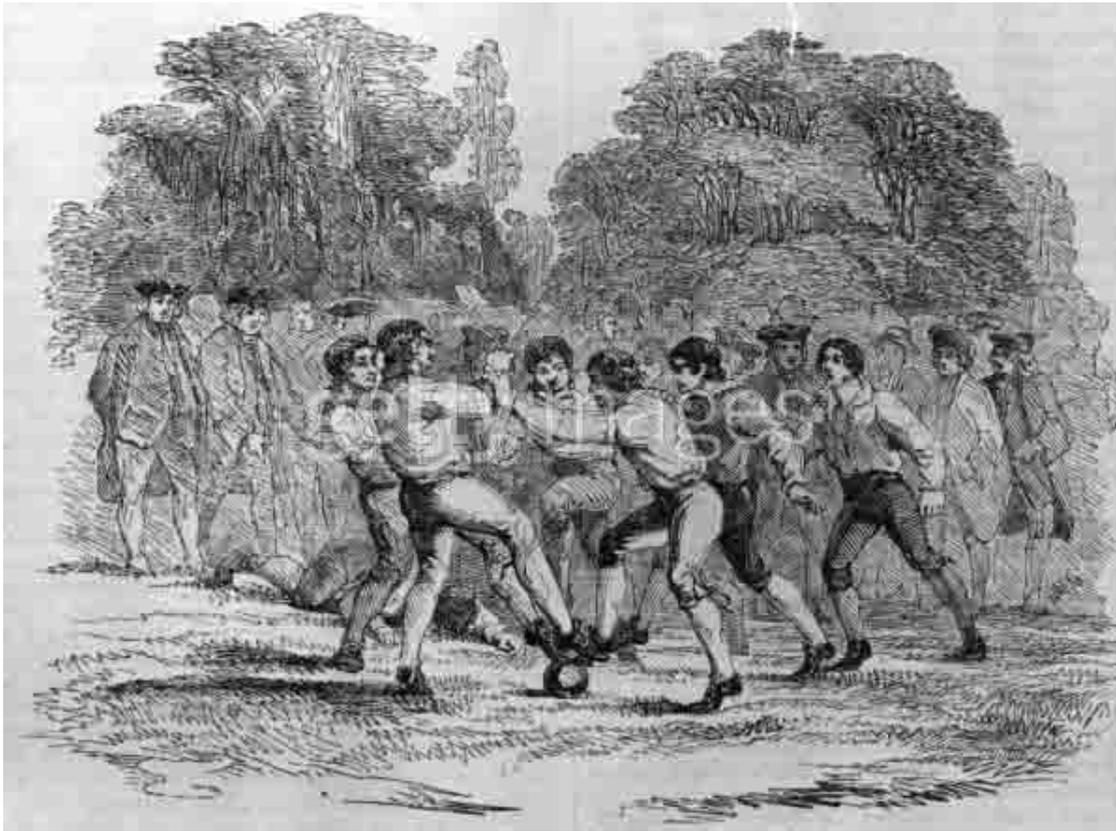


Plate 18 – 18th Century Soccer, c1750

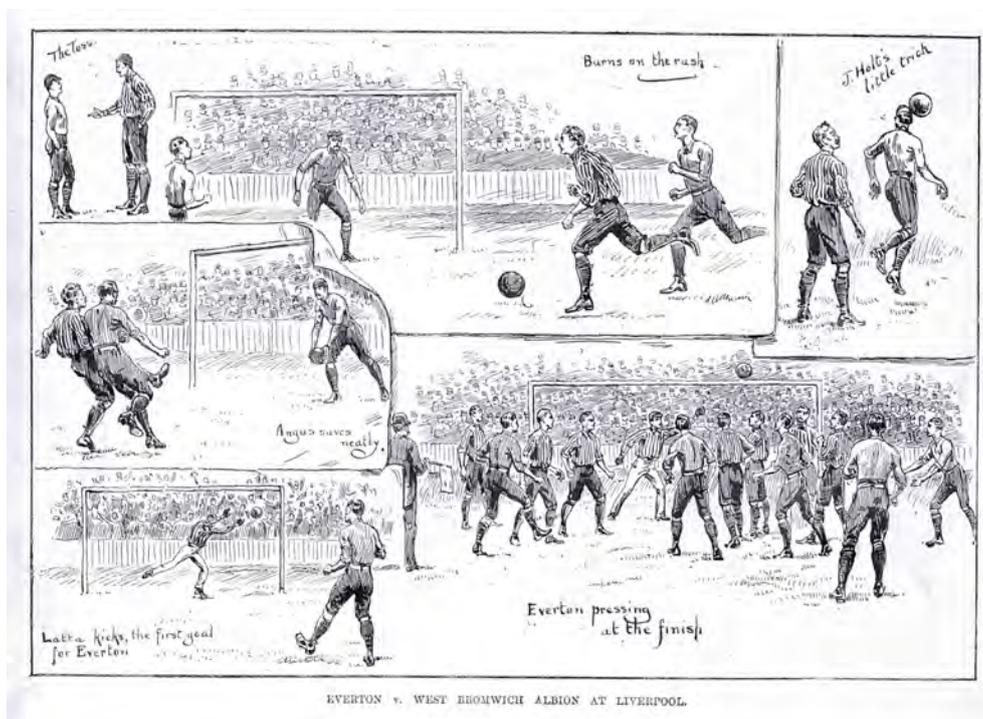


Plate 19 – Everton v West Bromwich Albion at Anfield, 1890



Plate 20 – FA Cup Final, 1899

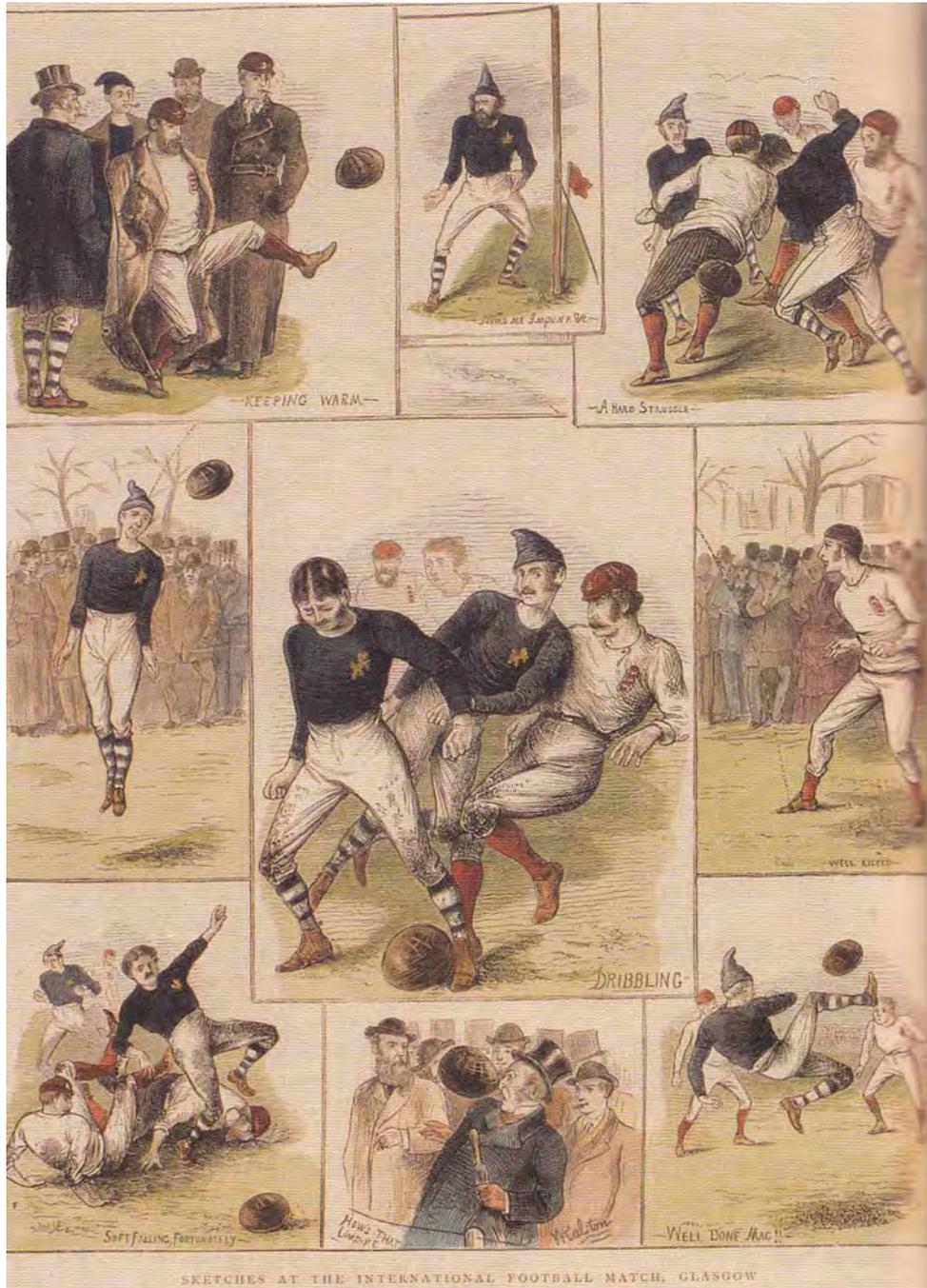


Plate 21 - England v Scotland, 1872



Plate 22 – Instructional Cards, c1890



Plate 23 – Goal, 1908



Plate 24 - Footer Player, 1833

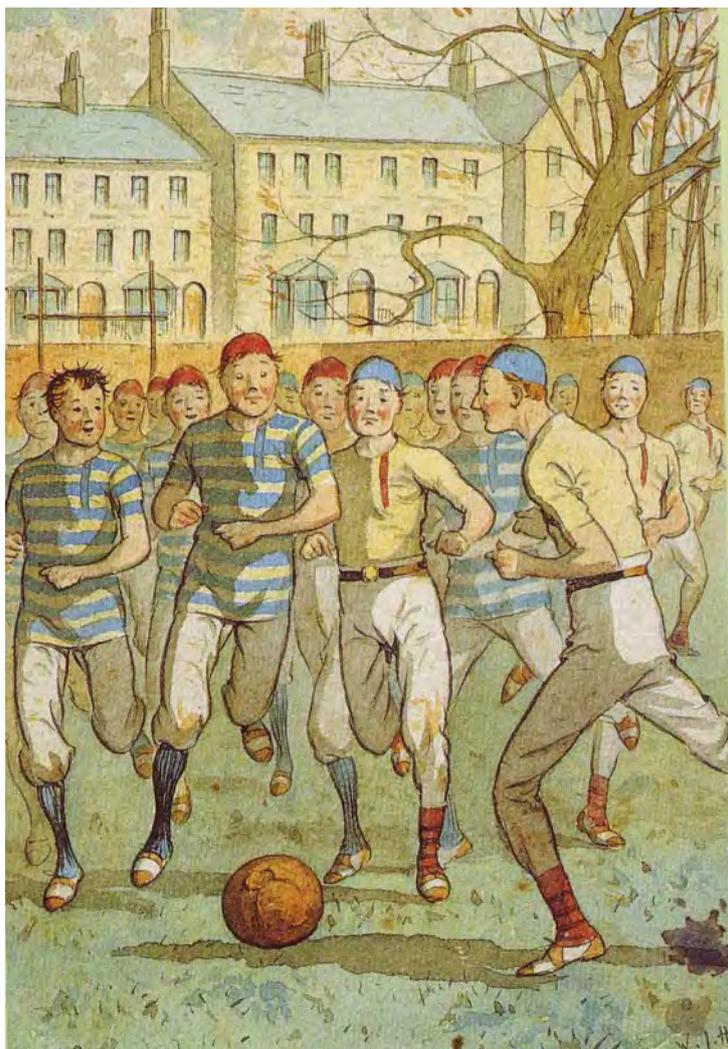


Plate 25 – Warm Work, 1880

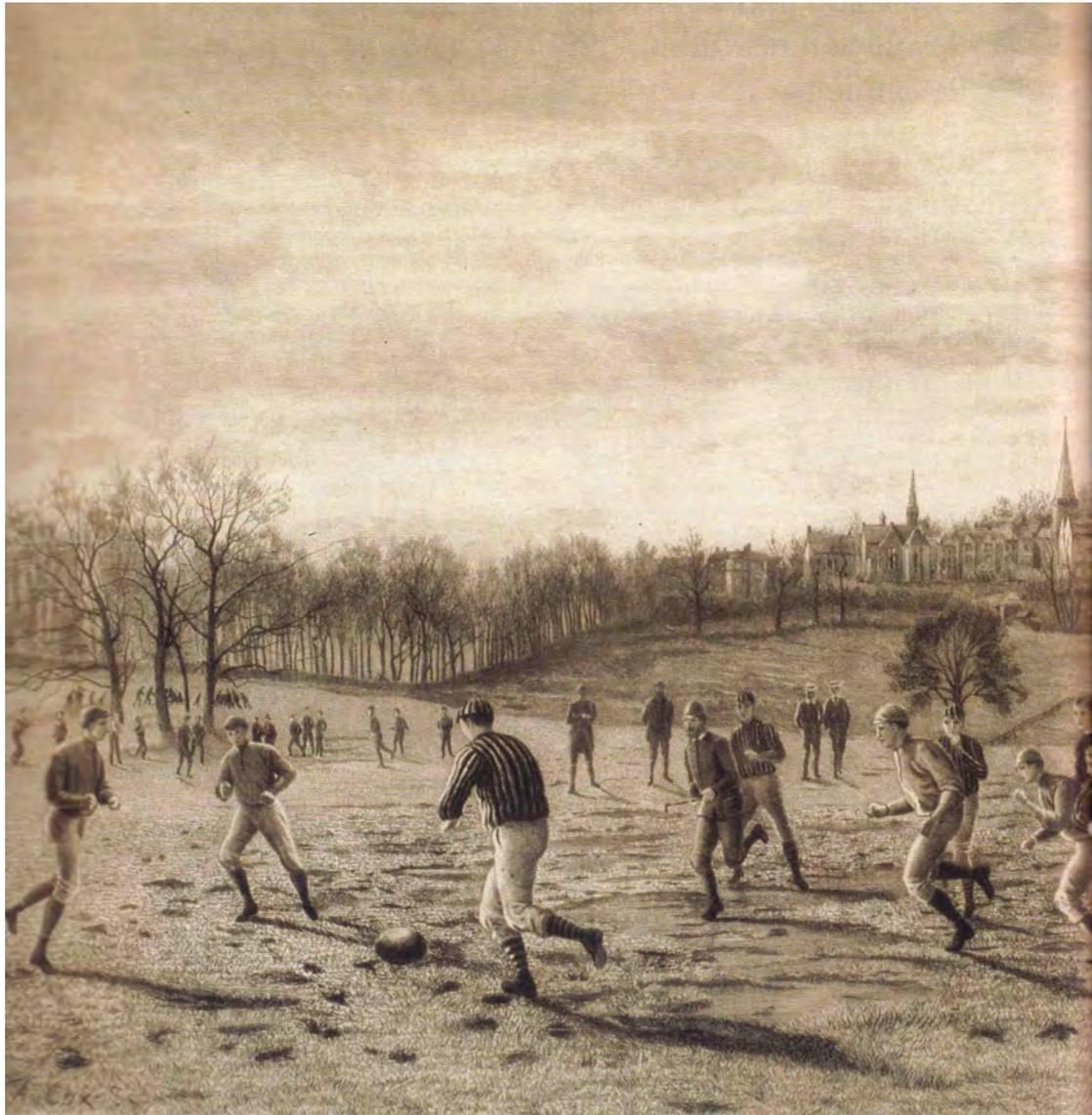


Plate 26 – Footer at Harrow School, 1887



Plate 27 - *The Last Minute - Now or Never*, 1895



Plate 28 - *The Football Match*, 1897



"Sheffield United."
The Parade.

By J. W. T. MANUEL.

Plate 29 - Sheffield United - The Parade, 1899



Plate 30 – Football, 1911



Plate 31 - Dynamism of a Football Player, 1913

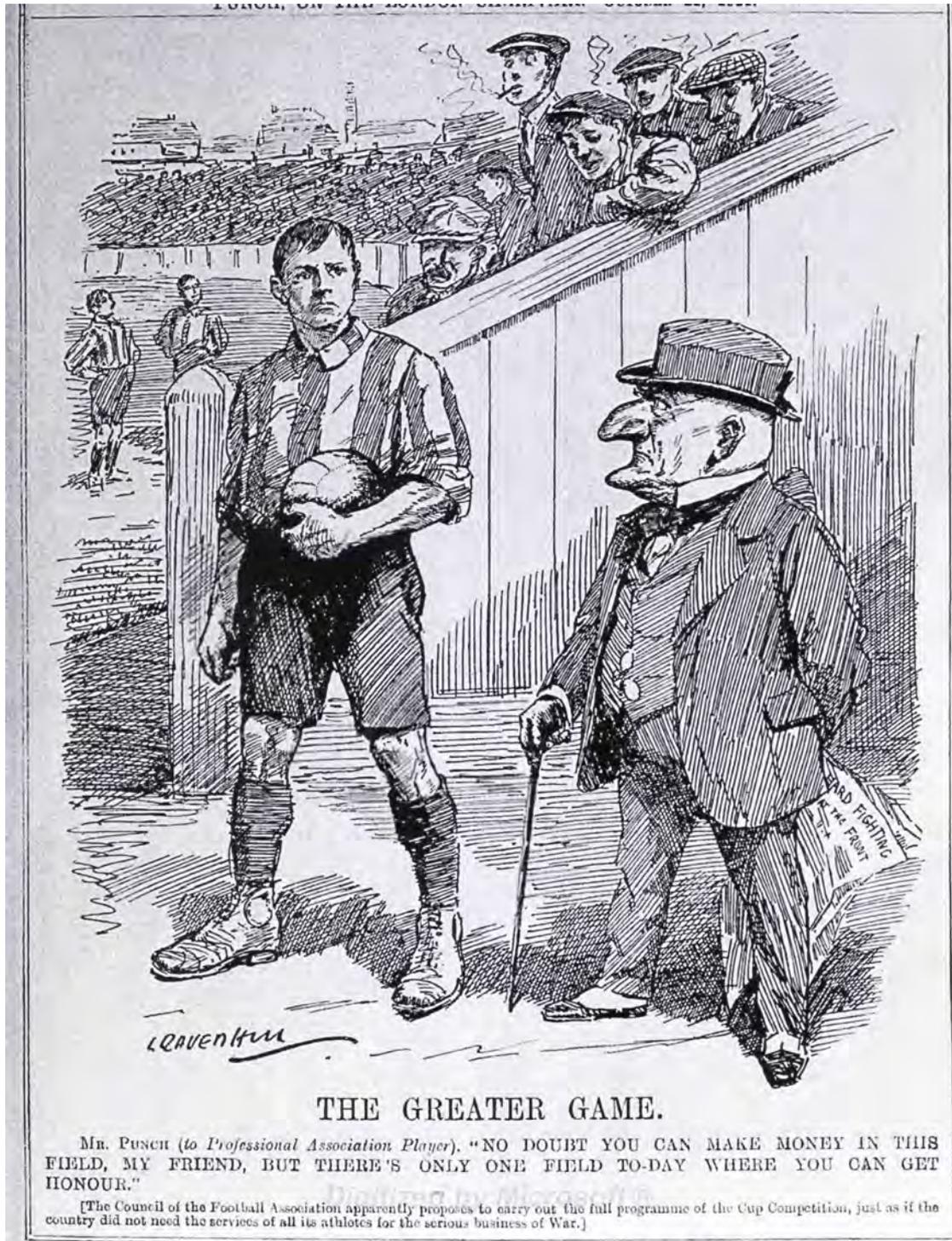


Plate 32 – The Greater Game, 1914



Plate 33 - The Germans Said You Were Not in Earnest, 1915



Plate 34 – Gassed, 1918

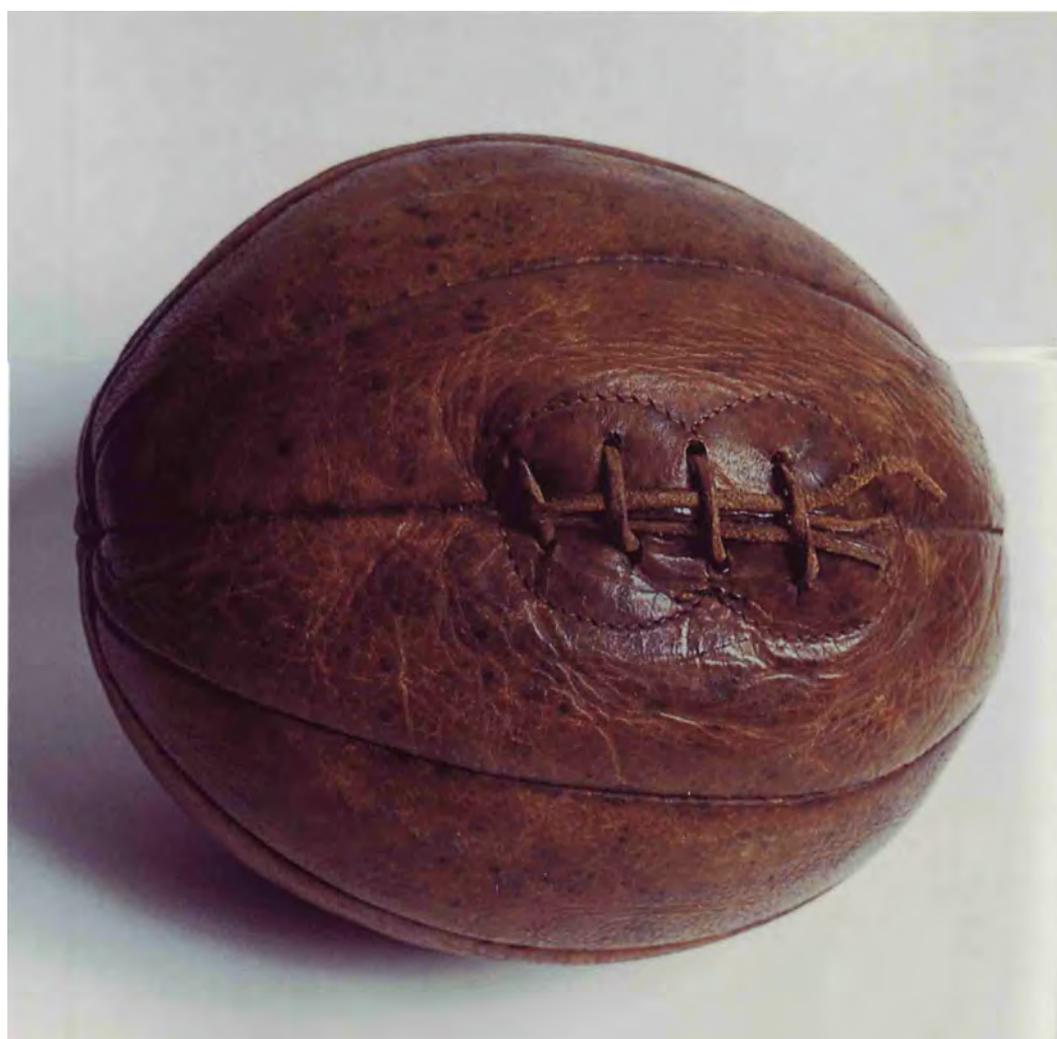


Plate 35 – Captain Neville Football, 1966



Plate 36 – Harvest of the Battle, 1918



Plate 37 – Ship of Fools, 1923

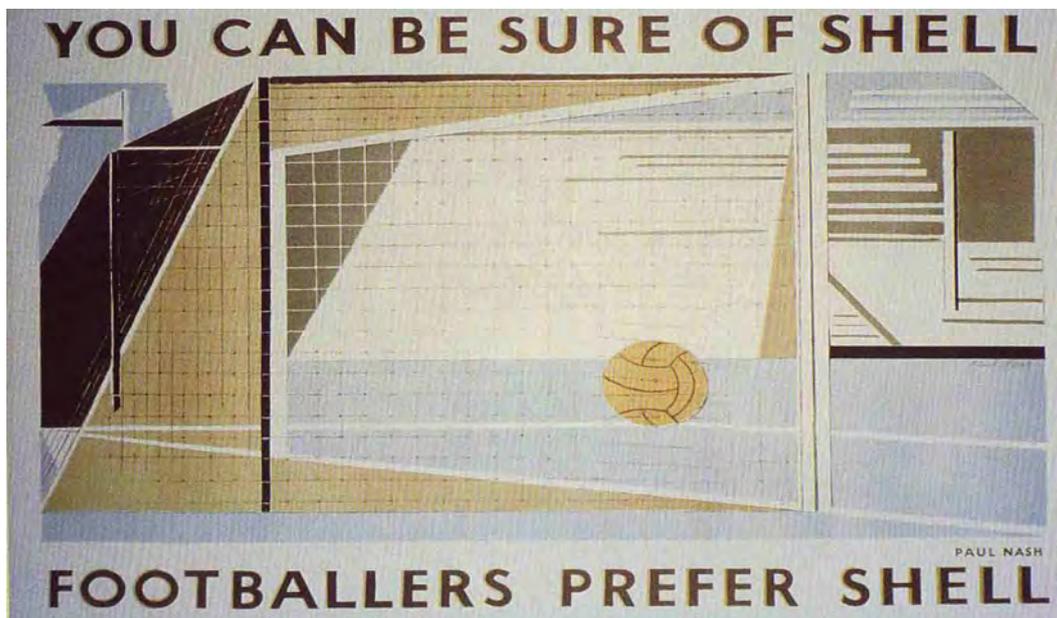


Plate 38 – Footballers Prefer Shell, 1933



Plate 39 – FA Cup Final, 1923



Plate 40 – FA Cup Final, 1927



Plate 41 – FA Cup Final, 1926



Plate 42 – FA Cup Final, 1928



Plate 43 – FA Cup Final, 1932



Plate 44 – FA Cup Final, 1935



Plate 45 – FA Cup Final, 1937



Plate 46 – FA Cup Final, 1938



Plate 47 – England v Germany, 1935

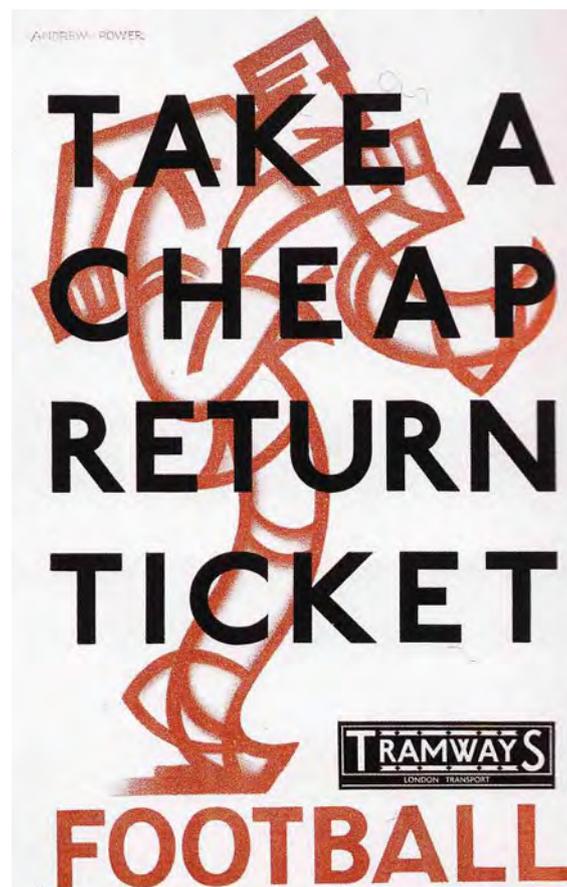


Plate 48 – Footballer, 1933



Plate 49 – Football, 1937

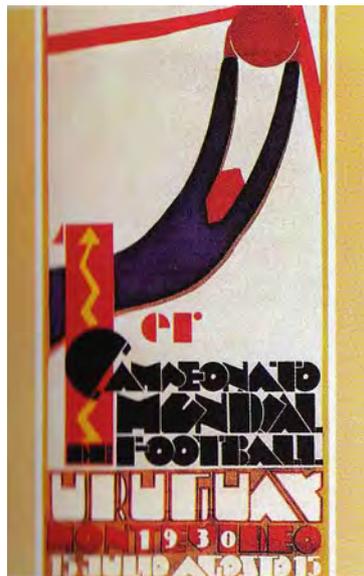


Plate 50 – World Cup Poster, 1930

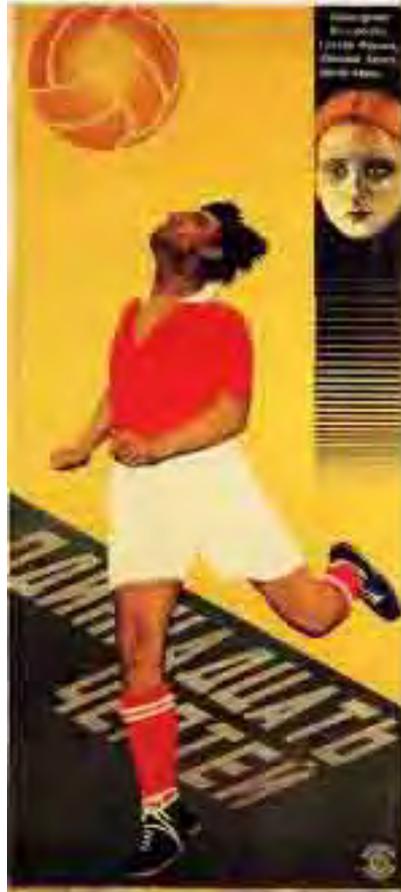


Plate 51 – Eleven Devils, 1926



Plate 52 – World Cup Poster, 1934

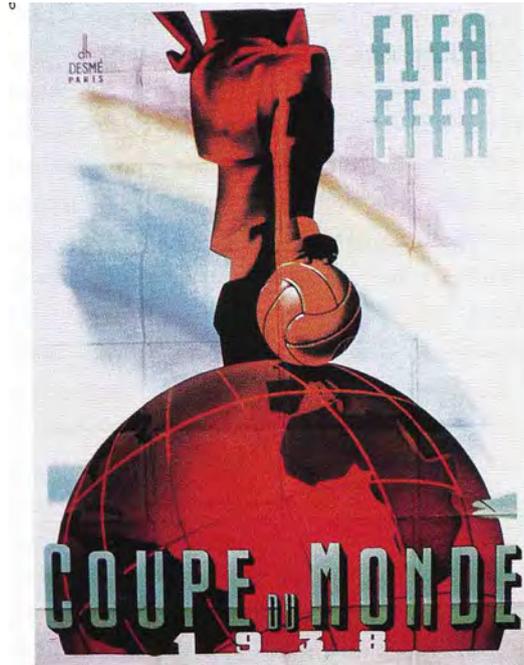


Plate 53 – World Cup Poster, 1938

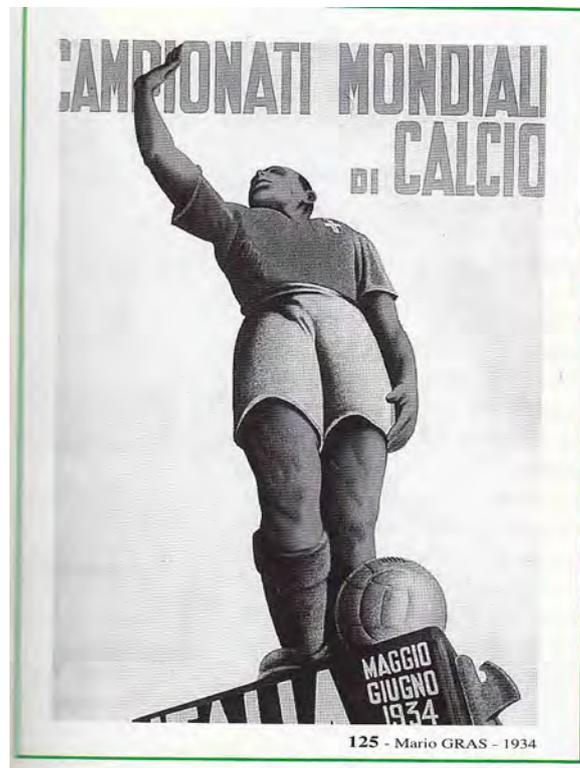


Plate 54 – Unofficial World Cup Poster, 1934



Plate 55 - Recreation Ground, Holt Town, 1930



Plate 56 - The Football Match, 1930



Plate 57 – The Football Match, 1932



Plate 58 – The Spectators, 1923



Plate 59 – Manchester City v Sheffield United, 1938



Plate 60 – Going to the Match, 1925



Plate 61 - Going to the Match, 1928



Plate 62 - Coming from the Match, 1929



Plate 63 - The Park, 1924



Plate 64 - The Playground, 1927



Plate 65 - The Football Match, 1934



Plate 66 - Jedermann Sein Eigener Fussball



Plate 67 – Footballer,

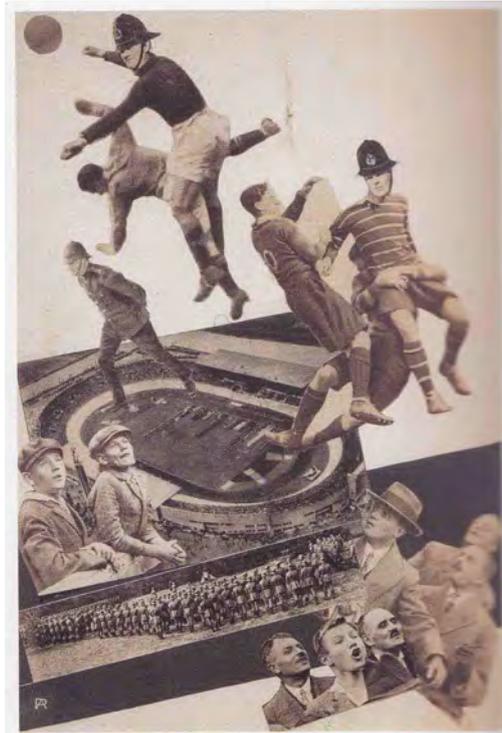


Plate 68 – Political Football,



Plate 69 - Any Wintry Afternoon in England, 1933



Plate 70 - Here They Come, 1939-40



Plate 71 – Going to Work, 1943



Plate 72 – River Scene, 1942



Plate 73 - Swinbury Station, 1939



Plate 74 - Coming from the Match, 1942



Plate 75 – Saturday Afternoon, 1941

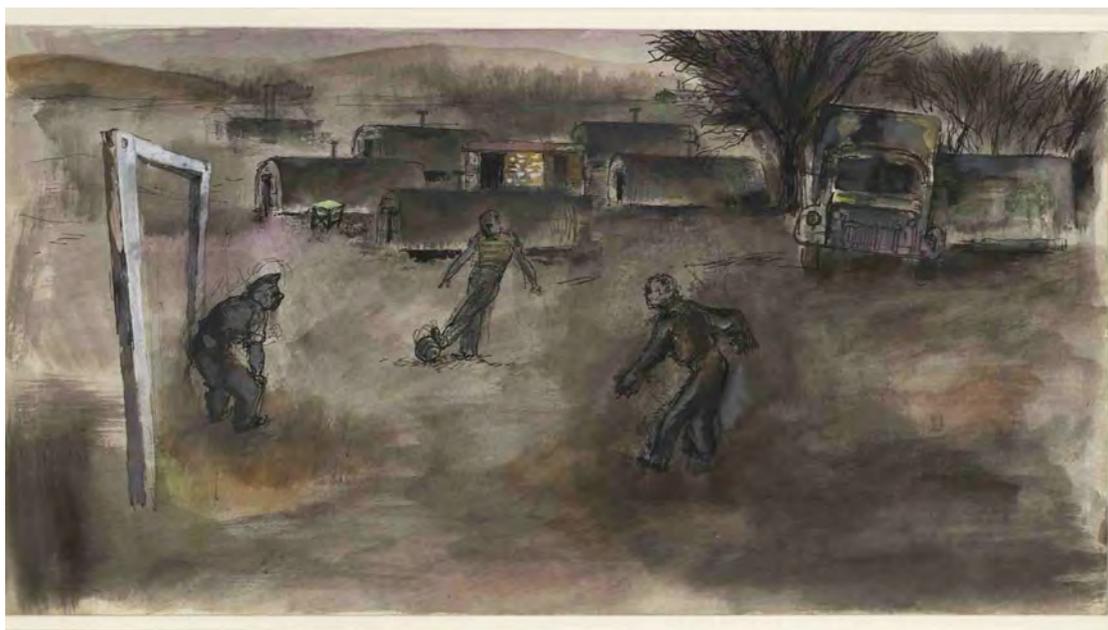


Plate 76 – Army Football, 1941



Plate 77 – Football in Camp, 1941



Plate 78 – The Football Match, 1949

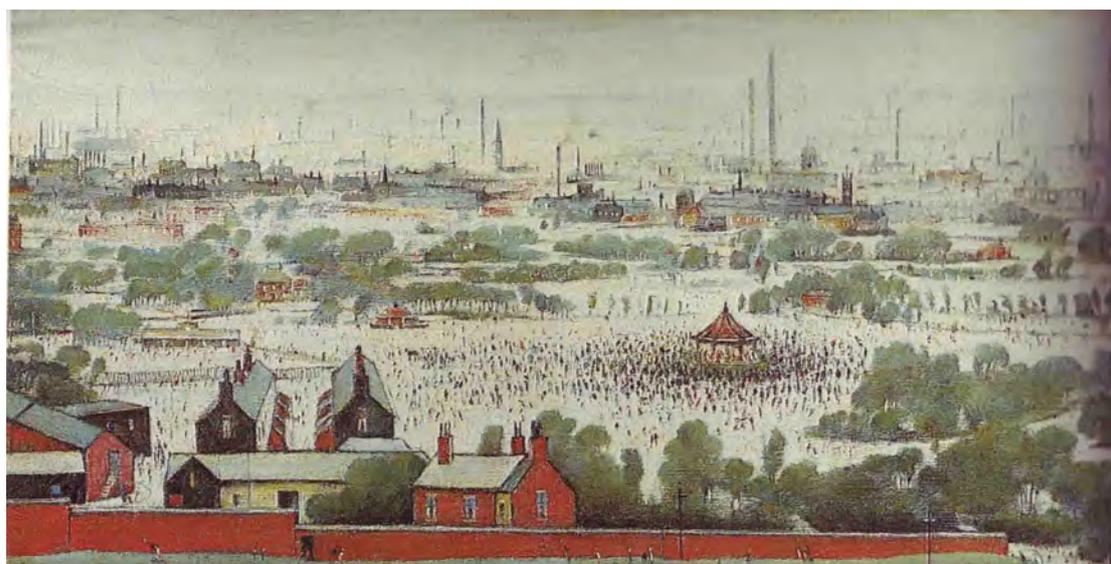


Plate 79 – The Park, 1946



Plate 80 – The Pond, 1950



Plate 81 - Industrial Landscape, 1953



Plate 82 – Going to the Match, 1946



Plate 83 – The Village Cup-Tie, 1946



Plate 84 – The Cup Final at Wembley, 1951



Plate 85 – The Winning Side, 1951

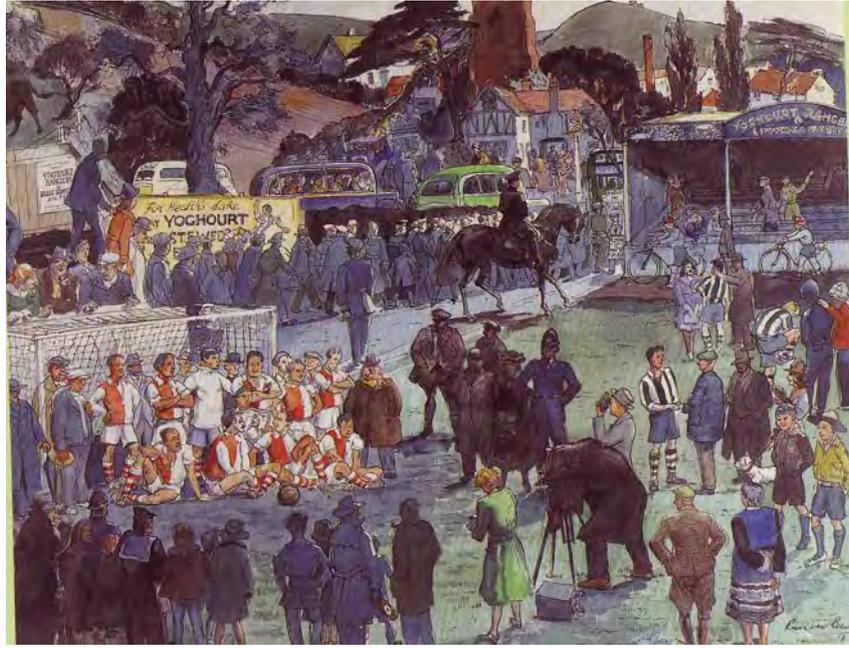


Plate 86 – Yoghourt Rangers Football Club, 1947

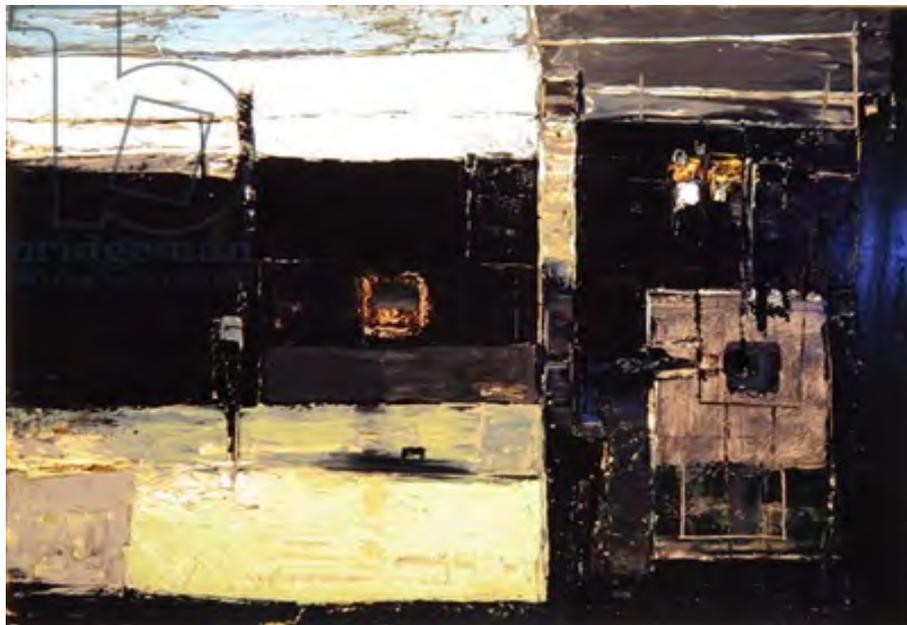


Plate 87 – Mousehole v Paul, 1953



Plate 88 - Arromanches, 1944

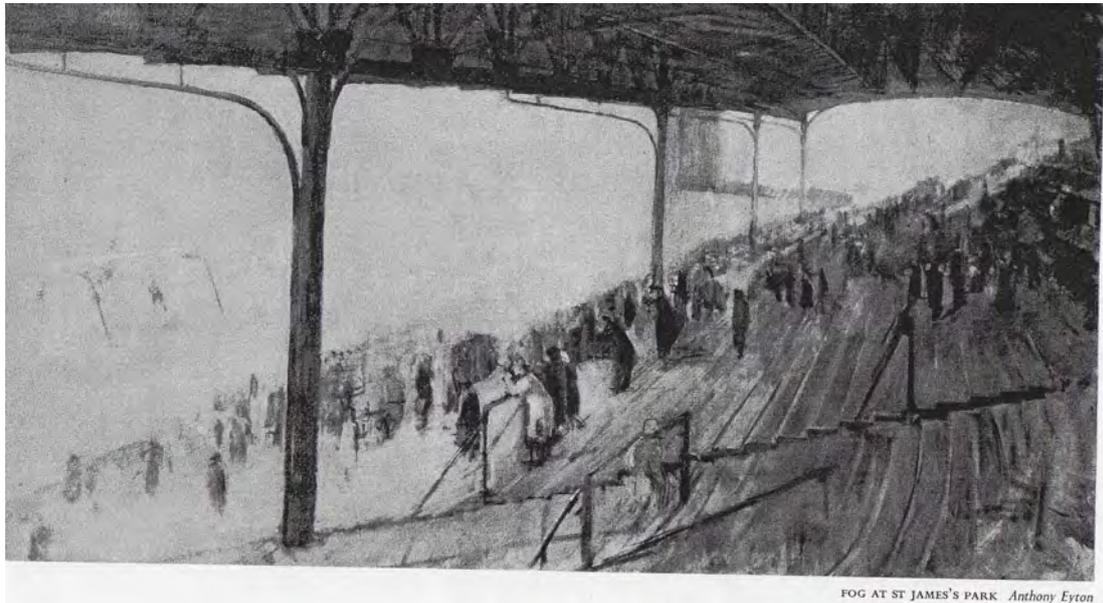


Plate 89 - Going to the Match, 1953



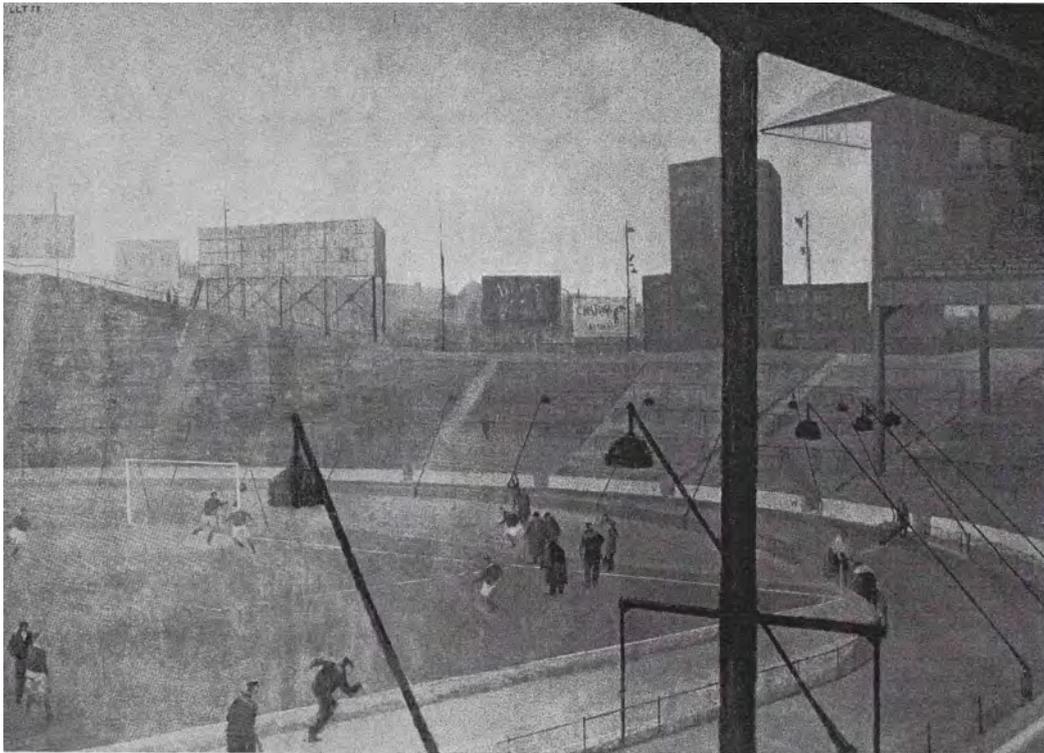
HIGHGATE SCHOOLBOY Aylfin Williams

Plate 90 – Highgate Schoolboy, 1953



FOG AT ST JAMES'S PARK Anthony Eyton

Plate 91 – Fog at St James's Park, 1953



MID-WEEK PRACTICE AT STAMFORD BRIDGE L. L. Teynbee
oil 48 x 34½

Plate 92 – Midweek at Stamford Bridge, 1953

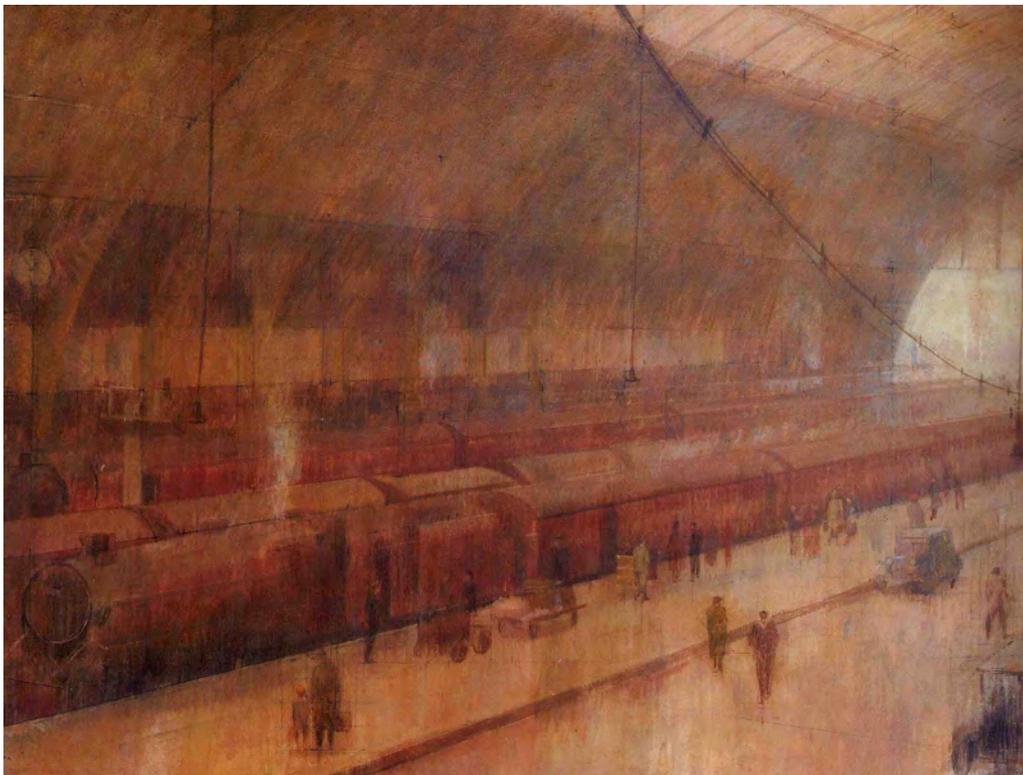


Plate 93 – St Pancras Station, 1938



Plate 94 – The Night Before the Cup-Tie, 1953



Plate 95 – Clapham Common, 1953



Plate 96 – Saturday Taxpayers, 1953

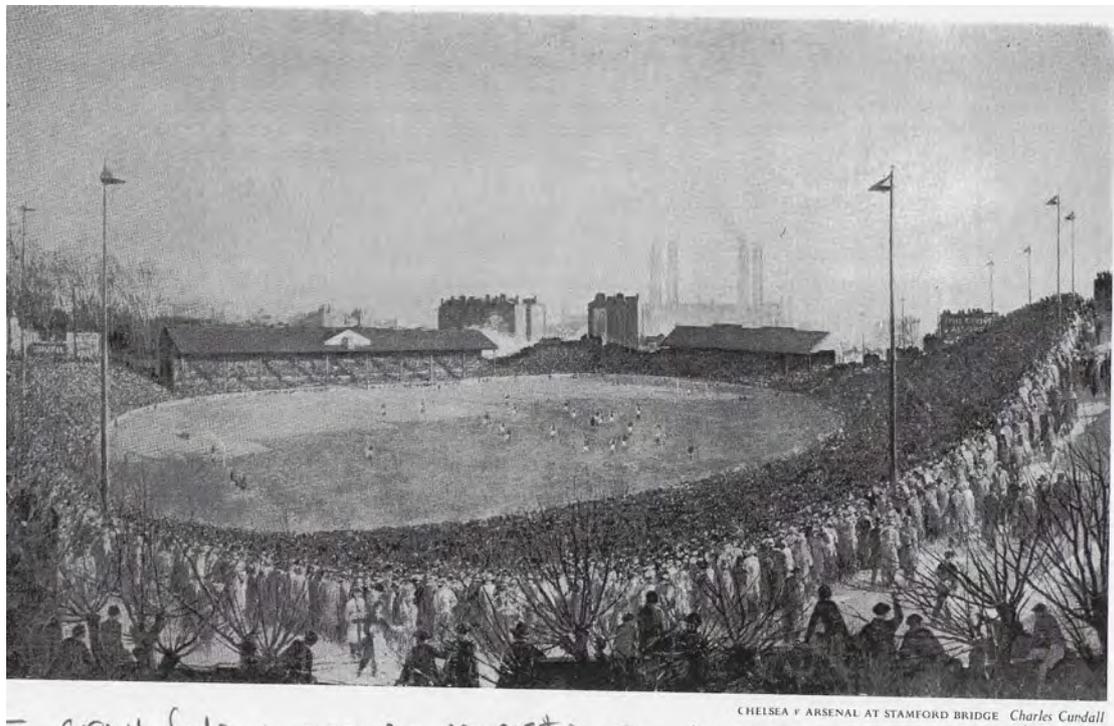
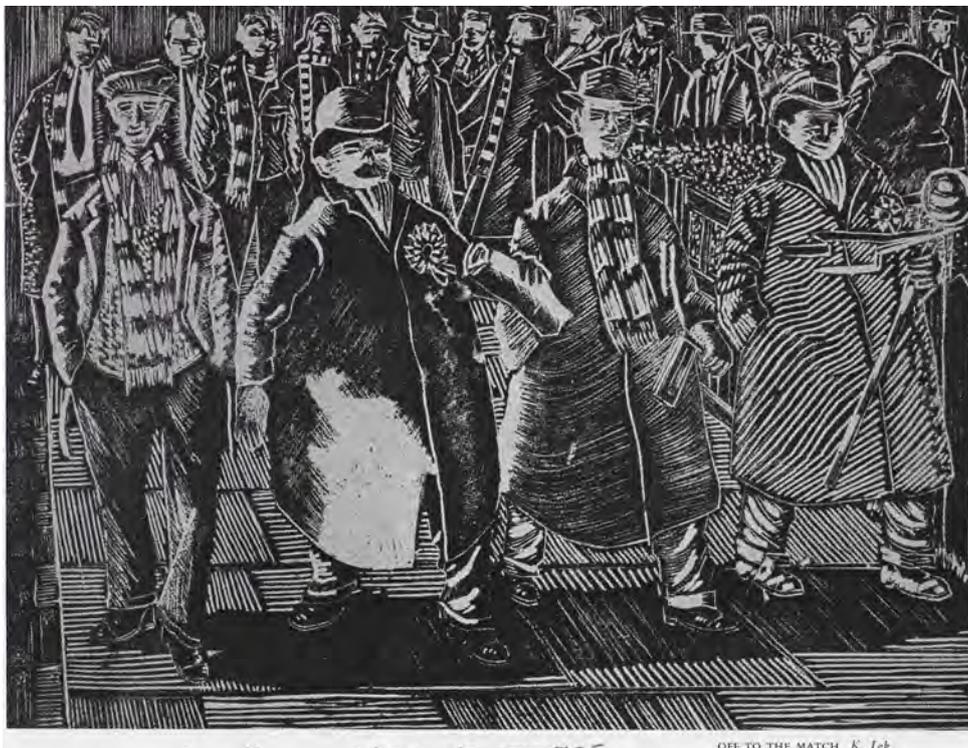


Plate 97 – Stamford Bridge, 1953



THE CUP-TIE R. A. Bailey
line and wash 19x15

Plate 98 – The Cup-Tie, 1953



OFF TO THE MATCH K. Lek

Plate 99 – Off to the Match, 1953



Plate 100 – Moment of Victory, 1953



Plate 101 – Arsenal v Aston Villa, 1953



Plate 102 – Tomorrow's Professionals, 1953



Plate 103 – On the Heath, 1953



Plate 104 – Offside Dispute



Plate 105 – Goal! 1953

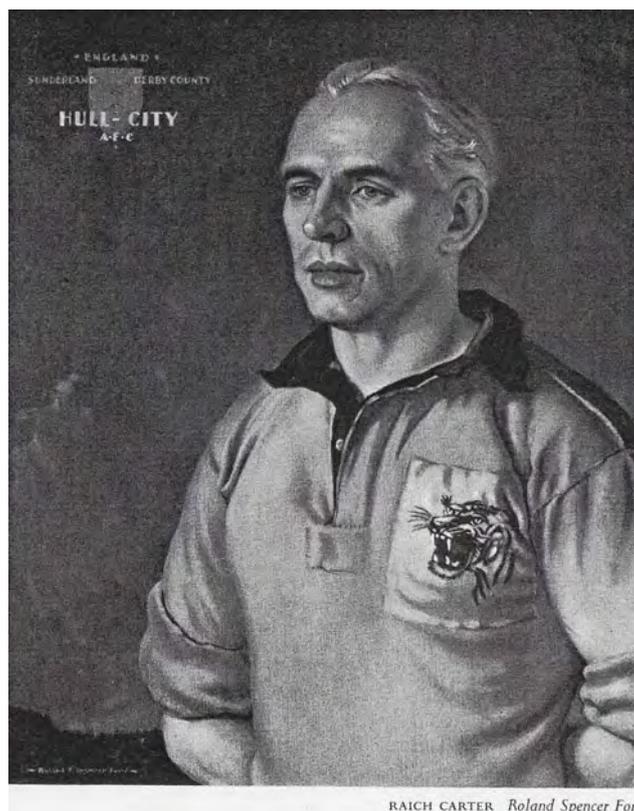


Plate 106 – Raich Carter, 1953



Plate 107 – Wally Barnes, 1953



Plate 108 – Frank Swift, 1953



Plate 109 – Watford Football Club Dressing Room, 1953



Plate 110 - Changing Rooms, 1953



Plate 111 - The Footballer 1, 1954



Plate 112 - Child with Ball, 1954

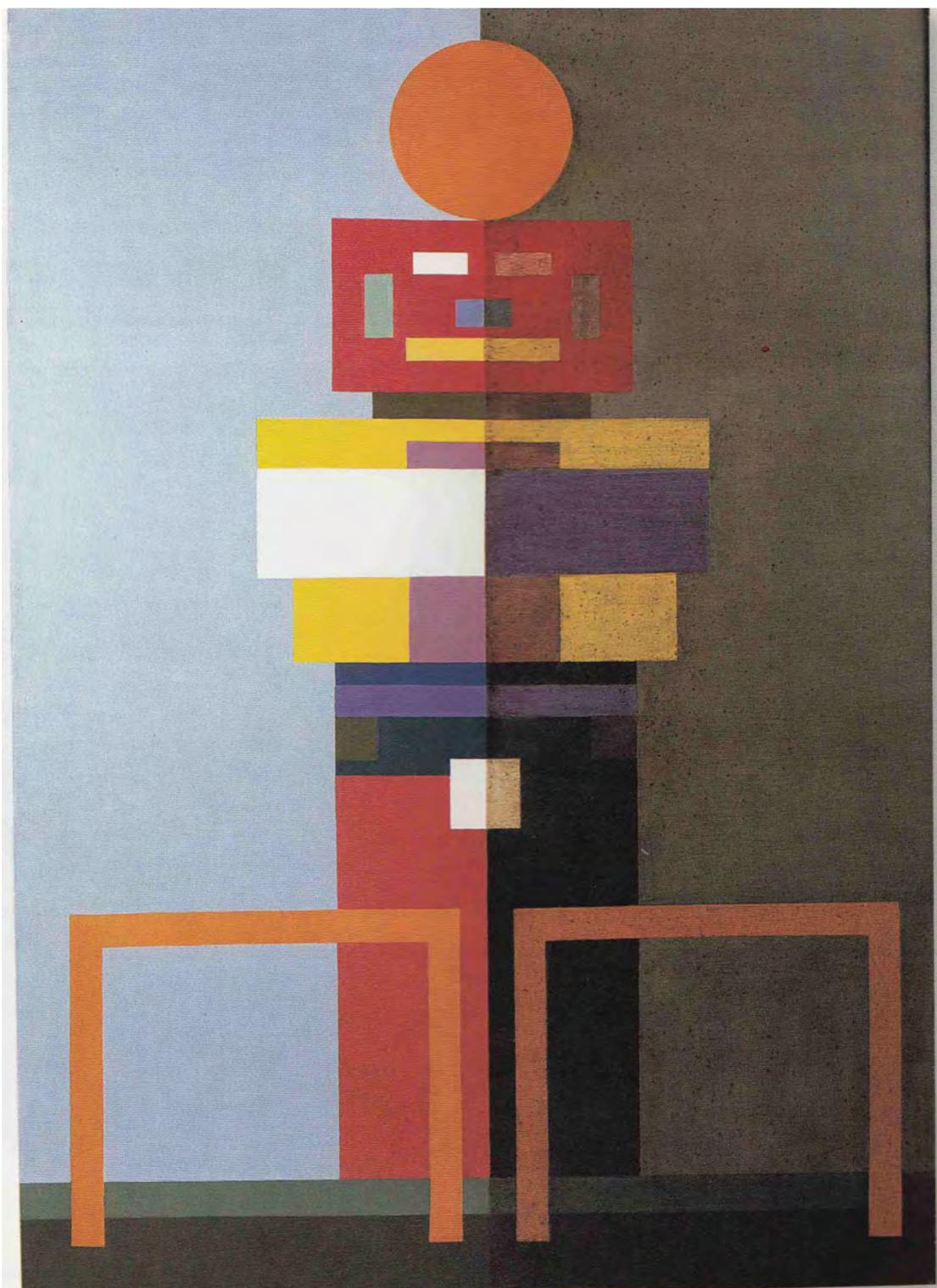


Plate 113 - Game of the Year, 1953



Plate 114 - Chelsea v Arsenal, 1956



Plate 115 - Footballers, 1957



Plate 116 - The Tackle, c1960

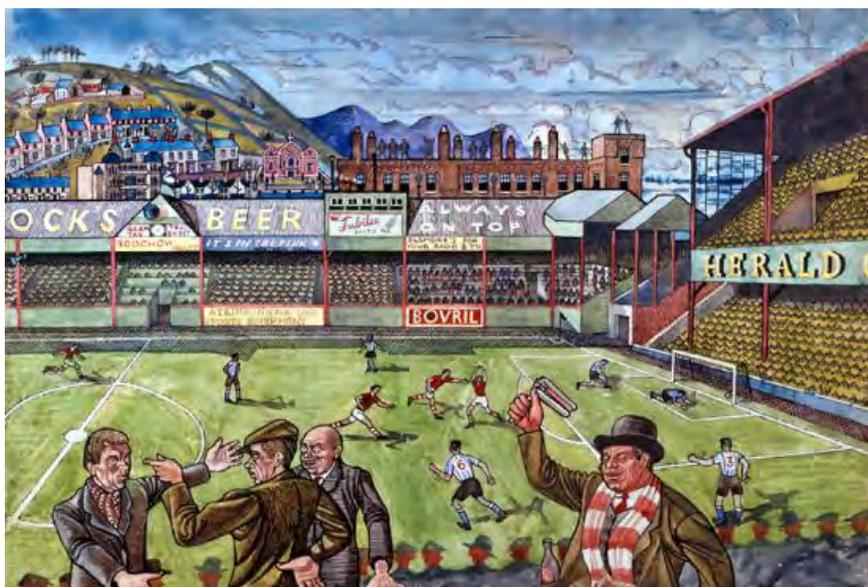


Plate 117 - The Football Game, 1953



Plate 118 – Footballer, 1953



Plate 119 – Footballers, 1953



Plate 120 – Football, 1953



Plate 121 – The Goalkeeper, 1953



Plate 122 – Football, 1953

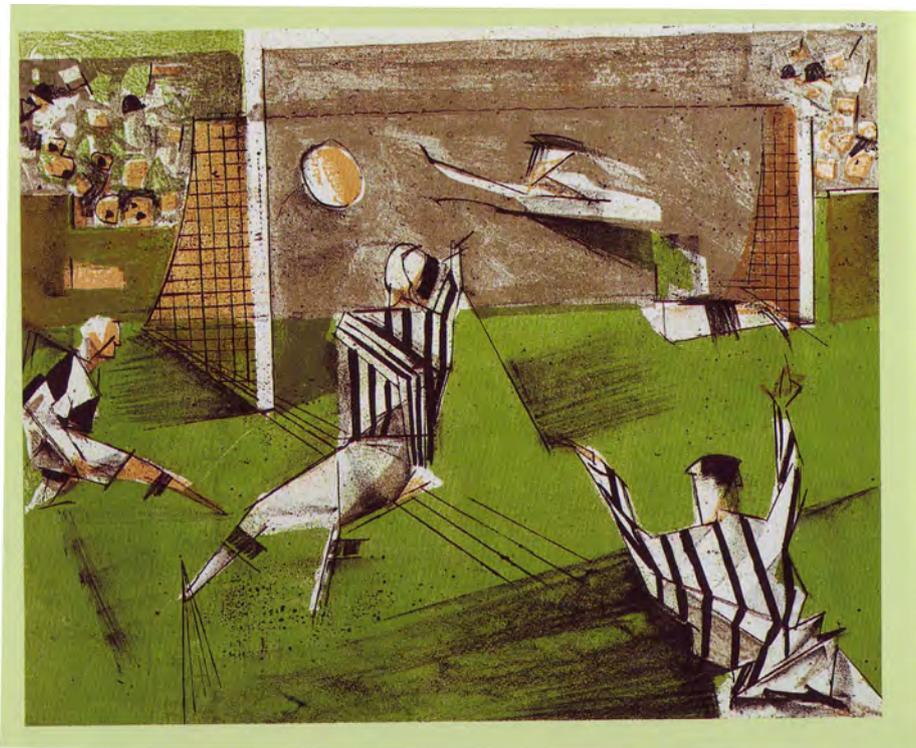


Plate 123 – Goal, 1953



Plate 124 - Footballers in Physiotherapy, 1953

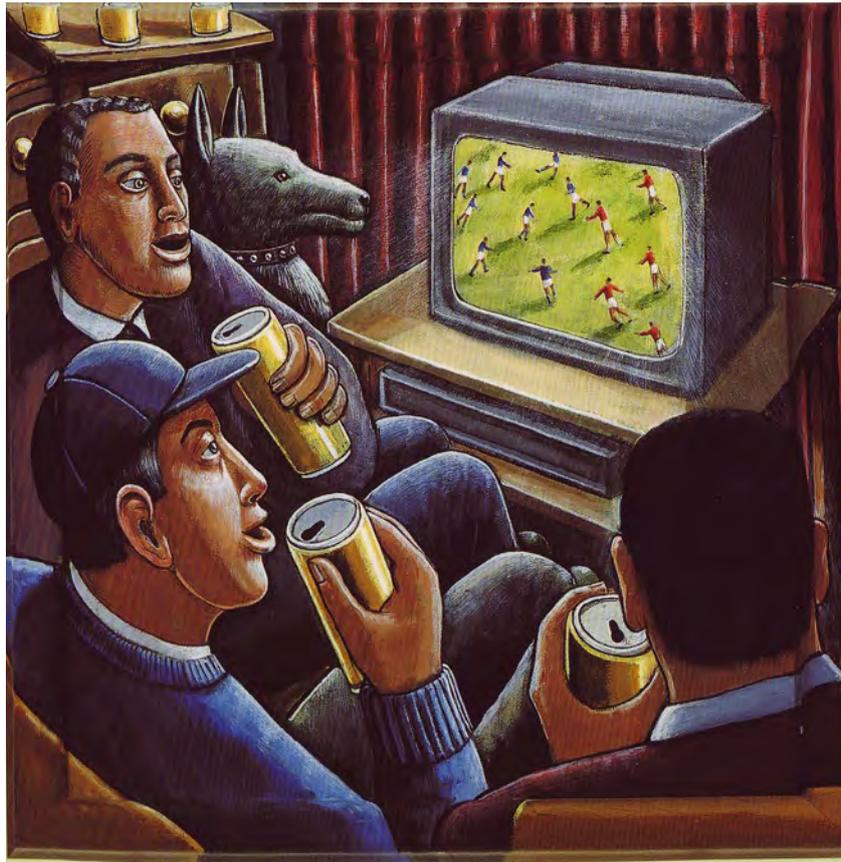


Plate 125 – Armchair Supporters, 2004

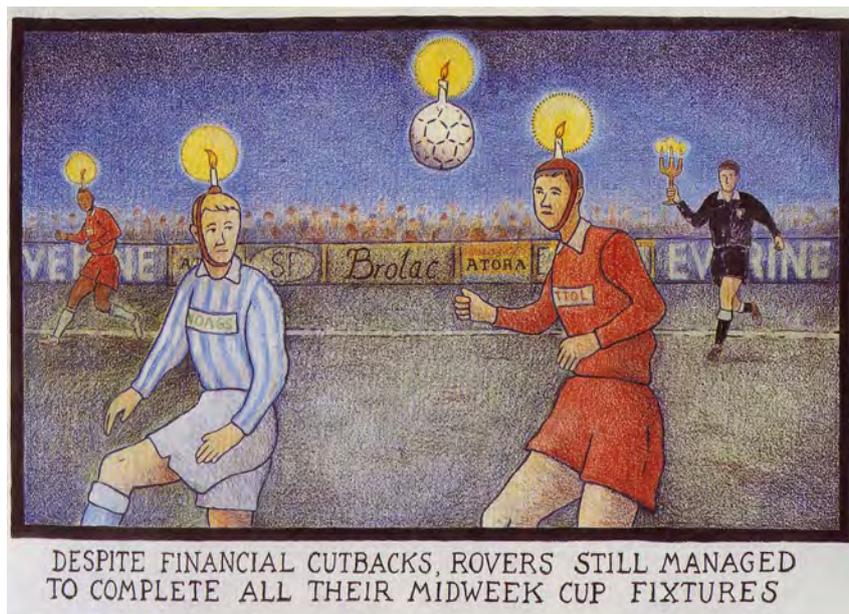


Plate 126 - Despite Financial Cutbacks, Rovers Still Managed to Complete All Their Midweek Fixtures, 2002



Plate 127 – Standard Chartered, 2009



Plate 128 – Standard Chartered, 2009



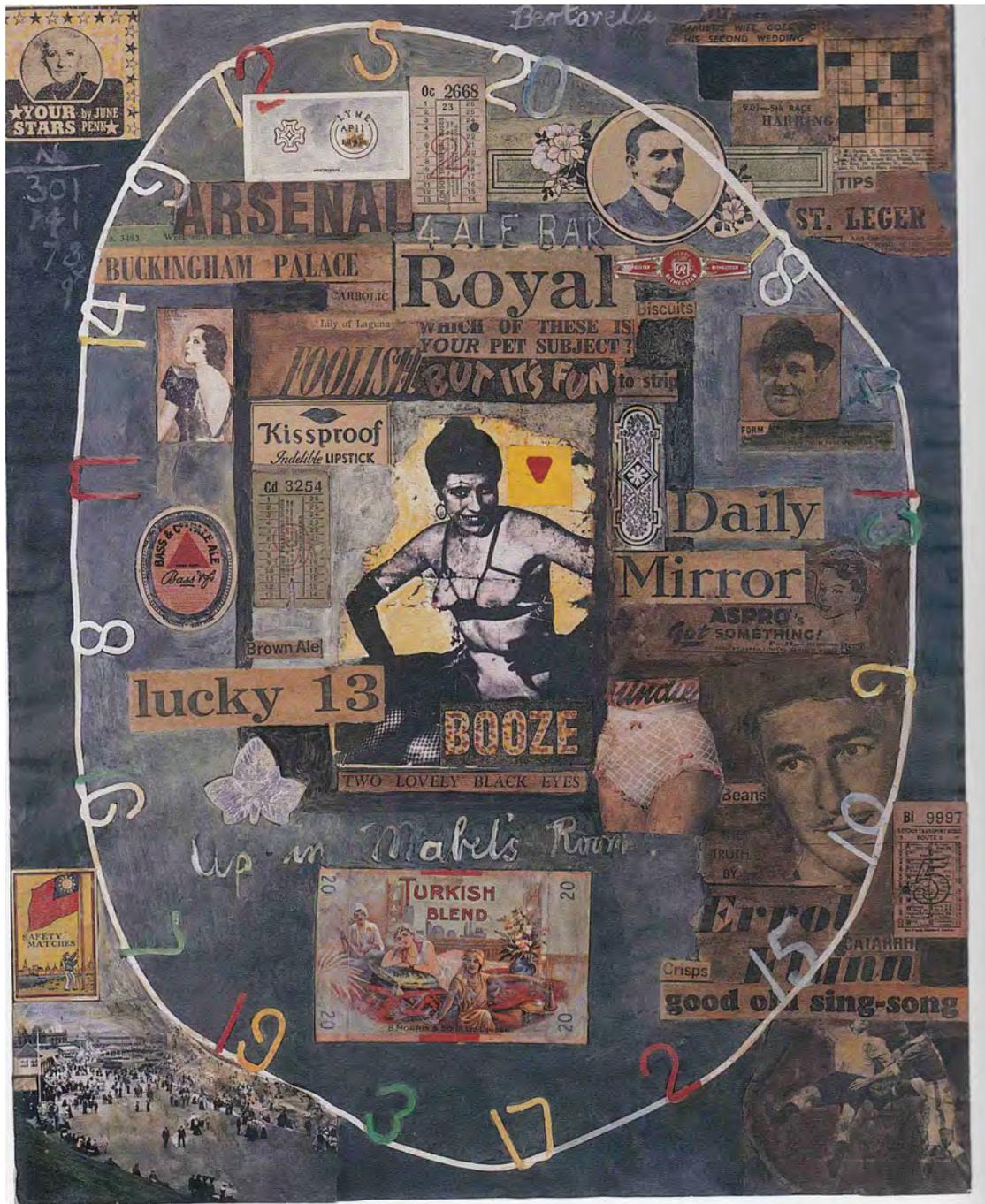
Plate 129 – Standard Chartered, 2009



Plate 130 – Standard Chartered, 2009



Plate 131 – Standard Chartered, 2009



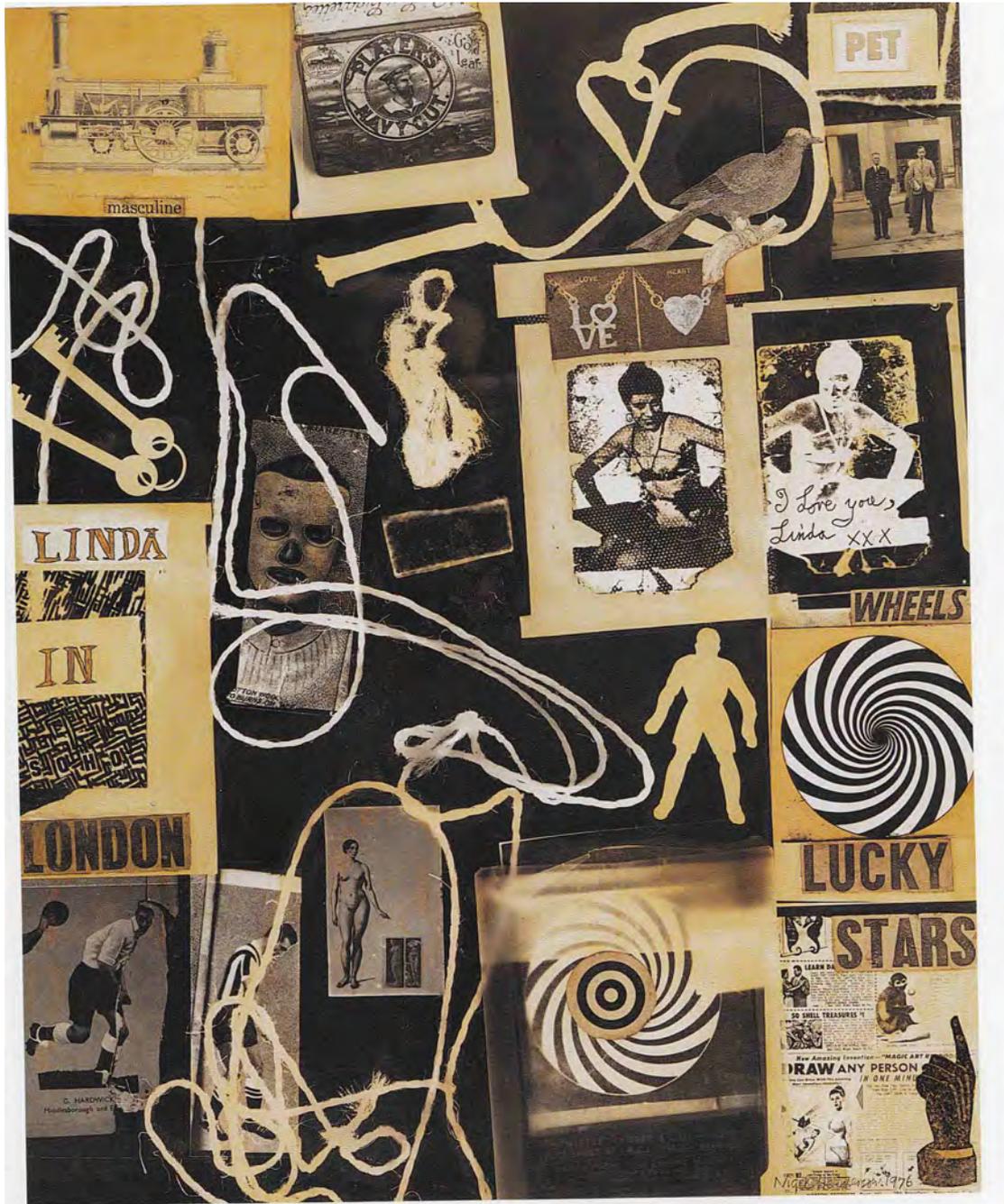
From the *Lovely Linda* series, c. 1977. 19¼ x 15¼ in. (50.2 x 40.0 cm). Collection Barry Flanagan.

Plate 132 – Untitled Collage, 1976



Untitled, c. 1970s. Collage, 25 x 20 1/2 in (63.5 x 51 cm). Photo: Martin Harrison.

Plate 133 – Untitled Collage, 1970



Untitled, c. 1970s. Collage and photograms on board, 20 3/4 x 16 1/2 in. (53 x 42 cm).
Photo: Martin Harrison.

Plate 134 – Untitled Collage, 1976



Plate 135 – The Wedding Present, 2010



Plate 136 – King Kenny, 2010



Plate 137 – Jinky, 2010



Plate 138 – The Football Match, 1970



Plate 139 – The Football Match, c1960



Plate 140 – George Best, 1971



Plate 141 – Chris Stevens, 1984



Plate 142 – Ignorance is Strength, 1984

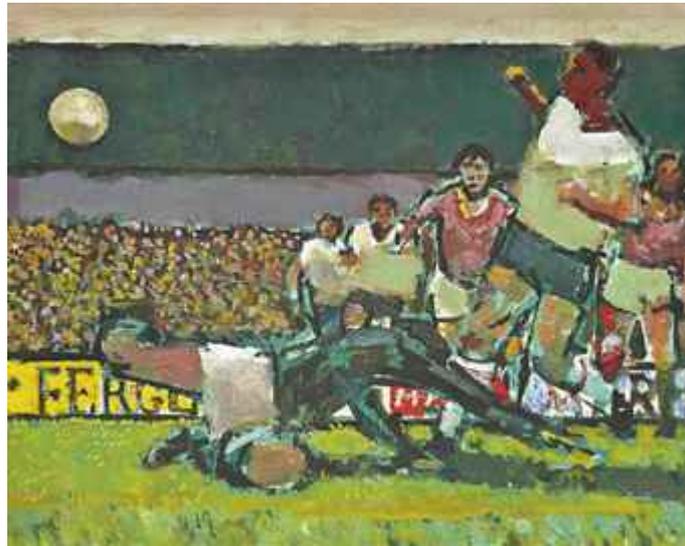


Plate 143 – Football, 1980

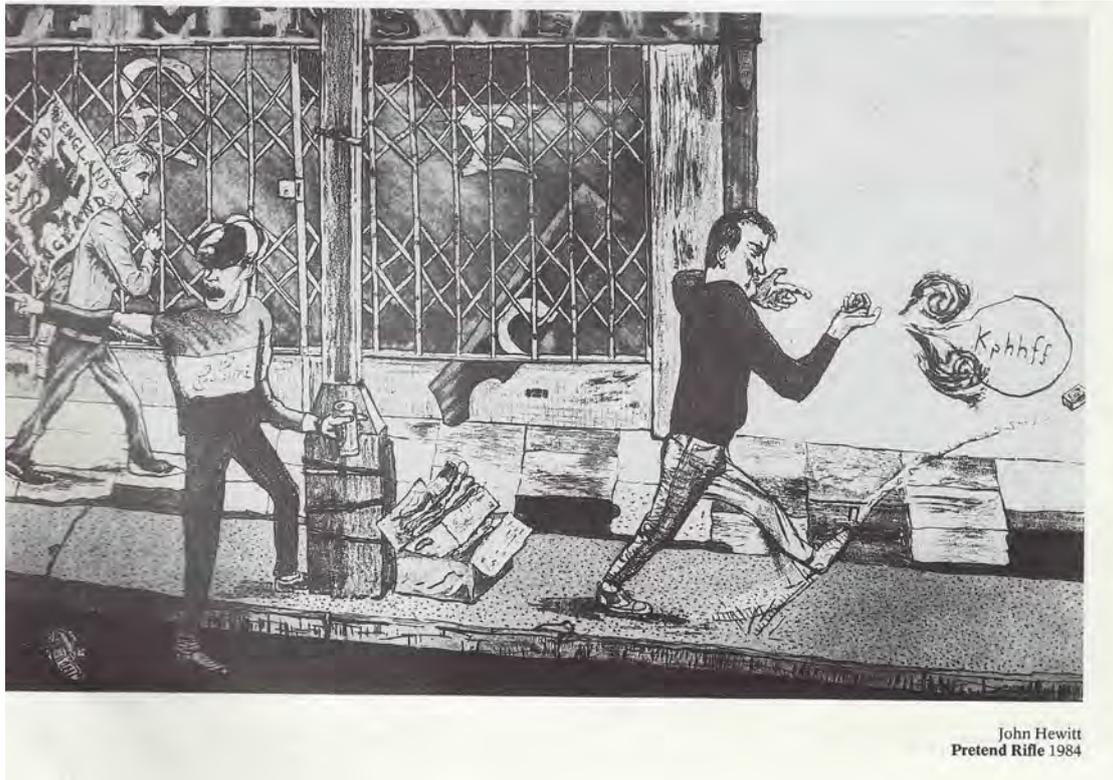


Plate 144 - Pretend Rifle, 1984



Plate 145 - Hillsborough, 1989



Plate 146 – Flowers for Liverpool, 1989



Plate 147 – Just Another Bloody Sunday, 1987



Plate 148 - Work in Progress, 1996

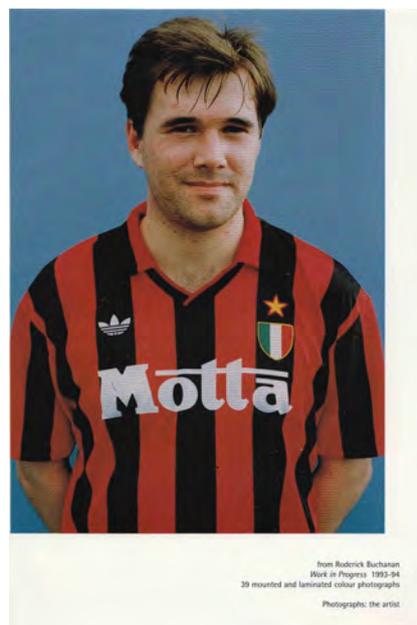


Plate 149 - Work in Progress, 1996



Plate 150 - The Best of British, 1996



From Nick Waplington
Best of British 1996
c-type colour photograph

Photograph:the artist

Plate 151 - The Best of British, 1996

The Guardian | Thursday September 6 2007

Football England v Israel

Rough diamond Richards retains dash of venom

Manchester City youngster wants a central role in England's long-term future, writes Kevin McCarra

Micah Richards was among the 100,000 people at the West Indian Carnival in Leeds a fortnight ago, but he can never again be just another face in the crowd. Having made his debut for England in the friendly with Holland last November, it is already taken for granted that the 19-year-old should be in the side to face Israel in Saturday's Euro 2008 qualifier.

Gary Neville, injured for five months, will eventually seek to dislodge the whippersnapper, but Richards is in no mood to bow to seniority. "Obviously Gary is a legend," said the Manchester City player, "but, as I see it, if you're playing well enough you should keep your place. I feel I've done well enough to stay in, but it's up to the manager to decide."

A youngster with diamond studs in his ears cannot be wholly unassuming and

Richards is forceful in a matter-of-fact manner. His club manager has always responded to that. From the shrewd establishment of a callow Roberto Baggio in the Fiorentina first team to the harebrained inclusion of Theo Walcott in England's World Cup squad, Sven-Goran Eriksson is alert to the power of a newcomer.

Stuart Pearce, the Swede's predecessor, may have given Richards his City debut but the current manager hastened to add to his responsibilities. Within a week of the first pre-season friendly, Eriksson had switched him to centre-half and even made him captain for the game with Carlstad United in Sweden. Richards had to hand back the armband but not his role in the middle of City's back four.

The player's reading of the game is still rudimentary but his speed usually allows him to recover. In the same way, the disadvantage of standing a shade under six foot is compensated for by his power. "For now," he said, "I see myself as a right-back, but hopefully my long-term England future is at centre-half."

That is quite an ambition, considering how well served England are in that area,

where Middlesbrough's accomplished Jonathan Woodgate must wait for a recall. Richards, with even more time on his side, still envisages himself in that role. "If you had asked me two years ago if I would be playing for England now, that wouldn't have been realistic," he said. "So you never know what the future holds."

Forcefulness fascinates him. He wore a Patrick Vieira shirt while he was growing up in the Chapelton area of Leeds, and Roy Keane's powers of leadership caught his imagination as well. The challenge for Richards may have been to govern his own aggression.

"I suppose if you go into a tackle with a little bit of venom you seem to get more respect from players," he reflected. "If you do it fair, it's all right. I don't do as much tackling as I did a couple of years ago but I still try to get in there."

As a schoolboy Richards played on the wing at rugby and could run the 100 metres in under 12 seconds. The physical attributes are therefore impeccable, although he will have to prove that he can consistently be as dainty as he was when cutting in from the flank to set up

Frank Lampard's goal against Germany last month.

He relishes the possibility of linking against Israel with another product of City's youth system, Chelsea's Shaun Wright-Phillips. "While I am young and fresh I don't mind playing right-back," he said. "You get more involved with the attacking as well."

He is clear in his thinking. He intends to extend a contract with City that already runs until 2010, even though he had been linked with moves to Champions League clubs such as Chelsea for a £20m fee. "If you play week in and week out you get the best performances out of yourself," the defender explained. "When players go to a big club, in the top four, they seem to get rested 10 games out of 20. For a youngster

'If you're playing well enough you should keep your place. I feel I've done enough to stay in'

like me it's better for me to play week in and week out. I always have my dad by my side, and he said, 'I think you're better staying where you are to go forward with your England career.'

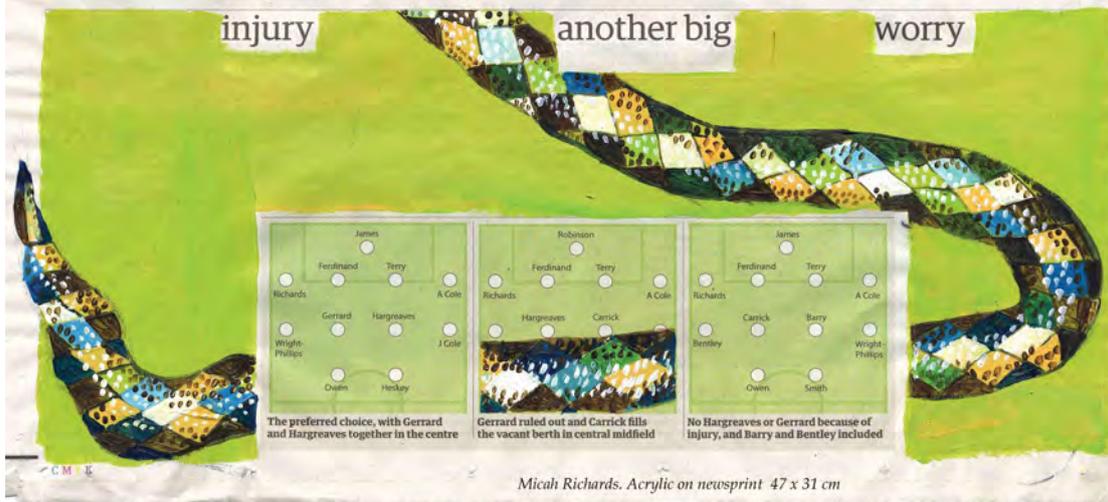
In any case he envisages City, with Thaksin Shinawatra's money at work, eventually joining the elite clubs. It is a relief to find that Richards' young life is not all calculation. He shares a flat with his brother, his boyhood friends still come to watch him play and he is influenced by his father, Lincoln, who is working at a soccer school in Ethiopia at the moment.

"He is just trying to give kids a chance," said Richards. "I hope to get involved within the next couple of years. Sometimes you only get one chance in life and if you can help others while you can you might as well. Obviously I come from a rough area, Chapelton, and a load of people down there didn't have things. My dad felt if you can help people out it's a good idea."

Perhaps Richards' career will be kept in balance by the understanding that there is life beyond the money-drenched football of the Premier League.

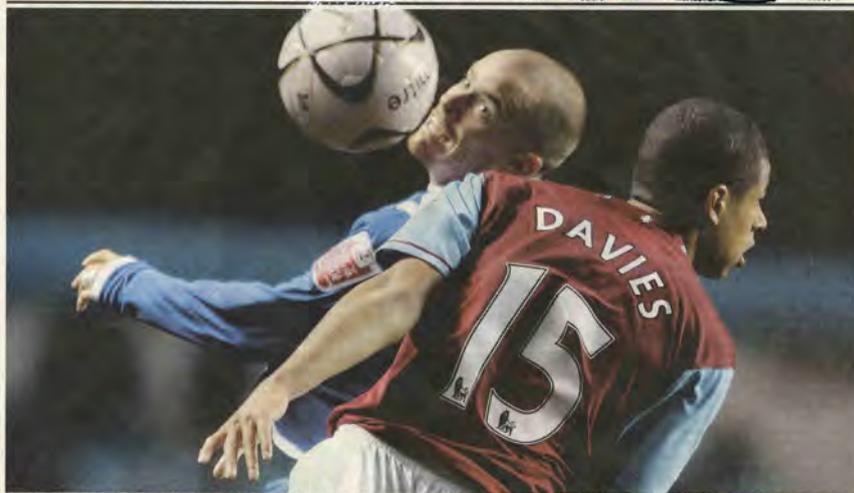


Micah Richards in full voice at London Colney while paying close attention to Stewart Downing as England's prepare for Saturday's Euro 2008 qualifier against Israel at Wembley Tom Jenkins



Micah Richards. Acrylic on newsprint 47 x 31 cm

Plate 152 - Rough Diamond Richards Retains a Dash of Venom, 2007



Curtis Davies takes his eyes off the ball in a challenge with Leicester's Iain Hume during the Foxes' 1-0 win at Villa Park in the Carling Cup. Ross Kinnaird/Getty Images

Ferguson fears £17m recruit is a year off pace

Daniel Taylor

Anderson, Manchester United's £17m summer recruit, may come with a big reputation and an even bigger price tag, but the Brazilian is facing a prolonged spell in the reserves after an unflattering start to life with his new club.

Sir Alex Ferguson had angry words with the entire team after Wednesday's Carling Cup defeat at home to Coventry City, but he was particularly aggrieved about Anderson's ineffectual display and is concerned at how the new arrival is struggling to make a favourable impression.

Ferguson made it clear from the outset that he did not expect the 19-year-old to acclimatise straight away to life in a new country and that he was signed, in effect, with the long-term intention of him taking over from Paul Scholes, who will be 33 in November. None the less, Ferguson is entitled to be dismayed that his expensive recruit has been unable to make a positive impact in his first four months at Old Trafford.

Anderson suffered the ignominy of being substituted at half-time in his only Premier League appearance, the 1-0 victory over Sunderland on September 1, but Ferguson expected the attacking midfielder to play an important role in the experimental and youthful side he chose against Coventry. Instead, Anderson was one of the weaker players, often off the pace and, most disappointingly for his manager, showing little desire.

Ferguson admitted being "flabbergasted" and "shocked" by the performance of his players after Coventry won 2-0. Even stronger words were used in the dressing room and Anderson was not spared from the harshest criticism.

While not singling out Anderson, United's captain for the night, John O'Shea, clearly had the Brazilian in mind when he said: "The lads know they should have done better. For some reason, the technique and ability we know these young players have just wasn't there, which was a big disappointment."

In mitigation, Anderson has not been helped by a pre-season hamstring injury, but it has been made clear to Ferguson that the teenager may need a longer bed-in period than had initially been anticipated. Ferguson has told his colleagues it may be a year before the player, a full Brazil international, is ready to seriously challenge for a first-team place, an astonishing admission given the amount of money it took to sign him from Porto.

Anderson is having English lessons to help him adapt to life in Manchester but he did himself no favours with Ferguson when, along with Nani and Cristiano Ronaldo, he allegedly employed the services of an escort agency and became the victim of a kiss-and-tell story in the tabloids. All three players have been reprimanded and reminded of their responsibility to avoid bad publicity.

Anderson is challenged by Coventry's Michael Mifsud during a poor game for Manchester United on Wednesday.

I don't deserve a game in a pub team admits Villa's £10m debutant Davies

In an era dominated by egos Villa's centre-back at least shows a refreshing honesty, writes Stuart James

Footballers, and particularly those that come with a £10m price tag, tend to absolve themselves from blame when things go wrong but Curtis Davies, in a brutally honest critique, has spectacularly bucked the trend.

The 22-year-old defender has described his Aston Villa debut during the 1-0 Carling Cup defeat against the visiting Leicester City on Wednesday night as "awful". "I did everything wrong," he admitted, describing the standard of his play as not worthy of "a pub game".

With Davies breaking a metatarsal in March and then being unable to dislodge Villa's central defensive duo of Zat Knight and Martin Laursen since arriving from West Bromwich Albion at the end of August, the third-round tie against Leicester was Davies's first competitive match in six months. Not that the former England Under-21 international, whose permanent transfer will be confirmed next summer, was prepared to use his time on the sidelines as an excuse for an uncomfortable first appearance.

"You are only as good as your last game - and my last game was that which doesn't merit a pub game for me. I was that poor," said Davies, who was substituted shortly after Matty Fryatt pilfered a late winner to embarrass the Premier League side. "If you get a chance like me and

blow it like I did, you can't go complaining when you don't get your chance. I'm going to have to go back into training and hopefully I will get the nod sooner rather than later and I can reveal the real Curtis Davies and not the evil twin that played against Leicester.

"I set my standards high and, for me, that was a poor performance. If I wasn't so poor, I wouldn't have been taken off. It is the first time I've been substituted in my life for playing reasons. I've just got to pick myself up and improve. I set my standards high. I've been talking myself up in the press, saying that I'm ready, and,



'Martin Laursen is going to play against Spurs and I'll be lucky to get on the bench'

Curtis Davies

by that performance against Leicester, I'm far from it. I'm hoping it is a one-off because I don't have many games like that. I want to prove to the Villa fans, if given the chance, that I am a good player."

Davies's candid remarks - and there were plenty more - were as refreshing as they were revealing. In an era when too many Premier League players have egos to match their swollen bank accounts there is little room for honest analysis and certainly not under the media spotlight.

Indeed, few players would have stopped to speak after such a chastening experience. Davies, though, has always been a straight-talker, his maturity recognised by Bryan Robson when he was appointed Albion's captain at the age of 20. Less obvious to Villa fans, however, will be the player's ability following his error-ridden outing at Villa Park.

There were a number of other standard individual performances in the home side on a night when Villa toiled against a struggling Championship team. But first impressions count and if Wednesday was the equivalent of a blind date, Davies would be wasting his time waiting for the phone to ring.

Fortunately for him, Martin O'Neill knows he is a much more accomplished central defender than he demonstrated against Leicester, even if the Villa manager has an easy decision to make at White Hart Lane on Monday night.

"On this performance, I haven't given the manager any headaches," continued Davies. "Martin Laursen is going to play against Tottenham and I'll be lucky to get on the bench. I've gone out there and done absolutely nothing for my chances.

Mea culpa

❖ I was really disappointed with how I played over the 90 minutes. To be honest, I was absolutely rubbish. José Reina after his shoot-out saves won the FA Cup for Liverpool in 2006

❖ Nobody needs to tell me how foolishly I behaved at Newcastle. There is no defence. There are no excuses. I rather hoped the penny would have dropped by now, but it seems that is not yet the case. I try to maintain control but the red mist sometimes descends. Roy Keane after being sent off against Newcastle United in 2001

❖ I was terrible, just awful. The way I played today was probably the worst a quarterback has played in the history of the NFL. I couldn't do anything right. I let everyone down. Everyone. Ray Lucas on his debut for the NFL's Miami Dolphins in 2002

It is not the result I wanted and not the performance I wanted. I was awful, basically. No excuses at all.

"I've been training well, I feel fit, I've played well in the reserves - I know the reserves is different to the first team but I felt good. I just wasn't any good [on Wednesday]. Everything I did was wrong. It just didn't happen for me and I don't know why. At the end of the day I've got to impress these Villa fans better than I did against Leicester."

He might already have done so with his comments.



Plate 153 - I don't deserve a game in a pub team admits Villa's £10m debutant, 2007



Plate 154 – England my England, 2006

STATE OF PLAY



Photo: Ravi Deepres

A series of curated exhibitions about football and what it means to different people and different cultures.

Plate 155 – Patriots, 2010



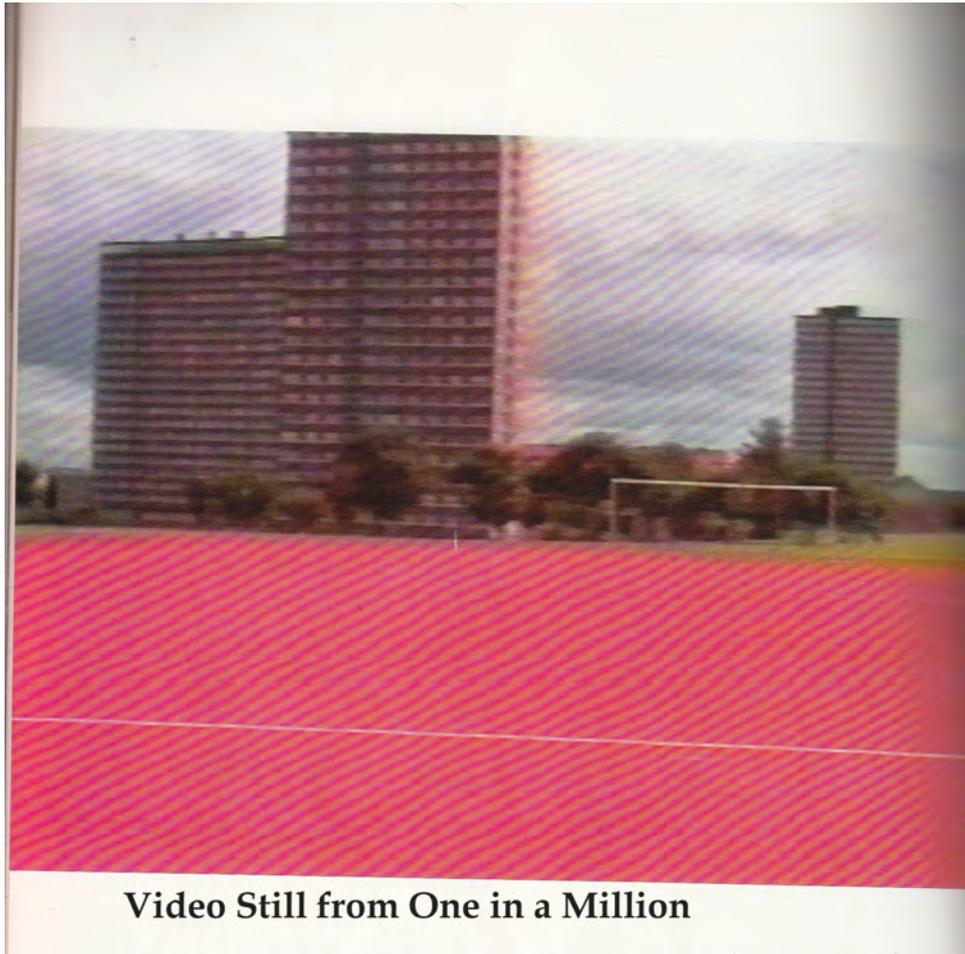
Plate 156 - Patriotism not Jingoism, 2010



Plate 157 - Flag of St George, 2010



Plate 158 - A Sculpture for Football Songs 1998



Video Still from One in a Million

Plate 159 – One in a Million, 1996



Plate 160 – Street Football Goalposts, 2004



Plate 161 - Street Football Goalposts, 2004



Plate 162 - Street Football Goalposts, 2004



Plate 163 - Street Football Goalposts, 2004

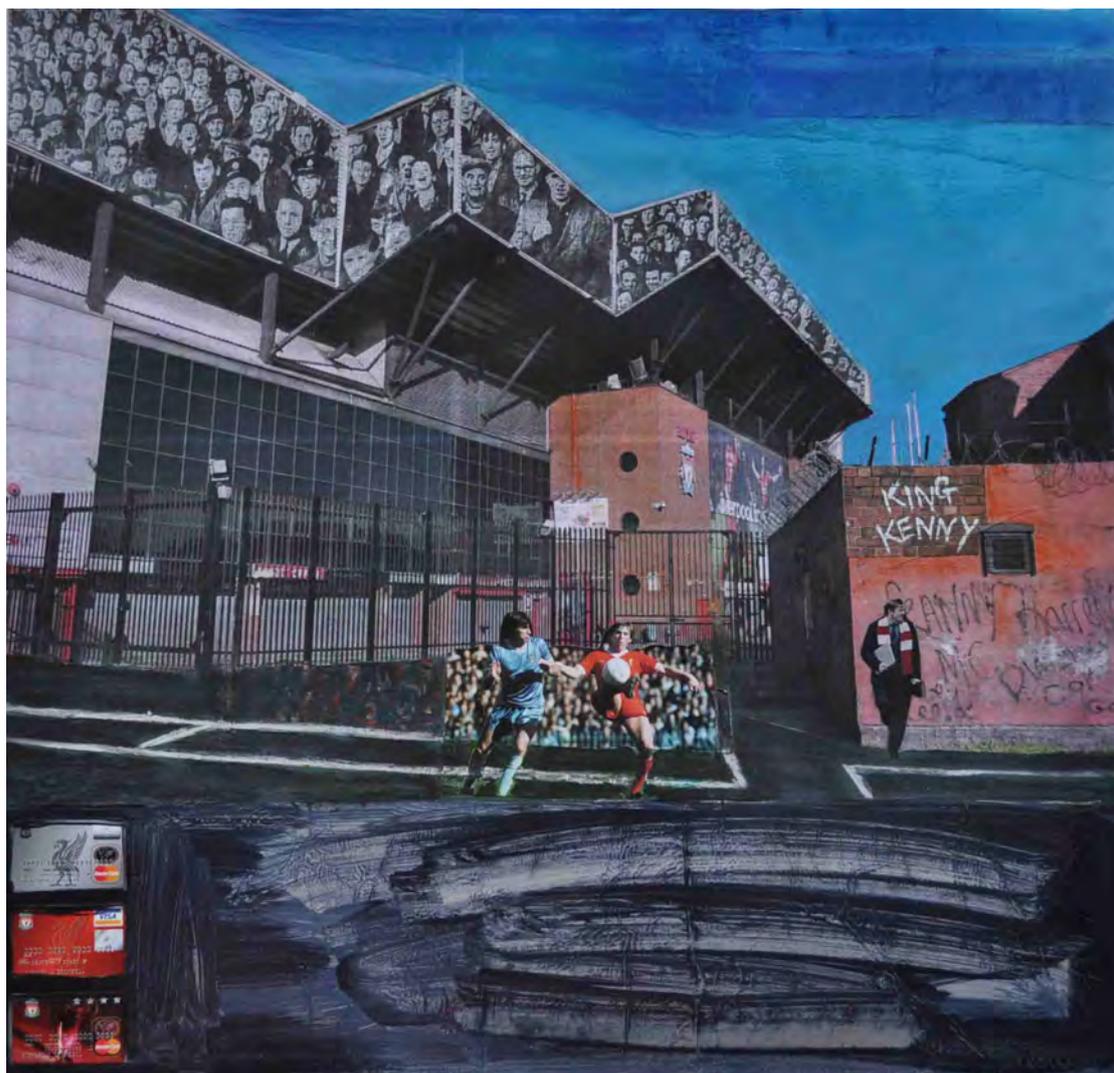


Plate 164 - King Kenny, 2012



Plate 165 – This is Anfield, 2012



Plate 166 – Supporters on Lothair Road, 2012

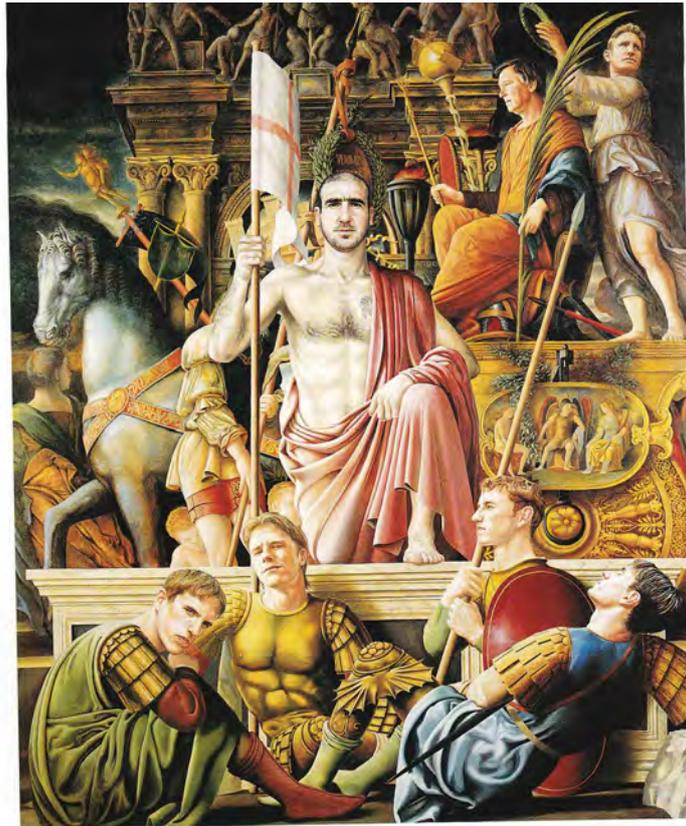


Plate 167 – Transfiguration, 2010



Plate 168 - Les Nouvelles Indentities d'Afrique, 2004



Plate 169 – From Zero to Hero, 2005

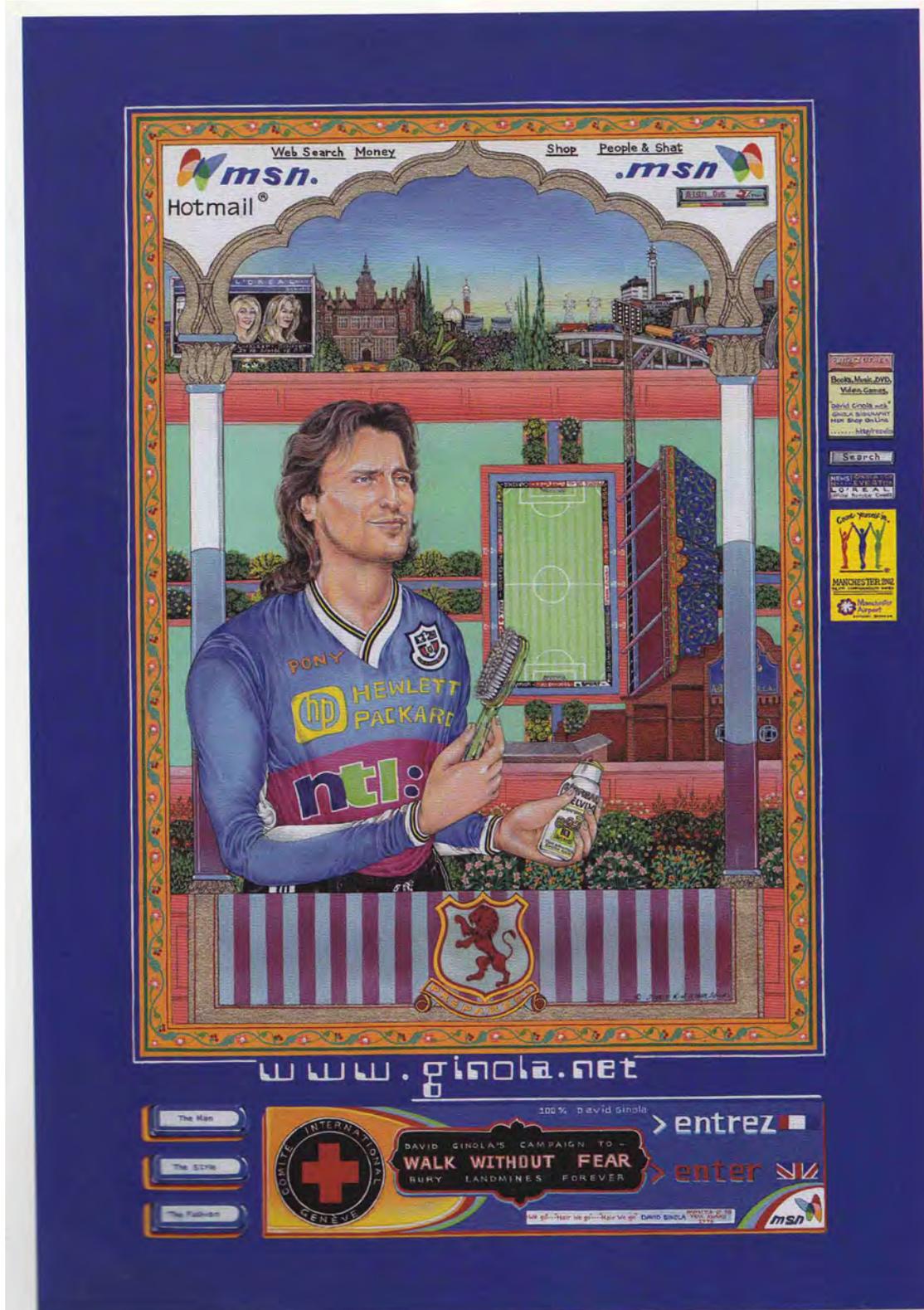
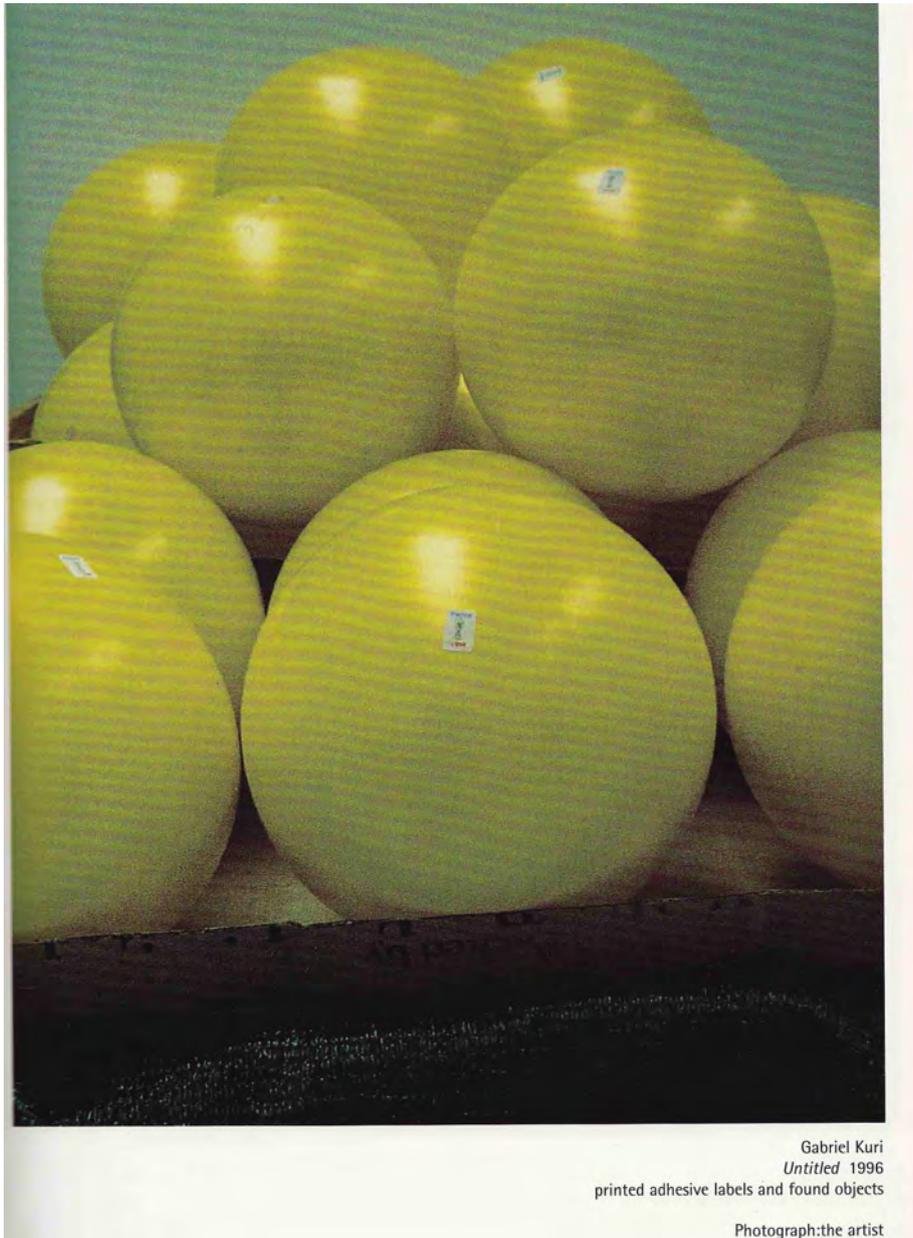


Plate 170 - The Beautiful Game, 2005



Plate 171 - Stud, 1996



Gabriel Kuri
Untitled 1996
printed adhesive labels and found objects

Photograph:the artist

Plate 172 - Untitled, 1996



Plate 173 – Nike Poster, 1996



Plate 174 – Adidas poster, 1996



Plate 175 – Post Match, 2009



Plate 176 – Post Match, 2009

Appendix 3

Football and the Fine Arts Exhibition – List of Artists and Artwork

Football and the Fine Arts Exhibition – List of Artists and Artwork

No	Artist	Title of Work	Address	Town/City
Paintings				
1	Robert Adams	Two Captains	Rosslyn Studio, Pilgrim's Lane	London NW3
2	Adrian Allinson	At the Goalmouth, Chelsea v Stoke City	87a, Clifton Hill	London NW8
3	John Armstrong	A Game in the Park	35, Addison Road,	London W14
4	Eric N. Atkinson	Full Time	24, Harefield Road, Brookley (studio address: Zwemmer's Gallery, 26, Litchfield Street	London SE4 London WC2
5	Michael Ayrton	Arsenal v Aston Villa, 1952	Bradfields, Toppesfield,	Nr Halstead, Essex
6	John Bailey	The Crowd Roars	Hillcrest, The City, Maudesley,	Nr Ormskirk
7	Walter Bayes,	Trajectory of a Football called Tobias	54, Fitzjohns Avenue,	London NW3
8	Stephen Bone	Arromanches, 1942	140, Haverstock Hill,	London NW3
9	Thomas Bromley	Footballers in Snow	10, St Swithins Road	Whitstable, Kent
10	C.W. Bruce	The Valley	30, East Street	Bromley, Kent
11	Paul Bullard	On the Heath	7, Orchard Drive, Blackheath	London SE3
12	Gerald Cains	Saturday Taxpayers	North End House, Mays Lane, Clandown, Nr Radstock, Avon, BA3	Studdington, Fareham, Kent
13	Henry Carr	Here They Come!	1, Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road,	London SW3
14	C. Chamberlain	Chelsea Plays Arsenal	402, Fulham Road,	London SW6
15	Daphne Chart	Clapham Common	15, Rectory Chambers, Old Church Street,	London SW3
16	M.B. Critchlow	Craven Cottage	32, Redcliffe Gardens	London SW10
17	Jack Cross	The Goal	2, Belgrave Mansions, Belgrave Gardens,	London NW8
18/19	Frederick G Cuming	Football Crowd and The Valley	107, Welling Way,	Welling, Kent

20	Alfred Daniels	Fulham FC	130, Holland Road,	London W14
21	Frederick A Deane	Frank Swift	14b, London Road,	Alderly Edge, Cheshire
22	Bernard Dunstan ARA	Arsenal Scores	7, Lambolle Road,	London NW3
23	Leslie Duxbury	The Draw (on Towelling)	44, Pembroke Road	London W8
24	John Elwyn	Sun and Snow	18, St Thomas Street,	Winchester
25	Anthony Eyton	Fog at St James Park	166, Brixton Road	London SW9
26	Paul Feiler	Mousehole v Paul, Cornwall, 1953	21, Canynge Road	Bristol 8
27	Clifford Fishwick	Changing Rooms	49, Marlborough Road,	Exeter
28	R.F. Spencer Ford	Raich Carter	Beverly, Well Meadow Road,	Shrewsbury
29	Eric H. Forrest	By the Corner Flag	36, Chapel Lane	Leeds 6
30	I.D.H. Fothergill	Local Boys	37, Hawthorne Avenue, Carr Lane,	Willerby, E. Yorks
31	Andrew H Freeth	Watford FC Dressing Room	37, Eastbury Road, Northwood	Middlesex
NB Freeth was at St Martin's School Art, Charing Cross at the time				
32	Derek Fowler	Wally Barnes		
33	Terry Frost	Half-time Lemon Suckers	c/o Waddington Gallery, 2 Cork St,	London W1
34	Roy Galley	Eye-witness Report	28 Parsons Green	London SW6
35	Alistair Grant	Who's Wrong this Time?	13, Redcliffe Gardens,	London SW10
36	Dick Hart	Football Players	32b, Queens Grove, St John's Wood	London NW8
37	Geoffrey Hewitt	North Eastern League	2, Wraith Terrace, Horden,	Co Durham
38	James Holland	Captain, Supporter and Mascot	6, Southend Common,	Henley -on-Thames
39	Walter Hoyle	Goal	71, Beckenham Road	Beckenham, Kent
40	Harold Hussey,	The End of the Game	23, The Avenue,	Kew
41	Albert Irvin	Goalkeeper	43, Woodfield Avenue	Streatham, SW16
42	Travis Isherwood	The Stand, Maine Road	31, Oak Road, Crumpsall	Manchester 8
43	Stanley R. Jones	Final Whistle	25 Ladbrooke Square	London W11
44	James E. Kessell	A Corner of Coventry FC	1, Clovelly Road, Wyken,	Coventry
45	Anthony Kinsey	Down at the Valley	12 Kidbrooke Park Road	London SE3
46	Mary Krishna	Chelsea v West Bromwich	31a Thurloe Street,	London SW7
47	Victor John Kuell	Offside Dispute	26, Mons Way,	Bromley, Kent

48	Lynton Lamb	Village Football	Rose Cottage, Sandon	Chemlsford
49	Lawrence J. Leeson	Football Jerseys	22, Ombersley Road Sparbrook	Birmingham, 12
50	L.S. Lowry	Going to the Match	c/o Lefevre Gallery, 30 Bruton St;	London W1
51	Stephen Lucas	Centre-Forward	5, Rederdale Gardens, Adel	Leeds 6
52	Richard McDonald	The Local Game, Gloucester	Flat 5, 40 Elm Park Gardens	London SW10
53	Roy de Maistre	Scherzo	13, Eccleston Street	London SW1
54	P. Nelson	Village Football	No address	
55	L. Norris	The Local Team	6, Beckenham Road, West Wickham	Kent
56	Albert Palmer	Willie Hall	The Little House, Cross Road,	Rotherville, Northfleet.
58	James Palmer	Players on Cinders	The Old Rectory, Lower Hardils	Nr Canterbury
59	Wilfred Payne	Our National Game	26, Wimbledon Road, Sherwood	Nottingham
60	H.E. Du Plessis	Saturday Afternoon on Blackheath Common	14, Mecklenburgh Square,	London WC1
61	James Proudfoot	Football	15, Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road,	London SW3
62	Brian Robb	Football	10, Hampstead Grove	London NW3
63	Will Roberts	The Lesson	10, Bilton Road,	Neath, Glamorgan
64	Claude Rogers	West Bromwich v Chelsea, 1952- 53	Taviton House, 13 Taviton Road	London WC1
65	Michael Salaman	Miners' Game at Sundown	21, Bolton Studios, Gilston Road	London SW10
66	Christopher Sanders	The Pitch Shall Be...	6, Firs Drive, Cranford	Hounslow, Middlesex
67	H. Sayce	Football by Floodlight	122, Palace Road, Tulse Hill	London SW2
68	John Sewell	Q.P.R. Entrance (gouache)	209, Westbourne Grove,	London W11
69	Richard E. Slater	Entering the Stands	109, Lorraine Mansions, Widenhay Road,	Holloway, London, N7
70	G.S. Speechley	The Crowd		
71	L.L. Toynbee	Mid-week Practice at Stamford Bridge	209, Woodstock Road,	Oxford
72	James W Tucker	A Promising Lad	Bond End, Upton,	St Leonard, Glos
73	W. Turner	The Night Before the Cup-Tie	Tudor Cottage, Poundbridge Hill,	Liskeard
74	Fred Uhlam	The Goal	47, Devonshire Hill	London NW3

75	Fred Ulham	Winter Evening	47, Devonshire Hill	London NW3
76	David Brian Weake	Five Minutes Before Full Time	35, Central Avenue,	Bilston, Staffs
77	Gordon H Wesley	Saturday Afternoon	195, Little Ilford Lane, Manor Park	London E12
78	J. Whitlock	Ray Warren	23b, Great George Street	Bristol, 1
79	Kyffin Williams	Highgate Schoolboy	Villa Holland, Villas Road	London W14
80	P.M. Wood	Going to the Match	104, Kensington Church Street	London W8
81	Frederick Joseph Yates	Saturday Afternoon	19, Beacon Road, Ovingdean	Brighton
Drawings and Watercolours				
82	Joseph Acheson	Saturday Afternoon, Farnham Park, Surrey (wc)	Nover House, Resthside Park Road	Woking
83	Eric N. Atkinson	Club Fans (wc)	See above	
84	S.R. Badmin	Here They Come, The Valley (wc)	52, Dacres Road, Forest Hill	London, SE13
85	R.A. Bailey	The Cup Tie (line and wash)	3, Burntwood Close	London SW 18
86	Susan Benson	Spectators at Stamford Bridge (pen drawing)	6, Noel Road	London N1
87	Susan Benson	Stamford Bridge Stadium (two pen drawings)	ditto	Ditto
88	James Boswell	In the Goalmouth (wc)	26, Parliament Hill,	London NW3
89	Frederick Brill	Spectators at Stamford Bridge (wc)	8, Danvers Street	London SW3
90	John McKenzie Clark	A Shy from the Stand (pen and wc)	1, Ashbank Road	Dundee
91	Vanda Cutler	After the Game (wash and chalk)	52 Parliament Hill	London NW3
92	Roy Turner Durrant	Football, a preliminary sketch for an abstract painting (wc)	23a, Walpole Street,	London, SW3
93	T.H.F. Entract	Saturday Afternoon (wc)	No address	

94	Clifford Fishwick	Wasteground	See above	
95	Lilla Fox	Boys Playing Football (drawing)	Not in the address list	
96	Arthur Hackney	Spectators Returning Home after Port Vale v Accrington Stanley (wc)	51a, Downing Street,	Farnham, Surrey
97	William Hartwell	In the Goalmouth (wc)	96, Junction Road,	Norwich
98	Geoffrey Hewitt	Junior Trial Match (wash)	See above	
99	William Hewison	Final Whistle (wc)	45, Earls Court Square	London SW6
100	Edwin Ladell	Chelsea v Arsenal (wc)	100, Walton Street,	London SW3
101	Edwin Ladell	Stamford Bridge (wc)	ditto	Ditto
102	Tom McDonald	Big Game Up North (pastel)	1, Burnbank Terrace	Glasgow
103	N. McStocker	Southampton v Sunderland by Floodlight (ink&wash)	Hazelmere, Hampton Lane,	Blackfield, Southampton
104	W.H. Newton Taylor	Tomorrow's Professionals (wc)	"Smydill", Handy Cross, Marlow Road	High Wycombe, Bucks
105	John Rushton Noble	Redheugh Park, Gateshead (wc)	22, Bywell Road,	Ashington, Northumberland
106	Hilda Chancellor Pope	After the Game (wc)	8, School Cottages, Mayford Green	Woking
107	Ian Ribbons	Red Wins (wc)	85, Clarendon Road	London W11
108	Harold Shelton	Carlisle United v Bradford City (drawing)	25, Warwick Road,	Carlisle
109	Francoise Taylor	Burnden Park (wc)	18, Barrow Bridge Road,	Bolton
110	Norman Webster	Shoot! (drawing)	29, The Oval,	Seacroft, Leeds
Engravings and Lithographs				
111	C.J. Alexander	Not all Glamour (etching)	37, Princes Crescent,	Margate, Kent
112	Kenneth Bale	The Penalty (lithograph)	103, Galloway Road,	London W12
113	Susan Benson	Saving a Goal (etching)	As above	As above
114	B. Bradshaw	Burnden Park, Bolton	Haulgh Hall, Haulgh	Bolton

		(engraving)		
115	Bernard Cheese	The Entry of the Gladiators (lithograph)	Upalong, Bardfield End Green	Thaxted, Essex
116	Geoffrey Clarke	Study of the Ball Striking the Net (engraving)	Stowehill, Hartest	Bury St Edmonds
117	Derek J Eastoe	Small Stand Incident (litho)	26, Sunnydene Avenue, Highams Park	London E4
118	H. Andrew Freeth	Footballers in the Snow (engraving)	See above	See above
119	William Gaunt	Night Football in the East End (lithograph)	Ockham Cottage, Kingsley,	Bordon, Hants
120	Phyllis Ginger	Cliff Holton (Lithograph)	15, Stockwood Vale, Keynsham	Nr Bristol
121	Arthur Goodwin	Saturday Afternoon (etching)	74, Pearson Park,	Hull
122	Alistair Grant	Snow at Stamford Bridge	See above	See above
123	Dennis Jacobs	The Football Match (lithograph)	59, Claremont Road, Forest Gate	London E7
124	K. Lek	Off to the Match (wood engraving)	Long Cottage, Penrhos Road,	Bangor
125	Peter L Peri	The Village Game (litho)	2, Camden Studios, 28b Camden Street,	London NW1
126	Patrick Reid	Torquay Supporters (engraving)	The Studio, 57 East Street	Newton Abbot
127	Sydney Rodgers	The Village Match (wood Engraving)	22, Richmond Crescent, Higham Park	London, E4
128	Julius Rosenbaum	The Tackle (engraving)	53, Primrose Gardens	London NW3
129	Michael Rothenstein	Moment of Victory (engraving and aquaint)	Great Bardfield,	Braintree, Essex
130	Howard Smith	Fleeting Impression of Jesse Pye (litho-mezzo print)	Garden Studio, 42a Tite Street	London SW3
131	Robert Taverner	The Changing Room (litho)	Tussocks, Link Road,	Eastbourne, Sussex
132	C.W. Toovey	Boys Practising (engraving)	Frith Hatch, Chalk Road,	Godalming, Surrey
133	Norman Webster	Football on the Village Green (etching)	See above	See above

134	Clifford Wilkinson	Off the Bar (lithograph)	64, Ellesmere Road, Dollis Hill	London NW10
Sculptures				
135	D.N. Bennett	The Keeper (plaster)	23, Philimore Road,	Saltly, Birmingham
136	H. Blackburn,	A Throw-in (wood)	80, Bradford, Road,	Huddersfield
137	Eva Castle	Clearance (Plaster)	2, Rutland Gate	London SW7
138	Geoffrey Clarke	Footballers (W.I)	See above	See above
139	Jack Daniel	Footballers (bronze)	29, Royal Avenue	London SW3
140	George Fullard	Goalmouth (Plaster)	11, Stanley Studios, Park Walk	London SW
141	George Fullard	Goalkeeper (plaster)	As above	As above
142	James O Hall	Young Player (plaster)	Penn Studio, 13, Rudall Crescent	London NW3
143	C. Kar	Attack (plaster)	40, Warwick Avenue	London W9
144	Ghisha Koenig	Jimmy Seed (bronze)	The Studio, 41, Lynten Avenue	St Mary Cray, Kent
145	F.E. McWilliam	Football (W.I.)	8a, Holland Villas Road,	London W14
146	F.E. McWilliam	Football (W.I.)	As above	As above
147	John W Mills	Spectators (terracotta)	21, Digswell House,	Welwyn, Herts
148	Harry Parr	Presentation Medallion (plaster)	14, Chelsea Farm House, Milmans Street	London SW10
149	Peter L. Peri	The Players (plaster)	See above	See above
150	Eric Peskett	The Goalkeeper (plaster)	The Rookery, Outwood	Nr Redhill, Surrey
151	Stephen Rickard	Goalkeeper (plaster)	61, Manor Park	London NE13
152	Willi Soukop	Goalkeeper (bronze)	26, Grenville Road	London NW6
153	Gilbert Watt	Footballer (plaster)	122, Seymour Road, Harringay	London N8
154	Hamilton Wood	Player in Wire (wire)	27, Victoria Street,	Norwich
155	Miss J. de Vasconcellos	Back Alley Final (bronze)	Courtauld House, Byng Place, Toorington Square	London WC1
156	Roger Young	Spectators (plaster)	9, Leighton Road,	Hove Sussex

Appendix 4

Football and the Fine Arts: List of Prize winners

Prizewinners

Paintings £1,000 in total four winners received £250 each:

- Brian Robb *Football;*
- L.S. Lowry *Going to the Match;*
- L.L. Toynbee *Midweek Practice at Stamford Bridge;*
- Alfred Daniels *Fulham FC.*

Watercolours one winner received £250:

- Susan Benson *Stamford Bridge Stadium*

Engravings and Lithographs five winners received £50 each:

- Arthur Goodwin *Saturday Afternoon;*
- Susan Benson *Saving a Goal;*
- Geoffrey Clarke *Study of the Ball Striking the Net;*
- Michael Rothenstein *Moment of Victory;*
- Robert Taverner *The Changing Room.*

Sculpture two winners received £150, three received £100:

- F.B. McWilliam *Football;*
- Jack Daniel *Footballers*

Both received £150

- Willi Soukop *Goalkeeper;*
- Roger Young *Spectators;*
- Peter L Peri *The Players*

Each received £100

Honourable Mentions

Paintings:

C.W. Bruce	The Valley
Eric H Forrest	By the Corner Flag
F.J. Yates	Saturday Afternoon
Paul Feiler	Mousehole v Paul, Cornwall, 1953
James Palmer	Players on Cinders
Roy Gallery	Eye-witness Report
Anthony Eyrton	Fog at St James Park
M.B. Critchlow	Craven Cottage
Terry Frost	Half-time Lemon Suckers
Anthony Kinsey	Down at the Valley
C. Chamberlain	Chelsea Plays the Arsenal
Peter Foldes	Footballers
H.E. Plessis	Saturday Afternoon on Blackheath Common
Stanley R Jones	Final Whistle

Watercolours and Lithographs:

S.R. Badmin	Here They Come, The Valley
R.T. Durrant	Football
Geoffrey Hewitt	Junior Trail Match

Engravings and Lithographs:

Alistair Grant	Snow at Stamford Bridge
B. Bradshaw	Burnden Park, Bolton

Sculpture:

F.E. McWilliam	Football
----------------	----------

Paintings Sold

Artist	Painting	Buyer
Lilla Fox	Boys Playing Football	Princess Alice
Bernard Cheese	The Entry of the Gladiators (litho)	Football Association
Paul Bullard	On the Heath	Football Association
Joseph M.T. Acheson	Saturday Afternoon, Farnham Park, Surrey	Football Association
P Nelson	Village Football	Football Association
T.H.F. Entract	Saturday Afternoon	Football Association
Norman Webster	Shoot!	Football Association
Alistair Grant	Snow at Stamford Bridge (Litho)	Football Association
H. Blackburn	A Throw-in (Sculpture)	Football Association
L.S. Lowry	Going to the Match	Reid, Lefevre
Edwin Horne	Floodlight Incident	C.W. Mackie
G.S. Speechley	The Crowd	D.M Goodacre, 6, The Village, North End Way, N.W.3
Robert Taverner	The Changing Room	Forest Fulton, 27 Ladbroke Grove,
Arthur Goodwin	Saturday Afternoon	J.L. Weinstein c/o Football Association
Susan Benson	Stamford Bridge (2 drawings)	J.R. St John, 591, Finchley Road
James E. Kessell	A Corner of Coventry City FC	Anonymous
Kyffin Williams	Highgate Schoolboy	?
Edwin Ladell	Stamford Bridge	