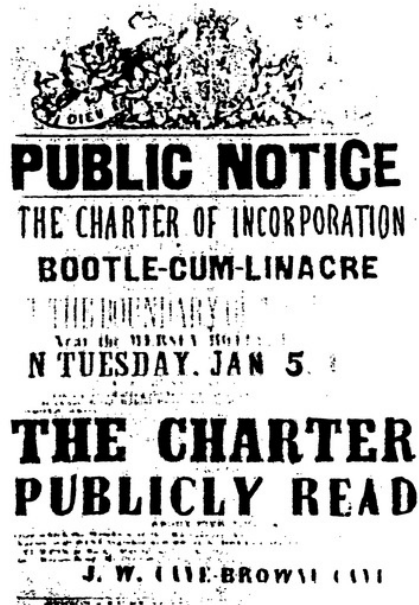


The struggle between Liverpool and Bootle certainly had important economic causes, but the account presented above has argued that the construction and propagation of images was crucial in mobilising support and shaping opinion both within the 'Greater Liverpool' area and with regard to the institutions of central government. The events of 1902 and 1903 clearly indicate the role of images in fostering an awareness of belonging to a community. The Bootle Corporation had succeeded in pointing to the 1868 Charter (see *figure 4*) as the rallying point for the borough's separate identity because it stood above the conflicts of party and class. It is significant that in 1907, Liverpool held a week long pageant to celebrate the 700th Anniversary of its Charter in an explicit effort to stimulate civic awareness and a sense of identification with the city.

Commercial concerns were not accepted by all as the supreme purpose and the point of origin of a community. Liverpool's proposal to incorporate Bootle had failed because the Select Committee had recognised and deferred to the image of the borough as a traditional element of the English Commonwealth. In contrast, Liverpool had been shown to be a fragmented city, which was still coming to terms with its previous expansions and which needed to progress from being an agglomeration of districts to be bound together as a united city. The northern extension posed questions as to the nature and function of the Liverpool community. Those who lived in the city, worked in it and governed it were encouraged to reassess their images of Liverpool and the ways in which they identified with them.



#### THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

With the opening of the Canada dock in 1859 and the expansion of the docks in Bootle, it was feared that Liverpool would widen its boundaries and incorporate Bootle.

A Charter of Incorporation for the Borough of Bootle was granted by Queen Victoria following a rates levy.

The postcard illustrates the poster giving public notice that the Charter would be presented at the boundary of the Borough, near the Mersey Hotel,

Derby Road on Tuesday,

5th January, 1869 and then carried in procession through the streets of Bootle for a public reading at

St. Mary's school at 5.00 p.m.

*Figure 4-* Peter Woolley, author of Bootle in Picture Postcards, has dated this card to between 1900 and 1910- just when the Borough was encouraging the cult of the Charter.

## **Chapter Nine- The University of Liverpool**

In 1878, a Town's Meeting was held at Liverpool Town Hall to discuss the formation of a university college in the city<sup>1</sup>. The gathering was

*the outcome of a feeling which had been gradually gaining ground that Liverpool ought not to be left behind in a movement of such importance as the one in progress in Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Nottingham and Bristol for establishing colleges for the higher education of the youth of those towns after leaving school.*<sup>2</sup>

From its inception, the scheme for a college was envisioned in terms of civic rivalry. Liverpool's University College would add to the reputation of the city and demonstrate that commercial success was not attended by a lack of interest in learning and culture. Yet the arrangement which saw University College take its place in the federated Victoria University, alongside similar institutions from Manchester and Leeds, was to prove ill-suited to the expression of civic patriotism. Liverpool's rivalry with Manchester contributed to the rift which resulted in the dissolution of Victoria University in 1902.

In his account of the early years of the universities of Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool, David Jones argued that these institutions were 'a method of expressing local pride and of elevating the tone of local society.'<sup>3</sup> Although this chapter concurs with Jones in citing civic pride as a central motivation behind Liverpool University, it suggests that he has overstated the extent to which the 'colleges were perceived as both expressions and agencies of a

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is intended to examine the connections between civic image, civic patriotism and the University of Liverpool and not as an exhaustive narrative of the origins of that institution. For such an account see T.Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, Liverpool, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> Liverpool University College Public Meeting, 21 July 1880, bound copy of verbatim report held in the Special Collections, Liverpool University, p.5.

<sup>3</sup> D.R. Jones, The Origins of Civic Universities, London, 1988, p.167.

provincial culture striving for self-assertion.<sup>4</sup> Jones set Liverpool University in a 'long cultural tradition of the "Liverpool Renaissance"' and advanced it as

*perhaps the most perfect example of a phenomenon of basic importance to the foundation and support of every college. The stratum of society in a provincial city which was concerned with cultural and intellectual affairs and the repute of their city in these matters formed a close-knit group which could be mobilized to support such a prestigious and useful endeavour as a college...*

*The merchants, manufacturers, and professional men of Manchester, Liverpool or Leeds were united by financial, religious and other interests...they also created an intellectual and artistic culture of which the civic colleges were an important, perhaps a culminating part...they asserted their independence and cultivation by creating the institutions and ethos of a new civic culture: intellectual societies, museums, orchestras and art galleries.<sup>5</sup>*

The output of the 'Liverpool Renaissance' was limited to the writings of William Roscoe and the poems of Felicia Hemans and hardly constituted a cultural ferment. Liverpool's native artists, according to H.C. Marillier, had been largely ignored by the city's elite.<sup>6</sup> The museum and art gallery had not been paid for from the public purse or by subscription, but had been gifts from Sir William Brown and Sir Andrew Walker respectively. Liverpool, unlike Manchester, could boast no orchestra of the first rank. Aesthetes, such as Philip Rathbone (who was alarmed that Liverpool was neglecting its cultural responsibilities), were subjected to suspicion and ridicule.

It may be countered that, in such unfavourable circumstances, the project of a university college could never have succeeded. It is argued below that the scheme was able to win civic support because of the development of visions of the University which stated the city's commercial glory and because of civic rivalry. The constitution and mission of the University were closely tailored to the dominant civic image of Liverpoolian commerce. There were those who saw the University as a step towards a 'New Athens', or who pointed to the cultural riches which it would bring to the city. However, these hopes stand as further evidence of a

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p.3.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, pp.112 and 113.

<sup>6</sup> H.C. Marillier, *The Liverpool School of Painters*, London, 1904.

cultural malaise: academics came to deliver Liverpool from philistinism rather than to experience a city teeming with cultural energy.

The Professor of Modern History, Ramsay Muir, wrote in his History of Liverpool (1907) that

*the pioneers of the movement...found themselves faced by many obstacles. When they tried to arouse interest among the great merchants of the town, they found, as one of them has testified, that most of them were interested only in two things- money-making and good living; while others forming their ideas of a university upon the lawns and ancient buildings of Oxford, laughed at the idea of turning a trading town into the seat of a university.*<sup>7</sup>

At a second public meeting, held in 1880, commercial logic and civic rivalry were watch-words. The Mayor, Bernard Hall, maintained that 'it would ill become the position and repute of our own city if she continued to send forth her sons to fight the battle of life less efficiently equipped than those of Manchester or Bristol.'<sup>8</sup> In a letter promising £10,000 to endow a Chair of Classical Literature and History, Alexander Brown and William Crosfield<sup>9</sup> professed to have been swayed by

*the feeling that if Liverpool is to keep her place among the great towns of the country it is necessary to improve the educational advantages it possesses...the advantages of a collegiate education are becoming more and more recognised, and nowhere do these advantages tell with more force than in a commercial community. We do not share the view expressed by many that science and literature are antagonistic to commerce; on the contrary where they exist side by side they mutually assist each other.*<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> R. Muir, A History of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1907, p.333.

<sup>8</sup> ibid., p.5.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Brown was a banker and Liberal M.P. whose grandfather, Sir William Brown, was the donor of Liverpool City Library. William Crosfield's family firm was based in Liverpool. He promoted Mansfield College, Oxford as well as University College, Liverpool. P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism: A social and political history of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1981, pp.481 and 486.

<sup>10</sup> Liverpool University College Public Meeting, p.5.

William Rathbone and two of his brothers also advanced £10,000 to endow a Chair. The Rathbones suggested that the College might enrich the social lives of Liverpool's elite, because

*it would draw men of distinguished learning in various branches of knowledge to Liverpool and thus establish a centre of society in our midst which would guard against the danger of being too...absorbed in that attention to the acquisition of material prosperity which necessarily has such a prominent place in a mercantile community.*<sup>11</sup>

The College would enhance the city's image by dispelling the charge of materialism which might attend commercial success. William Roscoe's work with the Royal Institute and the Athenaeum earlier in the century presented an opportunity to connect the venture with the name of the city's most lauded citizen. Sir James Picton was swift to set the project in the Roscoean tradition and effused 'all honour therefore to that illustrious name'.<sup>12</sup>

The proposed college was not the only institution attempting to harness civic pride for financial support. The establishment of the See of Liverpool in 1880 was also making demands of philanthropists in the city, but Samuel Smith was adamant that this should not excuse Liverpoolians from donations to the College. He reminded the audience that Manchester had successfully endowed both a bishopric and a college and admitted 'I think it is a matter much to their honour, and will be so regarded in time to come, that these two great objects have been accomplished pretty nearly simultaneously.'<sup>13</sup>

Smith, Crosfield, Picton and the Rathbones were not Anglicans and B. Guinness Orchard subsequently pointed out the important Unitarian contribution in the genesis of the University. Reverend Charles Beard and William Rathbone were leading figures at the

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<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, p.44.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p.38.

Unitarian chapel in Renshaw Street. Both had experience of the German university system from their travels in Europe.

*The establishment of University College is the work of no one man or one sect, yet a singularly large proportion of the honour belongs to a group of gentlemen connected with Renshaw Street Chapel...These [Rathbone and Beard] were the two most potent among several originators of a movement which bore magnificent fruit, the more notable because, although many gentlemen not in their orbit had similar views and aims, it happened that just then no Churchman or Presbyterian felt equally willing to make such vigorous efforts as they contemplated, and their success was the greater because there existed among Churchmen and Conservatives, as a body who were predominant, politically and socially, strong and natural repugnance to accept such leaders, even in an enterprise approved by all. Nevertheless, there were some Churchmen, prominent among them Messrs. Christopher Bushell and Edward Lawrence, with whom this sentiment did not prevail.<sup>14</sup>*

There was a danger that the endowment of the bishopric and the foundation of the University might polarise civic philanthropic effort on religious grounds. Ramsay Muir thought that 'some who might otherwise have thrown themselves into the movement, were diverted from it by the synchronous movement for the establishment of the bishopric.'<sup>15</sup> William Forwood, the organiser of the bishopric project, persuaded William Rathbone not to press the college scheme while fund raising for the see was in hand.<sup>16</sup>

Notwithstanding, it would be wrong to conclude that the University was a Nonconformist venture. Canon Lightfoot, a native of Liverpool who was later to become bishop of Durham, delivered an address in 1879 which provided an inspiring image of the institution's future at a time when funds were slow to gather. He 'pictured with all the enthusiasm of an antiquarian, the varied life and stir of college life in the olden days, when merchant princes appreciated and supported learning.'<sup>17</sup> The speech made such an impact because it portrayed a university

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<sup>14</sup> B. Guinness Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, Birkenhead, 1893, pp.103- 105.

<sup>15</sup> Muir, History of Liverpool, p.333.

<sup>16</sup> P.S. Morrish, 'The Creation of the Anglican Diocese of Liverpool' in Northern History Vol. XXXII (1996), p.184.

<sup>17</sup> Orchard, Liverpool's Legion of Honour, p.107.

as part of a civic mission which centred on commercial glory. The patronage of learning had long been a demonstration of commercial pre-eminence and a proof of civic virtue. In Lightfoot's vision, the importance of the university lay not merely in educational achievements, but in the way it reflected commercial grandeur and offered an outlet for citizenship.

*I was in a great seaport city, bristling with masts. The exact year I cannot remember: but the twentieth century was still young. I stood before a stately pile of buildings, graceful in character and harmonious in proportions... 'This central pile,' said my guide, 'is University College... not a few of the professorships are endowed by the munificence of individual benefactors, whose names they bear. The inhabitants of a sea port, 'he continued, 'are naturally given to liberality. They contract something of the open-handedness which is characteristic of sailors. Our wealthy men here are careful not to amass larger fortunes than they can employ with advantage... All the citizens are proud of University College.*

*Along with their shipping, they regard it as the great glory of the place. Accordingly, when a wealthy merchant, or shipowner, or banker has had an exceptionally prosperous year, almost his first thought is how he may increase the efficiency of this institution.<sup>18</sup>*

Lightfoot's intervention and the Town's Meeting of 1880 gave the scheme a sorely needed fillip; Orchard remarked that the first fund raising attempts had been 'sadly discouraging.' Before the public meeting 'local support amounted only to conditional promises of £10,000- a tenth of what would be needed.'<sup>19</sup> Contrary to the impression given by Jones, widespread financial support did not immediately materialise. Indeed, William Rathbone was keenly aware of the tight constraints within which the college was to operate. He was convinced that

*living stones were more important than dead ones, and that not an unnecessary penny should be spent upon building until a sufficient initial staff of professors and lecturers had been adequately endowed. In this point, they resisted the wish of some of the friends of the College to begin by erecting stately buildings upon a conspicuous and dignified but inconvenient site, and insisted on being content with the modest accommodation afforded by a disused lunatic asylum.<sup>20</sup>*

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<sup>18</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, pp.115 and 116.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p.106.

<sup>20</sup> E. Rathbone, *William Rathbone- A Memoir*, London, 1905, p.337.

It was Rathbone's assertion that 'a College thus arising out of the "conviction of a community" and built up by slow degrees by the efforts and sacrifices of the citizens was a healthier and likely to be in the end a more powerful institution.'<sup>21</sup>

Assistance was forthcoming from the Corporation, too. In September 1881, it undertook to raise the £30,000 cost of the land and buildings for the College. Nevertheless, there was scant evidence of the rarified atmosphere of learning and culture. When both day and evening classes were opened in January 1882, there was 'an arrangement of studies well adapted to the ideas prevalent in a great modern seat of commerce.'<sup>22</sup> University College, Liverpool, together with Owens College in Manchester and the Yorkshire College in Leeds, constituted the federated Victoria University. Walter Raleigh, appointed as the Professor of Literature in 1889, found Liverpool's materialism unleavened. He wrote to his sister lamenting, 'Words could not convey an idea of the people here. Their hearts are fixed, O God, their hearts are fixed on the individual and temporal and accidental and trivial.'<sup>23</sup> In slightly better spirits he told his wife, 'the more hopeless the condition of Liverpool, the more room and work there is for a professor of Literature, even the ignorantest.'<sup>24</sup>

William Rathbone's suggestion that academics would enrich the social lives of the Liverpool elite has already been noted, and Raleigh soon found himself engaged in the visiting round.

*This afternoon a kind patroness lent us a carriage- and we paid nine hollow calls. I went because I have to see the people and I have refused several invitations. A great many of the patrons of the college live in huge houses, miles apart, in a lordly district called Aigburth and calling on foot is no joke, especially as they give no address but the name of a house. But we got a carriage and one swoop cleared them. We now*

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, p.338.

<sup>22</sup> Orchard, *Liverpool's Legion of Honour*, p.109.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Raleigh to Jessie, January 1890 in Lady Raleigh (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, London, 1926, p.142.

<sup>24</sup> Walter Raleigh to L.J., January 12, 1890, *ibid.*

*have a clean bill of health until dining fatalities befall us. The mere formalities and necessities of life oppress me quite disproportionately.*<sup>25</sup>

Other professors also found these duties irksome. Charles Reilly, who held the Chair of Architecture from 1904, confessed that he found an Augustus John sketch of three nude women 'very useful later on for shocking the more Philistine and tiresome of the Liverpool ladies when they called on my wife or came to dinner.'<sup>26</sup>

In choosing academic staff, there was 'a declared preference for youth, thinking that young men would be less wedded to the traditions of the old Universities and more interested in making out a new type, suited to the conditions of the city.' The first five professorships and the post of Principal were filled 'with men none of whom was much above thirty years of age.'<sup>27</sup> Gerald Rendall served as the first Principal. When William Rathbone acted as a referee for his move to Charterhouse School in 1897, he described Rendall as

*an ideal Head of his College...a power for culture, refinement and progress in our City. Heartily backed by his colleagues, the College is saving us from the reproach of being a mere city of moneymakers and has already had an agreeable, powerful and ennobling influence.*<sup>28</sup>

Civic pride and civic patriotism were important in the recruitment and retention of staff. When there was a slight delay in the confirmation of Walter Raleigh's appointment as Professor of Literature, he warned J.M. Mackay, the Professor of History who had first approached him: 'If your Council does not elect me, a lot of good patriotism will be lost, for I

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<sup>25</sup> Walter Raleigh to L.J. (his wife), 18 February 1890, *ibid.*, p.145.

<sup>26</sup> C.H. Reilly, *Scaffolding in the Sky*, London, 1938, p.89.

<sup>27</sup> Rathbone, *William Rathbone*, pp.342 and 343.

<sup>28</sup> William Rathbone's reference for Rendall, December 1897, in *Rathbone Papers*, Special Collections, University of Liverpool.

have transferred a considerable bulk of mine to Liverpool proleptically.<sup>129</sup> Oliver Lodge's prospects were similarly advanced by civic patriotism.

Lodge was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1887 and earned international renown for his investigations of electrical phenomena. He struck up a particularly close friendship with William Rathbone. Thus, Lodge 'in a quiet way wielded immense influence in College affairs.'<sup>130</sup> Lodge flattered Rathbone by inviting his opinion on his research and Rathbone viewed him with awed respect. In 1893, apologising for losing some papers which Lodge had lent to him, Rathbone wrote, 'You are a practised scientific investigator, and I, as St. Paul says, speak as a fool; and it is your own doing, in asking me to read the papers that has brought this my folly upon you.'<sup>131</sup> Rathbone was aware of the fascination which Lodge and his experiments held for him,

*You are a very dangerous fellow. You have established a most dangerous speechless, wireless influence over my intellect and will which threatens to reduce me to one of your ingenious instruments...I have never found any ideas or plans of yours contrary to those which experience and thought convinced me to be best.*<sup>32</sup>

Lodge became the College's brightest academic star and was rewarded accordingly. By 1894, he was the second-highest paid member of staff with a salary of £1045; when he won the prestigious Rumford Medal in 1898, there was a civic banquet in his honour.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Walter Raleigh to J.M. Mackay, 30 November 1889, Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh, Vol. II, p.142.

<sup>30</sup> Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, p.92.

<sup>31</sup> W. Rathbone to O. Lodge, 30 December 1893, Rathbone Papers, University of Liverpool.

<sup>32</sup> Rathbone to Lodge, 8 February 1899, ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, pp.91 and 109. H.S. Hele-Shaw, the Professor of Engineering was the highest paid member of staff in 1894 with a salary of £1315 and the Principal was third, receiving £1000.

Rathbone pressed for improved facilities and increased funding for his friend. He presented both Lodge's work and financial support for it as expressions of civic patriotism which would enhance Liverpool's civic image. In 1899, Rathbone wrote to Mrs. Whitley whose late husband had helped to fund the Professorship of Physics. He asked her to consider donating £2500 to support Lodge's work.

*We were fortunate enough to secure as our Professor Dr. Lodge- one of the most brilliant discoverers and teachers not only in England but in the world...we are sure you will understand what an immense advantage it is to a University College like Liverpool to have such a distinguished man as one of its Professors. But it also has for us its dangers; for in his position Dr. Lodge is sure to have the offer of some of the most coveted positions in the metropolis or elsewhere.*

*But Dr. Lodge is deeply attached to Liverpool, its College and its associates, and cares far more for the opportunity of carrying on his researches than for those honours and advantages which are the temptations of most men...if we can retain about us the able men we have collected here, we shall go from strength to strength in the exceptionally rapid career which we have secured for our native city.<sup>34</sup>*

Rathbone portrayed Lodge as a civic patriot who would bring honour to Liverpool. Retaining Lodge would enhance the city's reputation.

The following year, Rathbone proposed the toast at the reception for the new Principal, Alfred Dale. After reviewing various branches of work being conducted at the College, Rathbone urged

*the most important thing perhaps to do, is to bring to a conclusion a work which seemed rapidly approaching to security last century, and I believe would have been secured but for the war and the Indian Famine. I mean finding a Laboratory for our friend Lodge.*

*Here we have, in this comparatively small, but most rapidly progressing College, a man who might have succeeded Lord Kelvin if he had chosen to leave us<sup>35</sup> and whose work is essentially important to this great city. If we have not altogether lost that energy and public spirit which has placed us where we are, we must complete that work at once, towards which several of our best friends, the Holts, Sir John Brunner, Sir Henry Tate, Alfred Booth and others, have given such a noble start.*

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<sup>34</sup> W. Rathbone to Mrs. Whitley, July 1899, *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Lord Kelvin had carried out research at Glasgow and Rathbone may have intended to suggest that Lodge had chosen Liverpool ahead of its great Scottish rival.

*With wealth beyond any precedent which has been gained in Liverpool during the past 12 months, our wealthy classes will show themselves quite unworthy of their position if they cannot do what is necessary at once for patriotism, for India and for Education.*<sup>36</sup>

Dale was the son of R.W. Dale, who was a formative influence on Birmingham's 'civic gospel' in the 1860s and 1870s. Rathbone ended his oration by alluding to the Principal's Midland origins and by reasserting Liverpoolian civic pride.

*He has not come to a stagnant place but to a living, growing place, with greater problems to solve than even his native town has. He cannot be expected to admit that Liverpool is superior to Birmingham, but I hope he will find in our city a worthy rival of Birmingham in public spirit and progress.*<sup>37</sup>

Rathbone's words were prophetic, for on 7 April 1900 Lodge wrote a confidential letter to him which recounted how Joseph Chamberlain had summoned Lodge to 'sound' him for the Principality of the new University of Birmingham. Chamberlain had orchestrated Birmingham's municipal achievements of the 1870s. He knew that Lodge's capture would be a coup for Birmingham and indicated that Lodge might expect a salary of £2000. Lodge prevaricated and admitted to Rathbone

*Well if it had been 3000 I should be tempted so much to give way- so mercenary is a man with 12 youngsters.  
But at 2000 I don't know...  
The present Principal of the College would be Vice Principal of the University. I suppose J.C. would be the Chancellor. I have no wish to sell my soul nor any temptation in that direction: but it isn't selling one's soul to try to found a new University ideal which is what they are aiming at...You are of course the first I write to.*<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Rathbone Papers.

<sup>37</sup> ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Lodge to Rathbone, 7 April 1900, ibid.

Rathbone replied that the burden of university duties would reduce Lodge's opportunities to continue his research. Lodge countered that he would have a competent administrative staff to perform these tasks and that 'the Principal is expected to set an example of Research work and be a figure head.' Moreover, there was the question of status. 'It seems quite different from the Principalship of a College as at Liverpool- that would **not** attract me. But the Principalship of a University with its stimulating traditions I feel it may be utter madness to decline.'<sup>39</sup>

In a letter dated 7 May and signed 'your spiritual son', Lodge informed Rathbone of his intention to take up the Birmingham offer. However, Lodge found it difficult to make a final decision, especially when E.K. Muspratt promised to pay for an extra demonstrator to relieve him of some of his teaching responsibilities. On 8 May he changed his mind: 'so permanently to Liverpool like a limpet I adhere.'<sup>40</sup> Finally, the allure of Birmingham proved too strong and Lodge agreed to accept the Principalship.

Thomas Kelly has claimed that when 'in February 1900, Mason University College, Birmingham, was granted University status and Oliver Lodge became its first Vice-Chancellor, the pressure for independence at Liverpool became irresistible.'<sup>41</sup> The turn of the century also ushered in attempts to delineate a civic mission for University College, Liverpool. This was shaped by Liverpoolian commerce.

J.M. Mackay, the Rathbone Professor of History, was convinced that a civic university was the only educational institution which could express civic pride appropriately. He emphasised that the College was attempting to meet the needs of the city. In 1897, he maintained that the City Evening School of Commerce, a body which received a grant from the City Council, was

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<sup>39</sup> Lodge to Rathbone, 20 April 1900, *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Lodge to Rathbone, 8 May 1900, *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Kelly, *For Advancement of Learning*, p.127.

'our important work this session, for it relates us to the very life of the city, and shall attract to our classrooms many youth of the commercial houses for an education, liberal and practical.'<sup>42</sup> Mackay hoped that 'a great city shall have a great University' and argued, 'outside it is not coteries, but representation also in true extension on the administrative Council and professional school, that alone can satisfy and win great cities, their complex educational interests and their municipal pride.'<sup>43</sup>

Mackay's vision carried weight. Thomas Kelly notes

*The influence wielded by Mackay over some of his colleagues was remarkable. 'I have never,' wrote Ramsay Muir in later years, 'seen any parallel to the kind of spell he was able to cast.' ...Nor was it only his Liverpool colleagues who were impressed: in Birmingham also, as E.A. Sonnenschein later testified, he acted as midwife to a new University.'*<sup>44</sup>

The Thompson Yates laboratories were opened in 1898, and Mackay marked the occasion with an article in the College magazine, The Sphinx. He portrayed the new facilities as proof of the vitality of citizenship in Liverpool.

*The new laboratories for Physiology and Pathology...are worthy a dies festus in our University. They rise as one symbol of University life and education in this city...Here where the mother country teems with a rich and active people and faces the successes of her race in sister cities over the sea, earnest minds have at our end of the century yearned for a loftier local education for the citizen...the desire for fuller local opportunity for the complete training and thinking of citizenship has been whetted on the hard self knowledge of shortcomings in and apathy towards the nation's effort for its children.*

The rise of the College attested to wider patriotism, too, because education had its part to play in the race with Germany.

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<sup>42</sup> J.M. Mackay, The Relations and Functions and Work of Senate and Faculty of the Modern University in France and England together with an Account of the Faculty of Arts in Liverpool, Liverpool, 1897, p.51.

<sup>43</sup> ibid., pp.52 and 57.

<sup>44</sup> Kelly, For Advancement of Learning, p.126.

*A rival nation despite the scourge of Continental war and the upkeep of armaments far heavier than our own has by her lavish and buoyant university system, supported on the large handed sympathy of the State, outstripped us of late years in progress and invention...Trade is no peaceful thing. Each people must equip its citizens not necessarily with the sword but with the body and mind.*<sup>45</sup>

Other Liverpool academics shared Mackay's zeal to establish the College as a civic enterprise for which the inculcation of citizenship would be a vocation. The Sphinx, in one of a series of satires entitled 'Lives of Our Professors', described Ramsay Muir's infancy thus:

*A small sturdy boy with thick black curls and big black eyes...rushing wildly around his nursery playing 'Ancient Britons' or schoolmaster or at being the Mayor of Liverpool. For he loved the very sound of the word 'citizen' and would never play with little girls because his nurse told him that only little boys could be citizens. Perhaps he had heard his elders talking of the interests of the city...when his nurse was busy, and wished to keep him quiet, she gave him paper and pencil and told him to write a letter to the City Council.*<sup>46</sup>

John MacCunn, whose interest in citizenship had been sharpened by studying under Edward Caird at Glasgow and T.H. Green at Oxford, held the Chair of Philosophy and Political Economy. On 9 October 1901, he delivered the third annual Inaugural Lecture to open the College session. He chose 'Local Patriotism and Education' as his theme and argued that the city and the civic ideal could provide a purpose for individual lives.

*The city...[is] nothing less than a marvellously evolved organism...which persists while generations come and go, in which, and through which, its citizens can redeem the span men call life, by living for ends which are great and enduring...it is not by elementary education alone, even if this were perfect that our civic ideal can be adequately enriched.*<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Cutting from The Sphinx, October 1898 in the Twemlow Papers, University of Liverpool.

<sup>46</sup> The Sphinx, Vol. XV No. 8, 19 February 1900.

<sup>47</sup> J. MacCunn, Local Patriotism and Education, Liverpool, 1901, pp.5 and 6.

The civic patriotism which the College nurtured was one of the most valuable assets of British life.

*It is one of the most fortunate political characteristics of our country, and one of its greatest blessings, that much of the most energetic, enterprising...fruitful life of the commonwealth goes on in the provinces...*

*The service of the city has that to offer which the larger politics can never give. It has the inspiration that comes from the nearness, the urgency, the definiteness of its problems, it has the comradeship of co-workers, it has the prospect of comparatively quick and definite results.<sup>48</sup>*

MacCunn's choice of analogies for the future of the institution was instructive.

*What we want here, as I imagine- and I think it may well content us- is a university which shall be , in its spiritual fabric as massive and well compacted as our provincial dock walls, and as hospitable in the commerce of ideas as are our provincial harbours to the flags of all nations.<sup>49</sup>*

The logic of the argument ran counter to the organisational structure of the Victoria University. If the College's role was to encourage and express civic patriotism, surely this duty was not best performed within a federal framework. Liverpool needed an independent university.

*The students of a local University would, as the years go on, become bound to the community by ties that are increasingly strong, intimate and enduring...[This] will certainly enrich a man's local patriotism...we may claim that our studies here will give us an enhanced respect for the city...*

*It is not enough that our citizens should love Liverpool, or work for it however patriotically. If the destinies of the city are to be fulfilled, and its problems solved, they must also **understand** Liverpool, understand the economics of its commerce and industry, and charity, understand the politics of its races, its denominations, its parties, its factions. We can at least help towards that.<sup>50</sup>*

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, pp.10,11 and 14.

Civic patriotism demanded a civic university, as had been established in Birmingham. Three days after MacCunn's lecture, at the opening of the session, Oliver Lodge visited Liverpool as Vice-Chancellor of Birmingham University to give an address entitled 'The City University'. Both University College Council and Liverpool City Council had passed resolutions which recognised that a University of Liverpool was a necessity.

Lodge spoke of 'the enthusiasm which can be excited in scholars by the idea of a Civic University, and the crowning glory which such an institution can confer upon its parent city.' He advised

*Keep in close touch with the community. Do not seek for independence or isolation. Encourage the leading men to take a living and personal interest in college government and give them plenty of real power. Welcome civic control...In every new departure carry the community with you.*<sup>51</sup>

Furthermore, he indicated that links between the University and the community should be forged by commerce in particular. Amongst the University's aims must be

*to turn out men truly educated for the highest kind of commercial pursuits...to raise the status of the commercial man into a truly professional position- a position which practical men of genius have already attained...to raise the general level of commercial training and make it worthy of the greatness of the part which commerce plays in the history of the world.*<sup>52</sup>

Lodge added that 'a University has an advantage over a College in its ability to legislate for itself and to try educational experiments...[The] advantage of local self-government, viz., that each Municipality can try its own experiments, is not limited to Municipalities.'<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> O. Lodge, The City University, Liverpool, 1901, p.7.

<sup>52</sup> ibid., p.9.

<sup>53</sup> ibid., p.12.

The main elements of the case for a University of Liverpool were that it would provide a more suitable vehicle for civic (and hence national) patriotism and that it would allow specialisation in the commercial knowledge which would ensure the continued primacy of British trade. These points were pressed as University College petitioned to leave Victoria University and establish a University of Liverpool.

On 27 January 1902, a Town's Meeting was held to support the movement. The Lord Mayor outlined the reasons for an independent institution:

*we all feel that in a great commercial port like this it is our duty to maintain and make progress with education amongst our young people, because we feel that in commerce, as in other matters, the greatest competition is offered to us by France, Germany and other countries.*<sup>54</sup>

Where the Lord Mayor had cited the challenge of international competition, Liverpool's largest landowner, Lord Derby, indicated the spur which civic rivalry had provided.

*Perhaps we should not have moved quite so soon, if it had not been for the example set elsewhere in the City of Birmingham, to whom it was reserved to start an independent University...we have an important and interesting and useful precedent to appeal to...We do not see why Liverpool should stand behind...I would ask you as citizens of this great town to consider what vast interests lie within our borders- what great industries are conducted by these citizens over whom you, my Lord Mayor, so ably preside.*<sup>55</sup>

Sir William Mitchell-Banks had been associated with University College since the campaigns of the 1870s, and he reminded the meeting that Liverpool had to match the achievements of other municipalities. He recalled noting in 1881 that Glasgow and Manchester, the cities 'most aptly comparable with it [Liverpool] as regards size and character of population and commercial prosperity' could point to a host of famous scientists such as Lord Kelvin,

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<sup>54</sup> 'The University of Liverpool: Case For and Against', a collection of pamphlets held in the Special Collections and Archives of the University of Liverpool, p.5.

<sup>55</sup> ibid., pp.8 and 9.

Rankine, Allen Thompson, Jowle, Roscoe and Calvert. Liverpool, meanwhile, did not 'possess even a single Fellow of the Royal Society. These are humiliating facts.' Mitchell-Banks continued, you can now imagine the pleasure with which I stand here today and note the change that has come over the spirit of our town.<sup>56</sup>

In Sir William Bower Forwood's opinion, the creation of a University was one of the civic duties of commerce. Liverpool's commercial eminence imbued this duty with an Imperial dimension, thus connecting local and national patriotism.

*Commerce and learning from time immemorial, from the days of old Tyre, have been intimately associated together and every successful intellectual effort, I believe, has emanated from some commercial centre...[Oxford and Cambridge] repose in their somewhat sleepy position on the banks of the Cam and the Isis, and one can hardly expect from their surroundings and environment any very great intellectual activity; but when you come to a University established in Liverpool, surrounded by the hustle and bustle of daily active commercial life, it cannot fail to be influenced by the spirit by which it is surrounded.<sup>57</sup>*

The responsibility for securing a charter for the University of Liverpool fell on the members of the Parliamentary and Charter sub-committee. Some members of the College Council joined members of the Corporation Parliamentary Committee on this body. Thus, figures such as Councillor Hampson and Alderman Bartlett, who were pushing for the amalgamation of the Corporations of Liverpool and Bootle, found themselves arguing that the structure of the Victoria University was too cumbersome and unwieldy to express local patriotism. Bartlett and Hampson constructed the case for an independent University by using the tactics which were used against them in Bootle. In both instances, ceremonial functions, identity, consent, civic pride and participation comprised key strategic points. The party which could take this terrain would carry the day.

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<sup>56</sup> *ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, p.25.

The petition in favour of independence stressed that the College owed its origin 'not to the munificence of an individual but to the public spirit of many citizens and to the conviction of the community.'<sup>58</sup> The petitioners argued (as Bootle did) that ceremonial was stripped of its significance in a larger institution and that it failed to perform its function of stimulating participation. The seat of the Victoria University was in Manchester; civic rivalry accentuated these concerns.

*The provision of the Charter...that all university meetings shall be held there...practically excludes the unacademic laymen of Liverpool from any active part in university affairs. A man engaged in business or public life...can rarely sacrifice the time required for journeys to and from Manchester. ...ceremonies...exercise a unique power. In the absence of such functions there is little in the activity of the University to touch the imagination or to impress the community. They are object lessons of the most effective kind. The fact that Liverpool graduates are admitted to their degrees in another city, that illustrious visitors receive the honours of the University elsewhere, has helped to remove the University from the interests and the sympathies of the public of Liverpool... Civic patriotism asks for a University of its own; for a University that it feels to be its own; in the business of which it can take part; at the ceremonies of which it can assist; a University for the city, of the city, and in the city, not a University with its seat and centre elsewhere.'*<sup>59</sup>

A further advantage of a local University, it was contended, was that

*the more truly local a university becomes...the more successfully it develops the study of those subjects which bear most directly upon the occupations and industries of the people of its district...A University of Liverpool would follow its line of natural development if it originated exceptionally strong schools of law, economics and geography in their special applications to commerce, of engineering, of technological chemistry and of tropical medicine.'*<sup>60</sup>

A civic university would offer a focus for local patriotism and encourage productive rivalry. This would provide another means by which local pride could harness energies to national

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<sup>58</sup> 'Case For Liverpool University Committee, University College, Liverpool and the Liverpool Corporation' in University of Liverpool- Cases Lodged Petitions For and Against the Charter, a collection of pamphlets held in Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool, p.4.

<sup>59</sup> ibid., pp.12 and 15.

<sup>60</sup> ibid., p.24.

improvement. Legislation such as the Education Act of 1902 made such local involvement all the more desirable.

*Local patriotism is a power that may be turned to lower or to higher ends; it is no evil in itself: he would be a bold man who would assert that we have too much of it; an ignorant man who would assert that we have too much of it in the field of education...A generous passion for education, a pride in educational rivalry between city and city would make England strong where now it is weak...  
To enlist the force of local patriotism in the cause of education is a matter of supreme importance at a time like this, when the control of elementary and secondary education is being entrusted to local governing bodies.<sup>61</sup>*

The argument ran parallel to Bootle's argument for municipal independence: local patriotism could deliver the identification and participation which gave communities vitality, and organisational structures which dismissed this pride as mere sentiment would be deprived of such benefits. This justification of local patriotism was essential, for it was on this point that those who opposed Liverpool's secession from the Victoria University attacked most fiercely.

The opposition included some graduates of the Victoria University and drew considerable support from Yorkshire College in Leeds which did not feel itself ready for independence. Manchester had followed Liverpool's lead and declared itself in favour of a University of Manchester. The opposition insisted that 'the Victoria University dominates the higher education in the North of England. It is too strong to fear any rival or excite any jealousy...its disruption and the creation of other Universities in Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds would be steps in the direction of educational anarchy.'<sup>62</sup>

One former student of the Victoria University argued

*It was proposed to destroy the Victoria University out of local jealousy; but it had not been considered that by setting up separate Universities a whole host of jealousies would be raised. Why should the large towns of Lancashire, to whom Manchester was*

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<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, p.24.

<sup>62</sup> The Case Against the Proposed Disruption of the Victoria University, Manchester, 1902, p.7.

*simply a rival town, support a Manchester University? They would support a Northern University but they would not support a purely local University.*<sup>63</sup>

A Professor Wilkins concurred and warned

*the concession to local patriotism would be dearly purchased at the sacrifice of the growing prestige, the better balanced views, the greater variety of experience among teachers and the keener competition among candidates which were secured by the present constitution...*

*Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds have all different aims and pursuits: together they cultivate a far wider knowledge and more universal sympathy than would, or could, any of the three cities by itself. By itself each of the three new universities would cultivate those branches of learning for which there was most demand in its own neighbourhood.*<sup>64</sup>

Presenting the case as Counsel for Liverpool University College before the Privy Council in December 1902, Alfred Lyttleton did not deny that such specialisation would occur. He upheld the merits of such a scenario and insisted on the value of local patriotism.

*Our weakness is in the department of higher education in the sciences which are necessary for the conduct of business. That is to say for those who are to become the scientific chiefs of industry...for such men who are not generally able to get a university education at the older Universities there is the need of a university education within their own cities...*

*The association of the civic life with the university life is most valuable and the association of the leading men of business in the respective cities with the University in its governing body is a matter on which very great stress is laid...Victoria University applies as one see, to these three places, and the result is that you dilute the springs of civic and local patriotism which would exist in each of the several places were they to have Universities of their own.*<sup>65</sup>

Lyttleton explained the crucial role of civic patriotism in English local government.

*I think it will not be denied that that sentiment, the sentiment for their city in the North of England (and indeed in the South, except in London) is one of the ruling and strongest feelings that the Briton has. It is fruitful in munificence and liberality. Men will consent to bear burdens of rates; they will themselves give large sums to institutions that belong to their city which they are entirely opposed to do, or*

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<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, p.21.

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.*, pp.29 and 31.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, p.10.

*reluctant to do, when a larger body than the city applies for their munificence and expects their liberality...*

*Is it not a pity (there not being much enthusiasm for education in England) when you have it assisted and aided by this strong municipal spirit, this strong sentiment for the city, is it not a pity to dilute it by gathering together cities...to disperse and weaken that sentiment by a union which has no real solidarity?<sup>66</sup>*

The Privy Council decided in Liverpool's favour and, just as the Select Committee which considered Bootle's case had done, recognised the importance of local feeling in shaping institutional structures. The University of Liverpool received its Charter on 15 July 1903. An Act of Parliament which separated University College from the Victoria University and bestowed a Charter on the Victoria University of Manchester took effect on 1 October.

The Liverpool lawyer, James Alsop, was to the fore in drafting the new University's constitution. In his biography his wife wrote

*he saw a new position for the modern University, not managed on academic lines only but on broad business lines too...He saw the widening influence of the business life of the city touching the academic life...raising and improving the business methods of the city.<sup>67</sup>*

Alsop's ideal of a University was that it should be 'founded on the broadest lines of democracy, serving the city and with scholarship kept at the highest possible level, but the city itself serving it and its great business men sharing in its government.'<sup>68</sup>

Procedural ties bound the University to commercial Liverpool and the Corporation. The links which had been emphasised to win the argument for an independent University thus acquired formal status. A curriculum orientated towards commerce proved less viable or durable. In 1907, in an article in The Sphinx which assessed 'Early Relations with the City', John

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<sup>66</sup> ibid., pp.10 and 12.

<sup>67</sup> C. Alsop, The Life of James W. Alsop, Liverpool, 1926, p.78.

<sup>68</sup> ibid., p.77.

MacCunn conceded that the business curriculum had been a failure. 'Students never presented themselves in sufficient numbers to give it a fair trial and the companies and firms on their side found it difficult to translate the abstract promises into concrete performances.'<sup>69</sup> Nonetheless, he insisted that it had been a worthwhile exercise in promoting the College.

Indeed, Liverpool University owed much more to the civic image of commercial Liverpool and the strain of civic patriotism which this encouraged than it did to a 'Liverpool Renaissance'. The University articulated conceptions of civic duty which were based on Liverpool's place in the Empire. The patronage of culture was a duty which had traditionally been performed by cities of wealthy merchants. Rivalry with Manchester and Birmingham also spurred on the emergence of an independent university as a demonstration of civic ambition.

The new institution won support because it succeeded as a perceived image. It invested the activities of Liverpool, and Liverpudlians, with an enhanced grandeur by intertwining commerce and local patriotism with such concepts as Imperial duty. Yet commerce had been enshrined in the attempted incorporation of Bootle, too; in this instance the image had failed. This apparent paradox is best explained in terms of civic patriotism and the participative elements of image. Both the University and the Bootle Corporation demonstrated that the institutional arrangements for which they campaigned were superior to the alternative in encouraging civic patriotism. This pride in the locality and the sense of participation in the community which it fostered were recognised by central institutions as vital elements of the process of self-government on which the English Commonwealth was built.

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<sup>69</sup> J. MacCunn, 'Early Relations with the City' in The Sphinx, Vol. XIV No.10 (March 1907).

## **Chapter Ten- Adjunct or Alternative? Football and Emotional Communities**

In October 1901, during Liverpool F.C.'s first reign as Football League champions, a correspondent wrote in the Liverpool Review

*Monday is the greatest day of the week for your football enthusiast. He sets out early and seeks whom he may bore. He talks volubly of leagues, points, goals and players, and of prospects. He asks your opinion on Smith, Brown, Jones and then gives you his, at some length. After a time you probably inform the enthusiast that you know absolutely nothing about what he calls 'the game', that you have never watched a football match in your life and that you don't care a kettle drum about the thing. Upon which he goes off and finds another victim. It is really a work of art getting to town on a Monday morning. I invariably slink along side streets watching out at every point for enthusiasts.<sup>1</sup>*

The furtive correspondent would not have found himself alone in his agonised progress, for many historians have also chosen to slink along in shadowy side streets to escape the gargantuan presence of football in late Victorian and Edwardian urban life. This is inexcusable, because many football clubs were supported by a robust social and economic framework, expressing the ideals and ambitions of many diverse groups. These imagined communities encouraged an increased awareness of civic identity. They received municipal recognition as civic institutions and performed central functions in defining the temporal structure, the financial habits and the social activity of thousands of people. The relationship between civic imagery, community identity and the mass spectatorship of football and its fierce emotional capital has been evaluated by few historians.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Liverpool Review, 26 October 1901.

<sup>2</sup> The main exceptions are A. Mason, Association Football and English Society, Brighton, 1980; W. Vampley, Pay up and Play the Game, Cambridge, 1988, C. Korr, West Ham United, London, 1986; R. Holt, 'Working Class Football and the City' in British Journal of Sports History Vol. 3 no. 1 (May 1986); J.Hills and J. Williams (eds.), Sport and Identity in the North of England, Keele, 1996.

The acerbic humour of the Liverpool Review correspondent relied on readers finding the scenario confirmed by their own experience. The Liverpool Review was an independent Liberal paper which was intended for those who were involved in the commercial milieu of 'town' centred on Exchange Flags. It is evidence that football was rapidly becoming inescapable, for all that some might resent its tyrannical sway over conversation. Football was an important part of the daily fabric of lives as separate as the broker on 'Change and the labourer of Scotland Road. It was much more than a game, for it refracted key points concerning power, status and participation in communal life.

These dimensions of football's place in the city have been imperfectly understood by models of the development of the sport which have sought to explore how it fitted into capitalist society. Such models have tended to underplay the emotive appeal of football for all classes and to result in limited Marxist analyses of the connections between football and business. Steven Tischler's work may be cited as an example of what J. Hill has termed the reflectionist approach.<sup>3</sup> Tischler's thesis is that

*In the 1880s businessmen club directors introduced a new version of the game which reflected their aims and interests...The growth of football along commercial and professional lines was not a spontaneous occurrence. It was the result of calculated nurturing by entrepreneurs who extended to football an ethos which touched numerous endeavours outside of sport.<sup>4</sup>*

In the instances of Liverpool's two League clubs, this argument corresponds more closely to the history of Liverpool than of Everton; nonetheless the identification of a calculated plan is difficult. The course of football's development was an organic process in which the middle classes invested a great deal of money and energy, in many cases with scant hope of financial returns.

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<sup>3</sup> Hill and Williams, Sport and Identity, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> S. Tischler, Footballers and Businessmen, New York, 1981, p.3.

Tischler contends that 'a system of wage labour and the necessary purchase of admission rights to matches reproduced entrepreneurial control of economic life in the cultural realm' and heralded an 'extension of the cash nexus in the area of recreation.'<sup>5</sup> The extremity of this reductionist approach discounts the complexity of motives which the middle classes had in investing in the game emotionally as well as economically. The consequence has been the emergence of a discourse which portrays football embattled in the face of bourgeois deprecation and lack of empathy with the communal values which it enshrined<sup>6</sup>. The assertion that football was but an adjunct and a reflection of other social and economic relationships does not comprehend the full picture of middle-class involvement. A peculiar set of relationships characterised football; and it is against this wider context that issues such as participation, identity and power are best judged.

Models which force football to stand as another example of dominance by a capitalist elite sit uncomfortably with evidence that football was a poor and uncertain form of investment and that many shareholders and directors were not the eminences of Liverpool's commercial firmament.<sup>7</sup> Directors such as George Mahon of Everton, the head partner of a prominent firm of solicitors in the city, **were** successful businessmen, but it would be mistaken to make this economic circumstance the cornerstone of any investigation into their motivations. The lower strata of a middle class which was firmly rooted in the districts of Everton, Anfield and Walton found football to be a means of affirming a jealously protected status. Moreover, conceptual approaches of capitalist hegemony conceal the reality of a football culture in which knowledge of the sport and the rights of ownership stemming from paying for admission could also be empowering influences.

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<sup>5</sup> ibid., pp. 133 and 137.

<sup>6</sup> It may be noted that such an interpretation has proved attractive to some commentators since it provides a comparative perspective with clear analogies for current issues in football and its relationships with business and the middle classes.

<sup>7</sup> see A. Mason, 'The Blues and the Reds' in Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol.134, 1985.

The exploration of football in Liverpool which follows attempts to rediscover and reinterpret these experiences; and the relationship of the football community to the larger identities of city, nation and empire is also considered. The imagery and ideology which attended football endowed it with a potent capacity to define such affiliations. Those who might be termed the stakeholders in football were bound together by complex relationships which elude simplistic analysis. Once the dynamics of the bonds of club, director, shareholder and spectator are more rigorously investigated, the relative orbits of club and city in the affective schema of citizens can be more accurately described.

In 1869, St. Domingo's Methodist chapel was established in Breckfield Road North in the Everton district of Liverpool. The chapel football club proved popular with local players and its name was changed to Everton in 1879 to indicate that the team was no longer drawn exclusively from St. Domingo's. After a meeting with John Houlding<sup>8</sup>, a prominent local Conservative politician and brewer whose houses included the Sandon Hotel in Everton, the team began to play on a field in Priory Road from 1882.

From these beginnings, the club advanced and viewed the entire city of Liverpool as its constituency from which to draw support. The backing of local businessmen was sought. The club issued an 'adroit circular to the well-to-do gentry of the city.'<sup>9</sup> This letter noted 'there are large gatherings of persons numbering from 1500 to 2000 seeking Saturday afternoon recreation which public parks are intended to provide. In order to popularise the game, we are this year, 1882, playing a number of clubs of considerable renown.'<sup>10</sup> Such an approach to

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Holt described Houlding as 'a self made man, perhaps a little uncertain about his "H's"', *Diary of Robert Holt*, 9 November 1897, in *Holt Papers* at Liverpool Central Library.

<sup>9</sup> Tischler, *Footballers and Businessmen*, p.10.

<sup>10</sup> Deborah Quaille, *The Development of Professional Football in Liverpool 1877-1914*, available in file at Goodison Park, Liverpool, pages not numbered.

such civic figures demonstrated that the members of Everton believed that football was a civic enterprise, worthy of a place in the municipality's life.

When the club moved to a new ground at Anfield in the 1884/85 season, 'the members and players turned themselves into a gang of labourers with spades and barrows, boards and hammers and nails.'<sup>11</sup> Here was evidence of a lack of cash but plenty of dedication. Houlding was the president of the club, and he acted as the intermediary with Everton's landlords at Anfield, the Orrell brothers. John and Joseph Orrell were brewers who owned two fields next to Anfield Road. One of these was loaned to Everton F.C. on condition that a small donation should be given to the Stanley Hospital in Bootle each year in lieu of rent.

Everton was one of the founders of the Football League, playing in the inaugural season in 1888/89. Thomas Keates- a director of the club who wrote a history of Everton F.C. in 1929- recorded that many members joined the club in 1889. The added lustre of participation in a national league plainly contributed to this upsurge of interest and many of these new members brought administrative experience and wider connections to the club.

John McKenna, who worked as a clerk for the West Derby Poor Law Union and was to play a central role in the establishment of Liverpool Football Club, was one such new member. Another was Abraham Coates, a surveyor for H.M. Customs. The involvement of George Mahon has been noted already. His co-operation was adjudged 'a great asset. His experience as an accountant, and as a member of the Walton Local Board was invaluable.'<sup>12</sup> Moreover Mahon was 'persona grata with the substantial man of Merseyside and his joining the committee was expected, it was opined 'to popularise 'the great game' amongst the better classes of our community.'<sup>13</sup> Dr. James Baxter also joined: he was a Roman Catholic 'in touch

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<sup>11</sup> T. Keates, A History of Everton Football Club, Liverpool, 1929, p.15.

<sup>12</sup> ibid., p.40.

<sup>13</sup> P. M. Young, Football on Merseyside, London, 1963, p.32.

with that large number of Irish immigrants from which Everton drew so much (sic) of its more modest supporters'.<sup>14</sup>

In return for their investment of money, time and energy, the new members could expect a social dividend in terms of prestige because the club was becoming recognised as a civic institution of some importance. The 'men of '89' were numbered amongst those first to discover that football could confer exalted status in the Liverpool community. Everton was not merely a district team, but rather was a source of pride and likewise, on occasion, of sorrow, throughout the city. As an anguished report in the pages of the Liverpool Athletic Times confessed in 1890,

*The supporters of Everton were equally dismayed and annoyed with the way the Blue and Whites were cut up before Accrington. The people of Liverpool too, who have been educated to believe that the Oakfield-road<sup>15</sup> combination was one of the best Association football teams in Great Britain and, as such a credit to the good old town, will feel their trust betrayed and their confidence shaken.*<sup>16</sup>

In newspaper commentaries the names of Everton and Liverpool were often used interchangeably in connection with the club and, despite the set-back against Accrington, the results on the field overall were a cause for civic rejoicing. Everton finished as runners-up in the 1889/90 championship before winning the League in 1890/91.

These successes on the pitch served to camouflage a growing disharmony at Everton, which had surfaced briefly after the disappointments of the 1888/89 season. Rumours that Houlding, who had bought the Anfield ground, was considering selling the land, and speculation that there was a clique intending to oust the executive, induced the Liverpool Review to instruct its readers thus:

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<sup>14</sup> ibid., p.32.

<sup>15</sup> Oakfield Road was one of the approach roads to the ground at Anfield.

<sup>16</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 25 February 1890.

*It is the duty of all Liverpoolians, footballists or not, to take some interest in the future of Evertonian football. At its best the club is one of the first in England; its gate receipts are perhaps the largest in Great Britain; its enclosure at Anfield is one of the best appointed in the country, and altogether the whole concern is a credit to the 'good old town'. Therefore it is the duty of the press and the public to keep an eye on Everton's position in the football world.<sup>17</sup>*

Football's remarkable ability to stimulate and express municipal pride thus made it a subject for public attention. The note of responsible vigilance sounded by the Liverpool Review was a clear indication that Everton was a civic institution.

The so-called clique of potential takeover bidders had levelled the charge that 'certain members of the executive are not practical footballists; are mere theorists, in fact, and that most of the matches lost by the Everton men would have been won had the players been handled properly.' Football knowledge represented a promising platform for opposition, not least since football 'science' was subjective and could not be monopolised by any dominant grouping. Practical football knowledge ensured that marginalised elements always retained access to an important source of power and the vagaries of football performances helped to amplify the resonance of such an appeal.

If football savoir-faire could confer the right to a voice in club affairs, the admission fee effectively opened a similar avenue. Football supporters exhibited a precocious awareness of their rights as consumers and were swift to advance the notion that buying a ticket could constitute a form of ownership and should invest the supporter with commensurate rights. The Liverpool Review concluded that 'If ambition or jealousy is the motive actuating the agitators they will only bungle matters and create a bad feeling against the club. After all it is the public who are to be considered. They pay £4000 into the club's coffers in a season; the club members subscribe about £150.'

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<sup>17</sup> Liverpool Review, 25 May 1889.

The speculation about a possible coup died away as the club began to enjoy success on the field, but the sums of money connected with football spurred criticism from other quarters. A correspondent in the Liverpool Athletic Times accused the big local clubs, namely Everton and Bootle, of neglecting citizenship in their affairs. He enquired 'How many of the big clubs play a match in the name of charity...At present football is conducted on the lines of self and self only, but let all this football descend to citizenship and a common interest in the welfare and happiness of many a poor hungry urchin.'<sup>18</sup> In urging Everton to extend its activities into the arena of philanthropy and social welfare, the writer was also attesting to the club's status as a municipal institution. As the letter suggested, such an initiative would 'command the interest of many' and an acceptance of civic responsibilities would also serve as a statement of the club's position in Liverpool.

Everton had staged a 'pantomime' match for charity in February 1889 and these became annual fixtures. The first match was attended by around 10,000 spectators who watched Everton take on a theatrical team of sixteen players. Mike Higgins, a well-known Evertonian, played for the theatrical side dressed as a clown. Two actors kept goal with a pulley system for narrowing the goalmouth and 'the antics...were most amusing and caused a continuous roar on all sides.'<sup>19</sup> Predictably, the half-time lemons inspired an interval fruit fight between the two teams. The proceeds of the match went to the Stanley Hospital, whose links with the club have been noted already, and the Royal Infirmary and the presence of the mayor at the match underlined Everton's good citizenship.

John Houlding had acted as host to the mayor in his capacity as the president of the club, but three years later he was at the centre of a contest at Anfield which was far from light hearted. Houlding owned the land adjoining Orrell's Anfield plot and he proposed the formation of a

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<sup>18</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 18 December 1889.

<sup>19</sup> Liverpool Review, 16 February 1889.

limited liability company to remodel Anfield so that it could be used as a venue for other sports all year round.

This suggestion was not taken up and the members decided to continue to pay the rental until the close of 1891 when the situation would be reassessed. At a meeting on 25 January 1892, Houlding's proposal was thrown out decisively and steps were begun to move the club to a site at Goodison, less than a mile away across Stanley Park. When the anti-Houlding faction went to register the club as a limited liability company, they discovered that Houlding and those members who supported him had already registered a company called the Everton Football Club. On 15 March the split became complete. Houlding was forced to give up the Everton name and his opponents moved the club to Goodison Park. In May, Liverpool Football Club was founded by Houlding and his supporters to play at the Anfield ground.

In 1929, Keates argued that Houlding's demands to the sole right to supply Anfield, 'if at any time refreshments should be required'<sup>20</sup> had contributed greatly to the split. The team had used Houlding's Sandon Hotel as changing rooms. A meeting to establish a guarantee fund for Everton's move to Goodison was marked by an undertaking 'to sell no intoxicants on the ground (cheers). They intended to put their dressing room on it and to have refreshments (A Voice- 'A cocoa room.').'<sup>21</sup>

A further reason for resentment of Houlding was perhaps the increasing identification of Everton as **his** team. When Everton defeated Wolves to go top of the table during the 1890/91 campaign, the Liverpool Athletic Times proclaimed 'The valiant army of King John of Toffydom have reason to lift up their voices and shout with a great shout, for they have covered themselves with glory.'<sup>22</sup> Houlding's humble origins<sup>23</sup> may have made his celebrity

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<sup>20</sup> Keates, History of Everton, p.38.

<sup>21</sup> Liverpool Echo, 19 March 1892.

<sup>22</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 9 December 1890.

the harder to bear for men like Mahon (a respected solicitor), Baxter (a surgeon of considerable means) and W.R. Clayton (he lived in Formby- a favoured retreat for moneyed Liverpool men) who were at the forefront of opposition.

The Everton-Liverpool F.C.s split should act as a corrective to an analytical framework which posits the simple extension of middle-class entrepreneurialism to football. Indeed the Everton story, so far as it can be read in class terms, is one of staunch professional middle-class resistance to an entrepreneurial brewer from a working-class background.

The image of bourgeois exploitation of the economic opportunities of football receives a further blow when the early history of Everton F.C. at Goodison is examined. The effective re-establishment of a club necessitated the commitment of exceptional reserves of emotional stamina, energy, time and money. Whereas 'at Anfield the Club had lived from hand to mouth, crept very slowly, waiting for the gate money to pay for the erection of stands',<sup>24</sup> the costs of developing Goodison Park could not be spread out. Keates explained, 'if Everton in its new quarters was to have a chance of competing successfully with the Club on the old ground, it must start right away with accomodatory appointments at least equal to those it left behind.'<sup>25</sup> A thousand pounds of the Everton guarantee fund of £1517 was proffered by eleven men. Dr. Baxter further advanced an interest-free unsecured loan of £1000. Impressive as these sums were, support was not only expressed through financial investment.

According to Keates,

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<sup>23</sup> Houlding had started out by delivering milk door to door before gradually building up a chain of public houses. An account of his career can be found in the paper John Houlding-Founder of Liverpool Football Club. The paper is held at the Department of Football Research at the University of Liverpool but there is no author given. My thanks are due to Dr. Rogan Taylor for allowing me to consult this paper.

<sup>24</sup> Keates, History of Everton, p.125.

<sup>25</sup> ibid., p.125.

*The 'split' involved a considerable sacrifice of time by the revolutionists- mental anxiety, diversion from their urgent business responsibilities, monetary risks, partisan denunciation and misrepresentation. The constructive responsibility entailed was intimidating...the ordinary Committee men in those early years were manual labourers as well as mental...they did anything their heads suggested their hands might do, things which we can now afford to employ servants to do...The members made two good captures when they secured the election of J.M. Crawshaw and Ben Kelly to the board. The former was a retired superintendent engineer...the latter a well known builder. In the designing and construction of the grand stand, and all the wood, iron and brick erections, their suggestions and supervision ensured good work and economy in the cost.<sup>26</sup>*

In interpreting this evidence, it is important to acknowledge that Keates was himself a director. Such imagery as he employed could form an ideological prop to enable directors to lay stronger claim to ownership of the club. They would be able to point to expertise, the rights of labour and financial investment as bestowing upon them the authority to run the club.

However, this depiction cannot be wholly dismissed as ideological image-making. It is unquestioned that the early directors **did** make substantial sacrifices with a disproportionately small hope of financial reward. At West Ham, the club lost £900 in two seasons and the local bank only extended credit on the reputation of the directors. The directors provided some £3000 in loans.<sup>27</sup>

Wray Vamplew has pointed out that returns from football investments were limited by the Football Association to 5%- a level above that of government bonds, but which was certainly not high.<sup>28</sup> Vamplew has demonstrated that football clubs cannot easily be categorised as

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<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, pp.40, 113 and 119.

<sup>27</sup> Korr, *West Ham United*, pp.11-13.

<sup>28</sup> Vamplew, *Pay up and Play the Game*, p.5.

profit-maximisers, for winning and profits were not always compatible objectives. Where clubs did make money, the bulk of it was not distributed to shareholders.<sup>29</sup>

It is equally important to recognise these sacrifices as manifestations of a genuine love of football. An article in The Nineteenth Century entitled 'The New Football Mania' underlined this<sup>30</sup>. The author, Charles Edwardes, noted that football stock was not very valuable, firstly because of the expense of the team and secondly because some of the shareholders expected the profits to be ploughed back into the team with no dividends.<sup>31</sup> The administrative burden and the challenges of finding and keeping players ensured that 'the secretaries of the important clubs do not find their position a sinecure.'<sup>32</sup>

The emergence of a new rivalry with Liverpool F.C. must have added to the anxieties of the Everton members. As Liverpool began to string together victories in the Lancashire League their support grew. The Liverpool Athletic Times congratulated the new club after a success against West Manchester, 'Bravo Liverpool! and likewise vive! King John.'<sup>33</sup> A week later, the paper related that 'Liverpool...were in the winning track as usual...the club are rapidly adding to their list of supporters and if they go as they have begun King John will be able to scorn those prognosticators of failure.'<sup>34</sup>

By contrast, Everton F.C. suffered a run of poor form in the Football League.

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<sup>29</sup> ibid., pp.77-111.

<sup>30</sup> C. Edwardes, 'The New Football Mania' in The Nineteenth Century Vol.32 (1892), p.625.

<sup>31</sup> The five per cent dividend on both Everton and Liverpool shares would have represented an increasingly modest return. Bank interest rates fluctuated between two per cent and seven per cent, with a slight upward trend, in the period between 1892 and the First World War.

<sup>32</sup> Edwardes, The New Football Mania, p.626.

<sup>33</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 11 October 1892.

<sup>34</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 18 October 1892.

*The Everton supporters are getting seriously perturbed concerning the doings of their team, or perhaps disgusted would be the more appropriate term. Considering the trouble and expense which the committee have been to in trying to gather together a strong team the series of defeats now in progress is eminently calculated to account for these feelings.<sup>35</sup>*

In response to the threat from Liverpool F.C., the directors of Everton looked to assert their civic status forcefully. Everton played Sheffield Wednesday in November and 'with a view to lending additional prestige to the occasion, Mr. Mahon the chairman, and his colleagues in the management of the Everton club, invited his Worship the Mayor and a number of civic dignitaries to witness the match.<sup>36</sup> At the start of the month the mayor, Robert Holt, had become the head of the first Liberal administration in Liverpool for fifty years. It is probable that the invitation represented a deliberate swipe at John Houlding, who was a Conservative councillor and the chairman of the Everton Conservative Association. Holt walked 'majestically round the grounds to the strains of the Beacon Lane orphanage band<sup>37</sup> in what may be termed a sedate lap of honour designed to improve Liberalism's popular credentials.

Notwithstanding this episode, it should be emphasised that the overall course of the history of Liverpool and Everton F.C.s does not bear out theories which align the clubs with other affiliations, either political or religious. In a city which was at times fiercely divided by sectarianism and popular Toryism<sup>38</sup>, one of the most startling features of its football experience is the absence of such discord. The Liverpool Courier and the Liverpool Daily Post were avowedly Conservative and Liberal respectively, yet the imputation of a political aspect to each club's support was not made by either publication. Staunch in Conservatism and Protestantism as the Everton municipal ward and parliamentary constituency were, the

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<sup>35</sup> ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Liverpool Courier, 27 November 1892.

<sup>37</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 29 November 1892.

<sup>38</sup> See P.J. Waller, Democracy and Sectarianism, Liverpool 1981.

club counted on large numbers of Irish supporters from the adjacent districts of the North End. The Nationalist councillor J.G. Taggart was one of its shareholders. Everton and the surrounding districts were riven by bloody sectarian clashes on a number of occasions during the first decade of the twentieth century, yet these popular disturbances are remarkable for their failure to impinge on football relations.<sup>39</sup> Support for the clubs has to be explained in other terms.

The mayoral visit to Goodison was not the only instance of Everton F.C.'s insistence on its civic precedence. A fortnight later, there was 'some unpleasantness...as to the auspices under which the forthcoming theatrical match shall be played and also its venue.' Liverpool F.C. had been making arrangements for the game to take place at Anfield as usual, but the fixture was set for Goodison. A journalist for the Liverpool Athletic Times could not understand why Liverpool would not agree to co-operate in the arrangements, turning 'a deaf ear to the suggestion unless the game should take place on their ground.'<sup>40</sup> Everton had transplanted the fixtures and stands from Anfield to Goodison after the move, so the writer argued that it was obvious that the game should take place there.

This would appear to be a petty squabble only if the civic implications are ignored. The pantomime match was a symbol of Everton's position as **the** city team, and the Anfield club could not be allowed to wrest it away. The invitation to Liverpool to participate could not be taken up as to do so would be tantamount to Liverpool recognising Everton's superiority.

By the end of the 1893/94 season, Liverpool had been admitted to the Football League. The club won the Division Two championship and defeated Newton Heath (the future Manchester United) in a Test Match to win promotion to the First Division. These achievements made

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<sup>39</sup> The evidence against the myths of Catholic Everton and Protestant Liverpool is more fully set out by Stephen Kelly in Liverpool: The Hamlyn Illustrated History 1892-1996, Godalming, 1996, p.13, and by A. Mason in The Blues and the Reds, pp.123 and 124.

<sup>40</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 13 December 1892.

Everton's lofty condescension impossible to maintain. The attitude slipped into open contempt. The Liverpool Review recorded this scorn on the occasion of Liverpool's vital clash with Newton Heath. Everton were being beaten at Goodison while the Test Match was in progress. Goodison officials had always been quick to chalk up Liverpool defeats on the scoreboard for the crowd to see, and when pressmen discovered that Liverpool had won promotion they demanded to know why this result was not chalked up. When one journalist pinned up the result himself, he was thrown out of the ground.<sup>41</sup>

The final of the Liverpool Cup pitted the two sides against each other, but Everton put out their reserve side, thereby refusing to accept Liverpool as an equal opponent. Liverpool's pride was such that they also put out a reserve side. As the Liverpool Review reported, this reduced the game to 'a reserve team of amateurs against the Combination Champions.' The reaction made it clear that Everton could no longer expect to be synonymous with the city's footballing interests. The Liverpool Review decried the Evertonian action as 'a slur upon the Liverpool Association, for they have purposely cheapened the principal trophy in the greatest football city in the kingdom and have also alienated to a very considerable extent the sympathy and respect of their supporters.'<sup>42</sup>

This warning note, that local football supporters of any stripe were also Liverpool citizens, will be seen to be a leitmotiv of the Press' general approach to the competing claims of club and city. To favour one of the clubs was acceptable, but not if it were to run contrary to the overarching loyalty due to the city of Liverpool.

The fierce passions excited by the Everton/ Liverpool rivalry throw into doubt the likelihood of all supporters recognising and accepting such a hierarchy of identities. Under the headline 'The Big Battle At Last!', the Liverpool Review's editorial page previewed the first league

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<sup>41</sup> Liverpool Review, 5 May 1894.

<sup>42</sup> ibid.

derby match in October 1894.<sup>43</sup> The piece stressed the importance attached to the game by thousands in Liverpool.

*There are some people in this world who are foolish enough to hold in light esteem...a pastime which has been known to draw together at one assemblage a vast congregation of persons numbering between forty and fifty thousand strong- amply sufficient to people a good-sized town, or to furnish recruits for a fairly formidable army...This is a battle for which your football war-horses have been pawing at the ground for months- nay, years.*

The partisan feeling which naturally attended city rivals was magnified because 'the Liverpool Club is in reality a limb of the Everton Club'. The Liverpool Courier concurred with this, believing 'partisanship has run unnecessarily high.'<sup>44</sup>

If there were any doubts that this was a conflict for civic supremacy, these were dispelled by the invitations which the Everton directors extended to city dignitaries. According to the Liverpool Daily Post, the guests included the Lord Mayor, the Mayor of Bootle, John Willox (the Conservative M.P. for the Everton constituency which included both clubs), the Official Receiver, the Coroner, the Collector of H.M. Customs, the Chairman of the Liverpool Stock Exchange, the Chairman of the Walton Local Board, Alderman F. Smith and five councillors (both Conservative and Liberal).<sup>45</sup> The game ended in a 3-0 triumph for Everton.

By the start of the new century, the derby game had assumed epic proportions. The savagery of the brawling lions of a Liverpool Football Echo cartoon of 1900<sup>46</sup> (*figure 1*) was a striking representation of the majesty and gravity of the spectacle. Rival supporters were not segregated in the ground, and this engendered dramas of loyalty and betrayal worthy of Shakespeare.

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<sup>43</sup> Liverpool Review, 13 October 1894.

<sup>44</sup> Liverpool Courier, 13 October 1894.

<sup>45</sup> Liverpool Daily Post, 13 October 1894.

<sup>46</sup> Liverpool Football Echo, 22 September 1900.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1900.



Figure 1- Liverpool and Everton as brawling lions.

*The great roar that went up showed pretty clearly that the Goodison contingent were well backed by partisans and this fact did not serve to make matters smoother. The game became even more fiercely contested, while amid the crowd of onlookers every man viewed his neighbour with suspicion. The ancient feud of the Capulets and the Montagnes was as nothing compared with the rivalry of these.*<sup>47</sup>

Journalistic licence might add colour to the games, but such analogies and images were an integral part of the mental landscape of derby fixtures. Hence the rivalry was both articulated and fanned.

Conflict between the clubs continued to have a basis in substantive issues as well as in cartoons and similes. In 1901, Liverpool was engaged in a tense run-in in which the club eventually overtook Sunderland to claim the League Championship. The Liverpool Review confessed,

*The bare possibility of a Liverpool League Club taking foremost honours is enough to make the footballing Liverpolitan feel dizzy. As a football centre, Liverpool's reputation is second to none in the kingdom, and has been so since the League Championship was established, but somehow, in spite of our enviable records in the way of crowds and 'gates' and 'captures' of star players, we have only once in all our history secured the League 'pot', while the English Cup the prize of the season- has never yet come our way...It is therefore high time indeed that something really big was done to preserve the city's credit in the football world.*<sup>48</sup>

Glory for Liverpool F.C. would bring glory upon the city, hence all Liverpoolians should wish the Anfield club well. However, the call for the lions to lie down together was lost in the uproar over the proposal to stage the F.A. Cup Final at Goodison which erupted but a fortnight later.

The Liverpool directors feared that the F.A. Cup might affect the gate for the crucial League game scheduled for the same day at Anfield and approached the Football Association. The

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<sup>47</sup> Liverpool Echo, 19 January 1901.

<sup>48</sup> Liverpool Review, 13 April 1901.

final was then switched to Bolton, sparking a furious reaction and reopening the question of how the ties of sentiment to club and city might be negotiated. The Liverpool Review fulminated that in the face of financial considerations, Liverpool had exhibited no signs of 'reciprocity, or patriotic sentiment, or consideration for other people's interests...in fact the history of the whole miserable affair deserves to be printed in capitals- on the Liverpool Football Club's flag.<sup>49</sup>

The views of the public as expressed in newspaper correspondence were mixed. Some were swift to condemn Liverpool,

*Through the selfish ignorance of the Liverpool Club officials the city is to be deprived of this great historic treat and honour...I have supported them for several years and I have been in conversation with many other of their supporters today, and they all say they will not support the club again.<sup>50</sup>*

*The workingmen who have given out 'tanners' week after week to support the local clubs are entitled to demand that when the chance of the English Cup Final coming to Liverpool arises the local clubs should have helped us to secure it.<sup>51</sup>*

Liverpool was held to have forgotten civic duty and to have ignored the claims of local patriotism.

In defence of Liverpool, correspondents asserted the independent rights of the club, but continued to employ the discourse of civic patriotism and responsible citizenship to mount a counter-argument, in one case exploiting the power of Boer War imagery.

*Give a good cheer of encouragement to the lads who are fighting, not in South Africa, but for the League Cup.<sup>52</sup>*

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<sup>49</sup> Liverpool Review, 27 April 1901.

<sup>50</sup> Liverpool Echo, 23 April 1901.

<sup>51</sup> ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Liverpool Courier, 25 April 1901.

*How sportsmanlike is it to throw all the mud they can pick up at the accused party instead of weighing up the pros and cons of the affair in a sensible manner. I, for one, can't blame Liverpool in the least for looking after number one.*<sup>53</sup>

*Sunderland by their flukey victory over Newcastle yesterday have given to the Liverpool Club an almost herculean task...surely under such a crisis those selfish beings who are preaching a boycott...will drop their unpatriotic attitudes...Citizens of Liverpool to the rescue: drop your individual opinions, assemble in your thousands on Saturday...and thus assist our gallant team by your cheers to victory with the cry 'Liverpool and victory'.*<sup>54</sup>

When challenged by an apparent divergence between the allegiance owed to club and city, there were three possible responses. The first two attached a high valency to the concept of civic patriotism. One affirmed this affective preference by formulating a schema in which club loyalty was subsidiary to city loyalty. The other rationalised away any behavioural and attitudinal inconsistency by insisting that the two loyalties were coterminous. The third rejected civic patriotism and revealed club identity to be the predominant social orientation.

The opposition of affinities for club and city might be problematic, but equally the alignment of these allegiances could result in the powerful reinforcement of identities. In 1906, Liverpool were closing in on the League Championship again, but this time Everton had reached the F.A. Cup Final. They were to play Newcastle, having twice lost in finals before. Now, supporters vied in suggesting ways of honouring the two teams and expressing their mutual respect and civic pride in triumphal poems.

These stanzas ranged in style from Homeric epic to doggerel.

*Shall I tell you the tale of the Reds sir-  
How Liverpool fought and died?  
To win the League and the English Cup  
That would have been their joy and pride...  
The story is old sir by now I don't doubt*

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<sup>53</sup> ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Liverpool Courier, 26 April 1901.

*And could do with a rest I dare say  
But if the Blues beat the Stripes and win the tin pot  
Then we'll all help to shout 'hip hooray'.<sup>55</sup>*

*Now that honours are divided  
We with them go all the way  
With our smiles and cheers to help them  
Bring both cups the Mersey way.<sup>56</sup>*

*Thousands in Liverpool will eagerly await  
The cry 'Football Echo' to know Everton's fate.  
The third time of trying they say does for all  
Reds and Blues should rejoice at Newcastle's fall.*

*Then the Reds and Blues both together could sup  
Reds from the League, Blues from the F.A. Cup.<sup>57</sup>*

*For though I'm for Liverpool, I bear no malice-  
I hope Everton find the cup at the [Crystal] Palace.<sup>58</sup>*

These verses shared the image of Liverpool and Everton supporting each other in winning glory for the city. Nor was this an artistic convention. Liverpool were playing at home against Sheffield United on the day of the Cup Final and 'a little before the finish of the game word was received from the Palace that Everton had scored. This was the signal for tumultuous cheering which did not subside for several minutes.'<sup>59</sup>

The cartoon artists who had previously sketched discord now turned their craft to celebrating communal Liverpudlian triumph. Liverpool and Everton could be friends having 'done themselves proud' (*figure 2*)<sup>60</sup>. Their joint achievements were promoted as a wellspring of

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<sup>55</sup> Liverpool Football Echo, 14 April 1906.

<sup>56</sup> Liverpool Football Echo, 21 April 1906.

<sup>57</sup> ibid.

<sup>58</sup> ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Liverpool Echo, 21 April 1906.

<sup>60</sup> Liverpool Football Echo, 28 April 1906.

civic pride and were expressed with the imagery of a victorious city. In one cartoon, the artist used the civic coat of arms as a framework of symbolic reference (figure 3)<sup>61</sup>. The familiar elements of the Liver Bird and Neptune were reinterpreted with Neptune waving his trident at a Liverpool longship bearing off the trophies of war. The Liver Bird was emblazoned on the sail, crowing with triumph and bearing a football in its talons.

The festivities which marked the arrival of the F.A. Cup in Liverpool expanded on this theme of separate successes becoming common property. This was to be an affirmation of Liverpudlian superiority which received both official and popular acclaim. The Liverpool Courier hoped that there might be 'a public celebration of the unique event' which 'would cement the bond of good fellowship and friendship which ought to prevail between honourable opponents.' It forecast 'in the annals of the game this will be known as the Liverpool year.'<sup>62</sup>

The Liverpool Echo, in keeping with its more populist tone, was even more forthright in pressing the significance of the twin victories. These proved Liverpudlians were the godly elect, the chosen race of the national game. 'We are THE people of football' was the boast under the headline 'Our Cup. Liverpool City take all the honours.'<sup>63</sup> No doubt moved by the coincidence that the celebrations took place on St. George's Day, the leader column proclaimed 'the footballers of the Mersey city the envy of all the towns...when the heroes return let us reward their labours with our unstinted applause...that they may know that in our eyes they represent the pluck, the endurance and the dash of the great Red Rose.'<sup>64</sup> Football and Englishness were explicitly linked. The power of the sport to forge this mystic union

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<sup>61</sup> Liverpool Football Echo, 21 April 1906.

<sup>62</sup> Liverpool Courier, 23 April 1906.

<sup>63</sup> Liverpool Echo, 23 April 1906.

<sup>64</sup> ibid.



Figure 2- In 1906, Liverpool were League Champions and Everton won the F.A. Cup.

SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1906.

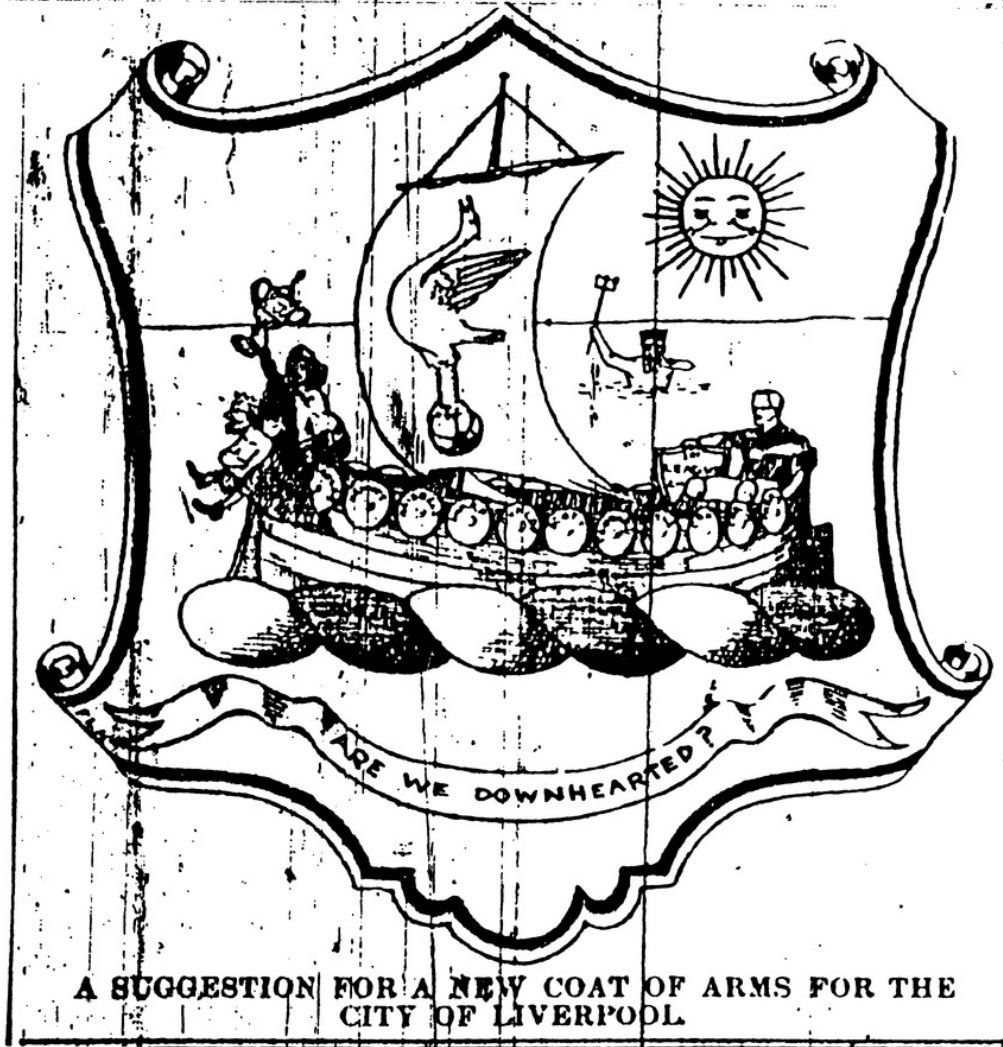


Figure 3- Liverpool's civic coat of arms reinterpreted.

should be seen as all the greater since Liverpool's star player, Alex Raisbeck, and two of his Everton counterparts, were Scots.

Professionalism in football had intensified the dilemma of how identification with a local club, and a sense of civic pride could be squared with the reality of teams patently made up of 'outsiders'. The Liverpool Athletic Times even suggested that local patriotism, 'steadfast allegiance to the organisation which represents one's native town or district and pride the superiority of such town or district over its neighbours' was no longer a feature of football. 'The townsmen of Slocum take no delight in beating the townsmen of Podger...whether the team which bears the name of the town is constituted of fellow townsmen' or 'of Zulus or Afghans is immaterial.'<sup>65</sup> Most people, however, adopted the commonsense attitude that such a Dickensian ideal was not attainable because League success, and the civic glory which attended it, was best pursued by engaging the best players, regardless of origin.

This knotty issue could be cut by an informal recognition of players as honorary Liverpudlians. In 1889, the Liverpool Review claimed that 'Geordie Farmer, the oldest Evertonian has almost been Liverpoolised.'<sup>66</sup> The Review similarly celebrated a Liverpool victory over West Bromwich Albion on 'foreign soil' in 1897 as proof of 'what Liverpudlians can do when put to the test.' It is striking that such a conclusion could be drawn about a team nicknamed 'the team of the Macs'.<sup>67</sup> Even the Liverpool Athletic Times did not allow its misgivings to grow to the point of demanding an outright rejection of outsiders, but instead proposed a three years' residential qualification as sufficient to acquire naturalisation rights.

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<sup>65</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 7 February 1893.

<sup>66</sup> Liverpool Review, 26 October 1889.

<sup>67</sup> The first ever Liverpool team fielded contained no Englishmen but eight surnames with the 'Mac' prefix (see Kelly, Hamlyn Illustrated History of Liverpool, p.7.) and thirteen signings from Scotland were in the squad.

As in 1906, success, or the promise of success could make the boundaries of civic identity more malleable. Individual citizens and civic authorities were eager to bask in the glory of football teams, and so the sport was accorded a place in the pantheon of municipal virtue. AS Hill has argued, 'the reception of the Cup Final team was gradually transformed from being a spontaneous celebration of *club* into a semi-official glorification of *town*. The reception was appropriated into civic ideology.'<sup>68</sup> The relationships between city, nation and empire could be rethought and recast through football to add to the honour of being a citizen of Liverpool. A correspondent in the Liverpool Courier suggested

*The second city of the Empire has achieved the height of urban ambition by becoming the first city of the Empire in the football sense...let us show our appreciation practically by burying the hatchet for ever and becoming ardent supporters of both teams, loyally impartial in our local patriotism, proud of our local prestige by whichever club obtained. Thus may we hope for the football millenium when every football enthusiast will be in deed and in truth an Evertonian- Liverpoolitan.*<sup>69</sup>

The Lord Mayor himself was sharply aware that this was a civic moment of some import. Addressing the Everton and Liverpool directors as he was handed the Cup for inspection by the Everton captain, he said he

*felt he could do no less in his official capacity as Chief Magistrate of the city than be present at their arrival...He felt it was his duty to congratulate the team on behalf of the citizens of Liverpool upon their triumph. At least one half of the male citizens of Liverpool and a large proportion of the female population were sympathisers with the game of football.*<sup>70</sup>

This was the formal expression of a remarkable surge of popular enthusiasm. The Liverpool Daily Post and the Liverpool Courier concurred in describing the celebrations as worthy of comparison with Mafeking night. That contemporaries turned to an Imperial analogy to

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<sup>68</sup> J. Hill, 'Rites of Spring: Cup Finals and Community in the North of England' in Hill and Williams, Sport and Identity, p.160.

<sup>69</sup> Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

<sup>70</sup> Liverpool Echo, 24 April 1906.

express footballing success is revealing. The Liverpool Courier claimed 'The spectacle quite eclipsed that which would be seen on the occasion of a Royal visit. 'Mafeking night' bore a closer similitude, but the crowds of last evening were much in excess of those which thronged the streets of Liverpool on that historic occasion.'<sup>71</sup> The Liverpool Daily Post reported the events under the suggestive headline of 'Cup Mafficking.'<sup>72</sup>

Thousands of people took part in a torchlight procession accompanied by bands. 'Partisans of both Everton and Liverpool clubs shared alike in the enthusiasm.'<sup>73</sup> The route followed originated in Ranelagh Street, outside Central Station, and proceeded past the city's foremost civic building, St. George's Hall, and continued through the heart of the Irish district, up Scotland Road. Previous civic receptions, such as that of the Prince of Wales in 1881, had only ventured up Scotland Road cautiously<sup>74</sup>, but the football parade had no hesitation in choosing this passage.

There was further evidence of an entente between the clubs as the procession wound its way towards Goodison. A man nicknamed 'Nuggets', sparingly yet eloquently described by the Liverpool Daily Post as 'fat', boomed out 'Are we downhearted?' and periodically asked for cheers for Liverpool and Newcastle. Both sets of fans were happy to enter Goodison where there were shouts of 'Play up the Reds! Play up the Blues! Play up the town! League Cup!

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<sup>71</sup> Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

<sup>72</sup> Liverpool Daily Post, 24 April 1906. Stan Kelly writes, 'My father was convinced that the destinies of his beloved Liverpool F.C. were somehow divinely intertwined with those of the British nation. He blamed our early setbacks in the Boer War on West Bromwich who knocked Liverpool out of the Cup in the second round in 1899. To those who queried the logic of this, he was quick to point out, as proof positive, that Mafeking was relieved only when Liverpool won the First Division Championship in 1900.' Quoted in D. Hodgson, The Liverpool Football Book, London, 1970, p.7.

<sup>73</sup> Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

<sup>74</sup> Sir W.B. Forwood, Recollections of a Busy Life, Liverpool, 1920, p.91. Forwood explained that as the Prince's cortege entered Scotland Road, the carriage was sped up and the outriders came in closer to its wheels.

English Cup!' In all it was estimated that 150000 people in a city with a population of 700000 had watched the Cup procession, making it 'the most remarkable popular demonstration that had ever taken place within the city boundaries.'<sup>75</sup>

An explanation for such powerful identity with football clubs is best sought in the social and emotional nexus between supporters and clubs and not in the extension of the cash nexus to sport. Although historians such as Tony Mason and James Walvin and sociologists such as Rogan Taylor<sup>76</sup> have shown an awareness of these analytical dimensions, theoretical frameworks to explain this sort of support are underdeveloped. Too often, the existence of support has been taken as given.

Even when analysis has turned to the social and occupational background of supporters, the nature of the emotional bond between supporters and clubs has been overlooked.<sup>77</sup> Wray Vamplew observed in Pay up and Play the Game that 'the assumptions of economists are often the research topics of other social scientists.'<sup>78</sup> The preface explained that this otherwise impressive work was not concerned with 'why people play or watch sport...I have taken it as given that many people wish to participate, vicariously or actively, in sport of some kind.'<sup>79</sup>

The result of these analytical shortcomings has been to divorce support from its fundamental components of identity and participation. Efforts to illustrate the dominance of market forces or the Gramscian hegemony of ideology over working-class supporters have thus tended to

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<sup>75</sup> Liverpool Daily Post, 24 April 1906.

<sup>76</sup> see A. Mason's Association Football and English Society, J. Walvin's The People's Game, London, 1975 and R. Taylor's Football and its Fans, Leicester, 1992.

<sup>77</sup> Exceptions to this trend are R. Holt's Working Class Football and the City and W. Vamplew, 'Ungentlemanly Conduct: The control of Soccer-crowd behaviour in England 1888-1914' in The Search for Wealth and Stability, (ed. T. Smout) London, 1979.

<sup>78</sup> Vamplew, Pay up and Play the Game, p.18.

<sup>79</sup> ibid., p.xv.

treat supporters as an inert mass. The significance of the tie of support was however, that it provided many attractions; a wealth of myths and heroes; a meaningful temporal structure for the week; a purpose for planning savings; an entry into new experiences of travel and comradeship; a possible avenue to a more exalted social function; a world of specialised knowledge where educational disadvantages were no bar to becoming a savant and a burgeoning awareness of the rights which being a consumer might bestow. For the imbalance in historical evaluation to be redressed, there must be some attempt to restore the legitimacy of the magical and imaginative allure of football as a theoretical concept.

The folklore of the game entwined classical stories, urban myths and heroic exploits to fashion a vivid emotional landscape. Although it must be conceded that the allusions made in some of the literature connected with the game would have eluded a mass audience, the employment of such imagery and devices is significant. The widespread use of classical comparisons indicates that they were believed appropriate to express the grandeur of football. Even when allowance has been made for hyperbole, itself a classical literary technique, the sagas of football were clearly adjudged worthy of epic treatment. Football journalism was characterised by the language of gladiators and amphitheatres, battlefields and laurel wreaths and combat and glory. Newspapers both chronicled the romance of football on the written page and lent events on the field an added lustre- creating as well as recording myths.

A journalist for the Liverpool Review opened his piece on his first experience of football by declaring 'it would be sacrilege to compare the enclosed field of the Everton Football Club...with the Amphitheatre of Titus'. Having thus blasphemed he continued,

*It is a most impressive thing to see twelve thousand people- a sea of faces- standing and sitting within the barriers which enclose the green upon which the game is to be played. Then the players with their tight fitting costumes and naked muscles peeping out bring to mind recollections of Rome and her gladiators. Football played as it is at Everton is deprived of its brutality and raised to a high degree of skill.<sup>80</sup>*

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<sup>80</sup> Liverpool Review, 25 October 1890.

Having fallen under the spell of football, he concluded: 'My visit was an experience which I would not have missed, and which I am sorry to have delayed for so long.'

In a similar vein, another article, inspired by Byron's poem The Dying Gladiator, compared the crowd noise from Anfield with 'the shouts that went up from the Flavian amphitheatre when the fierce combatant, whose rude hut by the Danube lay, succumbed to his adversary and was butchered to make a Roman holiday.'<sup>81</sup> The Liverpool Review did not count many of the working classes amongst its readership, being aimed at the better educated middle class. It is noteworthy then, that the glamour of football was attractive to different sections of society. Clifford Geertz has famously defined culture as the stories which people tell themselves about themselves. Football's ability to provide plots and characters for many such tales was prodigious.

The classical experience of mass spectator sport was an appealing model for the more educated to interpret football. There was a pleasing fit between the centrality of the amphitheatre to Roman civic life and the emergence of football as the sport of the new imperial order. The classical allusions also raised the game's intellectual credibility to justify it as a respectable passion for middle class men. Note, for example, the language used by the Oxford-educated Liverpool lawyer and local Conservative M.P., F.E. Smith. He pointed out that Athens

*where sane and discriminating judgment bound immortal garlands upon the brow of the athlete, produced poetry more sweet, philosophy more profound and history more elevated than it has been granted to the specialists of intellect in a later generation to achieve.*<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Liverpool Review, 6 March 1897.

<sup>82</sup> F.E. Smith, 'The Vogue of Games- Is it worth it?' in The New Fry's Magazine, Vol.1 No.1, April 1911, p.10.

Smith was conspicuously present at Liverpool and Everton's triumphs in 1906, filling the F.A. Cup with champagne for the Everton players. His thoughts appeared in The New Fry's Magazine, a periodical whose existence was an additional indication that essays and *pensees* about sport were to be taken seriously.

The Liverpool University magazine, The Sphinx, approved of Lord Rosebery's claim- 'I know of no sport which affords such lessons for national success as Association Football...the meanest intellect can grasp that it implies incessant watchfulness...that indolence and selfishness are fatal.'<sup>83</sup> The Sphinx had recognised the intellectual and physical appeal of the game in an earlier article.

*It has been questioned whether a man who has never played football can be said to have really lived and it is indisputable that certain of life's pleasures are to him as a sealed book...the science of the accurate centre and the screwing shot which gives the goalkeeper no chance...He must be left to his own fate, probably that of increasing corpulence and subsequent dyspepsia.*<sup>84</sup>

The links between the University and the city's football teams were further reinforced because the University First XI occasionally used Anfield as their home ground.

More populist papers, such as the Liverpool Football Echo, paraded colourful images of football culture. A confident Liverpool accepts humble Everton's congratulations on a victory over Aston Villa in *figure 4*.<sup>85</sup> Liverpool, dressed in shorts which bear a resemblance to the garb of a Boer War general, stands against the rays of the setting sun. Behind him the dejected 'Villans' trudge homeward with heads bowed, leaving him master of the battlefield which is strewn with corpses and with the broken frame of some goal-posts. The personifications of

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<sup>83</sup> Quoted by The Sphinx, Vol. VIII no.3, December 1900.

<sup>84</sup> The Sphinx, Vol. III no.23, December 1895.

<sup>85</sup> Liverpool Football Echo, 17 November 1900.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1900.



**LIVERPOOL'S WHOLESALÉ SLAUGHTER OF THE VILLAINS**

Evefton. — Oh — er — may I congratulate you on — er — your — um — what shall I say? —

Liverpool. — Tut, dear chap! Don't mention it. Assure you it was a — er — very simple smash up — no exertion — er — no.

Figure 4- Football as a metaphor for war.

Mersey and Tyne as bearded Neptunes reaching out for the F.A. Cup of 1906 were a further example of how football issues might be visualised (*figure 5*).<sup>86</sup>

Spectators evidently went to football matches to watch men kicking a ball, not expecting lions to burst from the dressing rooms or trident-wielders to emerge dripping from the ocean depths. But the imagery and literature of football affirmed the sublime quality of the game. Football matches and players were elevated from the mundane to become the objects of cultic fascination.

A poem now in the Goodison archives immortalised the early Everton hero George Farmer.

*Have you seen George Farmer play  
If not- you've missed a treat-  
His 'demon' arrows spectators say  
Have never yet been beat  
The sympathic Anfield crowd  
Sing Geordie's praises long and loud.*

*E'en children in their humble cot  
Have learnt to lisp his name  
And if reverses are our lot  
George Farmer's not to blame...*

*I care not where you go  
May Everton still hold their own  
Against their mightiest foe.<sup>87</sup>*

In 1892, when Charles Edwardes claimed that football 'is a passion nowadays and not merely a recreation', he explained that players had become

*objects of the popular adoration. They go to their wars in saloon carriages. Their supporters attend them to the railway station to wish them 'God speed' and later in the evening meet them on their return...They are better known than the local Members*

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<sup>86</sup> Liverpool Football Echo, 12 April 1906.

<sup>87</sup> Geordie Farmer- Old Everton's Pride, typewritten manuscript available in a box-file of cuttings held at Goodison Park, Liverpool.

# THE FOOTBALL CUP FINAL.



FATHER TIME: "My Cup, I believe!"

FATHER MERCURY: "Yes—after me!"

[The above is reproduced from the "Sporting Mail," Birmingham. May it prove prophetic.]

Figure 5- Tyne and Mersey contest the 1906 F.A. Cup.

*of Parliament...Even in their workaday dress they cannot move in their native streets without receiving orations enough to turn the head of a Prime Minister.*<sup>88</sup>

The powerful identification with football clubs can only be appreciated fully if due attention is paid to their legends and heroes. Football grounds, for better or worse, have always been theatres of dreams.

A football match was the social and emotional pinnacle of the week. As the Liverpool Athletic Times argued, 'many thousands of people enjoy their half holiday in the football field...look forward keenly to the healthy excitement and recreation to be derived from the Saturday afternoon's match of the organisation to which they hold allegiance.'<sup>89</sup> In his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws in 1898, Liverpool's Chief Constable, Captain Nott-Bower, related that 'a great number of working men, the instant they get paid, rush off home as quickly as they can, get a wash and change, leave their wages with their wives and are off to see the football.'<sup>90</sup>

Special fixtures such as the F.A. Cup final were such that the domestic budget for the year might be planned around them. In 1906, the Liverpool Courier mused,

*It is extraordinary to what pains the most enthusiastic lovers of the winter pastime will go in order to witness the final struggle for the English Cup...clubs were started with the purpose of providing the wherewithal to undertake the journey, just as the cotton operatives in Oldham pay so much per week into what they term 'gully' clubs in order to meet the expense of their annual week's holiday.'*<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Edwardes, New Football Mania, pp. 622 and 623.

<sup>89</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 20 September 1892.

<sup>90</sup> Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws, Parliamentary Papers Vol. XXXVI, 1898, Cd. no. 8693, p.2.

<sup>91</sup> Liverpool Courier, 24 April 1906.

The Cup Final was not the only fixture for which such financial planning was necessary. From the earliest days, fans had been prepared to pay to travel with their team. In 1890, 1500 Evertonians accompanied the Blues to Bolton and 8000 took advantage of cheap rail fares to visit the champions, Preston. Travelling under the aegis of their respective clubs, supporters could enjoy visiting new towns and seeing unfamiliar sights, as well as confirming esprit de corps amongst supporters. At Derby in 1890, the Liverpool Athletic Times reported

*The usual enthusiastic crowd of 'King John's' retainers accompanied the boys on their journey to Derby, which, by the way, so far as scenery is concerned, is one of the most beautiful imaginable and was much enjoyed by the occupants of at least one compartment who discarded the cards and the usual nap in favour of the belle vue.<sup>92</sup>*

At the matches themselves, conditions might not be so comfortable. That many were prepared to endure discomfort is an indication of their commitment to their clubs

*It is astonishing what the average football enthusiast will go through in order to get a good view of a match in which the club he owes allegiance is taking part. If by taking up his position an hour or two before the start, he secures a favourable coign of vantage from which to witness the struggle, the fact of being half frozen during the wait is a mere trifle to him.<sup>93</sup>*

Such stoic heroism and sacrifice in the name of the club heightened the emotional pitch of loyalty. The participative nature of support and the organisation of social intercourse around football tied these imagined, alternative communities together. Chanting and singing were the exception before the Great War, but the expressions of solidarity could be no less boisterous. During an 1891 clash between Everton and Preston attended by 20000, the Liverpool Echo stated 'A loud hurrah and flourish of trumpets and foghorns greeted a good bit of passing by Holt, Kirkwood and Latta.'<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 16 December 1890.

<sup>93</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 18 November 1890.

<sup>94</sup> Liverpool Echo, 10 January 1891.

The shared experiences of the game would continue into the evening. Following a defeat by Preston the previous year in the so-called 'Battle of Deepdale', the Liverpool Athletic Times lamented 'many were the expressions of regret heard at the places where footballers most do congregate on Saturday night.'<sup>95</sup> The purveyors of entertainment recognised that an appeal to supporters' football identities was a means of attracting their custom. The Royal Wine Bar of South John Street advertised that arrangements had been made 'to have the telegraphic results of all the Principal Football Matches, both half-time and finals. This pleasant lounge has been entirely redecorated and refurnished, and is one of the favourite resorts of Liverpool athletes.' On the same page, the Lecture Hall in Everton Road was suggesting its 'Popular Saturday Evening Concerts' to 'the Members of the EVERTON FOOTBALL CLUB and their Supporters' as 'the Place to spend your Saturday Nights.'<sup>96</sup>

The scalene geometry between an individual's status and role in the football community and his wider social position opened opportunities to a degree of informal social mobility. Hence, the corpulent 'Nuggets', otherwise an insignificant figure in civic life, achieved celebrity and revelled in a position of leadership in orchestrating the songs and banter which welcomed the English Cup in 1906. For adolescents, football could be a rite of passage into manhood and an expression of independence. Two oral testimonies illustrate this.

At fourteen, Bert Fearn<sup>97</sup> moved with his parents from Southport to Liverpool. His parents sent him to stay in Rock Ferry on the Wirral with his aunt and her two grown-up sons. They worked at Cammell Laird's shipyard and were aged about 25. Bert recalled that they were

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<sup>95</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 25 November 1890.

<sup>96</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 9 December 1890. Elsewhere in the same issue, the Liverpool Athletic Times recounted that the audience for the first in this series of concerts was 'not as numerous as the attractions merited.' The organisers evidently believed that the popular appeal of football might constitute a possible advertising strategy.

<sup>97</sup> I am grateful to Andy Tennant of BBC Radio Merseyside for providing me with a tape of Bert Fearn's reminiscences. The tape of How I Became an Evertonian was never broadcast owing to poor sound quality and Bert died recently.

'rabid Liverpudlians, nothing was worthwhile in football except what Liverpool did.' He confessed that he 'rather resented this' and so one day in January 1911, finding himself with sixpence to spend, he saw an advert in the Liverpool Echo for Everton's F.A. Cup tie with Bury. 'I got the boat across, I'd never been to Liverpool except with my mother and father.' Bert caught a tram to Spellow Lane and followed the crowds to Goodison Park. He had seen Southport Central matches but admitted 'a First Division team like Everton was something out of this world.' Tempted by a gargantuan Eccles cake, Bert spent his penny for the tram home and had to walk to Pierhead for the return ferry.

When he arrived home late, his two cousins asked where he had been. 'I just blandly said, "I've been to Goodison Park." The two grown-up sons they stood up out of their chairs..."You went to Goodison Park- on your own?"...I couldn't have put the cat amongst the pigeons better.' The next Saturday Bert's cousins came home from work, washed and changed, and announced 'Come on, you're going to Anfield to see a real football team.' As Bert commented 'their idea was by taking me to Anfield they'd get the lure of Goodison out of me, but they never did. I've remained an Evertonian ever since.'

Percy Harwood<sup>98</sup> lived in Crosby and attended his first match in 1913. He explains 'all my brothers were Liverpudlians so I decided I'd be an Evertonian...it was always mixed...you'd get wives being Liverpudlian and husbands Evertonian.' The decision of which club to support could therefore be an important psychological moment, linked with issues such as sibling rivalry and adolescent expressions of autonomy and independence.

Alongside prominent supporters, those with recognised superior knowledge of the game might earn respect and a degree of authority amongst their peers. As has already been noted, the unpredictable nature of the game made questions of player selection and tactical approach

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<sup>98</sup> I would like to take this opportunity to thank Percy for agreeing to be interviewed in July 1997. I am also indebted to Linda McDermott of BBC Radio Merseyside and Dr. Rogan Taylor of Liverpool University for their assistance in making the interview possible.

to a large degree subjective. Moreover, football knowledge did not have to be acquired through formal institutions and did not depend on accidents of birth or commerce. Knowledge and the status which it could deliver were in the public domain. In 1896, Everton made a mediocre start to the season with eight points from seven games; and the Liverpool Review carried an ominous warning for the club's directors.

*I can imagine such replies as 'The directors don't know their business', 'The team is badly balanced', 'Some of the players are not worth their places'...there are ways and means of dealing with directors as there are ways and means of dealing with recalcitrant and inferior players...Any and every sane follower of the game with the interest of the club at heart must have known at the time, that when Mr. George Mahon was allowed to resign active participation in the affairs of the Everton organisation, a very severe blow was dealt...That a change in the personnel or the methods of the present directors is imperative goes without saying.<sup>99</sup>*

A fortnight later came evidence that these protests had not gone unheeded. The Liverpool Review revealed that

*The executive have come to an arrangement...the selection of the team is to be left to a more limited number of officials for the future...Mr. 'Dick' Molyneux, the able and well experienced secretary of the club should have a say in the naming of every team...There are ruling spirits connected with the Everton organisation who, from a practical point of view, scarcely understand the rudiments of the game.<sup>100</sup>*

George Mahon was also induced to return to the club in 1897, and while it would be mistaken to believe it was the sole cause, the power which supporters could exercise en masse should not be underestimated, particularly where allies could be found in the Press.

Developing this theme of knowledge, it is instructive to consider the importance which Benedict Anderson has attached to shared language in allowing the construction of 'imagined communities'. He argues that 'print languages' fostered a communal self-consciousness which

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<sup>99</sup> Liverpool Courier, 31 October 1896.

<sup>100</sup> Liverpool Review, 14 November 1896.

formed 'the embryo of the nationally imagined community.'<sup>101</sup> In such a variegated city as Liverpool, class, religion, nationality, political persuasion and date of incorporation within the city's boundaries<sup>102</sup> presented potential and actual fault lines. Football terminology might provoke an awareness of communities at whose core was the ennoblement and celebration of civic patriotism through football (and vice versa). The notion of 'Liverpoolness' thus acquired, constituted a significant (and sometimes the paramount) element of civic identity.

Imagination and emotion can serve to illuminate bonds of support and identity, but do not represent the limits of participation. Supporters were quick to stand on what they perceived as their rights. Therefore any portrayal of football as a commodity or as a bourgeois financial venture must reflect that an application of capitalist ideology could protect, and even advance, the rights of the working-class paying supporter. Admission cost 6d and attendance figures and gate receipts show a steady increase in paying crowds (see *figures 6 and 7*). After a goalless match between Liverpool and West Bromwich Albion in 1896, the Liverpool Review argued that crowds would not 'pay to witness defensive expositions of the association code. The man who pays his sixpence, and he is **the** supporter of football, wants to see goals...he wants something for his money.'<sup>103</sup> Supporters invested in the club through buying tickets and were justified in expecting a return.

A journalist for the Liverpool Review proposed further incursions into the directorial realm of decision-making.

*I do not consider the necessary expenditure to bring to Everton the very best players in the country and to pay them as such to be an extravagance. The supporters find ample means and it is for the directors to see that the play is kept at a high standard so that value is received...Hitherto that value has been wanting, the expenditure on*

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<sup>101</sup> B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, London, 1991, p.44.

<sup>102</sup> Liverpool's boundaries expanded on several occasions around the turn of the century. Hence, any allegiances felt for Everton and Liverpool could offer a starting point for the inhabitants of newly incorporated districts to evolve an identity within the city.

<sup>103</sup> Liverpool Review, 3 October 1896.

Everton F.C. Gate Receipts 1891-1914

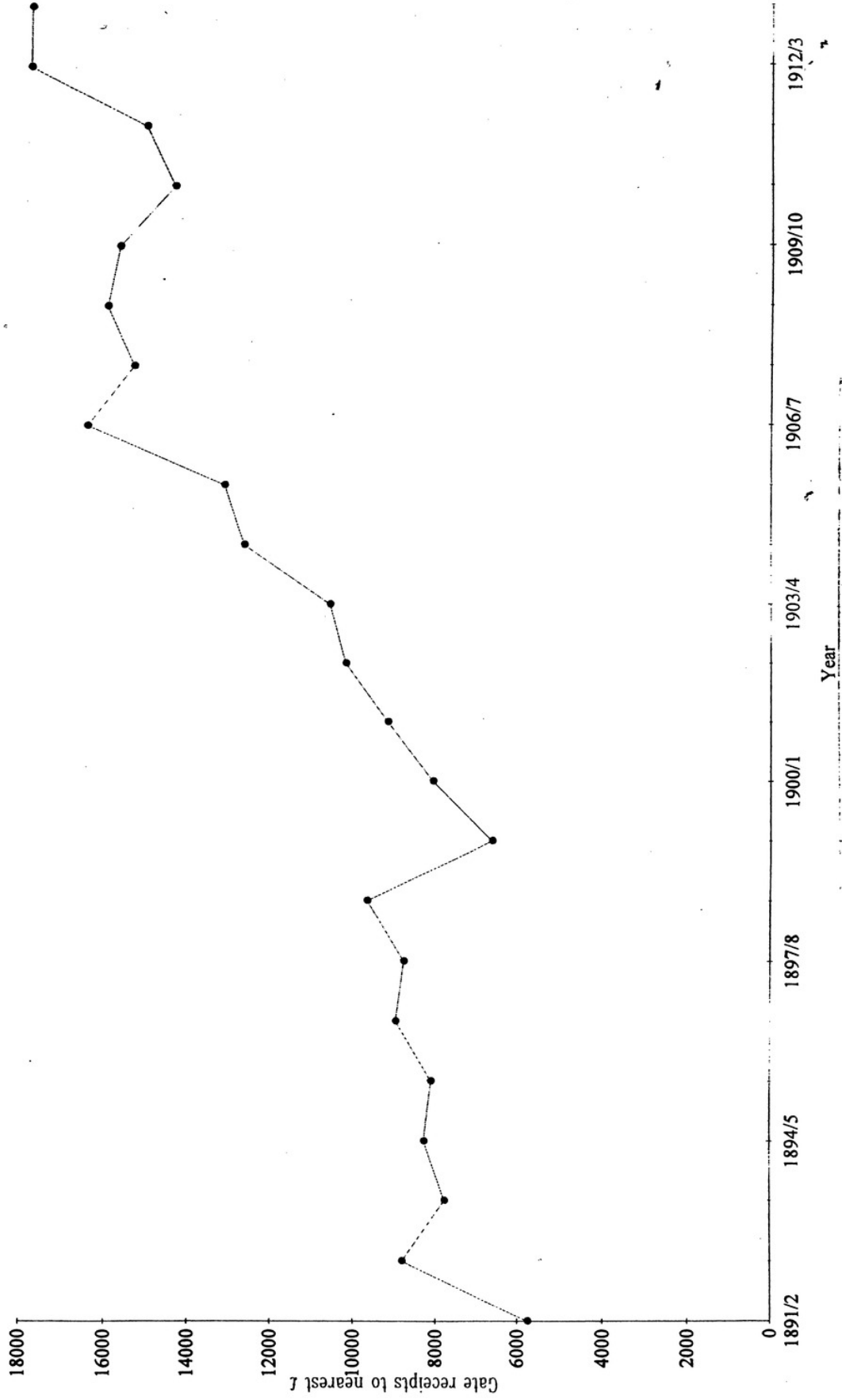


Figure 6- Everton gate receipts.

Liverpool FC Attendance  
1892-1914

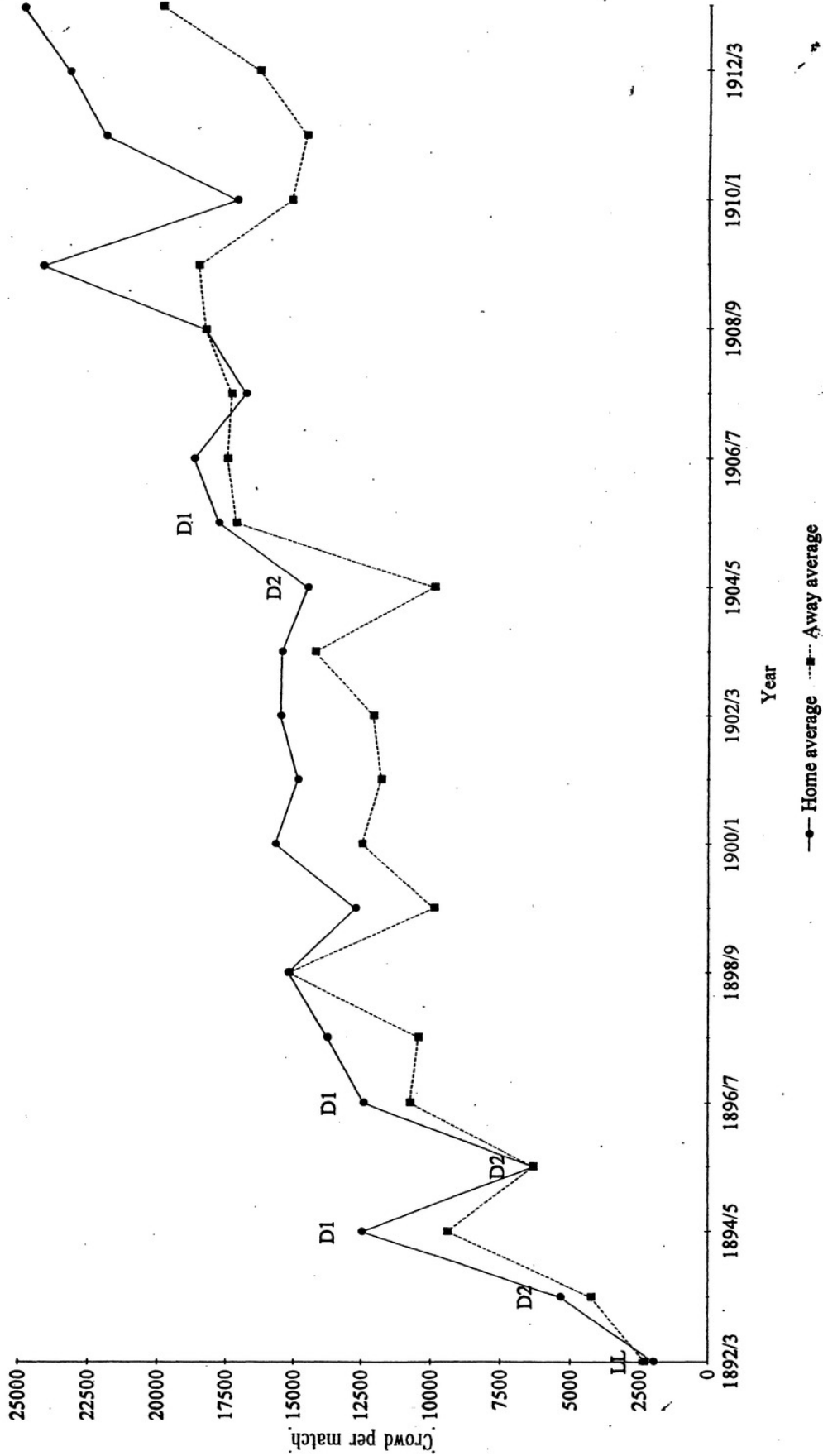


Figure 7- Liverpool attendances.

*players has been of a cheeseparer character, whilst the expenses of management have been practically unlimited.*

His solution was to advise the appointment of a team manager to take charge of the team and to keep management expenses down. The clear image which emerges from such attacks on the directors is that they were perceived not as owners but as trustees. The club was less a personal fiefdom than a community. It was based on popular consent and footballing excellence, just as the British Empire thrived on democratic foundations and military and commercial success. This depiction of directors as trustees deriving their authority from popular consent was the organising principle of club administration. The existence of such a paradigm for directors to work within placed limits upon their autonomy, yet it was a paradigm to which they openly subscribed.

A meeting of Everton shareholders in 1895 affords an example. George Mahon chaired the meeting which concerned proposals to buy Goodison Park outright, and he adumbrated his reasons for supporting this initiative.

*He wished the shareholders to understand that there were no commissions, no watering of stock, or loading of the capital in any shape or form, and that everything in connection with the price was absolutely free from shares and commissions and clean and above board. (Applause.) The workmen of Liverpool represented the backbone of their club, and the directors had always recognised the necessity for providing for them amply and fully. (Hear, hear.)<sup>104</sup>*

Social functions, surrogate identities and rights conferred by knowledge and by purchase were aspects of the relationship between supporters and clubs which contribute to an understanding of why the ties could be so strong. The account advanced above indicates the rich social and emotional weave to working-class support of football, and a similar tapestry knitted bourgeois shareholders to clubs.

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<sup>104</sup> A cutting from an unidentified Liverpool paper found in the Liverpool and Everton Football Club papers at Liverpool Central Library.

A ledger of share transfers survives in the vault at Goodison Park. By using this record in conjunction with Gore's Liverpool Directories and street maps of the city, it is possible to reassemble a mosaic of the residential and occupational backgrounds of Everton shareholders between 1895 and 1909. When Everton F.C. became a limited liability company, a capital of £500 was allocated in £1 shares. Thomas Keates explained that each member was 'to be allowed one share, 10/- to be called up in monthly installments of 2/6. Such shares as were not taken up to be allotted as the Directors may determine.'<sup>105</sup>

The price of the shares and the initial limit of one per member encouraged a wide basis of ownership. On examining the evidence of the transfers, it would appear that Everton F.C. was mostly owned by members of the lower middle class with firm physical ties to the area. The districts of Everton, Kirkdale, Walton and Anfield, within two miles of Goodison Park, (boxes F,I,J,O and P in *figure 8*) encompassed an overwhelming majority of the share transfers between 1895 and 1909 comprising 73.4%. Moreover, the transfer record was much fuller for those purchasing than for those selling shares. Consequently, the 139 shareholders depicted for whom addresses can be identified were mostly buying rather than selling shares and *figure 8* is, if anything, a more reliable guide to patterns of acquisition than of sale. This is important, since it indicates that share ownership was centripetal over time.

This centripetal tendency assumes greater significance when it is set against the centrifugal trend of the middle-class 'flight to the suburbs'. The hinge of the twentieth century witnessed 'a general movement of evacuation...from big cities.'<sup>106</sup> The portrayal of middle-class involvement in football as guided by the dictates of commerce and as reflecting bourgeois hegemony bears scant resemblance to the Everton data. Residentially, Everton's shareholders were not typical of the prosperous middle class colonising the new suburbs. Instead, they were rooted to the very heartlands of the club around the spiritual centre of Goodison Park.

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<sup>105</sup> Keates, History of Everton, p.39.

<sup>106</sup> P.J. Waller, Town, City and Nation: England 1850-1914, Oxford, 1983, p.144.

**GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF  
EFC SHAREHOLDERS LISTED 1995-1909**

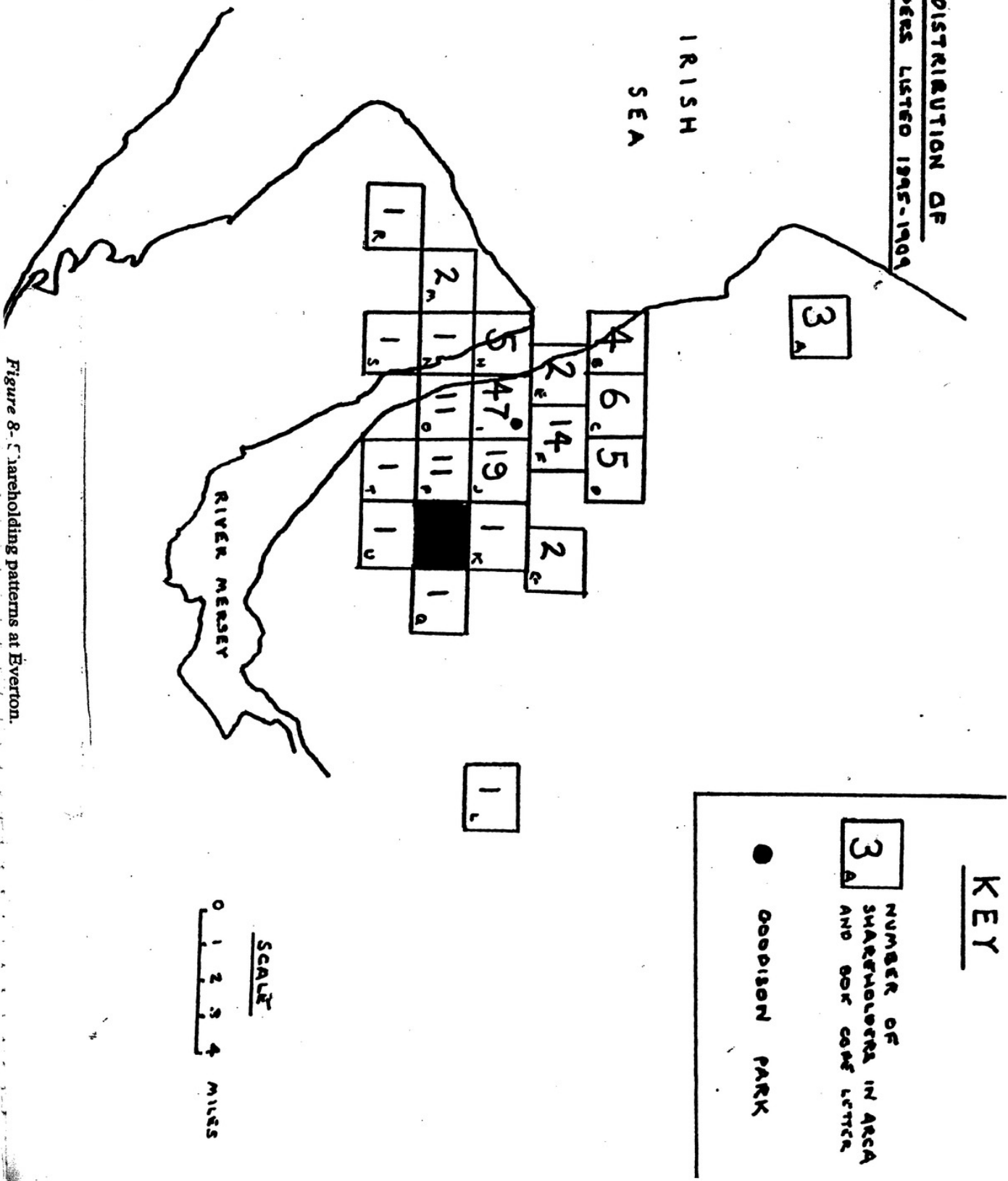


Figure 8. Shareholding patterns at Everton.

Occupationally, too, they were predominantly from the lower middle class- 53% of the occupations of shareholders may be summarised as retail and clerical administration. Of these 38 shareholders, 30 (equivalent to 78.9%) lived in boxes F,I,J,O and P in *Figure 8*. Combining these figures reveals that 41.7% of the Everton shareholders whose occupation can be ascertained were engaged in retail or clerical administration and lived in the districts immediately adjacent to Goodison Park.<sup>107</sup>

In 1871, the former secretary of the Liverpool Clerk's Provident and Annuity Association, B.G. Orchard<sup>108</sup> had written a booklet outlining the peculiar social position of men of this class. After commenting on the wide divergences in lifestyle and salary which different clerks experienced, Orchard cited one clerk who claimed 'however intelligent and estimable a man may be- however dignified and agreeable he is in his bearing- if someone but whispers 'he is only a clerk' at once he is at a discount, and almost anybody takes precedence of him.'<sup>109</sup> Orchard also quoted a correspondent to the Liverpool Courier,

*Clerks...have a position as well as a salary. They pride themselves on that position. In virtue thereof they indulge in much liberty of action which other classes of servants do not enjoy. They call themselves their masters' equals and demand recognition as such.*<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> The analysis of share transfers set out here may be contrasted with Vamplew's figures on p.296 of Pay up and Play the Game. His analysis was based on a single year, and he treated all shareholders within a twenty five mile radius as 'local'. He classified 38.9% of Everton shareholders in his managerial, clerical and supervisory categories and a further 12% as proprietors and employers.

<sup>108</sup> Orchard was the author of Liverpool's Legion of Honour, Birkenhead, 1893. This was a survey of the leading citizens of Liverpool and the surrounding district.

<sup>109</sup> B.G. Orchard, The Clerks of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1871, p.7.

<sup>110</sup> ibid., p.44.

For such men, keen to defend their own status, the football clubs which dominated the conversation of the district and whose fortunes were followed by the Liverpool Exchange, presented an opportunity to assert their position. As John Lowerson has contended, late Victorian society was one in which 'social differentiation had become sufficiently complex and mature to allow active recreations to become significant criteria of demarcation.'<sup>111</sup> For clerks, sport could be a 'means of establishing the minor differentials so important because they could rarely afford the geographical distancing which suburban sprawl made possible for the higher reaches of the middle class.'<sup>112</sup> Retailers, who might own a small business but lack social status, would have been subject to similar anxieties.

This residential and occupational analysis of Everton's shareholders indicates that football clubs could perform valued functions for the lower middle class as well as the working class. The pattern of share-ownership was not a simple replication of Liverpool's wider socio-economic relationships. Instead it offered an opportunity for a lower middle class with close physical connections to the districts around Goodison Park, to stake a claim to status and social precedence which they were otherwise denied. Comparable data for Liverpool F.C. are not available, but as Anfield was less than a mile away and as the shares also held an initial value of £1, there seems little reason to posit a substantially different pattern of ownership. Wray Vamplew's data for Liverpool provides an approximate means of comparison, classifying 56.8% of Liverpool shareholders in the managerial, clerical and supervisory categories.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> J. Lowerson, Sport and the English middle classes 1870/ 1914, Manchester, 1993, p.2. Wray Vamplew has noted the contribution of clerks to organised sport in Birmingham in terms of providing administrative skills in Pay up and Play the Game, p.157.

<sup>112</sup> Lowerson, Sport and the English middle classes, p.11.

<sup>113</sup> Vamplew, Pay up and Play the Game, p.296.

Vamplew has concluded that 'local identification was important to the soccer shareholder and clearly there was little or no blind investment.'<sup>114</sup> In the shareholding relationship, football emerges as rather less of a commodity, and rather more of a community. Charles Korr's study of the major shareholders at West Ham United supports the Everton experience. All of the twenty one biggest shareholders were self-employed or semi-professional men and all but one lived in the vicinity of the club.<sup>115</sup>

The argument has proceeded from a masculine perspective up to this point. If women's experiences of football are evaluated, it will be seen that the 'football community' was defined by exclusion as well as inclusion.

Football was an avowedly masculine pastime. The attacks on the game which were such a feature of its late Victorian and Edwardian development, focussed on allegations that spectatorism was threatening national deterioration and called for more recognisably martial forms of exercise, such as drill on Prussian lines, to replace the potentially decadent influence of football. The response was to emphasise the 'manly' nature of football.

Nathan Howard's pamphlet Football: How to Become a Great and Good Player, published in Liverpool in 1894, typified the martial strain which became a feature of football writing. He advised his young readers that

*A foot-ball team should be looked upon as a storming party, ever ready to attack or defend individually, in sets of twos and threes, and in a body...I believe that a thoroughly equipped team could be so marshalled as to be able to storm the goal of the strongest opponents now existing...and this at the word of command.*<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> ibid., p.159.

<sup>115</sup> Korr, West Ham United, p.10.

<sup>116</sup> N. Howard, Football: How to Become a Great and Good Player, Liverpool, 1894, p.16.

The Liverpool Athletic Times rallied to football's defence amid the 'cries of parsons and grandmothers...against the barbarians of the football field'. The paper questioned 'is there any physical outdoor recreation which is free from danger, or would it have any attraction for Englishmen if it were?'<sup>117</sup> An encouragement of masculinity and martial spirit was thus central to a justification of football. In this sense, football and femininity were antithetical.

However, newspaper reports of games throughout England indicate that women were present in numbers. Tony Mason has suggested that the majority of female spectators were probably younger, unmarried women, for the pressures of domestic management and its demands on time would have represented barriers to attendance after wedlock.<sup>118</sup> But Everton's F.A. Cup final in 1906 sparked the invasion of London by 'the tripper proper (not forgetting his "missus")'. The excursion packages to the capital included the option of missing the game, and the Liverpool Echo reported accordingly that the crowd at Crystal Palace included 'scarcely so many ladies...as usual.'<sup>119</sup>

Where women did attend, they appear to have been barely tolerated and their motives were open to suspicion. Percy Harwood recalls asking a fellow spectator to tone down his language when two women were standing in earshot at a match. His neighbour brusquely observed 'It's a man's game'. Charles Edwardes' article in The Nineteenth Century dwelt on the issue of women supporters at some length

*I have mentioned the fair sex among the patrons of modern football...I find myself compelled to believe that it is not the game that attracts them. Their remarks-by way of criticism- are much too much for the patience of the commonalty who hear them. In the manufacturing districts, their presence is tolerated only when their hats and bonnets are of moderate height...The lady frequenters of the grand stands are not much more serious participants at a match than their humbler sisters who have to*

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<sup>117</sup> Liverpool Athletic Times, 9 March 1891.

<sup>118</sup> Mason, Association Football, p.153.

<sup>119</sup> Liverpool Echo, 21 April 1906.

*stand...The observations made by one of them may fairly be ascribed to the rest: 'What fine young men! What are they going to do?'*<sup>120</sup>

These jibes accord with the propositions already advanced, about the importance of football knowledge in conferring participative rights and social standing. If women's knowledge of the game was ridiculed, their rights and status would be denied or circumscribed. Although there were some women shareholders at Everton, they were widows or daughters who had inherited shares.

Football remained a familiar element of many women's lives whether by attendance or by proxy. Excursions and away trips would have impacted on the domestic budget, the fortunes of the team may have governed the mood of the household for the subsequent days and the influence of football in shaping social intercourse was considerable. The intense attachment of males to football clubs however, was probably not matched by most females. Generally, football could not perform the same social functions or develop a similarly attractive model for participation for women as for men.

From the available evidence, Liverpool's two League football clubs emerge as strong communities, functioning both as adjuncts and as alternatives to other social structures and patterns of identity and participation which existed in the city's life. Myths and hero worship were part of this vibrant football culture whose imaginative allure was not restricted to the working class. Attempts to find self-interest and profiteering behind 'bourgeois' involvement in football tend to deny this emotional facet of middle-class participation. Part of the remarkable pull of football came from its suitability as a vehicle of escape from daily experience. F.E. Smith was convinced that

*It is indeed to the educated man and to the man whose practical life involves mental rather than physical exertion that athletics makes the most natural appeal of all. Such a man...finds unspeakable relief in the pure joy of physical exercise acting upon*

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<sup>120</sup> Edwardes, New Football Mania, p.628.

*objects outside his mind, and containing the essential elements of companionship and competition.*<sup>121</sup>

Although Smith evidently was writing about playing and performing, the essential elements of companionship and competition were certainly familiar to the football supporter. Moreover, knowledge and rights derived from paid admission could empower working class supporters. The football community could offer alternative roles and opportunities to achieve a measure of increased social status.

Football clubs were also civic institutions with a most perceptible and recognisable presence in the lives of thousands of people. Where the two bishoprics of Liverpool or the University, the parliamentary members or even the City Council might appear remote bodies whose impetus towards civic identity was fitfully and unevenly felt, Everton and Liverpool F.C.s were quotidian reminders of a unity engendered by place. Tony Mason has argued

*the football team can...contribute to the intensity or diffusion of...local consciousness and particularly among working people. Nor does this happen only among those people who regularly watch its matches. Regular matches, local newspaper coverage, conversation with people who do watch, all these help to buttress the notion of being from Bolton or Blackburn.*<sup>122</sup>

Similarly, Richard Holt has contended that

*professional football offered a second identity to the inhabitants of the cities which went beyond the confines of the 'urban village' and gave recognition to the sheer scale of urban life...Football...provided a means by which men could come to terms with the reality of the late Victorian city and clarify their relationship to it...the fact of being a supporter offered a sense of place, of belonging and of meaning that could never come from the formal expression of citizenship through the municipal ballot box.*<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Smith, The Vogue of Games, p.7.

<sup>122</sup> Mason, Association Football, p.234.

<sup>123</sup> Holt, Working Class Football and the City, pp.12 and 15.

Support for a club cannot be read as a simple reflection of local pride. Even such recent works as Hill and Williams' Sport and Identity in the North of England have failed to recognise the importance of the football community in its own right. It is assumed that 'town based loyalties which were defined through antagonism to those from other towns could be expressed through support for a soccer or rugby league club.'<sup>124</sup>

Hill and Williams have recognised that the 'reflectionist approach has led to 'little attention...directed to the effects of sport itself upon social consciousness.'<sup>125</sup> However, their analysis of football support as an expression of community feeling by proxy still operates within the reflectionist paradigm. The powerful images associated with football have helped to construct identities based on more than geographical proximity or civic feeling. The 'football community' did not always share the priorities and concerns of the civic community. Club allegiance now intersected with civic patriotism and now bisected it. Football could act as a powerful reinforcement to a sense of belonging to a city, but the autonomous interests of football clubs and their supporters could clash with the perceived interests of the city.

This potential conflict was magnified in Liverpool by the presence of two clubs vying for supremacy. Liverpool and Everton both strove for civic precedence and municipal recognition; but equally the Press and the City Council sought to mobilise some of the special allure and loyal support of football teams to augment civic identity and patriotism. Liverpool and Everton had won a hold over the imaginations of many Liverpudlians. As a consequence, football support could be a vehicle for the expression and creation of an attachment to locality. The importance of the two clubs as foci for loyalty, lay in their projection of attractive images of successful Liverpool communities in which many could hold an emotional stake.

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<sup>124</sup> Hill and Williams, Sport and Identity, p.10.

<sup>125</sup> ibid., p.3.

## Conclusion

The conscious attempts to promote Liverpool's civic image were echoed in many towns and cities during the period in question. The need to construct and communicate attractive visions of a community sprang, in part, from institutional changes. Derek Fraser has suggested that the early 1870s witnessed something of a watershed in urban life as 'a search began for a more uniform and coherent local government system.'<sup>1</sup> The Local Government Board was created in 1871 and the Public Health Act of 1872 established urban and rural sanitary authorities. The creation of County Councils effectively made the municipal idea universal in 1888. Thus, according to Fraser,

*municipal reform had to forge a strong link between the council and its community...The council had to become a focus of citizenship as well as a fount of social authority. The council had to personify civitas for all its citizens...It was the possibilities of general participation which did most to establish the council as the focus of citizenship.*<sup>2</sup>

W. Hamish Fraser suggests that

*it is possible to identify many different emphases in the municipal gospel in different places and at different times. At times it was about social and moral reform, at other times about political and economic change...[Some emphasised] the cultural uplift that a flourishing city could bring. For yet others, the municipality was a means of social control and regulation.*<sup>3</sup>

Despite these different emphases, there was a common 'belief that identification with the local community was vital for retaining morality in politics.' The glorification of the municipality

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<sup>1</sup> D. Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City, Oxford, 1979, p.152.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., pp.159 and 161.

<sup>3</sup> W.H. Fraser, 'From Civic Gospel to Municipal Socialism' in D. Fraser (ed.), Cities, Class and Communication, Hemel Hempstead, 1990, p.63.

and its elite would provide a counter pull to the allure of London. Civic rivalry was one means by which identification with Liverpool could be stimulated. W. Hamish Fraser quotes Beatrice Webb's portrayal of the shopkeepers who dominated Manchester's Town Council in the late nineteenth century. She found them 'divided in their minds between the desire to keep the rates down and their ambition to magnify the importance of Manchester against other towns.' As Fraser proposes, such emulation was sharpened by the foundation of the Association of Municipal Corporations in 1872. Albert Kay Rollit, the president of the Association between 1890 and 1906, campaigned 'to make the municipality more and more the civic centre of local life, thought and action.'<sup>4</sup>

Opportunities to compare civic image proliferated. Royal Commissions called on municipal representatives for evidence and brought wider publicity to provincial successes and failures. The zeitgeist was captured by the journal London. It became a focus for contributions from throughout the nation on municipal achievements and, under its new title of the Municipal Journal<sup>5</sup>, published both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the work of local authorities. As the chapter on Liverpool's M.O.H. highlights, the growth of professional bodies for municipal officials occasioned more frequent and more thorough examinations of civic image, too.

Civic patriotism was to be nurtured because, as the debates which attended the attempted incorporation of Bootle and the foundation of the University indicated, administrative units must inspire moral and emotional commitment from their constituencies. Images would encourage a sense of ownership of civic achievements and of membership of the civic body politic. Participation invested institutions with authority. Even Arthur Forwood's vision of a passive Tory Democracy in Liverpool was underpinned by images of enlightened municipal government which would earn the support of a mass electorate.

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<sup>4</sup> ibid., pp.67 and 70.

<sup>5</sup> The name change took place in 1898.

There was a symbiotic relationship between civic patriotism and civic image. Civic patriotism would strengthen the participative and financial foundations upon which local government was constructed. Civic image would generate civic patriotism. However, the images of aggrandisement and progressive administration which provided texts for civic patriotism themselves required the emotional and financial investments which civic patriotism attracted.

Honours, titles and hagiographic recognition of municipal service would ensure the involvement of wealth and talent in local government. Daunton has demonstrated that the commercial elite of shipowners and coal shippers in Cardiff were not the natural leaders of the town. The elite did not see urban government as part of its natural function or as essential to its self-interest. In Cardiff, the interests of the elite were regional and international; hence, membership of the Council fell upon those whose interests were specific to the city.<sup>6</sup>

The Liverpoolian commercial elite, in contrast, were the natural leaders of the city. This was because of the perceived image of Liverpool and commerce. The image of Liverpool as a great commercial city, propagated by such as B. Guinness Orchard's Liverpool's Legion of Honour for example, connected urban government with commercial grandeur. Liverpoolian civic hagiography attributed moral and social prestige to commerce, while the claims that the city was 'the second city of the Empire' countered the allure of the capital.

In Liverpool, commerce underpinned images of civic glory. However, Liverpool's ruling elite was not predominantly commercial. John Walton points out that the number of merchants on the Liverpool Corporation declined from thirty-five in 1857 to eighteen in 1894. Their places were filled by tradesmen and professionals.<sup>7</sup> Nor did commercial occupations account for most of the worthies celebrated in Liverpool's Legion of Honour (see Chapter Four). Yet

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<sup>6</sup> M.J. Daunton, Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914, Leicester, 1977, p.155.

<sup>7</sup> J.K. Walton, Lancashire: A Social History 1558-1939, Manchester, 1987, p.228.

commerce provided the key images in ceremonial and public spectacle and exerted a hegemonic influence over municipal art policy, plans for municipal expansion and the campaign for a new University. As H.D. Roberts, a Liverpool minister, wrote: 'Trade- with a capital T- has now acquired almost a mystic sanctity, not to be interfered with for merely human considerations.'<sup>8</sup>

In order to understand how this deification had come about, the appeal of commerce to the imagination and its part in forming identity must be evaluated. Ramsay Muir, who was born in Scotland, confessed

*to a traveller with any imagination few spectacles present a more entrancing interest than that of these busy docks, crowded with the shipping of every nation, echoing to every tongue that is spoken on the seas, their wharves littered with strange commodities brought from all the shores of all the oceans. It is here, beside the docks, that the citizen of Liverpool can best feel the romance of his city.'*<sup>9</sup>

The romance of commerce allowed Liverpool's elite, whether or not themselves 'merchant princes', to see themselves as the heirs of the tradition of the Renaissance magnates of Venice and Florence. The veneration of William Roscoe, the emergence of a municipal art policy which aimed to fulfil the cultural responsibilities of a commercial centre, and the use of public spectacle and new institutions such as the University and the School of Tropical Diseases to acclaim Liverpool's commercial pre-eminence, all were features of this imaginative landscape. When civic rivalry is added to such a world-view, something of the force behind the contrast of 'Liverpool gentleman, Manchester man' can be appreciated. Civic patriotism could achieve a synthesis of personal and municipal ambition. As the Liverpool Review recognised, 'local patriotism- intrinsically an ennobling sentiment- may deteriorate into nothing better than social pride writ large.'<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> H.D. Roberts, Religion in Social and National Life, London, 1914, p.85.

<sup>9</sup> Muir, A History of Liverpool, p.301.

<sup>10</sup> Liverpool Review, 21 November 1896.

Civic pride's function was also to secure financial investment in the city, at a time when civic responsibilities were enlarging. In some fields, such as child welfare and education, national legislation was extending the scope of municipal government. In others the emulation and brinkmanship necessitated by civic rivalry made greater demands on the city's resources. In 1896, in an article entitled 'Liverpool versus Glasgow. Wise and Foolish Civic Rivalry', the Liverpool Review investigated 'which of the two municipalities may legitimately claim the prestige and honour attaching to the second city in the British Empire.'<sup>11</sup> It reported

*in the matter of municipal administration, Glasgow has clearly read Liverpool several most valuable lessons...gas, water, electric light and the tramways are all the property of the Corporation...in various other directions- widening thoroughfares, lighting and public conveniences of every sort-,the example of the Glasgow Corporation ought to rouse the too laggard forces in Liverpool to greater activity... Emulation between two cities so closely united by the ties of maritime commerce as Liverpool and Glasgow is wise, wholesome and advantageous- mere ambition and selfish rivalry are foolish and may be harmful. The true greatness of any city is not determined by a numerical standard...but by the quality of the total environment-intellectual, moral, commercial and industrial which it may throw around the average citizen.*

The implications of attempts to create and maintain images of the municipality which could inspire citizens to make emotional and financial investments in their communities had a broader scope than most historians have recognised. Town halls, mayoral robes and lavish ceremonies were certainly significant, yet these were but the most obvious manifestations of the concern with image. Image building impinged on many other spheres of urban life, such as health, leisure, gender roles, education and cultural production. W. Hamish Fraser notes that among the biggest criticisms of the Glasgow tram company was 'the failure to provide uniforms or to keep the cars clean, unacceptable in a city even then highly conscious of its image.'<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Liverpool Review, 21 November 1896.

<sup>12</sup> W.H. Fraser, From Civic Gospel to Municipal Socialism, p.62.

In his History of Liverpool, Ramsay Muir asked

*What does the city not do for its citizens?...It takes care of them from the cradle to the grave. It offers to see that the child is brought safely into the world. It provides him in infancy with suitable food. It gives him playgrounds to amuse himself in, and baths to swim in. It takes him to school, and offers him chances of passing from elementary to higher schools and thence to the university, and thence to any position in the world for which he is fit; or it trains him for his future trade. It sees that the citizen's house is properly built, and sometimes even builds it for him. It brings into his rooms an unfailing supply of pure water from the remote hills. It guards his food, and tries to secure that it is not dangerously adulterated. It sweeps the streets for him and disposes of the refuse of his house. It carries him swiftly to and from his work. It gives him books to read, pictures to look at, music to listen to and lectures to stimulate his thought. If he is sick it nurses him; if he is penniless, it houses him; and when he dies, if none other will, it buries him. Every year its services grow greater...to most inhabitants the services which the city renders are so great, that it begins at last to have a real claim on their reverence. Dimly one begins to foresee a time when the strange Virgilian motto of the city may be pronounced without a smile: Deus nobis haec otia fecit, ours is a God-given peace.<sup>13</sup>*

The provision of such a range of services was a proof of Liverpool's greatness. However, these services posed financial challenges. Civic patriotism evinced philanthropic gestures from the wealthy which allowed them to share in Liverpool's glorious image. The ordinary ratepayer would be moved to meet the costs of civic ceremonial and the more numerous tasks of the municipal administration by a similar identification with the city.

Commercial images also acted as a bridge between civic and imperial patriotism. Liverpoolians were citizens of an Imperial city and their commercial mission reconciled Imperial glory with quotidian experience. Linda Colley has suggested that commerce was crucial in forging the British national identity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She indicates that 'the claim that trade was the muscle and soul of Great Britain, both the source of its greatness and the nursery of patriots, was abundantly echoed.'<sup>14</sup> An insistence on

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<sup>13</sup> R. Muir, A History of Liverpool, Liverpool, 1907, pp.337 and 338.

<sup>14</sup> L. Colley, Britons, New Haven and London, 1992, p.59.

the 'superior public spirit of commercial men' was still a significant facet of Liverpudlian civic patriotism a century later.

The Imperial dimension of civic patriotism made it fertile ground for Conservatism. The Lord Mayor in 1904, Robert Hampson, for instance, believed that Unionism in Liverpool must attach itself to the ascendant star of Greater Liverpool. The Liberal opposition was reluctant to relinquish the mantle of civic patriotism. Image was politicised as the debates which accompanied the bestowal of civic honours highlighted. The Conservatives and the Liberals vied to prove their moral right to govern by advancing Liverpool's claim to be the 'second city of the Empire.'

Hence, both parties subscribed to the hegemonic image of an enlarged, prosperous city. Liberal criticism of expenditure on the ceremonial which attended royal visits and coronation celebrations was limited. During their short-lived administration in the city from 1892 to 1895, the Liberals achieved the elevation of the mayoralty to a lord mayoralty and the boundary extension of 1895 which gave rise to the title of Greater Liverpool. In 1902, there was no concerted opposition to Hampson's plans to incorporate Bootle. Conservative and Liberal politics were conducted in the same paradigm, bounded by images of Liverpool's commercial glory. There was conflict over questions of image, but the role of commerce in Liverpudlian civic identity and civic patriotism remained uncontested. Liverpool's social and political elite shared key assumptions. An attachment to images of commercial grandeur and a belief in the virtues of commerce provided Liverpool with its dominant ideology.

Image, however, did not simply prop up the social and political status quo. Indeed, civic image posed a number of challenges to established authority. Firstly, the construction and communication of image are public processes and the intended images can be undermined or opposed by other images. Critics of the Corporation, such as Richard Acland Armstrong and T.M. Shallcross, employed the concept of civic shame to bring their visions of civic duty to greater prominence. Hugh Farrie's Squalid Liverpool and J.L. Haigh's Sir Galahad of the

Slums also claimed moral authority by setting out to prove that Liverpool's wealth was a sham and that the city's rulers were lacking in civic patriotism.

Intended official images did not result in universally acceptable perceived images. The Labour party in Liverpool argued that grand public events only served to camouflage social problems. Important mechanisms for the communication of image were attacked by Labour councillors. They protested against the cost and morality of decorating the city for royal visits, they questioned the purpose of the 1907 Pageant and they strove to reduce 'junketing' at Council receptions and functions.

Furthermore, there were considerable difficulties in encouraging the sense of ownership which would lead to participated images. In some cases, this was because participation was not actively sought. During the attempt to incorporate Bootle in 1902, Liverpool City Council did not sell the image of Greater Liverpool to Bootleian and Liverpoolian citizens. The Liverpool and Everton football clubs, in contrast, became emotional communities. The participated images which they developed were so powerful that they fostered identities which were superimposed on notions of civic pride.

This thesis has demonstrated that individual figures exerted a disproportionate influence on the construction of images of Liverpool. David Cannadine underscored the contribution of Gurney Benham to the transformation of the Colchester Oyster Feast between 1880 and 1914. In Liverpool Edward Hope, Richard Acland Armstrong, Hugh Farrie, Philip and William Rathbone, Arthur Forwood, Robert Holt, Robert Hampson, David Radcliffe, Frank Leslie and others played important roles in constructing and communicating images. The story of Liverpool's civic image and of the civic patriotism which it shaped is incomplete unless the issue of participation is addressed.

It is difficult to find the source material from which to piece together a history of civic image in Liverpool which restores the individual citizen to his or her rightful place. The chapter on

football in this study is more fortunate than the rest in this respect. Notwithstanding, civic image and civic patriotism must be set in the context of human relationships. The investigation of the invention of tradition must not confine itself to the inventors. The historian must strive to understand not just the Gurney Benhams, but the Charles Pooters, too.

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