

Introduction

In the 1970s, Northern Soul held a pivotal position in British youth culture. It originated in the English north west and midlands in the late-1960s, and by 1976, it was attracting thousands of enthusiasts across the country.¹ They flocked to hundreds of venues where 'rare soul' records, by predominantly black performers recorded mostly between 1964-68, were spun by 'disc jockeys' (DJs) who became legends of the scene. For much of the 1970s Northern Soul was largely ignored by the national music press and found little space in the wider media.² The lack of awareness and marginalisation of Northern Soul in the lexicon of youth culture and popular music was linked to three inter-related factors. First, the scene predominated outside of London and was most prominent at the margins of cities and towns of the midlands (Wolverhampton, Stoke-On-Trent) and the north west (Wigan, Blackpool).³ Secondly, it was a retrospective scene that was steeped in nostalgia, locality and an identity that could not easily be absorbed by other music scenes and related youth subcultures. Thirdly, Northern Soul was largely a working class scene, which did not produce influential intellectuals and commentators that would proselytise on its behalf in newspapers, magazines and television shows. In popular characterisations of post-war youth culture and popular music there is an orthodox chronology that stretches from Teddy Boys/Rock 'n' Roll in the 1950s, the Mods and Rockers and the counter-culture/hippy scene of the 1960s and on to punk rock in the 1970s. Yet in 1976/77 the ground zero for punk rock, Northern Soul was arguably far bigger in terms of the number of specialist venues, participants, and organisations that gave the scene a distinct identity.⁴

In recent years, sociologists, criminologists, musicologists and film makers have given more attention to Northern Soul.⁵ The academic literature has tended to focus on the recent revival

of the scene in the new millennium, predominantly written from a sociological perspective that has been heavy on theory and often light on historical, social and economic context.⁶ Andrew Wilson's *Northern Soul: Music, drugs and subcultural identity* (2007), the first academic book length study, which followed in the wake of a small number of sociological articles of the scene is a detailed analysis written by a former participant and latterly an academic/criminologist.⁷ Wilson's text draws on personal experience and oral testimony in exploring the origins of the scene and the links between Northern Soul and the use and abuse of amphetamine.⁸ This was followed by a raft memoirs and personal histories written from within the scene.⁹ All of these more general texts are of variable quality in terms of depth, analysis and social context, but are nonetheless indispensable for historians seeking to understand Northern Soul. Literature published by members of the general public is often too easily dismissed by 'academic historians'. Used critically it offers perspectives and content that is lacking from what is generally perceived to be the more intellectual engagements with youth culture and popular music. Such texts tend to convey more of the emotion, feeling, sound and grit of youth culture than many of the more overtly intellectual interventions. Two recent books in particular stand out as providing a rich reading of the Northern Soul scene. Elaine Constantine's, *Northern Soul: An Illustrated History*, written by a filmmaker in collaboration with Gareth Sweeney, and Stuart Cosgrove's, *Young Soul Rebels: A Personal History of Northern Soul*, map the music, the fashion and the collective identity set against the economic and social changes impacting on Britain in the 1970s.¹⁰

In 2019 a major collection of essays on *The Northern Soul Scene* was published by Equinox edited by Sarah Raine, Tim Wall and Nicola Watchman Smith.¹¹ Contributors were drawn from a range of academic disciplines, and some essays were written by prominent DJs, film makers, and iconic figures from within the scene.¹² Essay themes included 'the politics of dancing', 'myths', and 'gender'. Yet the book is not really a history of the scene and is

generally written from an array of sociological perspectives. Only one chapter is written by a historian, Joe Street. Street's biographical examination of 'Dave Godin and the Politics of the British Soul Community' draws on a number of primary sources.¹³ Other chapters are predominantly reflexive and represent a careful and empathetic analysis of what it meant/means to be a participant on the contemporary scene. Although the collection is very different from this book it is nonetheless an excellent companion piece, particularly for those who are interested in developments after Wigan Casino, the seminal Northern Soul club, was closed in 1981.¹⁴

As the collection by Raine, Wall and Watchman Smith makes clear, both within and outside the scene there is much debate 'about what exactly northern soul is, and how it should be understood'.¹⁵ Northern Soul has its own historians, guardians, gatekeepers and curators, and it seems that there will never be total agreement amongst those that have participated in and identified with aspects of the scene.¹⁶ This was an issue encountered by the authors in producing this particular intervention into the history and development of Northern Soul. Much work was done in forging a path through factionalised Northern Soul networks that remain inherent on the scene in order to get to the indispensable primary source material relating to the clubs and consumers of the 1970s. The many fanzines and wider ephemera were not deposited in archives, but were in many cases covered in dust and debris in attics, spare bedrooms and garden sheds. Veterans of Northern Soul, the gatekeepers and curators, retain a suspicion of academics and those they perceive to have little understanding of its peculiarities. For them there might never be a 'real' history of Northern Soul. This book does not aim for definitiveness. The title is quite purposefully 'a history' as opposed to 'the history' of Northern Soul. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the book will generate much interest from within the contemporary scene that remains a significant feature of the cultural practices

of a large number of people who continue to populate the dancefloors of Northern Soul nights held across the British Isles, Europe, America and Japan.

The book forms part of the recent wave of work that has emerged to centre popular music and youth culture in studies of twentieth century British history.¹⁷ At a general level, the narrative histories written by Dominic Sandbrook on the 1960s and 1970s were underpinned by a revisionist critique which sought to dismantle some of the myths that had been attached to the 'politics' of popular music.¹⁸ In response, a number of historians, in particular those that formed part of The Subcultures Network that was established in 2012, have produced a number of monographs and edited collections that have sought to revisit the history of youth and popular music.¹⁹ The network has its own book series, Palgrave Studies in the history of Subcultures and Popular Music, and its leading figures continue to deliver innovative papers on the international conference circuit. One of the aims of the network has been to attempt to 're-historicise' the study of youth culture and popular music. This mission was driven by the fact that there were very few historians working in the field of popular music, with almost all serious academic work on the subject emerging from departments of Sociology, Cultural Studies, English, and Musicology. This history of Northern Soul that follows continues this process of grounding the study of popular music and youth cultures in the broader economic and social contexts in which they developed.²⁰

Where popular music and youth subcultures have been explored by historians they have tended to analyse lyrics, images, fashions and identities to accompany broader insights into post-war consumerism, political movements and the relationship between culture and nationalism/patriotism.²¹ Yet such approaches have been a welcome advance on the more traditional narrative histories of post-war Britain largely written from Oxbridge colleges, the tables of the Bodleian Library, and other august institutions, which have very little content on, or regard for the importance of, popular music and the central role that it played in

working class culture.²² This book tries to dig deeper into the relationship between popular music and everyday life. Northern Soul was just one of a multiplicity of music scenes, genres and trends that were central to working class experiences, feelings and identities. Listening to music was a coping strategy in dealing with the rigours and exhaustions of school, work, and domestic alienation as well as a soundtrack that accompanied memories of particular time periods, episodes and events. In presenting Northern Soul as more than just a hobby or cultural diversion for its consumers, the book is unashamedly empathetic.²³ As the working class continue to be caricatured, marginalised and notably, largely absent from the upper realms of academia it is important that their experiences, emotions and histories are recorded, published and disseminated.

The primary aim of this study is to reconstruct the lived practices of Northern Soul in the more peripheral towns and cities of the midlands and the north. Much of the history of youth culture and popular music has tended to focus on London, Manchester and Liverpool. The fact that Northern Soul was ‘happening’ at the margins in the early-1970s led to it being read as overly nostalgic and an artefact of the previous decade. In the twenty-first century, Northern Soul has become part of a wider northern identity that has been constructed from both outside and within particular locales that in the 1970s were already beginning to go through a process of deindustrialisation.²⁴ The construction of the ‘north’ in the national imagination has been meticulously explored by a number of historians, but most notably by Dave Russell in *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination*.²⁵ The impact of deindustrialisation on working-class communities has also generated recent studies exploring the complex relationship between the erosion of manufacturing jobs and the impact on politics, culture and everyday life.²⁶ Northern Soul was a music that soundtracked thousands of working class lives that were lived through industrial occupations such as coal, cotton and steel. In the 1970s such localities, occupations, cultures and identities were being eroded by

the crisis in post-war capitalism and the slow conversion of Britain's economy to one in which manufacturing was pushed to the margins.²⁷ In the twenty-first century, Northern Soul has become part of the cornucopia of 'northernness' that is rooted in a particular time (1970s) and place (the industrial and post-industrial north). Yet such characterisations, although rooted in particular lived cultural experiences, also mask the complexity and nuance of the scene in terms of its geography, participants and identity.

The chronology of the book mainly spans the years 1962-1982. This twenty year period covers the development of the soul scene in Britain; the rise of the mods in 1962-5, the development of the rare soul clubs from 1966-70, the birth of a more formalised Northern Soul identity in 1970 reaching its highpoint in 1976-7, and its subsequent decline with the closure of the iconic Wigan Casino in 1981.²⁸ An exact chronology for writing a history of Northern Soul will always be the subject of conjecture, debate and controversy.²⁹ However, from the research carried out for this book it is evident that Northern Soul as a specific music scene with an associated dance style, fashion and particular practices such as the sale and consumption of amphetamines was formalised by 1971, reaching the peak of its popularity in 1976/7. Some from within the scene have argued that too many writers and commentators have sought to posit the decline of the scene with the closure of Wigan Casino in 1981.³⁰ However, the primary sources and oral testimony explored for this book reveal that by 1978/9 attendances were falling in some of larger clubs like Wigan and many more venues across the north and midlands were closing. The end of Wigan merely exacerbated a trend that continued into the 1980s. The subsequent resurgence of interest in Northern Soul in the new millennium is not the focus of this book and that particular story has been told elsewhere in both the general and academic literature.³¹

The book draws on a wide range of primary and secondary sources. As noted, the academic literature on popular music in general, and Northern Soul in particular, has tended to use

sociological analyses and theoretical approaches. This study is primarily a social history that seeks to contextualise the scene in the economic, political and social cultures of 1970s Britain. The three main soul music magazines of the period *Blues and Soul*, *Black Music* and *Black Echoes* provide fascinating insights into the development of Northern Soul, the multiplicity of clubs, venues and localities where it found most salience and importantly the voices and experiences of those who collected records, attended events and sought to articulate what the music meant to them as individuals and as part of a wider scene. The letters pages of these publications are a treasure trove for mapping the geography of Northern Soul, the creation of its organic intellectuals, and the thoughts and motivations of young men and women who participated in the scene.

The chapters that follow also draw heavily on a number of magazines/fanzines that were published by those involved in the scene and that to date have not been fully utilised by scholars.³² Some of these titles such as *Hot Buttered Soul* and *Soul Time* pre-dated the more celebrated fanzine culture that formed part of the punk rock phenomenon between 1976 and 1978.³³ Northern Soul magazines/fanzines express the DIY ethos that was a strong element within the scene. As Lucy Robinson has noted, ‘there has been a growth of work on the history of the zine ... Historians recognise them as an invaluable way into the messy traces left by subcultures ... and the politics of identity’.³⁴ In contrast with conventional music publications that tended to confine Northern Soul to the margins, these magazines/fanzines offer distinct insights into the thoughts and experiences of young men and women and the micro battles that were taking place over questions of authenticity, exclusivity, commercialisation and identity. The utilisation of the magazines/fanzines is complemented by the use of the unpublished diaries of Audrey Wilkes and Adrian Smith. The Wilkes and Smith diaries offer a fascinating insight into teenage life in Wolverhampton and the soul clubs of Blackpool and Wigan in the early 1970s.³⁵

The analysis of Northern Soul magazines/fanzines is complemented by a reading of the scene from more conventional sources such as the records of police forces, local government organisations, and the national and local press. These sources have proved to be indispensable for gauging the broader culture of the localities in which many soul venues were located. The conventional music press such as *New Musical Express*, *Melody Maker*, and *Sounds*, at best generally neglected to cover Northern Soul in its most prominent years between 1973-76, and at worst chose to completely ignore it. Nonetheless, the ways in which these publications constructed the scene shows that Northern Soul was enmeshed in a wider stereotypical view of the north and northerness. The use of documentary sources was complemented by a comprehensive oral history project in which 28 men and women were interviewed specifically for this book. The majority of the interviews were face-to-face and recorded, with a small number organised by telephone and e-mail correspondence. The use of oral history has been crucial in documenting youth culture and the everyday consumption of popular music and continues to act as a democratising force in allowing people to tell their own stories.³⁶ This study uses oral testimony to give space to the marginal and the marginalised in reconstructing the lives of working class Britons.³⁷

In contrast to the theoretically informed sociological literature on popular music in general, and Northern Soul in particular, this book is primarily a social history that dispenses with complex jargon and theory. Nonetheless, it is informed by particular approaches to the study of the past. E.P Thompson's, *The Making of the English Working Class* has been subject to a series of critiques and is now viewed as somewhat outdated.³⁸ However, its analysis of the relationship between economic change, social identities and forms of cultural practices that emerge from them still contains much that is useful to the social historian. Thompson and the historians he influenced were on a mission not only to challenge methodological and historiographical orthodoxy, but also to ensure that the working class appeared on the page as

actors with their own thoughts, feelings, motivations, political identities and forms of culture.³⁹ This study of Northern Soul is very much part of this long tradition in presenting a ‘history from below’ in which the participants on the scene find their voices at the centre of the narrative rather than at the margins.

The structure of the book is both chronological and thematic. The first two chapters detail the transatlantic connections between black American music and its audience in Britain through the growth of interest in soul music in general and ‘rare soul’ in particular. There is an assessment of the Motown Revue Tour that traversed Britain during 1965; the soul club scene that emerged in its wake, the importance of the venues in which this music was played, and the growth of an associated culture. Central to the Northern Soul scene was a club culture that was linked to a number of British cities and towns. There is an examination of the music and atmosphere of clubs such as the Flamingo in London, the Twisted Wheel in Manchester, the Catacombs in Wolverhampton and the Torch in Stoke-on-Trent, charting the social context of the emergence and success of such clubs and locating them within the framework of strong local political and cultural identities. The ‘rare soul’ scene of the late-1960s formed part of a northern soundscape that was still predominantly industrial and thrived in localities in which particular class and gendered identities were relatively fixed.

The significance of the legislative framework and legal response to the spread of soul clubs is set against the concerns that the Northern Soul scene was generating in the local press. In the 1970s, Wigan Casino symbolised the extent and success of Northern Soul drawing members from across Britain and gaining international prominence in the media and through the music press in publications such as *Blues and Soul*. Chapter Three explores the origins of the club, the music policy, and the individuals who attended its famous ‘all-nighters’. It draws on a range of sources to reveal both the ‘localism’ and ‘nationalism’ of Wigan Casino and how it was able to broaden its appeal to construct a particular identity in becoming an international

brand. The Casino is read as a symbol of the changing nature of particular British towns and cities in a period of rising unemployment and de-industrialisation. Chapter 4 charts the fragmentation and diversification of Northern Soul during the late 1970s. It illustrates the tensions and schisms that were created in the later years of Northern Soul's pre-eminence. Such fragmentation is explored through a number of themes; musical preferences, factionalism between DJs and fans, new genres and styles in black music, the changing aspirations and tastes of consumers, the rise of rival venues and the increasing popularity of 'all-dayers'. At the heart of these tensions was a debate which ran to the core of what Northern Soul was, or had become.

Chapter Five assesses how Northern Soul was practised and experienced by its participants focusing on the centrality of the DJ to the scene, their relationship with fans and the way in which fans lived and related to Northern Soul including its well-documented involvement with illegal drug abuse. It explains how Northern Soul's perception of itself as 'different' and detached conflicted with what were viewed by many as attempts to 'commercialise' the scene. This contributed to the emergence of cleavages and tensions and to the emergence of a form of 'penny capitalism' that was complemented by the entrepreneurial pursuit of profit through the sale of rare recordings. Such activity strengthened the transatlantic links that the scene had engendered between Britain and several north American cities and resulted in the enhancement or rehabilitation of a number of US artistic careers. However, it was specific commercial practices relating to recordings that undermined the rhetorical discourse of 'togetherness' apparent in Northern Soul. The chapter evaluates the tensions within the scene and determines the extent to which commercialisation and the scene's association with illegal drugs led to its demise. The very term 'Northern Soul' suggests that the scene was regionally specific. The origins of Northern Soul might have been located in the English north and midlands, but it had a substantial following in other parts of Britain. Chapter 6 adds to the

growing literature on the resilience of regional identities in post-war Britain and how this was imprinted on Northern Soul. It seeks to uncover the complexities relating to the scene's geographical specificity and whether this was related to a set of particular structural, cultural and political factors.

There were increasing racial tensions in post-war Britain in the 1960s. In the 1970s these tensions took an organisational form through groups like the National Front (NF) and the Anti-Nazi League (ANL). Chapter 7 investigates how these tensions were manifested within Northern Soul. Through an examination of the artists, club promoters, and consumers it explores racial identities and how they were understood and reconstructed through the scene. The multi-racial and anti-racist aspects of Northern Soul are critically assessed in order to challenge existing assumptions. Critically, the chapter notes the transatlantic aspect of Northern Soul and the dynamics connected with the reception and interpretation of what was perceived as an essentially black American musical genre consumed by a largely white British working class audience. The chapter also unpicks tensions within the scene around notions of gender and sexuality. Northern Soul seemingly constructed a space where young men and women shared a commitment to music and dance. In contrast to other leisure activities women were said to have played an equal role. Moreover, many felt that the club scene provided a safer environment than conventional nightclubs and discos where women were seen as sexual objects seeking heterosexual relationships. Yet this view has been somewhat romanticised and it is clear that Northern Soul was heavily gendered with males often policing aspects of the scene and defining what was and what was not Northern Soul. The chapter concludes with some discussion of the sexuality of the scene in the period when commercial disco presented a challenge - both real and perceived - to the music policy of some of the most prominent Northern Soul clubs.

Chapter 8 discusses the legacy of Northern Soul beyond the 1970s during the 1980s and 1990s through its revival of that decade and up to the present day. It also explores the construction and dissemination of particular myths and histories of Northern Soul. In scrutinising the retrospective nature of the scene, it focuses on whether this was determined by the pace and displacement of musical trends throughout the 1960s and 1970s or whether there was something particularly distinctive about the need for Northern Soul to posit itself in the past and what factors might have produced this affinity. The chapter also investigates Northern Soul's propensity to look back on its own emergence and development and its need to create its own, icons and symbols, both during its heyday in the 1970s and into the twenty-first century. Each chapter contains subheadings many of which are linked to the popular records that filled the dancefloors of particular venues. Such recordings formed the very DNA of Northern Soul.⁴⁰ Readers are encouraged to seek out these tracks in order to get an aural sense of the beat, energy, tone and passion of the scene. A selection of key collections of Northern Soul classics is listed in the bibliography.⁴¹

Studies of youth culture and popular music have gone through a number of phases in terms of how particular movements, fashions, genres and scenes have been classified. In the 1970s the term 'subculture' became a usable description and analytical approach to understanding Teddy Boys, Mods, Rockers, aspects of the counter-culture and in particular punk rock.⁴² Path-breaking work by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in 1970s based at the University of Birmingham was hugely influential, subject to later critique, but in recent years has undergone somewhat of a revival.⁴³ It is not the aim of this study to debate the merits of whether to refer to Northern Soul as a subculture, scene, tribe or musical genre. As a piece of social history it is more squarely focussed on the ways in which Northern Soul was both separated yet connected to the broader culture of the midlands and the north and how music played a central role in the everyday life of its consumers. In most places in the text

Northern Soul is referred to as a scene. Interviews with Wigan Casino regulars that informed a feature published in the *Sunday Times Magazine* in 1976 suggest that ‘everybody connected with it calls it The Scene’.⁴⁴ However, this is not to suggest that it did not contain the attributes of a subculture in the classic CCCS mould. The book is more inclined to allow the voices that appear in the magazines/fanzines and oral testimonies to speak for themselves. In terms of race, the language as it appears in the primary sources is retained but more general the term black is used when relating to particular forms of music and political organisations.⁴⁵ In other places, African-American, West Indian, and African are used to describe performers of that particular ethnic group. Black music and soul music are the general terms used to describe the broad spectrum of music that fed into Northern Soul. However, it is important to note the multi-racial, multi-ethnic range of performers that could be heard on records that filled the dancefloors of particular venues.⁴⁶ Northern Soul also had its own lexicon of words and phrases to describe events, sounds, records and forms of self-identification that were crucial part of the scene: ‘all-nighters’, ‘all dayers’, ‘stompers’, and ‘divs’ are major examples. The meanings and usage of these descriptors are apparent throughout the following chapters. The book forms part of the recent trend to democratise the focus, writing and presentation of historical research. Youth culture and popular music were significant drivers of post-war consumption, entertainment, collective movements, passions and experiences. Northern Soul fans were predominantly working class and often clustered on the margins of the major cities and towns of the English north and midlands. They were individuals who created a scene, produced their own publications and eventually became curators of a history and past that was intimately connected to the social and political ruptures of the 1970s. Historians of post-war Britain can use the scene to open-up a particular moment in a decade where a particular world of work, culture and community soundtracked by popular music would soon be dismantled by the forces of international capitalism, an attack on the solidarities of the labour

movement, and the demonization of the working class. Working class culture in the decade that followed was appropriated and repacked, or critiqued, marginalised and rendered powerless.⁴⁷

Northern Soul was one the largest club scenes in the post-war period that attracted predominantly working class youths in 1970s Britain. The records, dances, fashions, iconography and discourses of the scene were rooted in a decade in which was still largely built on the industrial capitalism, economic structure and class cultures of the late-nineteenth century. The high point of the popularity of Northern Soul in 1976-7 was also the period in which political shifts would usher in an intense process of deindustrialisation, a retreat from state intervention in the economy and the destruction of working class communities. The scene was quickly emasculated by the nihilism and individualism of punk rock; a largely middle class phenomenon that although politically engaged, was as much the product of rampant individualism as it was of the economic and political ruptures that led to the advent of Thatcherism. In contrast, many of the original participants on the Northern Soul continued 'keeping the faith' through periods of unemployment, social hardship and seismic events such as the miners' strike of 1984-5. The recent revival and popularity of Northern Soul could perhaps be understood as a striving for a scene that was built on the rhetoric of solidarity, collectivism and togetherness. It continues to form part of a British soundscape that has absorbed the beats, rhythms and dance steps of Wolverhampton, Stoke-on-Trent, Blackpool and Wigan.

¹ For an insight of the strength and depth of the scene it what was perhaps its peak year see text and images in the report for the *Sunday Times Magazine*, 29 February 1976.

² The scene was mostly exposed to a wider audience through Tony Palmer's short documentary *The Wigan Casino* which was broadcast in 1977.

³ For a critique of the London-centric presentation of youth culture and popular music see Keith Gildart, *Images of England through Popular Music: Class, Youth and Rock 'n Roll 1955-1976* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁴ For an example of the complete absence of Northern Soul in this orthodox chronology see David Simonelli, *Working Class Heroes: Rock Music and British Society in the 1960s and 1970s* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013). This is also the case in David Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain c.1920-1970* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). The scene does merit a short discussion in Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945* (London: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 77-78.

⁵ There has been an increase in sociological literature on the scene, a number of popular documentaries, and two feature films; *Soul Boy* (2010) and *Northern Soul* (2014).

⁶ Two doctoral theses in this style that remain unpublished are Nicola Jane Smith, 'Performing Fandom on the British Northern Soul Scene: competition, identity and the post-subcultural self' (PhD thesis, University of Salford, 2009) and Lucy Gibson, 'Popular Music and the Life Course: Cultural Commitment, Lifestyles and Identities' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2009).

⁷ For an example of this sociological literature see K. Milestone, 'Love Factory: The Sites, Practices and Media Relationships of Northern Soul', in S. Redhead, D. Wynne and J. O'Connor (eds.) *The Clubcultures Reader: Readings in Popular Cultural Studies* (London: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 134-149.

⁸ Andrew Wilson, *Northern Soul: Music, drugs, and subcultural identity* (Devon: Willan Publishing, 2007).

⁹ For examples see Russ Winstanley and David Nowell, *Soul Survivors: The Wigan Casino Story* (London: Robson Books, 1996); Mike Ritson and Stuart Russel, *The In Crowd: The Story of the Northern and Rare Soul Scene Volume One* (London: Bee Cool Publishing,

1999); David Nowell, *Too Darn Soulful: The Story of Northern Soul* (London: Robson Books, 1999); Dave Shaw, *Casino* (London: Bee Cool Publishing, 2003); Neil Rushton, *Northern Soul Stories* (Great Britain: Soulvation, 2009); Tim Brown, *The Wigan Casino Years: Northern Soul the Essential Story 1973-81* (Great Britain: Outta Sight Limited, 2010); Richard Searling, *Setting the Record Straight: Music and Memories from Wigan Casino 1973-1981* (Plymouth: Go Ahead, 2018).

¹⁰ Elaine Constantine and Gareth Sweeney, *Northern Soul: An Illustrated History* (London: Virgin, 2013); Stuart Cosgrove, *Young Soul Rebels: A Personal History of Northern Soul* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2016).

¹¹ Sarah Raine, Tim Wall and Nicola Watchman Smith, *The Northern Soul Scene* (Bristol: Equinox Publishing, 2019).

¹² The collection was dedicated to the late David Sanjek an American academic who first envisaged the project. For his work on the scene see David Sanjek, 'Groove Me: Dancing to the Discs of Northern Soul', in J. Terry and N.A. Wynn (eds.), *Transatlantic Roots Music: Folk, Blues, and National Identities* (University of Mississippi, 2012).

¹³ Joe Street, 'Dave Godin and the Politics of the British Soul Community', in Raine, Wall and Watchman Smith, *The Northern Soul Scene*, pp. 120-141.

¹⁴ For the relationship between Wigan and the Casino see S. Catterall and K. Gildart, 'Did Wigan Have a Northern Soul?', in B. Lashua, S. Wagg, K. Spracklen and M.S. Yavuz, *Sounds and the City Volume 2* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 369-387.

¹⁵ Raine, Wall and Watchman Smith, *The Northern Soul Scene*, p. 1.

¹⁶ For a critical reflection on this problem see Andrew Wilson, 'Searching for the Subcultural Heart of Northern Soul: From Pillheads to Shredded Wheat', in Raine, Wall and Watchman Smith, *The Northern Soul Scene*, pp. 179-196.

¹⁷ For example see Gildart, *Images of England*.

¹⁸ Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Allen Lane, 2006); *State of Emergency: The Way We Were, Britain, 1970-74* (London: Allen Lane, 2010); *Seasons in the Sun: The Battle for Britain, 1974-79* (London, Allen Lane, 2012). For a muddled and flawed attack on the ‘myths’ of popular music written through a middle-class Oxbridge prism see D. Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain c.1920-c1970: From Ivory Tower to Global Movement – A New History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

¹⁹ For examples see Gildart, *Images of England*; Matt Worley, *No Future: Punk, Politics and British Youth Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); The Subcultures Network (ed.), *Youth Culture and Social Change: Making A difference by Making a Noise* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

²⁰ For an excellent recent example of the importance of dance in twentieth century British history see James Nott, *Going to the Palais: A Social and Cultural History of Dancing and Dance Halls in Britain, 1918-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²¹ See for example Peter Grant, *National Myth and the First World War in Modern Popular Music* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

²² See for example Peter Hennessey, *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

²³ For a recent and much needed empathetic general history of working class albeit again produced from Oxbridge see Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010* (London: John Murray, 2014).

²⁴ For an idiosyncratic imagining of the history of the north see Paul Morley, *The North (and almost everything in it)* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

²⁵ Dave Russell, *Looking North: Northern England and the National Imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). There are also interesting interventions on

conceptualising the north in N. Kirk, *Northern Identities: Historical Interpretations of 'The North' and 'Northernness'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

²⁶ See Steven High, Lachlan Mackinnon and Andrew Perchard (eds.), *The Deindustrialised World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017) and Jefferson R. Cowie and Joseph Heathcott (eds.), *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialisation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

²⁷ Surprisingly there is no space devoted to Northern Soul in Jon Stratton and Nabeel Zuberi (eds.), *Black Popular Music in Britain Since 1945* (2007).

²⁸ Some historians have noted the importance of the mods for having a broader influence on post-1960s popular culture. In particular see Richard Weight, *Mod! A Very British Style* (London: The Bodley Head, 2013).

²⁹ For the controversy related to the origin myths of the scene see Sarah Raine and Tim Wall, 'Myths on/of the Northern Soul Scene', in Raine, Wall and Watchman Smith, *The Northern Soul Scene*, pp. 142-163.

³⁰ For example see Paul Sadot, 'I'm Still Looking for Unknowns All the Time: The Forward (E)motion of Northern Soul Dancing', in Raine, Wall and Watchman Smith, *The Northern Soul Scene*, pp. 292-310.

³¹ Many of the chapters in Raine, Wall and Watchman Smith, *The Northern Soul Scene*, explore the post Wigan venues and experiences.

³² Producers of 'amateur' Northern Soul publications tended to use the term 'magazine' rather than 'fanzine'. Nonetheless, these publications shared the DIY ethos of the more celebrated 'fanzines' that emerged in the punk and post-punk movements of 1976-84.

³³ For punk fanzines see Matthew Worley, 'Punk, Politics and British (fan)zines, 176-1984: 'While the world was dying, did you wonder why?', *History Workshop Journal*, 79, 1 (2015) 76-106.

³⁴ Lucy Robinson, 'Zines and history: zines as history', in *The Subcultures Network* (ed.), *Ripped, Torn and Cut: Pop, Politics and Punk Fanzines from 1976* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2018), p. 39.

³⁵ For the use of diaries in the reconstruction of youth cultures see Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

³⁶ For example see John Robb, *Punk Rock: An Oral History* (Oakland:, PM Press, 2012).

³⁷ The work of Alessandro Portelli has been essential in developments in the use of oral history for understanding the past. See Allessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³⁸ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).

³⁹ For an insightful analysis of the post-war trends in the writing of social history see Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

⁴⁰ For a history of the scene through records see Brown, *The Wigan Casino Years*.

⁴¹ A selection of classic Northern recordings compiled by one of the scene's seminal DJs see Searling, *Setting the Record Straight*.

⁴² The seminal works include S. Hall and T. Jefferson, *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (London, 1976) and Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* (London, 1979)

⁴³ For a collection of essays that critically engage with the concept of subculture see P. Hodkinson and W. Deicke (eds.), *Youth Cultures: Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes* (London; 2009). For a critical defence of the CCCS approach to youth culture see essays in *The*

Subcultures Network, (eds.), *Youth Culture, Popular Music and the End of 'Consensus'* (London: Routledge, 2015).

⁴⁴ *Sunday Times Magazine*, 29 February 1976.

⁴⁵ For the meanings of 'black' and its relationship to popular music see J. Stratton and N. Zuberi, 'Introduction', in J. Stratton and N. Zuberi (eds), *Black Popular Music in Britain Since 1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 4.

⁴⁶ For the range of recordings played at Wigan Casino see Searling, *Setting the Record Straight*.

⁴⁷ This process was mapped by Owen Jones, *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class* (London: Verso, 2012).