Abstract

Historically, sport and the public house have been closely linked and from its emergence in the sixteenth century to the pub culture of today, the association of sporting events with this environment has persisted. During the nineteenth century, as the countryside became developed, public houses provided an environment where traditional pastimes such as sport, drinking and gambling could be enjoyed. The more entrepreneurial publicans provided extensive sporting programmes to entice customers, developing enclosed sporting arenas within their grounds and encouraging behaviour which the newly empowered middle-class society ostracized. In cities like Manchester, sports such as pedestrianism, developed alongside these establishments, creating a niche for such endeavours and enabling the publican to successfully transcend into the world of sport. This relationship between entrepreneurial sportsmen and public houses has long been noted and there are abundant examples of individuals who combined sporting activities with the role of licensee. However, many have approached this topic by documenting achievements of these men as athletes rather than exploring their impact as trainers and promoters. This paper addresses these issues by considering pub culture and pedestrianism in Manchester 1840-1880, exploring some individuals in more detail through individual and collective biographical studies using a small-scale prosopographical approach.

Keywords: Manchester; Public Houses; Entrepreneurs; Sport; Pedestrianism

Industrial Britain

Although many argue that the economic expansion of Britain started in the sixteenth century, it was not until the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century that the influence of new and sophisticated technology, such as the steam engine, impacted on the workforce.[1] It was at this time that the industrial revolution transformed Britain, giving birth to the most powerful nation in the world, but to the detriment of the British population;[2] long working hours, poor housing and sanitary conditions, and high death rates lay the foundations for one of Britain's most prosperous eras.[3]

Economically Great Britain was thriving, becoming the leading trade nation of iron, textiles and manufactured goods, but politically the country was struggling to manage the workforce who had not yet reaped the benefits of the financial explosion and were continuing to live under deplorable circumstances.[4] Tory ran Government offered little help, and this, combined with a lack of political change, only created more hostility; London, an area of regeneration and development, rapidly became overpopulated and could not look after the needs of its inhabitants, and this highly prosperous city housed unhealthy "slums" where death, criminal activity and social discord was rife.[5] Politics

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[1] Robert C. Allen, 'The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective: How Commerce Created the Industrial Revolution' (mimeo, Department of Economics, Oxford University, Oxford, 2006).

[2] Moshe Justman and Mark Gradstein, 'The Industrial Revolution, Political Transition, and the Subsequent Decline in Inequality in 19th-Century Britain', *Explorations in Economic History*, no. 36 (1999): 109-127.

[3] Eugene C. Black, *Victorian Culture and* Society (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1973).

[4] Simon Szreter, 'Rapid Economic Growth and 'the Four Ds' of Disruption, Deprivation, Disease and Death: Public Health Lessons From Nineteenth-Century Britain for Twenty-First-Century China?', *Tropic Medicine and International Health*, no. 4 (1999): 146-152.

[5] Gareth S. Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (London: Puffin, 1984).

was ruled by the upper class gentlemen, who were increasingly concerned with Britain's dependence on the uneducated working classes and continued to rule in such a way as to prevent these individuals from gaining control. The voting system disregarded areas which had expanded during the industrialisation of Britain, such as Birmingham and Manchester,[6] but smaller settlements, known as "rotten boroughs", still had political power due to the means of a select few individuals, and it was not until the Reform Act of 1832, and several thereafter, that the British communities saw a change occur which started to empower the middle classes and revolutionise society for the working class.[7]

Industrial Manchester
Manchester, a city which exploded during the industrial revolution, was reputable for its cotton industry.[8] As the agricultural lifestyle disappeared, migration into cities such as Manchester occurred, and the once peaceful landscape became unrecognisable with factories towering above the skyline and the city hidden amid a cloud of smog; according to Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835, 'Thirty of forty factories rise on tops of the hills…their six stories tower up; their huge enclosures give notice from afar of the centralisation of industry'.[9] Run by the emerging middle classes, industrial cities provided hope for the working masses; factory owners employed all who sought work and housed these individuals and their families in accommodation close to the workplace. According to Frederick Engels, 'I declared that I have never seen so badly built a town in my life…and yet there is a great deal of money made here',[10] which encouraged many to flock to this new urban metropolis looking for work and success. In 1840 'all roads led to Manchester',[11] and by 1851, at the peak of industrialisation, the city had enticed over 300,000 inhabitants from a variety of backgrounds.[12]

Class barriers were ever present and there was little contact between the middle and lower classes beyond work.[13] The structure of the city reinforced class boundaries, with the "poor" working classes housed in the heart of the city and the "wealthy" upper and middle classes residing in villages and towns on the outskirts of Manchester, such as Pendleton and Ardwick.[14] According to Mervyn Busteed and Paul Hindle, although spatially close, class social interaction was minimal and the rich 'knew less about poor Ancoats or Little Ireland (a mile away) than they did about China'.[15] This domination/subordination relationship between the classes contributed to deep social divisions which saw the working class rebel middle class reform and engage in habits of previous years;[16] in Oldham, hard-drinking, cock-fighting and overly masculine traditions survived and although these were effectively banned by the middle classes in mid-

[6] Asa Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities (1830-2)', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, no. 10 (1952): 293-317.
[7] George M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936); Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968).
[8] Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution: And Application of Theory to the British Cotton Industry* (London: Routledge, 2006).
[9] *Journeys to England and Ireland* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2003), 106.
[10] *The Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844* (New York: Cosimo Books, 2008), 73.
[11] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 96.
[12] John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).
[13] John Seed and Janet Wolff, 'Class and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Manchester', *Theory, Culture and Society*, no. 2 (1984): 48-49.
[14] H B. Rodgers, 'The Suburban Growth of Victorian Manchester', *Journal of Manchester Geographical Society*, no. 58 (1962): 4-5.
[15] 'Angel Meadow: The Irish and Cholera in Manchester', in *Exploring Greater Manchester*, ed. Paul Hindle (Manchester: Manchester Geographical Society, 2007), 2.
[16] See note 7.

nineteenth century Britain, the working classes continued these practices in private.[17] Irish immigrants created communities in Manchester from the 1830s, the largest being Angel Meadow, bound by Long Millgate and the River Irk, which became known as "Little Ireland" due to over 44% of the population being of Irish descent.[18] The presence of the Irish in the workplace displeased many who were appalled by the behaviours exhibited inside and outside the workplace, which reinforced working class practices,[19] as James Kay-Shuttleworth wrote, 'this immigration has been, in one important respect, a serious evil. The Irish have taught the labouring classes of this country a pernicious lesson…what is superfluous to the mere exigencies of nature, too often expended at the tavern'.[20]

The Public House

The pub, since its emergence in the sixteenth century, provided an alternative environment to the workplace, offering alcohol and entertainment to all who sought it.[21] A traditional social and cultural practice, the pub became a meeting place for men, who after long and hard days at work, would congregate to relax before returning to their large families and hectic households.[22] As the industrial revolution continued to produce new cities, the custom country inn became less recognised with many preferring the alternative beerhouse.[23]

In the eighteenth century, alcohol was presented at many gatherings and excessive consumption not uncommon as drunkenness was a personal choice which did not carry any disgrace.[24] However, the nineteenth century industrialisation transformed the work ethic of the population, and with it, their tolerance to alcohol. Prior to the industrial revolution, working class communities were located in rural areas where productivity and working hours were governed by the crop; when to pick potatoes or to plough fields was not standard and depended on external factors such as weather. This laissez-faire attitude enabled workers to have time for recreation, such as drinking, and also time to recover the following day,[25] yet, once agricultural occupations started to dwindle, the new factories, which relied on strict hours of production, needed workers to be primed and prepared throughout the day, every day, and the consumption of alcohol was hindering performance; 'drinking caused absenteeism and instability among the working classes…drinking decreased the efficiency of the working classes and was therefore undesirable'.[26]

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[17] John K. Walton and Robert Poole, 'The Lancashire Wakes in the 19th Century', in *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England*, ed. Robert D. Storch (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 100-124.

[18] Mervyn Busteed and Paul Hindle, 'Angel Meadow: The Irish and Cholera in Manchester', in *Exploring Greater Manchester*, ed. Paul Hindle (Manchester: Manchester Geographical Society, 2007), 2-7.

[19] Mary Poovey, 'Representing the Manchester Irish', in *The Victorian Studies Reader*, ed. Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam (London: Routledge, 2007), 136-148.

[20] *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (London: Ridgway, 1832), 20-22.

[21] Mark Girouard, *Victorian Pubs* (London: Yale University Press, 1975).

[22] Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1971).

[23] Michael A. Smith, 'Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure', *The British Journal of Sociology*, no. 43 (1983): 367.

[24] Samuel Couling, *History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland; From the Earliest Date to the Present Time* (London: William Tweedie, 1862).

[25] Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885* (London: Redwood Burn, 1978).

[26] Lillian L. Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), 2.

Nonetheless, alcohol in the nineteenth century was ever present but the changing nature of the drinking place caused many to question its place in society,[27] Michael A. Smith discusses the range of businesses, in order of respectability, from inns and taverns to alehouses and gin-shops, which catered for the different social classes who entered them; 'the inn developed from the coaching tradition of providing refreshments and lodgings for travellers' whereas the gin-shops and palaces 'resembled shops [rather] than public houses and lacked seats and partitions…[because of] the long bar counter, alcohol was easily accessible and fostered heavy drinking'.[28] The term "public house" applies to both the inns and taverns, well respected institutions whose licensed victualler would play host to the various classes by providing different grades of care; the best rooms provided the wealthy man every comfort and were regularly used for private societies, and even political meetings, throughout the century.[29] Conversely, the alehouse and gin-shop proprietors catered for their lower division of custom, providing stronger spirits and ale for a small price.[30]

Class segregation within the drinking establishments, although present in the latter part of the eighteenth century, became severe in the 1830s after the Beer Act encouraged a new type of drinking place to evolve;[31] 'the "beerhouse" – which, through drawing its customers from the same social level as the alehouse, was exempt from magistrates' control and drew its licence direct from Excise'.[32] Designed to reduce illegal drinking and curb public drunkenness through exclusion of spirits, such as gin, the 1830 Beer Act enabled any householder, for the small price of two pounds and two shillings, to sell and brew beer, ale and cider from their home.[33] Within the first year around 400 beerhouses surfaced however, only four years later 33,000 materialised, causing an increased public awareness of disorderly behaviour.[34] Parliamentary inquiry and public concern for the working classes caused much discussion and debate over the future of such ventures, and the temperance societies were quick in insisting its repeal.

Originally, temperance societies of the late 1820s fought to change the drinking practices of all classes, and the educated middle class gentleman believed it was his responsibility to enforce middle class ethics and values onto the working classes, including the importance of family life; the responsibility of men to provide for the household and to improve their living conditions; which could not be achieved when intoxicated.[35] These men spread the word of the evils of intemperance, aiming to reduce overindulgence of liquor by using themselves as examples of success for the working classes. Although firm believers of condemning hard liquor, these individuals still consumed alcohol in the form of wine and beer, considered healthy and nutritious compared to water,[36] whilst allowing members who habitually swill spirits to join as their

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[27] See note 26 above.

[28] 'Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure', *The British Journal of Sociology*, no. 43 (1983): 367-368.

[29] See note 22.

[30] Brian Spiller, *Victorian Public Houses* (London: Arco Publishing, 1973); Charles Dickens paints a clear picture of these in classic novels such as Oliver Twist (1838) and Sketches by Boz (1836) showing the dilapidated and decrepit neighbourhoods, including the sketchy and unruly patrons, where alcoholism, immorality and violence prevail.

[31] House of Lords, *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 62*: *23 July 1830* (London: HMSO, 1830): 916-918.

[32] See note 22: 45.

[33] House of Commons, *Journal of the Houses of Commons: Volume 85: 6 April 1830* (London: HMSO, 1830): 270; Gay Sibley, 'The Craft and Career of Writing' (conference paper, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, Greece, 19 July, 2006).

[34] Edward Porritt, 'Five Centuries of Liquor Legislation in England', *Political Science Quarterly*, no. 10 (1985): 628.

[35] See note 4.

[36] Laura Oren, 'The Welfare of Women in Laboring Families: England 1860-1950', *Feminist Studies*, no. 1 (1973): 107-125; Derek J. Oddy, 'Food in Nineteenth Century England: Nutrition in the First Urban Society', *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* (1970): 154.

focus regarded drunkenness, not social drinking.[37] Controversially the Beer Act was backed by temperance groups but did not provide the result intended by moderationists; free trade of beer proved to many northern societies as problematic in intemperance as spirits, therefore expanding the movement into one of teetotalism.[38]

Manchester's drinking culture was very different to that of other industrial cities in the mid-nineteenth century; Alistair Mutch's study of Liverpool and Manchester notes the dominance of the beerhouse in Manchester in comparison to the full licences of the public house in Liverpool, highlighting the differing role alcohol played in community life.[39] 'The number of taverns, &c. having signs, enumerated in the Manchester Directory for 1845, is 620, to which must be added 1,068 beer shops',[40] and by 1867 Manchester was home to 484 public houses and 2,016 beerhouses, in contrast to Liverpool's 1,942 public houses and 819 beerhouses.[41] The prominence of the beerhouse in Victorian Manchester within the working class communities reveals the value of alcohol as an established leisure pursuit for the masses, as Lillian L. Shiman concurs, '[lack of opportunities]…forced working people into drinking places for their recreations', especially within built environments such as Manchester.[42] The triumph of the beerhouse only caused middle class concern and the city became the capital for temperance societies throughout the nineteenth century.[43]

The once respected and valued public houses were suffering; the state of the lowly regarded beerhouses and gin-shops was widely publicised, causing political groups to endorse alcohol prohibition within England.[44] Frederic R. Lees blamed the publican for the current economy suggesting their "art" in promoting alcohol produced working class intemperance,[45] however Paul Jennings reports that it was the beerhouse publican who was responsible for such negligence, destroying the trade of the traditional public house whilst tarnishing the occupation of licensed victualler.[46] Public opinion surrounding teetotalism was split and the proprietors, knowing this was the case, would ensure sales by highlighting the popular belief that alcohol was good for health, advertising their contents as prescribed by doctors,[47] as physicians frequently used spirits as remedies for influenza and cholera, and even teetotallers found it difficult to argue against this view; Dr. Paris reported the benefits of beer and wine, revealing 'table-beer is recommended as highly wholesome, as well as ale, and even porter, to those who take much exercise, and have strong digestive powers'.[48]

Tighter restrictions on the sale and consumption of alcohol meant that innkeepers could be reprimanded for any "wrongdoings", and temperance organisations, alongside the church (a major component of the temperance revolution), would report any incident

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[37] See note 26.

[38] See note 22.

[39] 'Manchester and Liverpool Public Houses Compared, 1840-1914', *Manchester Regional History Review*, no. 16 (2003): 22.

[40] *Manchester Guardian*, 11 Oct. 1845, 12

[41] Martin Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester, 1832-67* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), 185; Lords Select Committee, *First Report of the Lords Select Committee on Intemperance* (London: HMSO, 1877): 332-333.

[42] See note 26, 48.

[43] Michael J. Tuner, 'Local Politics and the Nature of Chartism: The Case of Manchester', *Northern History*, no. 45 (2008): 327.

[44] *Satirist*, 11 Sept. 1831, 180.

[45] *An Argument for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic* (London: William Tweedie, 1857): 154.

[46] 'The 1830 Beer Act and its Consequences', in *Unrespectable Recreations*, ed. Martin Hewitt (Leeds: Centre for Victorian Studies, 2001), 1-18; *The Local: A History of the English Pub* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007).

[47] See note 26.

[48] *Morning Chronicle*, 14 July 1826, 22.

involving alcohol to the magistrates which resulted in police involvement.[49] However, the police faced a dilemma themselves; on one hand, drunkenness caused extra work for police but, on the other hand, the publican and public houses, centres for legal and illegal gatherings, provided vital information to the police which aided their work. Much was left unreported and the constabulary became increasingly unsympathetic to teetotal constitution.[50] Vigilance committees rose in troubled areas, such as Liverpool and Manchester, to aid the local officials in their plight, but even this did not eliminate drunken behaviour.

James Kneale states that the public house became a hub for social activity, and although alcohol consumption had increased, drunkenness had reduced due to the diminished prominence of communal drinking in society.[51] Charles Booth observes that the pub enabled both men and women the opportunity of social engagement and recreational pursuits but did not cause the behaviours presented 40 years ago;[52] the public house had maintained its reputation as a nucleus of activity and the now educated and financially stable working classes were more sophisticated, creating an environment of relative sobriety. Eventually, the temperance movement, unable to sustain pressure with limited support, slowly spiralled into demise.[53]

The argument surrounding alcohol continued throughout the nineteenth century and the public house maintained its population due to the recreational and social nature of drinking, but when Victorian England tried to move away from alcohol by promoting art, theatre, music, sport and outdoor pursuits, the pubs, undeterred by such attempts, were quick to recognise the money making potential of such enterprises, and through entrepreneurial vision, transformed into hot spots for entertainment, thus cementing their place in the forefront of British society.[54]

Publicans, Leisure and Sport
Eighteenth and early nineteenth century culture was embedded in the close-knit, rural communities of agricultural Britain.[55] The substantial calendar of religious and traditional holidays which formed within the Gregorian year enabled the working man time and freedom to pursue leisure opportunities, encouraging a social but functional workforce who not only worked hard, but played harder. Community was at the heart of the agricultural village, however as the cities started to expand, the ethos changed; evangelicalism and discipline became determining features of the industrial workforce, and the simple village life was transformed into a hostile and intolerable urban metropolis, although 'the rough and tumble of the past did not vanish into the soot and slime of the industrial city'.[56] New traditions and pastimes were formed which saw a decline in the previous leisure patterns, but, from 1830, an increase in rationalised recreation encouraged the compartmentalised society to regain some of their prior sense of community,[57] introducing the Victorian population to constructive and educational amusements, 'one of the major frontiers of social change in the nineteenth century'.[58]

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[49] *Satirist*, 21 Aug. 1831, 160.
[50] See note 26.
[51] 'The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914', *Social and Cultural Geography*, no. 2 (2001): 44.
[52] *Life and Labour of the People of London* (London: Macmillan, 1889-1902).
[53] See note 22.
[54] See note 25.
[55] Paul Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: An Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England* (London: Routledge, 2006).
[56] See note 3: 253; Peter Mandler, 'Against "Englishness": English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850-1940', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, no. 7 (1997): 155-156; Jason Long, 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain', *The Journal of Economic History*, no. 65 (2005): 2-4.
[57] Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004).
[58] See note 25: 5.

Alcohol was synonymous with nineteenth century popular recreation which displeased the middle class reformers who, although wanting a better life for the working class, were reluctant to provide this due to excessive consumption.[59] Nonetheless, as wages increased and standards of living improved, "proper" Victorians would follow the middle class example and leisure became a time for family; 'family meals, the ritual of tea, family strolls in the park, visiting relatives on Sunday, family holidays – all reinforced the significance of this core of Victorian life'.[60] Still, a large proportion of the working classes continued to find pleasure in the public house which not only provided alcohol and conversation but entertainment in the form of music, theatre, art and sport; well-respected endeavours except when paired with drink.[61]

There were only two places to go in spending spare time away from one's own house – church, chapel or alehouse; the former were seldom open, while the latter was seldom closed. The first was not attractive, the second was made attractive.[62]

The view was that public holidays, including the half-day Saturday, 'ought to be spent in the open air, in the country, or at the sea-side…the bracing air to be the only smoke that comes near your lips, and the public-house…to be as sacredly abjured on those days as the warehouse or the shop', and recreation such as museums, public galleries, kindred institution and zoological gardens enjoyed.[63] Nevertheless, the public house continued to rise in popularity, offering a variety of activities which captivated the Victorian community; flower shows, fruit and vegetable shows, glee clubs, amateur and professional dramatics, bowling, quoits, foot-racing, and society meetings to name a few.[64] Although appearing to help rationalise recreation time, the innkeepers were 'fully aware of the profit-making potential of such an enterprise',[65] with some establishments forming allegiances with specific ventures in order to gain higher proceeds;[66] signs and banners such as "Poets Corner", "Theatre and Concert Tavern", "Theatre Hotel" and "The Cricketers Arms" appeared above mid-nineteenth century Manchester drinking establishments which enabled their clientele to know what was on offer and with who they were twinned before entering the premises.[67]

Although the beerhouses caused concern within the centre, the development of transport links around Manchester enabled the rural taverns and pubs to expand their clientele.[68] Entrepreneurial publicans used entertainments to attract bigger audiences and to improve their reputation; establishments incorporated concert rooms, singing saloons and variety acts, and inns surrounding parks such as Belle Vue and Pomona Gardens offered live sport and further novelties.[69] The Star Inn, Bolton, proprietor William Sharples, provided a concert hall with dancing, acrobats, clowns, waxworks, live exhibits

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[59] Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968).

[60] Anthony E. Dingle, 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914', *Economic History Review*, no. 25 (1972): 608; See note 3: 252.

[61] See note 22.

[62] Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey* (Yorkshire: Stanninglen, 1887): 58.

[63] John Lilwall, *The Half-Holiday Question Considered, With Some Thoughts on the Instructive and Healthful Recreations of the Industrial Classes* (London: Kent & Co, 1856): 17.

[64] See note 25.

[65] Emma Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales during the Nineteenth Century', *The Sports Historian, no.* 20 (2000): 58.

[66] Dennis Brailsford, *British Sport: a Social History* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1997); See note 61.

[67] *Manchester Guardian*, 11 Oct. 1845, 12.

[68] Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present: An Introduction', *Mancehster Regional History Review*, no. 20 (2009): 1.

[69] John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 189-190.

and ornamental gardens, regularly filling to its 1,500 capacity.[70]   Sport within the city moved to the rural outskirts and areas such as Newton Heath and the popular Victorian gardens, such as Belle Vue, produced competitive events.   Sporting men were synonymous with drink therefore temperance reformers disliked sport, which only strengthened their objection to the public house.[71]

As fields and countryside became developed, customary spaces for which sport was engaged disappeared. As Britain exploded into an urban metropolis, the public house provided land to perform sporting feats, as Dennis Brailsford maintains, '…attached to many urban hotels were open fields, some of which "had been enclosed for a specific sporting purpose"'.[72]   Sports involving human activity would be promoted, such as bowls, cricket, billiards and pedestrianism,[73] and due to the betting interest which would surround such events 'whether the contest was a bowling match, pigeon shoot, or pedestrian race, gambling flourished' with railways, newsagents, tobacconists, printer and publicans all benefiting from sport.[74]   However, a significant proportion of the population was not happy with the association of sport, a "healthy" endeavour with alcohol, and therefore, tried to provide alternatives.[75] Sport essentially became property of the drinks trade and it was these entrepreneurial landlords who were fundamental to the survival of sport in industrial cities.[76]

Pedestrianism, or foot-racing, provided the majority of entertainment during the mid-century, a comparatively modern amusement in which large numbers of people took part.[77]   Such events attracted large crowds, regularly in their thousands, with the publican reaping the rewards through entrance fees, drink and food proceeds and betting commission.[78]   The sporting publican as early as the 1840s extensively endorsed pedestrian races,[79] and the sport 'which had its own heading in *Bell's Life* in 1838',[80] gained popularity, peaking in the 1870s, by which time the organisation of amateur sport by middle class society lead to a decline in professional activities.[81]

Through their social functions, pubs had a long and important history in shaping loyalties to locality. They were places where fields were provided, sport sponsored, pedestrian challenges agreed, bets were laid and teams changed. Frequenters of "sporting houses" often had their own allegiances, and lent general support to a particular, rower, pugilist or pedestrian before a match.[82]

[70] Robert Poole, *Popular Leisure and the Music-Hall in Nineteenth-Century Bolton* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Press, 1982), 51-55.
[71] See note 26.
[72] *British Sport: a Social History* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1997): 68.
[73] Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, 'The Pub, The Drinks Trade and the Early Years of Modern Football', *The Sports Historian*, no. 20 (2000): 2-3; Warren Roe, 'The Athletic Capital of England: The White Lion Hackney Wick 1857-1875', *BSSH Bulletin*, no. 17 (2003): 39-40.
[74] William J. Baker, 'The State of British Sport History', *Journal of Sport History*, no. 10 (1983): 59.
[75] See note 3.
[76] Geoffrey T. Vincent, '"Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman" Pedestrianism in Canterbury 1860-1885', *Sporting Traditions*, no. 18 (2001): 47.
[77] George M. Young, *Early Victorian England 1830-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951).
[78] John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford: Berg Publishing, 2002).
[79] See notes 73 and 76.
[80] See note 77, 272.
[81] Peter G. Mewett, 'History in the Making and the Making of History: Stories and the Social Construction of a Sport', *Sporting Traditions*, no. 17 (2000); 2-3; See note 25.
[82] Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004): 195.

Innkeepers not only organised these events but would take bets, referee, time-keep, and provide winnings which left them with little time to serve the patrons.[83] The role of the publican was traditionally a man's domain, but as the public houses expanded, it was not uncommon for women to take on this role herself. Usually the wife or daughter of the entrepreneur would continue in his role, which not only freed up time for their significant others to host more lucrative races, but encouraged businesses to stay within the family, a defining feature of many "sporting inns",[84] and according to Robert R. Roberts families who entered into business, especially the public houses 'grew at once in economic status, though social prestige accrued much more slowly'.[85]

The Holden Family

A sporting dynasty in mid-nineteenth century Manchester, the Holden family promoted sport within their various establishments and ensured its survival, especially pedestrianism, before middle class regulation and the introduction of the Amateur Athletics Association in 1880.[86]

Born circa 1799, James Holden was reputable within Manchester's pedestrian faction, being noted as 'the great stakeholder in Lancashire pedestrianism'.[87] Owner of the White Lion, Long Millgate, his establishment became a well-recognised pedestrian haunt during his reign of over 35 years; newspapers printed his name and pub as a place to congregate, for stakes to be held, and for sporting bodies to hold important meetings.[88] James was not only renowned for his public house; he became involved in pedestrianism himself as a referee, judge and stakeholder.[89] His success enabled him to move from the White Lion to a much larger establishment in Salford, The Custom House Hotel, and by 1871, aged 73, he very much retired from the pedestrian scene, although being spotted at various grounds in Manchester until his death in 1880.

His large family continued his legacy with daughter Sarah becoming bar manager at her father's establishment and marrying George Piers, an ex-professional rower who regularly helps James in fulfilling his refereeing and officiating duties at running grounds in Manchester and Salford.[90] His son James Jr. becomes a professional pedestrian himself, eventually taking over the licence at The White Lion and continuing to hold stakes and provide patronage to 'friends, pedestrians, wrestlers, canine admirers, &c'.[91] And eldest daughter Alice marries George Martin, London born ex-pedestrian and proprietor of The Royal Oak, Newton Heath, one of the most famous pedestrian grounds in Manchester.[92]

George, regularly reported as the 'Wizard of Pedestrianism',[93] becomes James' closest ally, encouraging the family to extend its business in the sporting world. Retiring from the sport at the age of 24, George tried his hand at training athletes, creating a "stable" of pedestrians at this establishment in Salford, racing all over England and becoming successful as a result.[94] In 1861 he travels to America with his athletes; Charles Mower,

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83 See notes 74 and 76.
84 Barbara Gleiss, 'Women in Public Houses. A Historical Analysis of the Social and Economic Role of Women Patronising English Public Houses 1880s-1970s' (PhD diss., Universitat Wein, 2009), 17.
85 *The Classic Slum* (London: Penguin, 1971), 6.
86 Richard Holt and Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain 1945-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).
87 *The Era*, 8 Jan. 1843, 10.
88 *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 7 Oct. 1838, 4; 20 March 1859, 7; *New York Clipper*, 16 Jan. 1865, 888.
89 *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 3 Sept. 1854, 4.
90 *The Era*, 7 June 1857, 10; 10 Oct. 1858, 9; 17 Oct. 1858, 19; 14 April 1861, 10.
91 *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 30 Sept. 1865, 7.
92 Edward S. Sears, *Running Through the Ages* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2001).
93 *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 2 July 1865, 4.
94 Census returns, 1861 George Martin, Alice, John Nevin and Charles Mower (RG9/2923); Peter Lovesey, *The Official History of the AAA* (London: Routledge, 1979).

John Nevin and John White; returning later that year with American Indian pedestrians, the most famous being Louis Bennett or "Deerfoot" as his race name was known[95]. George tours the British Isles with Deerfoot and his professional athletes, setting up the "Deerfoot Circus"; assembling tents with portable 220 yard tracks for four-mile exhibitions.[96] The tour required the athletes to compete every day, other than a Sunday, for a year and was designed as an entertainment, introducing Native Americans to the eyes of the British public. The circus was shut down after allegations of match fixed emerged as it was difficult for the public to see the difference between the circus and legitimate races; as Deerfoot was the star of the event he regularly won but when competing in legitimate races he was far off the pace of the professionals.[97]

In November 1863, George quits as a trainer/backer and becomes landlord of a new pub, the Royal Oak Inn, Oldham Road, Newton Heath. Location is perfect to gain big crowds as it is near to the railway, buses and trams run past the ground regularly and it is within walking distance to the already well established Copenhagen Running Grounds, proprietor Thomas Hayes, with who George and his father-in-law James have very good relations.[98] George closes the pub and develops the ground, spending over £2000 to enclose the 16 acres surrounding the pub, turning it into 'one of the most superior sporting arenas in England, if not the world',[99] reopening the grounds early 1864, boasting two courses; one circular 651 yards and one straight over a quarter of a mile and on 24th June he hold the first meeting, the St Ledger Mile and attracts a crowd of around 20,000.[100] He continues to work with Native American athletes, housing them in his hostelry and erecting a wigwam amidst the construction of the grounds in order for them and their family to feel at home.[101]

One of the last reports of George Martin sees him exploring his entrepreneurial skills further, requesting novelties suitable for his grounds, a first class pianist who can sing and a photographer for future endeavours.[102] Unfortunately, less than a year after his grand opening, George dies in 'difficulties and under deplorable circumstances', entering a mental asylum for delirium, and there was concern that the grounds would never be the same again.[103] His children, and James Holden's grandchildren, continue his legacy in a fashion, his son Harry becoming a turf correspondent and his daughter Elizabeth marrying a turf accountant, both book makers licensed to take bets on races,[104] and become successful enough to live by 'independent means' according to the 1901 census.[105]

Manchester Entrepreneurs: A Conclusion
The public house within mid-nineteenth century Manchester catered for all who entered, but many preferred the working class communities who willingly spent their monies on alcohol.[106] By the 1840s, as public houses introduced entertainments and sports to

[95] *The Era*, 12 May 1861, 4; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 Sept. 1862, 14.
[96] See note 92.
[97] Rob Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage - From Indian Reservation to Champion of the World* (London: Desert Island Books, 2007).
[98] *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 Nov. 1863, 7.
[99] *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 22 Sept. 1866, 7.
[100] *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 Feb. 1864, 7; 24 June, 1864, 7.
[101] *The Era*, 13 March 1864, 7.
[102] *The Era*, 3 Sept. 1865, 14.
[103] See note 99.
[104] Mark Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter: Popular Gambling and English Society, c. 1823-1961* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 178.
[105] Census returns, 1901 Harry Martin (RG13/1188); 1901 Elizabeth Ann Radcliffe (RG13/3319).
[106] Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968).

their repertoire, the publican grew in respectability,[107] and although middle class reformers were reluctant to support such venture, they could not deny the pub as a Victorian pastime.[108]

The publicans themselves, as illustrated by the Holden family, relied on kinship ties, knowledge, prestige and a sense of community, as well as extensive programmes of entertainment, in order to survive.[109] Previous view of the public house as a male dominated environment has emerged but, as Victorian morals changed so did the clientele; entrepreneurial men relied on the women to occupy crucial positions within this environment,[110] and the introduction of music and theatre saw many women enjoying the public house at their leisure.[111]

In the future, further "publicans of interest" need to be analysed and biographical dossiers produced, similar to that of the Holden family, in order to identify common traits specific to the Mancunian publican.[112] A template for a prosopograhical database needs to be devised, providing an accurate account of the sporting publican in mid-nineteenth century Manchester, 'a snapshot of a particular moment in history, which stretches both backwards and forwards in time'[113] which, in the future, can then be compared to individuals in other sporting locations such as Sheffield, London and Birmingham. Readers should not generalise these results to the whole population, but use this as a basis on which to build a comprehensive and multifaceted nineteenth century sporting prosopography, an area in need of additional research.[114]

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[107]   See note 22.

[108]   Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford: Berg Publishing, 2002).

[109]   See note 26.

[110]   Peter Bailey, 'Sexuality and the Pub', in *The Victorian Studies Reader*, ed. Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam (London: Routledge, 2007), 380-394.

[111]   Brian Spiller, *Victorian Public Houses* (London: Arco Publishing, 1973)

[112]   Lawrence Stone, *The Past and Present Revisited* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1983).

[113]   Anne Poulsen, 'Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: A Collective Biography', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, no. 21 (2004): 21.

[114]   Stephen Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians', *Journal of Sport History*, no. 13 (1986): 23.