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Historical research is a widely debated topic as historical knowledge is continually evolving and there is no definable recorded structure. The interpretational nature of the discipline highlights the tensions between 'fact based' analysis and the 'fictional' viewpoint which is at the heart of social science investigation. Contemporary narrative and biographical study has gained acclaim from a generation of academics who demonstrate the balance between empiricism and postmodernity by utilizing facts to construct an accurate representation of the past, but, are sympathetic to the use of imagination within the discipline in order to extract the 'narrative truth'. Biography has long been a respected source for historical inquiry, however, collective biography, or prosopography; the study of connections between individuals; has been judged as a lesser instrument due to its ambiguous nature and lack of socio-historic use. This paper will challenge deep-rooted views by discussing the influence of technological advancement on biographical exploration whilst considering the emerging phenomena of 'collective biography' and its implications within historical research. A prosopography-in-action will provide a working example of the significance of such research in a historical capacity by creating a generic outline of the mid-nineteenth century Manchester sporting entrepreneur.

All historians, throughout their careers, confront the ways in which the history of their particular era and region is written...Methodologies, approaches to the sources, even the kinds of sources privileged have changed over time, compelling us to reassess how we think about the past, how and what we read as sources, and where we locate our scholarship in the historiographical and methodological continuum.<sup>1</sup>

History is a social science which considers “events” and “facts” of the past in the present, and does so through constantly evolving theories and methodologies.<sup>2</sup> Historical research is a contested arena, as historical knowledge is continually developing and there is no set structure to the way it should be recorded.<sup>3</sup> Historians examine and contest issues such as how war was fought, what Ancient Rome looked like, and who were the true heroes/villains by exposing cracks in the literature,<sup>4</sup> but they themselves are reporting from a particular perspective which further fuels these disputes. The growth of higher education in the twentieth century has acted as a catalyst, encouraging the emergence of a diverse range of historical perspectives, approaches and understandings which deviate from traditional historical narratives,<sup>5</sup> causing a conflict in the historical pursuit for truth.<sup>6</sup>

According to Lustick, “history” should aptly be renamed “histories”, as it is a collection of different interpretations on the same topic,<sup>7</sup> and Fulbrook concurs, revealing ‘history is about imposition of interpretations, the construction of meanings: endowing and investing selected remnants of the past with meanings in the present, not reconstructing it “as it actually was”’.<sup>8</sup> The conclusion drawn is that history will never really be known, but can be reconstructed in a variety of ways through a range of sources, as Carr observes;

History consists of facts...the facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish on the fish monger’s slab. The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence E. Mitchell, ‘Historians Reflecting of History and Historical Writing, Number 1’, *Historical Reflections*, no. 36 (2010):1.

<sup>2</sup> Edward H. Carr, *What is History?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Hayden V. White, ‘The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory’, *History and Theory*, no. 23 (1984): 1.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Lawrence E. Mitchell, ‘Historians Reflecting of History and Historical Writing, Number 1’, *Historical Reflections*, no. 36 (2010):1.

<sup>5</sup> Georg G. Iggers, ‘Review: Historiography in the Twentieth Century’, *History and Theory*, no. 44 (2005): 473-476.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> ‘History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias’, *The American Political Science Review*, no. 90 (1996): 605-606.

<sup>8</sup> *Historical Theory* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002), 18.

<sup>9</sup> Edward H. Carr, *What is History?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 3.

Carr describes the well-established empiricist approach, where evidence is observable by the senses; surviving sources of the past are interrogated, pieced together systematically and presented to form a well-rounded explanation which can be tested,<sup>10</sup> similar to the Victorian approach whereby history is a cumulative process which is revised and enriched over generations.<sup>11</sup> Although this empirical perspective is significant to the present research, the postmodernist viewpoint also needs to be understood since it is here that the majority of historical conflict derives.<sup>12</sup>

The interpretation of “facts” is central to postmodernist debate, many whom deny the existence of truth and explain reality as an interpretation of what the world means to each individual.<sup>13</sup> This perspective is sceptical of science and epistemological justifications, suggesting that every historian’s experience of society will come before the evidence, and as a result, history is fictional and, therefore, cannot be trusted.<sup>14</sup> Due to vague theoretical views, postmodern philosophy has been challenged by empirical critics, such as Agger, who argues that postmodernists need to ‘write more clearly and in ways that show the empirical relevance of their work more directly’ in order to be acknowledged methodologically.<sup>15</sup>

The traditional empiricist would argue that, in relation to narrative, history is based on physical evidence which has been collected and objectively discussed,<sup>16</sup> whereas the modern empiricist, who is more sensitive to the postmodern stance,<sup>17</sup> would suggest that, while there is a need to engage and identify with the information, imagination and inventiveness are crucial to creating a solid narrative.<sup>18</sup> Although postmodernists believe that this identification with the evidence encourages a modified and idealistic historical undercurrent, turning fact into fiction,<sup>19</sup> the empirical and pragmatic approach is defended by

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<sup>10</sup> Paul K. Feyerabend, *Problems of Empiricism: Philosophical Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Ronald Hutton, ‘History: Fact of Fiction? Ronald Hutton’s Early Experience of Discerning Reality: Telling Tales’, *Times Higher Education*, November 12, 2009, 40-41.

<sup>12</sup> Janice L. Thompson, ‘Practical Discourse in Nursing: Going Beyond Empiricism and Historicism’, *Advances in Nursing Science*, no. 7 (1997): 59-71 considers a move to a postmodern viewpoint in nursing and Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta Books, 2000) presents both the empiricist and postmodern view but suggests that empiricism is key to historical research.

<sup>13</sup> Keith Jenkins, *The Postmodern History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001); Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>14</sup> Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Christopher Norris, *Deconstruction: Theory and Practice* (London, Routledge, 1979).

<sup>15</sup> Ben Agger, ‘Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, no. 17 (1991): 106.

<sup>16</sup> Maurice Mandelbaum, ‘A Note on History as Narrative’, in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), 52-58.

<sup>17</sup> Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

<sup>19</sup> Ian S. Lustick, ‘History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias’, *The American Political Science Review*, no. 90 (1996): 608-610.

Evans and Stone who insist that theoretical models can be used to recreate a “real past” and guide narratives towards the truth, even though truth itself is subjective.<sup>20</sup>

“True” history is a romanticised concept because even those with the facts have to create a narrative surrounding the topic which, by nature, encourages an element of interpretation.<sup>21</sup> A “narrative truth” is the compromise, taking these ideals and reproducing an honest re-enactment through story,<sup>22</sup> and it is here that the balance between empiricism and postmodernity can be achieved by utilising historical facts to construct an accurate representation of the past while creating a story which is open to a degree of interpretation.<sup>23</sup>

Prosopography, or collective biography, describes ‘external features of a population group that the researcher has determined has something in common’,<sup>24</sup> following the creation of, and/or interrogation of, individual biographies through archival research and the analysis of that data to contextualise historical processes in a specific environment,<sup>25</sup> for example, that of a Manchester publican during the mid-nineteenth century with a strong involvement in local pedestrianism. This methodology tends towards the empirical rather than the postmodern, although the emphasis has moved away from simply reporting observations to applying them to the real world environment.<sup>26</sup> According to Stone;

Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then ask a set of uniform questions – about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of wealth, occupation, religion, experience of office and so on.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta Books, 2000); Lawrence Stone, *The Past and Present Revisited* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1983).

<sup>21</sup> Hayden V. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973); ‘Interpretation in History’, *New Literary History*, no. 4 (1973): 281; ‘Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth’, in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), 375-389; Peter Burke, ‘History of Events and the Revival of Narrative’, in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), 305-317; Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> Noel Carroll, ‘Interpretation, History and Narrative’, in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), 246-266.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, ‘A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography’, in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 39.

<sup>25</sup> Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Progress or Perversion? Current Issues in Prosopography: An Introduction* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2003).

<sup>26</sup> Michael Erben, *Biography and Education: A Reader* (London: Falmer Press, 1998); John H. Goldthorpe, *On Sociology: Numbers, Narratives, and the Integration of Research and Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> Lawrence Stone, ‘Prosopography’, *Daedalus*, no. 100 (1971): 46.

The term “prosopography” has been used since the 1920’s, although the method itself originated in the early nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Traditionally, prosopographical studies have been focused on the Medieval, Roman and Byzantine communities due to the plethora of information surrounding these eras and the ability to collect this work and develop it into large-scale databases.<sup>29</sup> More recently the changing nature of historical thinking has enabled a “new” prosopography to emerge which still discusses persons according to name, establishing the social context of groups, such as ethnic and regional origin, family connections and careers, but ‘is equally concerned with the networks of which each individual forms a part’.<sup>30</sup> This “new” prosopography benefits from the technological revolution and the computer age; utilising new techniques and advancements such as online archives, and validating their importance and significance in the historical world.<sup>31</sup> Access to more “modern” information has seen prosopography begin to interrogate nineteenth century inhabitants,<sup>32</sup> but this is in its early stages and there is a need for more complex prosopographical studies in many historical periods and subject specific areas, such as sport.<sup>33</sup>

While prosopography is still mostly used by classical historians, “collective biography” has been adopted by historians of later periods.<sup>34</sup> Both share the same meaning, but the association with biography introduces this method to a new concern. Biography, by definition, is a collection of life documents ‘which describe turning-point moments in individuals’ lives’,<sup>35</sup> but collective, or group biography, is not the biography of groups, ‘but rather the study of biographical details about individuals in aggregate’, analysing the

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<sup>28</sup> Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, ‘A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography’, in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 35-70.

<sup>29</sup> See several updates of John R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971; 1980; 1992; 1994) and the Prosopography of the Byzantine World Database, <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/> for a comprehensive prosopography of Byzantine communities; accessed 21 March 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 13.

<sup>31</sup> Dion Smythe, ‘Putting Technology to Work: The CD ROM Version of Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I (641-867)’, *History and Computing*, no. 12 (2000): 85-87; Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Progress or Perversion? Current Issues in Prosopography: An Introduction* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2003); John Bradley and Harold Short, ‘Texts into Databases: The Evolving Field of New-Style Prosopography’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, no. 20 (2005): 5-7.

<sup>32</sup> See Michael Erben, ‘A Preliminary Prosopography of the Victorian Street’, *Auto/Biography*, no. 4 (1996): 53-68; David Kennedy, ‘The Division of Everton Football Club into Hostile Factions: The Development of Professional Football Organisations on Merseyside, 1878-1914’ (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2003), 1-350, on the footballing locale surrounding late Victorian Liverpool; Anne Poulsen, ‘Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: A Collective Biography’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, no. 21 (2004): 16-33 for a turn-of-the-century analysis of the Copenhagen female physical education teacher.

<sup>33</sup> Stephen Hardy, ‘Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians’, *Journal of Sport History*, no. 13 (1986): 23.

<sup>34</sup> Dion Smythe, ‘Putting Technology to Work: The CD ROM Version of Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I (641-867)’, *History and Computing*, no. 12 (2000): 82.

<sup>35</sup> Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (London: Sage Publications, 1989), 7.

connections between individuals, not the specifics which make their lives unique.<sup>36</sup> Both are related, but as Magdalino notes, 'the primary concern of one [is] the secondary concern of the other'.<sup>37</sup> Biography has long been a respected source for historical research but group biography has been judged as a lesser instrument due to its ambiguous nature and lack of socio-historic use, causing those who use it to have to justify its power as an analytical tool.<sup>38</sup> Tilly suggests that "collective biography" is open to various interpretations and, as a methodology, it exposes connections which lead to false correlations,<sup>39</sup> although Kantor insists that biography is also open to falsification and that by cross-correlating data a historical truth can be found through prosopographical analysis.<sup>40</sup>

Historians face many issues surrounding the validity of sources, and this methodology attempts to overcome this by subjecting a population to a standardised set of questions in order to expose shared qualities.<sup>41</sup> Mommsen's seminal work on the history of Rome moved beyond traditional narrative as a reliable source and used epigraphy, numismatics and comparative linguistics, 'enabling the reconstruction of families and social groups in the ancient world',<sup>42</sup> and guiding historians towards a broader spectrum of primary materials in order to increase the dependability of their research.<sup>43</sup> Keats-Rohan believes the prosopographer should allow their sources to be made public, reducing the chance of falsification and ensuring an empirical structure.<sup>44</sup> There is need for the researcher to be careful of generalising too broadly and to ensure that the sample is representative.<sup>45</sup> The individuals selected should be common to the populace, as the unique are of no importance and the average represents the collective, enabling common characteristics and distinctive

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<sup>36</sup> Dion Smythe, 'Putting Technology to Work: The CD ROM Version of Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I (641-867)', *History and Computing*, no. 12 (2000): 85.

<sup>37</sup> Paul Magdalino, 'The Contribution of Prosopography: The Byzantine Empire or Why Prosopography? A Question of Identity', in *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Averil Cameron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 42.

<sup>38</sup> Michael Erben, *Biography and Education: A Reader* (London: Falmer Press, 1998); Stephen Shapin and Arnold Thackray, 'Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: The British Scientific Community 1700-1900', *History of Science*, no. 12 (1974): 3-4, 28; Diana K. Jones, 'Researching Groups of Lives: A Collective Biographical Perspective on the Protestant Ethic Debate', *Qualitative Research*, no. 1 (2001): 326.

<sup>39</sup> Charles Tilly, 'Family History, Social History, and Social Change', *Journal of Family History*, no. 12 (1987): 319.

<sup>40</sup> Jonathan Kantor, 'A Psycho-Historical Source: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent', *Journal of Medieval History*, no. 2 (1976): 281.

<sup>41</sup> Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 35-70.

<sup>42</sup> Theodor Mommsen, *The History of Rome* (London: Bentley, 1880); Peter Cunningham, 'Innovators, Networks and Structures: Towards a Prosopography of Progressivism', *History of Education*, no. 30 (2001): 436.

<sup>43</sup> Sarah Barber and Corinna M. Peniston-Bird, *A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 3.

<sup>45</sup> Gidon Cohen, Andrew Flinn and Kevin Morgan, 'Towards a Mixed Method Social History: Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Study of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 211-229.

traits of the group to be established in relation to the historical situ, a defining feature of “mass” prosopography.<sup>46</sup> This type of prosopography, which examines social ties and connections between people, helps to explain ideological or cultural change by examining surviving evidence and documentation relating to persons of lower social status who are common to all historical periods.<sup>47</sup>

Decisions about how to apply prosopography will be different in every case because sources differ from period to period, the questions of interest differ from historian to historian, and the available methods, or techniques, for data analysis continue to evolve.<sup>48</sup>

Although traditional prosopographical work aims to establish large databases,<sup>49</sup> the method is not adverse to a small-scale approach.<sup>50</sup> Previous work in this area has focussed on elite individuals,<sup>51</sup> but, as the new forms of collective biography have identified, the anonymous population can also be worthy of discussion, and it is these individuals who do not require extensive profiles. Magdalino maintains, ‘prosopography is most useful in the study of societies where the number of recorded individuals is relatively modest, and where the records do not lend themselves to the construction of major biographies’.<sup>52</sup> In arguing that a small selection of biographies can be used to understand individuals on a collective scale, Cunningham shows the potential for small-scale prosopography in the development of existing histories and biographies.<sup>53</sup>

Currently, I am undertaking work in this field, constructing biographies of nineteenth century Manchester sporting publicans using nineteenth century national and local newspaper and periodical archives, photographs, trade directories, census material, contemporary maps,

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<sup>46</sup> Lawrence Stone, ‘Prosopography’, *Daedalus*, no. 100 (1971): 46.

<sup>47</sup> Francesca Tinti, ‘The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England: Facts and Factoids’, in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 13, 197-209.

<sup>48</sup> Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 20.

<sup>49</sup> Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, ‘A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography’, in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 35-70.

<sup>50</sup> Anne Poulsen, ‘Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: A Collective Biography’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, no. 21 (2004): 16-33, presented an initial prosopography of approximately 20 women, Michael Erben, ‘A Preliminary Prosopography of the Victorian Street’, *Auto/Biography*, no. 4 (1996): 53-68, focused on one street of thirty-seven houses in Oxford, and Jared P. Van Duinen, ‘The “Junto” and its Antecedents: The Character and Continuity of Dissent Under Charles I from the 1620s to the Grand Remonstrance’ (PhD diss., The University of New South Wales, 2009), applied a micro-prosopographical methodology.

<sup>51</sup> Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007).

<sup>52</sup> Paul Magdalino, ‘The Contribution of Prosopography: The Byzantine Empire or Why Prosopography? A Question of Identity’, in *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Averil Cameron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 46.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Cunningham, ‘Innovators, Networks and Structures: Towards a Prosopography of Progressivism’, *History of Education*, no. 30 (2001): 436.

and local and family histories,<sup>54</sup> and then interrogating these collectively, highlighting the continuities and changes in the roles adopted by these individuals with respect to pedestrianism in particular. Profession (publicans) and geographic location (Manchester) have already been determined as initial defining features of the group, nevertheless there are further avenues to explore including social structures, origins and economic classes of the individuals, with developments on previous research to be expected.<sup>55</sup> It is important to note, that although this current study aims to establish an accurate account of the nineteenth century publican and their involvement with sport, based on archival resources and further academic evidence, that this is simply not the only interpretation of the information. No two people would write the same biography even with the same sources in front of them. Each historian is creating an interpretation of the historical period, which may gloss over an area where they have little knowledge, but is still an accurate representation, supported with evidence. Several layers of truth will emerge over time through the examination of a particular path, which then presents a new piece of the puzzle, helping to create a true portrait of the individual.<sup>56</sup>

The aim of this research is to construct biographies of nineteenth century Manchester publicans with a strong involvement in local pedestrianism, to interrogate these highlighting comparisons and differences, and to draw conclusions relating to commonalities. Through this table, several defining features of the Manchester entrepreneur can be drawn:

- **LOCATION:** Although many publicans were born, and lived, locally, just as many migrated from other parts of England. The profession of professional pedestrian encouraged athletes to regularly move and settle in new locations. Usually the “settling down” would be due to their marriage and subsequent upbringing of their children. Martin, originally from London, relocated to Manchester in the 1850s when he married, and Thomas Hayes, from Wolverhampton, also married a local woman before taking licence at the Shear’s Inn.
- **SKILLED TRADE:** It is important to note that the majority of these individuals were not only publicans, but they had skilled trades which they still practiced. This trade was passed from father to son, and then passed to their children too. Holden’s father

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<sup>54</sup> Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Interactionism* (London: Sage Publications, 1989); Sarah Barber and Corinna M. Peniston-Bird, *A Student’s Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>55</sup> Lawrence Stone, *The Past and Present Revisited* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1983); Alastair J. Shephard, ‘Biography and Mentalité History: Discovering a Relationship’, *Fukuoka University Review of Commercial Sciences*, no. 49 (1992): 496; David Kennedy, ‘The Division of Everton Football Club into Hostile Factions: The Development of Professional Football Organisations on Merseyside, 1878-1914’ (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2003), 24.

<sup>56</sup> John Bale, ‘The Mysterious Professor Jokl’, in *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies, Life-Histories and Methods*, ed. John Bale, Mette K. Christensen and Gertrud Pfister (Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2004), 25-39.



and brothers were all in the calico business as printer, engravers and sellers, and his brother also apprenticed Holden's son, James Jr, in the business.

- PRO ATHLETES AND TRAINERS: The majority of these individuals were professional athletes prior to, and during, their publican days. All except Piers were successful pedestrian athletes with Martin and Lang leading the field. Martin was a wonder-kid within the sport, eventually retiring to become a trainer of English champion athletes, travelling to America and returning with native runner Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett. Lang became the record holder for the mile, completing it in four minutes and 17.5 seconds at Martin's Royal Oak Park in 1865. Research suggests that the move from athlete to trainer is a natural progression but within this research it is currently inconclusive.

The next three points prove extremely important within the role of sporting publican; dependence on kinship ties within the business, collaboration with others in the sporting world, versatility in the role of publican, and essential personal traits such as honesty and respect have been found throughout each example.

- FAMILY/KINSHIP TIES: According to Anderson, kinship ties were important in Victorian Lancashire; family was instrumental in employment and encouraged trades to be passed down from father to son, but this was not exclusive to the immediate family as it also included relations such as son-in-laws, as illustrated here by Martin and Piers who both married daughters of Holden and were given support in their sporting roles. Holden was known as the 'great stakeholder of Lancashire pedestrianism' and Martin and Piers' association with him validated their place within the athletic community. Lang, although conforming to this idea of kinship and family, also follows a non-traditional concept of family. Lang's wife died young and he then subsequently boarded in different public houses. He remarried in his 50s but did not have any children. However, his wife Anne had a child, George Taylor, from a previous marriage, who resided with Lang in 1901 and worked as a billiard maker, continuing in the sporting trade through a different medium. Lang's family essentially became his athletes, trainers and backers, and sporting acquaintances.
- VALUED BY THE SPORTING COMMUNITY: All these publicans were positively received and were entrusted with further responsibilities, such as holding stakes for upcoming events (not just in pedestrianism but in other sport too), referee at different races and within different grounds, timekeeper and starter. This had much to do with their position within the sport, their contacts, and public opinion as being honest, respectable and urbane.

- COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT: Each individual did not act alone; they worked with each other to ensure success not only for the sport but for their business too, most notably Martin and Hayes, who both owned running grounds on Oldham Road. Martin's Royal Oak Park was at 496 Oldham Road, and Hayes's Copenhagen Grounds were at 540 Oldham Road. Although in competition with each other, both would ensure fixtures did not clash and there are reports that spectators flocked from one ground to the other to attend different races, and returning to the original destination for evening entertainment.

There is a need to examine the subject further to see if this template is exclusive to Manchester, and to also uncover additional traits of the sporting publican. Meaning has to be given to Manchester's sporting establishments, and their clientele, by way of their narrative existence; these people came from somewhere and made up the demographics of the mid-century population which is in need of further investigation.<sup>57</sup> In the future this can then be compared to individuals in other 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.

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<sup>57</sup> Stephen Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians', *Journal of Sport History*, no. 13 (1986): 23; Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 178.