

Narratives of Manchester Pedestrianism: Using Biographical Methods to Explore the Development of Athletics During the Nineteenth Century

Samantha-Jayne Oldfield

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of Manchester Metropolitan University
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Institute for Performance Research
Department of Exercise & Sport Science
Manchester Metropolitan University

October 2014

Narratives of Manchester Pedestrianism: Using Biographical Methods to Explore the Development of Athletics During the Nineteenth Century

Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, Department of Exercise and Sport Science, Manchester Metropolitan University

Abstract

The British sporting landscape significantly altered during the nineteenth century as industrialisation affected the leisure patterns of the previously rural communities that were now residents of the urban city. As both space and time available for sport reduced, traditional pastimes continued to survive amid the numerous public houses that had emerged within, and in, the outskirts of Britain's major industrial centres. Land attached to, and surrounding, the more rural taverns was procured for sporting purposes, with specially built stadia developed and publicans becoming gatekeepers to these working-class pursuits. Pedestrianism, the forerunner to modern athletics, became a lucrative commercial enterprise, having been successfully integrated into the urban sporting model through public house endorsement. The sporting publicans, especially within the city, used entrepreneurial vision to transform these activities into popular athletic "shows" with these professional athletes demonstrating feats of endurance, speed and strength, all under the regulation of the sporting proprietor. In Manchester, areas such as Newton Heath developed their own communities for pedestrianism and, through entrepreneurial innovation and investment, the Oldham Road became a hotspot for athletic competition throughout much of the nineteenth century. Within these communities, there was a reliance on the individual to cultivate and maintain athletic interest through their endorsement and promotion of, and their continued investment in, sporting entertainment. The relationship between entrepreneurial sportsmen and public houses has long been noted and there are abundant examples of individuals who combined their sporting activities with the role of licensee, but these are usually limited in scope and are overtly descriptive narratives that do little beyond documenting the individual achievements of their subjects. The traditional biographical method, whereby individual profiles are constructed through the uncovering of historical detail, is normally employed within the sport history discipline but this requires re-evaluation if a more complete picture of sport is to be established. Further biographical methods, such as collective biography and prosopography, whereby individuals are collectively studied through more measured techniques, should be applied to give further analysis of the impact of individuals within a specific sporting environment. This study uses all three approaches, biography, prosopography and collective biography, to give a more nuanced narrative that uncovers the changing nature of pedestrianism within nineteenth-century Manchester. Each chapter utilises a different biographical approach to explore a unique aspect of Manchester pedestrianism and gives further recognition to the previously anonymous population that helped to create a diverse hub for athletic entertainment. Although several themes permeate all three narratives, each method has its own outcomes, which provide alternative interpretations and perspectives on Manchester's sporting history. Whilst pedestrianism is used as an exemplar, the study intends to highlight the importance of the individual, as opposed to national organisations, in telling the story of nineteenth-century sport.

Keywords: Pedestrianism; Athletics; Sporting Entrepreneurs; Training; Manchester; Biography; Prosopography; Collective Biography

Publications and Presentations Associated with this Thesis

Journal Articles

Day, Dave, and Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Delineating the Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England'. *Sport in History* 34 (2015, forthcoming).

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester'. *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 223-248.

Book Chapters

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'The Manchester Milers 1850-1870'. In *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 78-110. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Narrative, Biography and Prosopography: Historical Method and its Implication'. In *Sports and Coaching: Pasts and Future*, edited by Dave Day, 35-60. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2012.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'George Martin, "Wizard of Pedestrianism" and Manchester Sporting Entrepreneur'. In *Sporting Lives*, edited by Dave Day, 142-166. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.

Poster Presentations

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'James Robinson, from Mancunian Butcher to American College Trainer'. Poster presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research Postgraduate Poster Conference, Crewe, September 14, 2012. **Awarded First Prize.**

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne, and Day, Dave. 'Manchester's Sporting Past: Nineteenth Century Athletics Grounds'. Poster presented at the Manchester Histories Festival, Manchester, March 3, 2012.

Conference Presentations

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'The Manchester Milers 1850-1870'. Paper presented at the British Society of Sports History annual conference, Wychwood Park, Cheshire, September 7, 2013.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'From Butcher to Trainer: James Robinson, Manchester's Athletic Pioneer'. Paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University history research seminar series, Department of History, Manchester, October 10, 2012.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'James Robinson, Manchester "Ped" to Princeton Athletic Trainer'. Paper presented at the British Society of Sports History annual conference, University of Glasgow, September 8, 2012.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester'. Paper presented at the Social History Society annual conference, University of Brighton, April 3, 2012.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Narrative, Biography and Prosopography: Historical Method and Its Implications'. Paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research International Conference on Sports and Coaching: Past and Futures, Wychwood Park, Cheshire, June 26, 2011.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Historical Method: Development and Application'. Paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research seminar series, Crewe, May 19, 2011.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Manchester's Sporting Entrepreneurs'. Paper presented at the Rational Recreations: Histories of Travel, Tourism and Leisure Network conference, University of Manchester, February 1, 2011.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'The Coaching Business: Nineteenth Century Manchester Sporting Entrepreneurs'. Paper presented at the British Society of Sports History annual conference, Wellcome Collection, London, September 11, 2010.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'The Manchester Public House: Sport and the Entrepreneur'. Paper presented at the Research Institute of Health and Social Change annual conference, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, July 1, 2010.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Manchester Pedestrianism 1840-1880: A Collective Biography of "Sporting Publicans": An Update'. Paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Department of Exercise and Sport Science seminar series, Alsager, February 18, 2010.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Serving the Masses: Sporting Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century Manchester'. Paper presented at the Research Institute of Health and Social Change annual conference, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, July 1, 2009.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Manchester pedestrianism 1840-1880: A Collective Biography of "Sporting Publicans"'. Paper presented at the Memories, Narratives and Histories postgraduate conference, Centre for Life History and Life Writing Research, University of Sussex and Research Centre in Memory, Narrative and History, University of Brighton, Brighton, June 2, 2009.

Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Manchester Pedestrianism 1840-1880: A Collective Biography of "Sporting Publicans"'. Paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Department of Exercise and Sport Science seminar series, Alsager, March 13, 2009.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Manchester Metropolitan University, the Institute for Performance Research and the Department of Exercise and Sport Science for funding my journey over the last six years. My supervisory team, Paul Holmes, Ian Atkin and Martin Hewitt, for their support and advice, and the Coaching and Sport Development teaching team for giving me the flexibility required to get through this process, especially in the last twelve months. I am especially thankful to Margaret Roberts, who has supplied me with an immeasurable amount of genealogical material throughout my studies.

To Dave Day, not only my Director of Studies but also my mentor, colleague and friend, who has given me his time and constant dedication throughout this process. You have always been patient, kind and supportive, and I thank you for this opportunity and for constantly pushing me to achieve.

To my friends and family who have given me their encouragement. A special thanks goes to Jo, Sam, Shona and Danielle, who have always been at the end of the phone, provided me with pep-talks and gossip, made me numerous cups of tea (and sometimes something a little stronger!) and for generally being the most understanding friends I could ever ask for.

To my sister, Joanna Louise, who has taught me that no matter how hard times are, you can always find the strength to fight away the negativity and do so with a huge smile on your face! Here is to the future - to life, laughter and love - keep surrounding us all with you positivity and strength.

To Matt, who has been on this journey with me from the very beginning. You have always been there for me, you have never complained about the long hours or my mood swings, and you have given me the motivation I have needed to complete this thesis, especially over the last six months. Your optimism has kept me going in both my academic and personal life and I cannot wait to start the rest of our lives together - thank you for always believing in me.

Finally, to my mum and dad, who have always allowed me to follow my dreams and have instilled in me their positive values and the belief that you can always achieve success with hard work and dedication. Your continued support and sacrifices throughout the years have all been to help me achieve this goal and, without you both, I certainly would not have reached this point. You have made me the person that I am today, and, for that, I am extremely grateful - I love you both more than I can ever say.

Narratives of Manchester Pedestrianism: Using Biographical Methods to Explore the Development of Athletics During the Nineteenth Century

Introduction

Narratives of Manchester Pedestrianism: An Introduction	1-13
---	------

Chapter 1. The Public House: Leisure, Sport and Pedestrianism

Introduction	14-16
The Pub and Working-Class Society	16-20
The Pub and Pleasure	20-22
Sport, Gambling and the Public House	23-28
Pedestrianism and the Athletic “Show”	28-37
Foot-Racing: from Road to Arena	38-44

Chapter 2. Narratives and Life Courses: Biography, Collective Biography and Prosopography

Overview	45-48
Sport History and Narrative Truth	48-50
Biographical Methods and Sources	50-56
Biographical Method	57-63
Prosopography and Collective Biography	63-70
Summary and Application	70-73

Chapter 3. Training and Promoting Pedestrianism in Manchester: A Collective Biography

Introduction	74-81
Early Manchester Pedestrianism: James Holden, Manchester’s ‘Great Stakeholder’	81-85
The Holden Era of Pedestrianism: Expansion and Development	85-87
Marriage and Sporting Success: The Holden Network	87-94
Manchester’s Pedestrian Explosion: The “New Wave” of Holden’s Administration	95-102
Oldham Road Community	102-108
Death and Decline: The Holden Legacy	108-114
Holden Connections and Conclusions: A Thematic View	115-120

Chapter 4. The Manchester Milers: A Prosopographical Analysis

Pedestrianism and Regional Identity	121-124
Manchester and Oldham Road Miling	124-129
The Manchester Milers: A Prosopography	130-157
Birth, Marriage and Death	132-142
The Professional Body	142-147
Preparing, Promoting and Performing	148-157
Profiling Manchester Pedestrianism	157-160
Epilogue: The Demise of Pedestrianism	160-163

Chapter 5. Athletics, Amateurism and America: A Biographical Study

British Attitudes and Pedestrianism: Professionalism vs. Amateurism	164-170
Northern Resistance	170-175
James Robinson and Manchester's Athletic Scene	175-181
Athletics and the College System: Robinson in America	181-192
Robinson's Training Style	192-196
Consolidating the Reputation	196-206
Robinson's Sporting Legacy	206-209

Conclusion

Athletics and Pedestrianism: An Overview	210-216
Manchester's Athletic Development	216-220
Communities of Pedestrianism	217-218
Acquisition and Transfer of Knowledge and Skill	218-219
Innovative Practices	219-220
Biographical Methods: Exploring a Sporting Past	220-225
Future Research	225-226

Appendices

Appendix 1. Prosopographical Questionnaire	227
--	-----

Bibliography

Primary Sources	228-231
Contemporary Texts 1806-1916	232-235
Secondary Sources	235-275

Figures, Tables and Illustrations

Table 1. Entrants and Colours for Mr Garrett's Twenty Mile Matches, Copenhagen House, 1852	34
Table 2. Historical Sources and their Epistemological Value	53
Table 3. The 'Deerfoot Circus' Schedule 1862	98
Table 4. Progressive Mile Record 1857-1865	126
Table 5. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Personal Information	131-132
Table 6. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Family Information	137
Table 7. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Career Information	146-147
Table 8. Princeton Athletic Records 1882-1892	198

Introduction. Narratives of Manchester Pedestrianism: An Introduction

During the eighteenth century, Britain went through a period of social and economic change as industrialisation revolutionised the manufacturing process. The introduction of steam, transport and factories enabled previously unsophisticated industries to strengthen their control and position within the occupational landscape, moving away from the small-scale cottage-style mode of production to the comprehensive businesses that supplied greater workforces and outputs. The previous agrarian society shifted to that of an urban model, driven by the growth of trade, capitalism and complex industrial construction, which proved to be economically profitable within the highly populated and developed cities and towns. The labour-intensive factory system paved the way for industry and provided a quick and regimented approach to British manufacturing. Migration into these industrial municipalities occurred throughout the early-nineteenth century and enabled residents to gain employment within the many industries that dominated production, including the manufacturing, metal and textile trades. Nonetheless, cheap labour led to an increase in poverty and unemployment, and the cities became home to a class of men and women who struggled with the lifestyle and financial limitations that industrialisation offered. Cities continued to expand and regional variations within industry led to the North-West, Midlands and North-East developing their own specialist hubs. Manchester had become the first major city to emerge outside of London, known as the centre for textile production with the cotton mills a defining feature of the city's design. Furthermore, Manchester's peripheral towns also provided glass, chemical and printing production, which contributed to the city's domination within British industry and its popularity for residential settlement. Other cities, such as Leeds, Birmingham and Newcastle, increased in size and demographics throughout the nineteenth century, attracting the working-class masses that relocated to acquire economic stability in the emerging trades of the North.

The working day was significantly altered as industrialisation continued to drive the labour force, moving from a laissez-faire, cyclical approach to the regimented and authoritarian regulation of the working day that was not subject to seasonal variation. It was common for employees to work over twelve hours a day for minimum pay, and, within the factories, this increased to around eighteen hours per day as ambitious owners exploited their workers to achieve financial targets. Several Factory Acts were imposed to improve conditions, which limited the adult working week to twelve hours a day, six days a week. The emphasis on regular working hours meant that leisure time was restricted and traditional pastimes and pursuits had to be condensed within the urban environment. Rural leisure practices were embedded within the agricultural environment where the land dictated the working week. Regular programmes of activities were established to provide entertainment for the farming labourers where fairs and religious holidays combined drinking, gambling, sport and

dancing, and some events even continued for multiple days as the non-working weekends were extended with the inclusion of 'Saint Monday'. However, in the industrial landscape, sport, a popular leisure interest, was no longer an ad-hoc, seasonal-driven activity associated with rural festivals, instead becoming an organised and structured urban entertainment scheduled to coincide with the working week. The format of sport had to change in order to make the transition into industrial life as both temporal and spatial constraints forced sporting events to become moderated. As a result, the working classes occupied themselves with games, parlour activities and spectator-friendly entertainments, usually tied to the public house, which aligned the traditions of the past with the newly-constructed leisure enterprises of Victorian England. The publicans became gatekeepers to these pastimes and provided an amenable location for sporting novelties to continue amid the 'rough and tumble' of the city.¹

Rationalising the recreations of the working-class inhabitants, the pub provided constructive and educational amusements within the city centre. The public house also established itself at the heart of nineteenth-century culture as the traditional inns and taverns played host to the sporting entertainments of the urban locale. The lands attached to, within and surrounding the rural tavern were procured and maintained for sporting endeavours, which subsequently attracted large numbers of spectators and patrons. Wagering quickly became part of the sporting experience with bookkeepers and betting men regular attendees at local sports events. The gambling nature of sport proved an asset to the publican with the more perceptive proprietors, driven by commercialisation, aware of the lucrative opportunities that sport provided. By enclosing the ground surrounding the pub, innkeepers charged for entry to their sporting competitions and capitalised on public interest through gate proceeds and the sale of alcohol and food. However, the association of sport with alcohol caused some observers to renounce the sporting entrepreneur and their practices with alternative programmes of sport created to teach athleticism and discipline, and uphold the middle-class morals that opposed these working-class traditions. Although class responses to sport and the public house differed, the sporting publican preserved their position within society by becoming integral to working-class practices and providing continuity within the industrial working environment.

The combination of sport and alcohol was not a new trend. During the eighteenth century, leisure activities were tied to the public house, especially in London where many sports initially emerged, developed and established themselves as commercial enterprises. The early organisation of cricket, prize fighting, horseracing and other animal sports as spectator attractions provided entrepreneurial

¹ Eugene C. Black, *Victorian Culture and Society* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 253.

men with financial gain and proprietors enclosed their facilities for sporting purposes. George Smith's Artillery Ground, Finsbury, charged spectators between two- and six-pence entry to watch cricket in the 800-seater 'round' with Smith's adjoining pub, the Pyed Horse, providing catering and drink concessions during the 1740s.² Elsewhere, champion pugilist, John "Jack" Broughton, extended his control over boxing within his amphitheatres through his displays of scientific movement and technical punching. Broughton taught classes in the 'manly art of boxing', charging wealthy patrons for the privilege and establishing himself as manager to his more accomplished pupils. Within his establishment drink and food were served at the front of house with the more lucrative pugilistic competitions performed in the back, where an array of men would pay to enter the private rooms. In 1743, he established the Broughton Rules, which essentially governed the sport until 1838, and, again, provided a unique selling point to ensure financial security.³ Although there was opposition to these endeavours and the role of the sporting publican within society was tenuous, these early entrepreneurial ventures enabled the leisure industry to expand significantly and supplied the design and framework that nineteenth-century publicans followed.

Although sport proved to be the most lucrative entertainment during the nineteenth century, the publicans extended their jurisdiction into other leisure pursuits. Diverse and extensive interests were promoted; dancing, singing, literary and poetry groups, fruit and flower shows, theatre and other social activities reinforced the significance of the pub as a site for pleasure.⁴ Card, board, throwing and dice games were also regularly played within the taprooms as well as simple gambling activities, such as skittles and dominoes. The pub had therefore become more than just a place to drink, being utilised as a refuge away from the monotony and responsibilities of the patrons' working and personal lives.⁵ Sport acquired the utmost attention with billiards, darts and quoits becoming established public house working-class pastimes. Breweries tended to purchase equipment, such as billiard tables, and the innkeepers would then provide the facilities for patrons to engage in the activity.⁶ As sport became prohibited on the roads and highways of Britain, the publicans were able to capitalise; from 1805, 'booling', a primitive mining community version of bowls where different weights of iron balls were dangerously hurled for both height and distance, had been banned on the

² Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (London: Aurum, 2000), 28.

³ See Dave Day, ed., 'Entrepreneurial Pugilists of the Eighteenth Century', in *Sporting Lives* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 167-179.

⁴ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885* (London: Redwood Burn, 1978), 9.

⁵ Michael A. Smith, 'Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure', *The British Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 3 (1983): 376.

⁶ William Barclay, *Handy-Book for Licenced Victuallers, Brewers, Wine Retailers and Refreshment House Keepers, and Post Masters, Including the Public House Closing Act, 1864, with Instructions for Beginners and an Appendix of Useful Forms* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1865), 14, 23.

streets of Newcastle and transferred into the gardens of rural public houses.⁷ For those establishments with land, bowls, coursing, shooting, athletics and cricket were habitually competed in, encouraging sport-specific facilities to emerge alongside the drinking place where men could congregate, view, gamble and engage in sporting competition. Activities involving human contests, such as pedestrianism, attracted significant attention with the purpose-built athletic track the centrepiece of many nineteenth-century sporting arenas.

Pedestrianism became a popular sporting pastime in the city during the early-nineteenth century, transitioning from a rural land-based festival entertainment to a profitable industrial commercial enterprise. As the forerunner to modern track and field athletics, pedestrianism encompassed a wide range of athletic pursuits including running, walking, leaping and throwing mostly competed for by professionally trained athletes for wagers. While pedestrian contests were more commonly associated with running they also provided novel competitions, such as running backwards, picking up stones and jumping over rivers, which demonstrated the skill, awkwardness and comicality that mirrored the traditional holiday-style entertainments in which the working-class communities engaged. From head-to-head races over set distances to multi-event matches against time, pedestrianism offered countless variations of athletic challenges within a restricted sporting environment. Long-distance feats, such as Mr Bruce Knight's solitary 86-mile event in under thirty-three hours generated interest within the sporting pubs between Cardiff and Brecon while John Davies' handicapped mile races against John Tetlow attracted thousands of spectators from throughout the United Kingdom in 1844. Further eccentricities were reported when Mountjoy undertook a combined competition, where running, hopping, walking backwards, hurdling and picking up 100 eggs with his mouth were part of the timed trial, and although female pedestriennes performed in professional endurance and strength contests it was the endeavours of the male pedestrians that captivated the working-class community.⁸

There is an assumption that the regulation of athletic activities only occurred with the rise of middle-class amateurism in the latter half of the nineteenth century but there was a commercial imperative, driven by entrepreneurs and publicans, which drove its organisation and control much earlier in the century. As pedestrian competitions moved into the specialised sporting arenas, the entrepreneur required some form of formal ruling to ensure fairness and clarity for both the athletes and spectators alike, although this also facilitated match fixing and dishonesty. To formulate gambling

⁷ Alan Metcalfe, 'Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889', *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 4 (1982): 489-490.

⁸ Emma Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century', *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 2 (2000): 95-99.

odds and gain substantial crowd support race meetings had to appear exciting and well contested. Taking guidance from pugilism, match-specific articles of agreement would be drawn up, contracts in which participants signed to agree to set terms and conditions of competition usually surrounding payment of wagers. Improved methods for timing, measuring and starting were employed as the sport developed. Officials and referees were engaged to enforce the agreed rules, handicappers were used to ensure a close competition and independent stakeholders guarded the winner's monies, with these practices reflected in a number of different sports. Huggins notes that horseracing had strict rules before national organisation, and race officials, sporting men with good racing knowledge and of suitable social standing, were employed to carry out a range of duties on the turf from the late-eighteenth century onwards.⁹ Similarly, James and Day observe that the regulation of football had occurred prior to the Football Association's formation in 1863, with a competitive footballing culture operational in Manchester as early as 1840.¹⁰ Interestingly, current research has focused on the regional aspects of sport that examine its regulation and development from an original perspective rather than the traditional London-centric approach that governs many sporting narratives. This reflects the general movement away from grand, macro-scale, empirical representations that have previously dominated sport history towards a more refined micro study that recognises the specifics of sport from a local point of view. By providing detail of the emergence of sport outside of the capital, a well-rounded understanding of individual activities and their impact can be established that constructs an enlightened interpretation of the development of sport within nineteenth-century society.¹¹ This thesis examines sport's development by presenting pedestrianism as an exemplar of this process by adopting a regional and localised perspective in order to explore the importance of Manchester, more specifically the individuals involved, in establishing a culture for pedestrianism during the nineteenth century. The first part of this thesis investigates this notion in more detail, establishing the contextual and methodological content that underpins this study.

Research into pedestrianism has increased recently, especially within twenty-first century academia where individual sports have generally been given significant consideration. Pedestrianism has been examined from a quantitative perspective, with Peter Radford's study of eighteenth-century professional athletic records a novel way of exploring the capabilities of a supposedly inferior

⁹ Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790-1914: a Social and Economic History* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 74.

¹⁰ See Gary James and Dave Day, 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840-1884', *Sport in History* 34, no. 1 (2014): 49-74.

¹¹ Allen Guttman, 'Review Essay: the Ludic and the Ludicrous', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 1 (2008): 102; Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (London: Routledge, 2005).

sporting environment.¹² Professional activities have also been considered within literary fiction, being the subject of dialogue in contemporary texts such as Fanny Burney's (1778) *Evelina*, Tobias Smolett's (1771) *Humphry Clinker* and Wilkie Collin's (1870) *Man and Wife*, with Collin's protagonist involved in public-house pedestrian activities. Other texts have used some empirical evidence concerning pedestrianism to create a fictional story, such as Radford's biography of Captain Barclay and Peter Lovesey's series of Sergeant Cribb novels, specifically *Wobble to Death*, which portrayed the professional exhibition running of late-nineteenth century London within the murder-mystery genre.¹³ Serious pedestrian texts tend to examine one aspect of sport (location, individuals, discipline, etc.) but from an overly descriptive and narrative approach. British scholars Warren Roe, Glenn Piper, Archie Jenkins and Peter Swain describe the nineteenth-century London, Tameside, Tyneside and Lancashire pedestrian scenes in their respective texts, whereas Matthew Algeo considers the sport from an American perspective. Additionally, Paul Marshall's *King of the Peds* and Piper's 'Sheffield Handicaps 1845-1899' deliver narrative reports of individual and specific athletic events including the transatlantic six-day wobbles and the professional sprinting championships.¹⁴ Nonetheless, many of these descriptive accounts tend towards the biographical method, constructing narratives of individual athletes through the uncovering of historical details. Nick Harris *et al* recount the 'extraordinary life and times of Edward Payson Weston', Edward Seldon Sears reveals the life course of American runner, George Seward, and Rob Hadgraft's series of books detail influential athletic celebrities from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the 2014 Manchester Metropolitan University published collaboration entitled *Pedestrianism* contains a number of pertinent examples, including biographies of Ben Hart, "Jerry Jim", Reggie Walker, James Searles, James McPherson and the Broad family.¹⁵ Although some of these biographies attempt to

¹² Peter Radford, 'Performance Trends of British Male Elite Runners', in *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014), 1-33.

¹³ See Wilkie Collins, *Man and Wife: a Novel in Three Volumes* (London: F.S. Ellis, 1870); Earl R. Anderson, 'Footnotes More Pedestrian than Sublime: a Historical Background for the Foot-Races in *Evelina* and *Humphry Clinker*', *American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980): 56-68; Peter Lovesey, *Wobble to Death: a Sergeant Cribb Mystery* (London: Macmillan, 1970); Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain* (London: Headline, 2001).

¹⁴ Warren Roe, *Front Runners: The First Athletic Track Champions* (Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 2002); Glenn Piper, *Athletics in Tameside 1837-1939 Covering the Towns of Ashton, Audenshaw, Denton, Droylsden, Dukinfield, Gee Cross, Haughton Green, Hollingworth, Hyde, Mossley, Mottram, Stalybridge and Tintwistle* (Manchester: Glenn Piper, 2011); 'Preparing for Success in the Sheffield Handicaps 1845-1899', in *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014), 133-148; Peter Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire', *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 382-404; Archie Jenkins, 'Nineteenth Century Foot Racing: the Tyneside Connection', in *Pedestrianism*, 149-170; Matthew Algeo, *Pedestrianism: When Watching People Walk was America's Favourite Spectator Sport* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2014).

¹⁵ See Dave Day, ed., *Pedestrianism*; Edward S. Sears, *George Seward: America's First Great Runner* (Plymouth: Scarecrow, 2008); Neil Harris, Helen Harris and Paul Marshall, *A Man in a Hurry: the Extraordinary Life and*

contextualise the individual life course, such as Dave Day's paper on Harry Andrew's transition from pedestrianism to athletics, these have been limited within the pedestrian literature.¹⁶

Though these are interesting studies which help us to understand the subject of pedestrianism within the nineteenth century, they have tended to lack a certain degree of methodological underpinning and require a more critical and analytical approach so as to enable their application to the wider social, political and cultural context that surrounds Victorian sport. Narrative offers a great deal of information about a particular topic but more subtle methods of investigation should be employed. This thesis uses a more formal methodological approach in order to examine pedestrianism by considering the individuals who helped to establish the sport in nineteenth-century Manchester. Through taking a modified re/constructionist approach, whereby interpretation is used to create narratives that understand the wider patterns, trends and context, a theoretical "truth" is founded that offers a balance between the empirical and postmodern historical positions while providing an historically valid representation of Manchester pedestrianism.¹⁷ Life writing is used to study complex historical developments by explaining the interactions between man and environment. Therefore, a biographical methodology is employed with unique methods applied in order to uncover the multiple layers of truth that surround the individuals, the sport and its development within the city.¹⁸ Three different methods are considered; biography, collective biography and prosopography; forming the basis of three individual chapters that each examines a unique aspect of Manchester pedestrianism. Individually, each method is measured and analytical in its approach and is applied to help guide the narrative toward a specific endpoint. Description is still featured throughout these chapters, being an important informative aspect of narrative construction, but this is contextualised within the biographical methods that each offer distinct viewpoints regarding descriptive text.

Biographical studies generally explore the individual by obtaining, analysing and interpreting evidence in order to present either, a holistic narrative that encompasses every aspect of the life

Times of Edward Payson Weston, the World's Greatest Walker (London: DeCoubertin, 2012); Rob Hadgraft, *The Little Wonder: the Untold Story of Alfred Shrubbs: World Champion Runner* (London: Desert Island Books, 2004); *Beer and Brine: the Making of Walter George: Athletics' First Superstar* (London: Desert Island Books, 2006); *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage: from Indian Reservation to Champion of the World* (London: Desert Island Books, 2008); *Tea with Mr Newton: 100,000 Miles: the Longest Protest March in History* (London: Desert Island Books, 2010); *Plimsoles On Eyeballs Out: the Rise and Horrendous Fall of Marathon Legend Jim Peters* (London: Desert Island Books, 2012).

¹⁶ Dave Day, ed., "'Old Harry Andrews': Surviving the Professional Pedestrianism to Amateur Athletics Transition', in *Sports and Coaching: Pasts and Futures* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2012), 61-84.

¹⁷ Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*; Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

¹⁸ Jonathan Haslam, 'Biography and its Importance to History', *Past and Future* 11 (2012): 10-11; John Bale, 'Ernst Jokl and Layers of Truth', in *Sporting Lives*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 1-15.

course, or, a snapshot version of the individual with some elements more developed than others. Whatever the approach taken, pertinent information is always required; the what, why, where, when, who, how and why forms the basis of biographical writing with the author constructing their own interpretation that 'fills out' these details through engaging story, and these interpretations can then be utilised to explore the wider experiences of the group within society.¹⁹ Furthermore, by examining questions that differ from the general biographical process, new interpretations can help to form a well-rounded representation of the individual, their character and motives. Therefore, narrative description is an important aspect of biographical construction as the reader needs to understand the character of the individual in order to be convinced of their position within the cultural and historical context. By combining several of these individual narratives, descriptive aspects can be reduced and a more critical interrogation applied, which reveals the connections and themes that surround a particular group. Here, the biographies can be more easily placed within the larger grand narrative and a group identity established that expands the historical and cultural knowledge of a given topic.²⁰ This method, known as collective biography, still considers each individual and their origins, qualities and exceptionalism, but does so by linking their stories to create one shared identity. Themes emerge organically from the biographies, which are then contextualised and rooted in historical understanding, and individual anecdotes are presented to highlight the contribution of each member of the group to the overarching narrative.²¹ Collective biographies tend to work with small numbers of detailed biographical dossiers where attention can be given to the overlapping ideas, connections and points of diversion, so a coherent and grounded identity can be formed. Although collective studies can contain fragmentary accounts, the individual's story is at the heart of this method with the details essential in order to fully appreciate the collective experience of the group.²² Prosopographical studies adopt a similar approach by grounding the collective identity of the group within the historical and social context but with a more stringent and methodological criteria employed. Prosopography is manipulated by the researcher who investigates the group, deemed to have something in common, by applying a set of uniform questions to gain specific data and expose shared qualities.²³ Although simple biographical data is collected, the details that make each individual life unique are rarely reported with the facts used to analyse the commonalities and

¹⁹ David Herman, 'Approaches to Narrative Worldmaking', in *Doing Narrative Research*, eds. Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou (London: Sage, 2013), 179, 182.

²⁰ Jo B. Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (London: University of California Press, 2000), 3-25.

²¹ Kong Ying, 'A Dictionary of Maqiao: Metafiction of Collective Biography', *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 5, no. 4 (2011): 635.

²² Krista Cowman, 'Collective Biography', in *Research Methods for History*, eds. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 97.

²³ Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 46.

provide quantitative support for the researcher's argument. While both collective biography and prosopographical methods have similar outcomes, their applications are very different. Whereas collective biography allows connections to naturally emerge from the data, prosopography establishes links and addresses questions between context and actions through scientific techniques. By moving away from the construction of major narratives, prosopography is more focused, specific and determined in understanding the defining features and purpose of the group within a given context.²⁴

The application of these methods is not linear. Although prosopographical studies could be converted into collective and/or individual biographies this is not the purpose or intention of the method. Each method is discrete and should be used appropriately. Additionally, the suitability and relevance of the approach is determined by both the sources available and the researcher's understanding of the methods themselves. For example, Hadgraft's series of books examine individual athletes through biographical study but their narratives could be combined to contextualise the changing experiences of the athlete throughout nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain, a topic that requires further investigation. Nonetheless, they are largely ignored by academics, and are maintained as stand-alone descriptive accounts, which provide little knowledge beyond detailing the individual's sporting life. It is the researcher's responsibility to apply each method correctly and to understand how the data collected would be best utilised, although this is not always easy to determine. If detailed biographies of ten individual pedestrians were available then all three methods could be utilised. However, the decision as to which approach to adopt would depend on the desired outcome with individual biography supplying one personalised perspective, collective biography detailing the group experience and prosopography analysing the common characteristics that make these individuals identifiable within the pedestrian community. Each method has its own strengths and weaknesses, examined in detail in chapter two, but all three approaches help to contribute to our understanding of the significance of pedestrianism within the Manchester community as well as the regulation of sport more generally during the nineteenth century. While these methods are applied differently and each examines a distinctive group of Manchester pedestrians there are several reoccurring themes that permeate this thesis. Kinship networks and sporting relationships, the importance of the individual, training, migration and transatlantic opportunities are all identified as having a major contribution to the development of

²⁴ Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray, 'Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: The British Scientific Community, 1700-1900', *History of Science* 12 (1974): 3; Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 41.

pedestrianism within Manchester, with cross-over identified in other sports and locations. Each of these themes is explored collectively through the chapters of this work, as are the methods employed.

Collective biography is addressed in chapter three where the early entrepreneurial men and women who governed pedestrianism are explored. The method employed combines individual biographies to suggest common threads and themes through the examination of the practices and motives of each profiled individual. Manchester establishments and early venues are discussed before specific attention is given to one of the city's most influential sporting families, the Holden family, who constructed their own community identity within the nineteenth-century sporting landscape that surrounded pedestrianism and other working-class sports. "Family" incorporates the immediate and extended relations as well as close allies and friends that form part of the wider network that surrounded the Holden dynasty. The content of this chapter focuses on the life of one man in particular, James Holden, who was responsible for developing a sporting culture within both Manchester and Lancashire, and became highly regarded within the pedestrian community as a 'good-natured' and 'respectable stakeholder' who controlled many sporting activities within the city.²⁵ Through his connections with local entrepreneurs and other sporting men, Holden constructed a legacy for pedestrianism, with his family and friends continuing to expand these sporting activities in and around the city centre. While his immediate family were instrumental in establishing the sporting community surrounding the family-run White Lion public house, this kinship network was further extended through marriage and familial connections, which introduced new techniques, attitudes and regulation that transformed the development of pedestrianism during the mid-century. The expertise and knowledge of son-in-law George Martin and sporting associate Thomas Hayes provided legitimacy to the Holden network with both of these individuals, and other peripheral actors, profiled within the text. The individual is at the heart of the research with the biographies carefully tied together to identify the similarities in character, approach and success whilst acknowledging differences through anecdotal sketches and historical contextualisation, which invites conclusions as to the value of the individual, their sporting endeavours and the communities of practice that formed within nineteenth-century Manchester.

Whilst the Holden network is the focus of chapter three, chapter four introduces a different sporting community, the Manchester milers, whose activities were initially developed, promoted and popularised within the provincial sporting arenas. The regionalisation of sporting practices helped to structure many activities during the mid-nineteenth century as public interest surrounding sport

²⁵ *Bell's Life*, October 2, 1842, 7; *Era*, January 8, 1843, 10.

increased, enabling localised communities to form their own sport-specific identities. Within pedestrianism, where there were numerous disciplines and events, developing a reputation as a hub for a particular event would provide security and marketability, crucial to the success of the local enterprises in the densely-populated sporting landscape. Therefore, Manchester's proprietors promoted the city as the home to the mile race, heavily endorsing one-mile running competitions in head-to-head and group challenge formats. The record for the mile was set, and subsequently broken, within Manchester's running arenas and the local trainers developed a proficiency in preparing athletes for the distance. Several of the champions resided in and around the city centre, with many either raised in Lancashire or having migrated from other British regions so as to immerse themselves in Manchester's miling culture. A group of ten individuals were identified as being influential, regularly competing in races such as George Martin's Royal Oak Mile, which became the premier pedestrian entertainment during 1860's Manchester. Although there were strong connections between the Holden family and these pedestrian performers, the focus of this chapter moves beyond detailing the life course of each individual member, subjecting them instead to prosopographical analysis in order to interrogate the profile of the nineteenth-century middle-distance runner who contributed to the vibrant "miler" scene that transformed Manchester into a national centre for athletic entertainment. With limited biographical narratives available, pre-determined questioning provides the framework for a more rigid and specific analysis that classifies the group and their characteristics, as suggested by Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn. Both personal and career details are examined and critiqued to explain the specifics of the population within nineteenth-century imagination.²⁶ Taking a more objective and empirical approach, this data is used to theorise the impact of the miling community in a society where professionalism had started to be marginalised, offering some explanations as to the response that such groups made in order to survive.

As amateurism started to take control of athletics towards the end of the nineteenth century, forcing professionalism into decline, the previously successful pedestrians were ostracised as new regulations were enforced. The Amateur Athletic Association banned professionals and their trainers from amateur competition with new athletic constitutions and national governing bodies developed to protect the middle-class idealism that surrounded the sport from 1866 onwards. However, these regulations were directed from London where educational elitism preserved the athletic programme, with the public school and Oxbridge alumni instrumental in forming the clubs and competitions that dominated the sport and halted working-class activities within the Southern regions. Nonetheless, a different approach was taken in the North, where many amateurs were working-class men who saw

²⁶ Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 55-56.

athletics as an alternative version of the professional endeavours. Although some competed in and trained others for social and economic rewards, with numerous professionals being prosecuted for their involvement in amateur events, others followed the middle-class example of competing for the love of the sport and the values of athleticism. However, due to the perceived character flaw of the working-man, reinforced through class boundaries, the Northern regions never received the acceptance of their Southern counterparts with conflicts between regulating bodies ubiquitous across a wide range of sports. In order to succeed within the sporting trade, many athletes and trainers transitioned into other working-class activities, such as football, where professional attitudes were still prevalent and men could be financially compensated for their expertise. Others migrated abroad where professionals were viewed more pragmatically. Many made the transatlantic journey to America where private organisations, athletic clubs and college teams secured the services of successful English trainers who became responsible for the conditioning and wellbeing of a diverse range of athletic performers. Chapter five provides a detailed biographical account of Manchester native, James Robinson, who made the transition from British working-class athletics to professional coaching, being influential within American sporting organisations during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Robinson's biography is de-constructed and used as an exemplar to explore the impact of transatlantic regulation and the amateur-professional divide that shaped the modern athletic environment.

All three methods provide a different way of looking at the structures that surrounded pedestrianism with regulation, training, entrepreneurship and professionalisation given attention in all chapters. Additionally, gift giving (trophies and other prizes), the recording of results, forms of dress and the development of individually merited distances and events are discussed in detail from both a professional and amateur perspective. This suggests that many of the principles of pedestrianism were still featured within amateur regulation, albeit in a modified form, and these professional practices were much more important in the development of modern athletics than initially considered. There was no complete break between professionalism and amateurism, with both versions of the sport being competed for and reported on side-by-side within late-nineteenth century society. Pedestrian races would be promoted within the early athletic festivals, with some clubs exploiting the professional runners by highlighting these events so as to generate patronage, spectatorship and press recognition. And, by recording and referring back to pedestrian achievements, amateur athletes were sub-consciously acknowledging the importance of professional attainments within their institutions. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that professional pedestrian customs underpinned athletic organisation, the only difference being the type of man who controlled the sport's administration. Essentially, the individuals involved in the development of

pedestrianism, the working-class entrepreneurs, had been replaced by middle-class versions who continued to provide competition in a similar manner. However, they legitimised their practices by surrounding themselves with more formalised legislation, regulation and sporting programmes, modelling their own activities in a manner approved by their target audience, the middle-class reformers. The articles of agreement that governed professional races were replaced by standardised rules, cash prizes were limited, although not eradicated, in exchange for trophies and token rewards, and the amateur clubs simply became an extension of the athletic stables that had previously been accepted within the pedestrian communities. Amateurism did not just emerge as some authors seem to imply - it was a process that took time to embed - and the impact of pedestrianism on this environment should be more widely reported and acknowledged.

The conclusions drawn are twofold. The effectiveness of each of the biographical methods in understanding pedestrianism more widely is discussed, as well as the broader impact of individuals, commercialisation and the early regulation of the sport, which implies that pedestrianism transformed organised sport and established itself as the precursor for modern day track and field athletics. The long-term impact of pedestrianism, the traditions and approaches, and the acceptance of customary practices within the amateur framework are considered with specific reference to the Manchester contingent. By reflecting on how the methods employed have helped to acquire this knowledge, detailing the strengths and weaknesses of each approach, a more measured and progressive application of biographical methodology is founded through which to analyse individuals, locations, communities and distinct activities within a specific sporting environment. The wider employment of these research methods as a tool to be able to understand the impact that individuals, either singly or collectively, had on the development of modern sport is an important outcome of this thesis. Although pedestrianism has been used as an exemplar, these methods can be used to explore other sports, leisure and recreations, enabling the researcher to scrutinise the development of these activities in a more considered and theoretical manner. The development of modern sport was not driven by just one central ideology, such as amateurism, but by a combination of actions that contributed to its progression and modification within nineteenth-century culture, and by taking a more measured approach to its examination new layers of truth can be exposed that uncover historical knowledge and start to substantiate the “grey area” of sport history.

Chapter 1. The Public House: Leisure, Sport and Pedestrianism¹

Although many argue that the economic expansion of Britain started in the sixteenth century,² it was not until the late-eighteenth century that the influence of new and sophisticated technology, such as the steam engine, impacted on the workforce.³ As the industrial revolution transformed Britain into the most powerful nation in the world,⁴ sections of the population experienced long working hours, poor housing and sanitary conditions, and high death rates.⁵ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain, now the leading producer of iron, textiles and manufactured goods, was thriving economically but, politically, the country was struggling to manage a rapidly expanding workforce.⁶ Of eleven million British residents in 1801, 82 percent lived in rural dwellings but a significant change in the residential landscape had occurred by 1851 when 50 percent of the population of over twenty million lived in major conurbations.⁷ Fifty years later, nearly three-quarters of the forty million inhabitants, having left the countryside to seek work in urban centres,⁸ resided in towns and cities, many of which contained unhealthy “slums” where death, criminal activity and social discord was rife.⁹ Politicians and their electorate, still firmly rooted within the upper-middle- and upper-classes at the start of the nineteenth century, were preoccupied with the uneducated working classes and their

¹ Content from this chapter has appeared in the following publications:

Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester’, *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 223-248; Dave Day and Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘Delineating Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England’, *Sport in History* 34 (2015, forthcoming).

² John U. Nef, ‘The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large-Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540-1640’, *The Economic History Review* 5, no. 1 (1934): 3-5; Christopher G. A. Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700: People, Lands and Town, Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 165; Terence J. Byres, ‘The Landlord Class, Peasant Differentiation, Class Struggle and the Transition to Capitalism: England, France and Prussia Compared’, *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 33, 38; Jan de Vries, ‘The Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century After Fifty Years’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2009): 153-154.

³ Robert C. Allen, ‘The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective: how Commerce Created the Industrial Revolution’ (working paper, Department of Economics, Oxford University, Oxford, 2006), 1.

⁴ Moshe Justman and Mark Gradstein, ‘The Industrial Revolution, Political Transition, and the Subsequent Decline in Inequality in 19th-Century Britain’, *Explorations in Economic History* 36, no. 2 (1999): 109-110.

⁵ Eugene C. Black, *Victorian Culture and Society* (London: Macmillan, 1973), xii-xiii.

⁶ 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* 4, no. 2 (1999): 147.

⁷ Adna F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: a Study in Statistics* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 48; Dov Friedlander, ‘Demographic Responses and Population Change’, *Demography* 6, no. 4 (1969): 365; Census Office, *Census of Great Britain 1851: Tables of the Population and Houses in the Divisions, Registration Counties, and Districts of England and Wales; in the Counties, Cities, and Burghs of Scotland; and in the Islands in the British Seas* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1851).

⁸ Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, 60; Census Office, *Census of England and Wales 1901: General Report with Appendices* (London: Darling & Son, 1904); Phillip J. Waller, *Town, City, and Nation: England, 1850-1914* (London: Puffin, 1984), 303.

⁹ Gareth S. Jones, *Outcast London: a Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (London: Puffin, 1984), 214.

propensity for disorder so they regularly enacted Bills designed to control and contain them.¹⁰ After the 1832 Reform Act however, other middle-class communities were gradually empowered as representation was granted to recently industrialised cities such as Birmingham and Manchester.¹¹ The elected members of these cities were among the first to tackle class divisions, sanitation, housing, education, and working conditions by implementing legislation to improve daily life for the deserving poor, although these reforms were relatively uncontested and their full impact was not experienced until the end of the century.¹²

Manchester continued to expand during the nineteenth century, though more rapidly during the 1820s due to the dominance of the cotton industry,¹³ and the once rural landscape became unrecognisable with factories built above the skyline and the city hidden amid a cloud of smog.¹⁴ By 1840, 'all roads led to Manchester',¹⁵ and by 1851, at the peak of industrialisation, the city had over 300,000 inhabitants from a variety of backgrounds.¹⁶ The structure of the city reinforced class boundaries, with the working-class housed in the heart of the city and the upper- and middle-classes residing in villages and towns on the outskirts, in areas such as Pendleton and Ardwick.¹⁷ Irish immigrants created communities in Manchester from the 1830s, the largest being Angel Meadow, bound by Long Millgate and the River Irk, with over 44 percent of the population being of Irish descent.¹⁸ The presence of the Irish displeased many commentators who were appalled by the working-class practices and behaviours exhibited both inside and outside of the workplace.¹⁹ James Kay-Shuttleworth observed, '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 Furthermore, the professional

¹⁰ Trygve R. Tholfsen, *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), 85.

¹¹ Asa Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities (1830-2)', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10, no. 3 (1952): 296; George M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 43; Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1968), 611.

¹² John A. Phillips and Charles Wetherell, 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England', *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (1995): 412-415.

¹³ Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, 53; Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution: an Application of Theory to the British Cotton Industry* (London: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland* (New Jersey: Transaction, 2003), 106.

¹⁵ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 96.

¹⁶ John K. Walton, *Lancashire: a Social History 1558-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

¹⁷ H. B. Rodgers, 'The Suburban Growth of Victorian Manchester', *Journal of Manchester Geographical Society* 58 (1962): 4-5.

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

sporting landscape, specifically the sports of pugilism, rowing and pedestrianism, provided Irish immigrants with the opportunity to earn money and become sporting celebrities, with sport becoming yet another focus of middle-class disdain and concern.²¹ Although spatially close, class social interaction was minimal,²² and, according to Busteed and Hindle, the rich 'knew less about poor Ancoats or Little Ireland than they did about China'.²³ The domination-subordination relationship between the classes contributed to deep social divisions that saw the working classes cling to their traditional pastimes.²⁴ In Oldham, for example, hard-drinking, cock-fighting and overly masculine traditions survived and, although these were effectively marginalised by the middle-classes in mid-nineteenth century Britain, the working classes continued these practices in private.²⁵

The Pub and Working-Class Society

Following its emergence in the sixteenth century, the pub, where alcohol and entertainment were supplied, provided an alternative environment to the workplace.²⁶ The eighteenth-century culture where 'nothing could be done without drink' had been transformed by the early-nineteenth century,²⁷ although alcohol was ever-present and the changing nature of the drinking place caused many to question its position in society.²⁸ The customary country inn became less prominent in industrial cities with many men preferring alternatives,²⁹ and much political disagreement surrounded the public house, an establishment that still encounters criticism from moralist groups today.³⁰

²¹ Ralph Wilcox, 'Irish Americans in Sport: the Nineteenth Century', in *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, eds. Joseph J. Lee and Marion R. Casey (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 446; Edward S. Sears, *Running Through the Ages* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2001), 140.

²² John Seed and Janet Wolff, 'Class and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Manchester', *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 2 (1984): 48-49.

²³ Busteed and Hindle, 'Angel Meadow: The Irish and Cholera in Manchester', 2.

²⁴ Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*; Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); Mark Girouard, *Victorian Pubs* (London: Yale University Press, 1975).

²⁷ Samuel Couling, *History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland; from the Earliest Date to the Present Time* (London: William Tweedie, 1862), 10.

²⁸ Lillian L. Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

²⁹ Michael A. Smith, 'Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure', *The British Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 3 (1983): 367.

³⁰ Robin Room, Thomas Babor and Jürgen Rehm, 'Alcohol and Public Health', *The Lancet* 365, no. 9458 (2005): 527; Robert Baggott, 'Alcohol, Politics and Social Policy', *Journal of Social Policy* 15, no. 4 (2009): 472; 'A Modern Approach to an Old Problem? Alcohol and New Labour', *Policy & Politics* 38, no. 1 (2010): 135.

Drinking establishments 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 fostered heavy drinking'.³¹ The term "public house" applies here 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 meetings throughout the century.³² Conversely, alehouse and gin-shop proprietors catered for working-class customers, providing stronger spirits and ale for a small price.³³ Class segregation within these establishments, although already present in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was reinforced after the 1830 Beer Act encouraged a new drinking place to emerge, the "beerhouse".³⁴ Although drawing its customers from the same social level as the alehouse, the beerhouse was exempt from magistrates' control and drew its licence direct from Excise.³⁵ Designed to reduce illegal drinking and curb public drunkenness through the exclusion of spirits, the Beer Act enabled any householder to sell and brew beer, ale and cider from their home.³⁶ The rapid expansion of the beerhouse caused many complaints,³⁷ and temperance societies, concerned with drunkenness and anti-social behaviour, campaigned for the repeal of the Act, although this was not fully enforced until 1869.³⁸ In the mid-nineteenth century, even with increased awareness of the evils of drink through public meetings, lectures, advertisements and anti-drink campaigns, the city centre still experienced public drunkenness, with the number of beerhouses increasing and the public house continuing to flourish. Manchester remained immersed in the beerhouse culture,³⁹ with over 2,000

³¹ Smith, 'Social Usages of the Public Drinking House': 367-368.

³² Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*.

³³ 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; Brian Spiller, *Victorian Public Houses* (London: Arco, 1973).

³⁴ House of Lords, *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 62: 23 July 1830* (London: HMSO, 1830), 916-918.

³⁵ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 45.

³⁶ 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' (paper presented at the University of the Aegean, Rhodes, Greece, July 19, 2006).

³⁷ *Age*, December 19, 1830, 405; April 21, 1833, 124; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, February 12, 1832, 27; Edward Porritt, 'Five Centuries of Liquor Legislation in England', *Political Science Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1985): 628.

³⁸ *Wrexham Advertiser and North Wales News*, September 16, 1882, 6; Joanne M.V. Paisana, 'Tipplers, Drunkards and Backsliders: The Temperance Movement in England 1830-72, Including a Case Study of Lincoln' (PhD diss., Universidade do Minho, Portugal, 2002), 3-5; Alistair Mutch, 'Manchester and Liverpool Public Houses Compared, 1840-1914', *Manchester Regional History Review* 16 (2003): 23.

³⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, October 11, 1845, 12; Mutch, 'Manchester and Liverpool Public Houses Compared, 1840-1914': 22-23.

operating by 1867, compared to Liverpool's 819.⁴⁰ A shortage of alternatives 'forced working people into drinking places for their recreations',⁴¹ which increased middle-class concerns, and many Northern cities promoted temperance and Christian reform throughout the nineteenth century.⁴²

Part of the problem that temperance campaigners faced was that alcohol, particularly all forms of ale or beer, had long been promoted as a beneficial part of the working-class diet.⁴³ Alcohol was considered healthy and nutritious compared to water,⁴⁴ and proprietors would often ensure sales by advertising their contents as having been prescribed by doctors,⁴⁵ which fostered 'excessive competition among publicans...to inveigle drinkers',⁴⁶ and encouraged further restrictive legislation. The once-respected and valued public houses suffered whilst lowly regarded beerhouses and gin-shops thrived, causing some English political groups to advocate prohibition.⁴⁷ While the publican was blamed for working-class intemperance,⁴⁸ it was often the beerhouse owner who was responsible in damaging the reputation of the trade.⁴⁹ With tighter restrictions, the innkeepers themselves were made liable for their patrons, but even this did not eliminate drunken behaviour. Temperance and vigilance committees, alongside the church, informed the magistrates of any incident involving alcohol,⁵⁰ but much was left unreported as the constabulary relied heavily on publicans' statements regarding illegal activities, especially within large cities such as Manchester.⁵¹ Temperance organisations were fighting an increasingly frustrated audience,⁵² particularly victuallers

⁴⁰ Lords Select Committee, *First Report of the Lords Select Committee on Intemperance* (London: HMSO, 1877): 332-333; Martin Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester, 1832-67* (Aldershot: Scholar, 1996), 185.

⁴¹ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, 48.

⁴² Michael J. Turner, 'Local Politics and the Nature of Chartism: The Case of Manchester', *Northern History* 45, no. 2 (2008): 327; Neal Garnham, 'Both Praying and Playing: "Muscular Christianity" and the YMCA in North-East County Durham', *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 2 (2001): 400.

⁴³ James Kneale and Shaun French, 'Mapping Alcohol: Health, Policy and the Geographies of Problem Drinking in Britain', *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy* 15, no. 3 (2008): 242; James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

⁴⁴ Laura Oren, 'The Welfare of Women in Laboring Families: England 1860-1950', *Feminist Studies* 1, no. 3/4 (1973): 107-125; Derek J. Oddy, 'Food in Nineteenth Century England: Nutrition in the First Urban Society', *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 29, no. 1 (1970): 154.

⁴⁵ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*; *Morning Chronicle*, July 14, 1826, 22.

⁴⁶ Frederic R. Lees, *An Argument for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic* (London: William Tweedie, 1857), 72-74.

⁴⁷ *Satirist*, September 11, 1831, 180.

⁴⁸ Lees, *An Argument for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*, 154.

⁴⁹ Paul Jennings, '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).

⁵⁰ *Satirist*, August 21, 1831, 160.

⁵¹ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*.

⁵² E.D. Daly, 'The Struggle between the State and the Drunkard', *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland* 10, no. 77 (1897): 279-280.

who insisted that current legislation made it impossible to fight intemperance.⁵³ However, although alcohol consumption increased, drunkenness did reduce due to a lessening in the importance of communal drinking as an increasingly educated and financially stable working class became more sophisticated,⁵⁴ creating an environment of relative sobriety within the drinking establishment.⁵⁵

The public house became a location outside of the traditional factory where artisan and craft traders would congregate to gain work, developing sophisticated networks of 'houses of call' throughout the major industrial cities.⁵⁶ Given the seasonal nature of many craft occupations, the 'tramping system', as described by Hobsbawm and Prothero, offered apprenticed trade occupations with access to work through a carefully tailored travelling system; men who were looking for work would enter houses of call with their 'blank' or 'clearance', confirming their character as one of good status, where lodgings and sustenance would be provided and 'tramp allowances' received. The proprietors would then consult their 'call-book' to supply work and the artisan labourer would then reside in the community before moving to the next city or town and resuming the process again once work ceased.⁵⁷ The pub acted as a labour exchange, trade union and benefit society for those who subscribed, for a small fee, and the publican became promoter of these individuals, finding clients and jobs for men who patronised their establishment and provisions to those who waited.⁵⁸ This practice emerged in the eighteenth century and was well established by 1850, with individual houses of call available for hatters, tailors, shoemakers, plumbers, glaziers, carpenters, smiths, metalworkers, bookbinders, painters and others in London alone.⁵⁹ According to Southall, the London pubs housed the majority of societies for carpenters and joiners until 1840 whereas Lancashire publicans hosted large textile and mechanic populations that clustered within the Manchester area due to the dominance of the cotton industry.⁶⁰ This system was an example of early entrepreneurial innovation, heavily reliant on the public house proprietor to develop and maintain connections within the local community to ensure their success. If the pub failed to deliver work then patrons would move on and new networks established. For example, Manchester's Belle Vue was used as a house of call for carters for

⁵³ Herbert Jefferies, *The Publicans' Manual* (Birmingham: New & Co, 1894), 94.

⁵⁴ James Kneale, 'The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914', *Social and Cultural Geography* 2, no. 1 (2001): 44.

⁵⁵ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London* (London: Macmillan, 1889-1902).

⁵⁶ Humphrey Southall, 'Towards a Geography of Unionization: the Spatial Organization and Distribution of Early British Trade Unions', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 13, no. 4 (1988): 470.

⁵⁷ Eric J. Hobsbawm, 'The Tramping Artisan', *Economic History Society* 3, no. 3 (1951): 229; Iorwerth Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times* (London: Routledge, 1979), 30.

⁵⁸ Madeleine Ginsburg, 'The Tailoring and Dressmaking Trades, 1700-1850', in *Costume, The Journal of the Costume Society* 6, (1972): 66.

⁵⁹ Hobsbawm, 'The Tramping Artisan': 301.

⁶⁰ Southall, 'Towards a Geography of Unionization: the Spatial Organization and Distribution of Early British Trade Unions': 439-471.

many years, but, due to the development of the site for other interests, such as sport, this endeavour failed and the trade moved to the Plough, Gorton, instead.⁶¹ Generally, workers would centre themselves around these houses of call, with the drinking establishment serving a dual function in providing both business and pleasure for their inhabitants.⁶² The public house maintained its popularity due to the recreational and social nature of drinking.⁶³ However, when Victorian society tried to renounce consumption 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 hubs for entertainment, thus cementing their place as integral to British leisure practices.⁶⁴

The Pub and Pleasure

Early-nineteenth century culture was embedded in the close-knit, rural communities of agricultural Britain,⁶⁵ and the substantial calendar of religious and traditional holidays, which formed the Gregorian year, provided working communities with time and freedom to pursue leisure opportunities, encouraging a social but functional workforce who not only worked hard but also played hard.⁶⁶ Popular activities included field sports, such as mob-football and steeple chasing, traditional festival games such as sack races, archery and running contests, violent spectator sports like cockfighting and pugilism, while 'eating, drinking, fighting and love-making were celebrated in orgiastic fashion'.⁶⁷ Often tied to the church, these festivities strengthened the bond between the classes with the upper-class gentlemen patronising events designed for their working-class

⁶¹ George Jennison, *The Making and Growth of the Famous Zoological Gardens, Belle Vue, Manchester and the History of its Competitors: a Century of Lancashire Open-Air Amusements 1825-1925* (Berwick Lodge, Disley: George Jennison, 1929), 13.

⁶² Gareth S. Jones, 'Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class', *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 4 (1974): 485.

⁶³ Simon Fowler, 'History of Pubs' (paper presented at the Family and Community History Research Society, South-East branch, July 2000).

⁶⁴ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885* (London: Redwood Burn, 1978).

⁶⁵ Paul Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: an Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England* (London: Routledge, 2006); Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁶⁶ Dennis Brailsford, 'Religion and Sport in Eighteenth Century England: "For the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for the Preventing or Punishing of Vice, Profaneness and Immorality"', *British Journal of Sports History* 1, no. 2 (1984): 166-183.

⁶⁷ Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004); Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 3.

residents.⁶⁸ Community was at the heart of the agricultural village, but, as the cities started to expand, the ethos changed; evangelicalism and discipline became determining features of the industrial workforce, transforming the village into an urban metropolis where ‘the rough and tumble of the past did not vanish into the soot and slime of the industrial city’.⁶⁹ New traditions and pastimes were formed which saw a decline in previous leisure patterns, but, from 1830, a focus on rationalised recreation encouraged an increasingly compartmentalised society to regain some of its prior sense of community,⁷⁰ introducing the Victorian population to constructive and educational amusements, ‘one of the major frontiers of social change in the nineteenth century’.⁷¹

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’.⁷² Even so, a large proportion of the working classes continued to find pleasure in the public house which not only provided alcohol, but entertainment in the form of music, theatre, art and sport; well-respected endeavours except when paired with drink.⁷³ As Lawson noted:

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.⁷⁴

Reformists believed that public holidays, including Saturday half-day, granted to improve conditions for the working masses,⁷⁵ ‘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

⁶⁸ Wray Vamplew, ‘The Development of Team Sports Before 1914’, in *Handbook on the Economics of Sport*, ed. Wladimir Andreff and Stefan Szymanski (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006).

⁶⁹ Black, *Victorian Culture and Society*, 253; Peter Mandler, ‘Against “Englishness”: English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850-1940’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, no. 7 (1997): 155-156; Jason Long, ‘Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain’, *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 1 (2005): 2-4.

⁷⁰ Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*.

⁷¹ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 5.

⁷² Anthony E. Dingle, ‘Drink and Working-Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914’, *Economic History Review* 25, no. 4 (1972): 608; Black, *Victorian Culture and Society*, 252.

⁷³ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*.

⁷⁴ Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey* (Yorkshire: Stanninglen, 1887), 58.

⁷⁵ Wilfred B. Whitaker, *Victorian and Edwardian Shopworkers: the Struggle to Obtain Better Conditions and a Half-Holiday* (London: David & Charles Publishers, 1973); Jeremy Boulton, ‘Economy of Time? Wedding Days and the Working Week in the Past’, *Local Population Studies* 43 (1989): 29; Douglas A. Reid, ‘Weddings, Weekdays, Work and Leisure in Urban England 1791-1911: the Decline of Saint Monday Revisited’, *Past & Present* 153 (1996): 136; Dominic Lo, ‘Football, the World’s Game: A Study on Football’s Relationship with Society’ (PhD diss., Claremont McKenna College, 2011), 13.

abjured', with educational recreations enjoyed.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the public house continued to rise in popularity, offering a variety of activities to attract custom, such as flower, fruit and vegetable shows, glee clubs, dramatics, sporting endeavours, and society meetings.⁷⁷ Although appearing to help rationalise recreation time, the innkeepers were 'fully aware of the profit-making potential of such an enterprise',⁷⁸ with some establishments forming allegiances with specific ventures in order to increase proceeds.⁷⁹ Signs and banners such as "Poets Corner", "Theatre and Concert Tavern", and "The Cricketers Arms" appeared above mid-nineteenth century Manchester drinking establishments that enabled their clientele to know what was on offer before entering the premises.⁸⁰ By 1850, the drinks trade endorsed many sporting activities with the entrepreneurial landlords being fundamental to the survival of sport, especially within the industrial cities.⁸¹

Although the beerhouses caused concern within the city centre, the development of transport links surrounding Manchester also enabled rural taverns and pubs to expand their clientele.⁸² Entrepreneurial publicans used entertainments to attract bigger audiences; 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.⁸³ Proprietor William Sharples regularly attracted large audiences to The Star Inn, Bolton, where he provided entertainments such as dancing, acrobats, clowns, waxworks, live exhibits and ornamental gardens.⁸⁴ Sport moved to these rural outskirts and, in areas such as Newton Heath, popular Victorian gardens with attached public houses produced competitive events. Because sporting men became synonymous with drinking places, temperance reformers, who generally disliked working-class sports, found their objections to the public house reinforced.⁸⁵

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 9.

⁷⁸ Emma Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century', *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 2 (2000): 95.

⁷⁹ Dennis Brailsford, *British Sport: a Social History* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1997); Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*.

⁸⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, October 11, 1845, 12.

⁸¹ Geoffrey T. Vincent, "'Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman" Pedestrianism in Canterbury 1860-1885', *Sporting Traditions* 18, no. 1 (2001): 47.

⁸² Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present: an Introduction', *Manchester Regional History Review* 20 (2009): 1.

⁸³ Walton, *Lancashire: a Social History 1558-1939*, 189-190.

⁸⁴ Robert Poole, *Popular Leisure and the Music-Hall in Nineteenth-Century Bolton* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Press, 1982), 51-55.

⁸⁵ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, 2.

Sport, Gambling and the Public House

Card, coin and dice games had long been opportune gambling activities, part of the 'low' culture that had been associated with drinking and idleness since the fourteenth century, but as further novelties emerged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as horseracing, pugilism and pedestrianism, the betting market increased.⁸⁶ As Britain became urbanised, customary spaces for sport disappeared to be replaced by land surrounding public houses. Sports involving human activity were often promoted with gambling in mind, with railways, newsagents, tobacconists, printers and publicans all benefiting from these activities, even though a proportion of the population remained unhappy with the associations between sport, a "healthy" endeavour, and alcohol, and tried to provide alternatives.⁸⁷ Sports such as cricket and golf established written rules as a direct response to the bookmaker's need for consistency in order to control betting, and, in 1787, when the Marylebone Cricket Club assumed responsibility for cricket's regulation, the majority of disputes and appeals surrounded gambling odds and results.⁸⁸ During the nineteenth century, commercial entrepreneurs attempted to govern gambling activities within the confines of the public house. Here, games and sports provided revenue, patronage and friendly competition within the taprooms and 'gaming saloons' that publicans and other entrepreneurial proprietors had established. By 1850, the gambling industry had expanded and sporting information was readily available,⁸⁹ and with the enclosing of grounds, publicans had control over those who could bet, as well as the bookmakers, which led to fewer altercations since a clearer system of gaming was present on the course.⁹⁰ The gambling nature of sport was an asset that drove many public house activities, but, as the lower and entrepreneurial classes, who were restricted in engaging in some forms of gambling entertainment, devised their own alternatives, the activity came in for criticism from moralist groups opposed to these practices.⁹¹ The Betting Houses Act of 1853 attempted to limit the sporting pub by making gambling illegal on the premises, but publicans, even in the 1870s and 1880s, were still engaging in

⁸⁶ Roger Munting, 'Social Opposition to Gambling in Britain: an Historical Overview', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 10, no. 3 (1993): 295-297.

⁸⁷ Black, *Victorian Culture and Society*; William J. Baker, 'The State of British Sport History', *Journal of Sport History* 10, no. 1 (1983): 59; Brailsford, *British Sport: a Social History*, 68; Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, 'The Pub, the Drinks Trade and the Early Years of Modern Football', *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 1 (2000): 2-3; Warren Roe, 'The Athletic Capital of England: the White Lion Hackney Wick 1857-1875', *BSSH Bulletin* 17 (2003): 39-40.

⁸⁸ Roger Munting, *An Economic and Social History of Gambling* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 9-10; David Forrest and Robert Simmons, 'Sport and Gambling', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 19, no. 4 (2003): 598.

⁸⁹ Mark Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter: Popular Gambling and English Society 1823-1961* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

⁹⁰ Wray Vamplew, 'Sports Crowd Disorder in Britain, 1870-1914: Causes and Controls', *Journal of Sport History* 7, no. 1 (1980): 13-14.

⁹¹ Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter*, 15-17, 79, 90.

illegal betting, as many magistrates were reluctant to convict.⁹² Although Parliament attempted to curb gambling through further legislation, these Acts were limited, and, due to its connections with Britain's elite and sporting "fancy", gambling and sport continued to developed side-by-side.⁹³

Gambling was a constant fixture in all sports and classes, but was primarily driven by the leisured classes who 'were able to wager huge sums of money, almost on a whim, whether on horses, cocks, cricket, boxing, rowing or pedestrianism'.⁹⁴ While wealthy backers posted stakes and contributed to the large amounts of money that were gambled on sporting contests, it was the working classes who would lay the majority of bets. These were usually smaller in price but more significant in volume, and the popularity of some sports, such as pedestrianism, relied on the fast and furious nature of working-class gambling, where money was quickly lost and gained over a short period of time.⁹⁵ Birley suggests that gambling amongst the lower classes was more of a concern as it was these individuals who could not afford to participate, nor could they understand, the 'injurious' actions and 'fatal consequences' that accompanied such activities.⁹⁶ With increased disposable income 'plebeian gamblers' had more opportunities to engage in these activities as the century progressed, and, as a result, they became more knowledgeable about training, mathematical probability and odds, and sought insider tips and sporting expertise in order to limit failure and ensure profitability.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, the placing of bets or the patronising of a particular athlete were not just profit or loss decisions. They reaffirmed the individual's allegiance to a particular athlete or group, providing the peer recognition for the competitors, as well as displaying loyalty to a neighbourhood or sport.⁹⁸ Manchester was a 'notoriously sporting city' and popular events, such as the Whitsuntide race meetings, would attract thousands of spectators and a 'plethora of gambling', mostly from working class residents.⁹⁹ On race days, Manchester's Belle Vue Gardens was a hive of activity as betting men would come to lay their wagers on the numerous contests being held within the grounds. The proprietor, Mr Jennison, would prepare the course for spectators, collect entrance fees, accept deposits, transfer stakes to officials and take betting odds, all within his small beerhouse, where,

⁹² *Era*, March 24, 1874, 10; *Manchester Guardian*, June 13, 1879, 7; June 10, 1885, 7; July 23, 1885, 6; Andrew Davies, 'The Police and the People: Gambling in Salford, 1900-1939', *The Historical Journal* 34, no. 1 (1991): 89; Couling, *History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland*, 10; Collins and Vamplew, 'The Pub, the Drinks Trade and the Early Years of Modern Football': 3.

⁹³ *Spectator*, February 17, 1844, 15; Davies, 'The Police and the People: Gambling in Salford, 1900-1939': 101.

⁹⁴ Neil Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 31.

⁹⁵ *Otago Witness*, December 7, 1904, 58.

⁹⁶ Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 204.

⁹⁷ Mike Huggins, 'Betting Capital of the Provinces: Manchester 1800-1900', *Manchester Region History Review* 20 (2009): 31.

⁹⁸ Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 46, 143.

⁹⁹ *Bell's Life*, January 6, 1856, 6; Huggins, 'Betting Capital of the Provinces: Manchester 1800-1900': 30.

according to *Bell's Life*, 'the proceedings in the interior reminded us of the transactions of a banking establishment, such as was the display of the circulating medium'.¹⁰⁰ In Brailsford's view, sport would not have developed without the influence of gambling, it being one of the defining features and principal lures of many sporting competitions.¹⁰¹

As traditional English blood sports, such as bearbaiting, cock and dog fighting, were being slowly eradicated from sporting imagination, prize fighting emerged as a popular alternative displacing many other combat sports and providing spectators with the amusement and excitement associated with animal contests. Prize fighting, or pugilism, was a highly commercialised entertainment reliant on a culture of gambling and associated with the public house from the eighteenth century onwards. During the early-nineteenth century, the popularity of pugilistic activities was widespread, attracting crowds from both the working and aristocratic classes who developed their own tools for the sport's promotion, competition and regulation before the sport's reformation under the Queensbury Rules in 1865.¹⁰² Boxing-related articles were widely discussed in the associated press and became a fixture within high-society and literary culture from 1820 onwards. However, as questions regarding the morality of the activity were raised, restrictions were imposed on these 'uncivilised' contests and tightened policing made it difficult to engage in competition.¹⁰³ In 1850, a fight had been secretly planned and carried out on Lindrick Common, Yorkshire, a notorious location for pugilism. Police were summoned to disperse the crowds before arresting and prosecuting the fighters, their principles and named spectators for their involvement in the illegal practices and subsequent riotous behaviour.¹⁰⁴ Specific facilities were established to engage in boxing and avoid police detection, usually being the back room in a public house where the proprietor was a member of the pugilistic community. Additionally, boxing booths were constructed and financed to transport the sport to circuses, fairgrounds, festivals and wakes where promoters could build the profile of their assets.¹⁰⁵ In either location, the boxing entrepreneur could control the crowds and competitors and gain

¹⁰⁰ *Bell's Life*, May 16, 1847, 7.

¹⁰¹ Dennis Brailsford, *Bareknuckles: a Social History of Prize-Fighting* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1988), 28.

¹⁰² Allen Guttman, *Sports Spectators* (Guilford: Columbia University Press, 1986), 54, 69-71; Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 4-5, 47; Jack Anderson, 'Pugilistic Prosecutions: Prize Fighting and the Courts in Nineteenth Century Britain', *The Sports Historian* 21, no. 2 (2001): 35; Martin Johnes and Matthew Taylor, 'Boxing in History', *Sport in History* 31, no. 4 (2011): 357-358; Kasia Boddy, "'Under Queensbury Rules, So to Speak": Some Versions of a Metaphor', *Sport in History* 31, no. 4 (2011): 398-399.

¹⁰³ John Whale, 'Real Life in the London Magazine: Pugilism and Literature in the 1820s', *Sport in History* 31, no. 4 (2011): 383.

¹⁰⁴ *Bell's Life*, October 6, 1850, 7.

¹⁰⁵ Alan Metcalfe, 'Sport and Community: a Case Study of the Mining Villages of East Northumberland, 1800-1914', in *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, eds. Jeff Hill and Jack Williams (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1996), 27; Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 39.

financial rewards through entry fees, the serving of alcohol and gambling charges.¹⁰⁶ James Figg and John “Jack” Broughton both provided pugilistic instruction, devised new rules and created lasting legacies whilst entertaining members of the ‘fancy’ at their establishments and sporting ‘amphitheatres’ during the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁷ Nineteenth-century boxer Tom Cribb endorsed prize fighting and further novelties at the King’s Arms, and Egan’s 1830 handbook, *Boxiana*, featured numerous examples of pugilists who entered into the alcohol trade, including Jem Belcher, George Taylor, Daniel Mendoza and Henry “the Chicken” Pearce, who were all attentive in their promotion of the sport in London.¹⁰⁸ Pugilism lost support as pedestrianism began to flourish with the *Scotsman* suggesting in 1868 that prize fighting and the British pugilist would become a ‘historical curiosity’ as the ‘brutal and disgusting exhibitions’ it provided would not be tolerated by the lovers of sport.¹⁰⁹ However, after the sport’s reform into an honourable Christian ‘art’, it cemented itself within popular culture and transitioned into the modern sporting landscape as a respected amateur and professional activity.¹¹⁰ The organisation of pugilism set the standard for many other sports to follow with the tavern utilised successfully in its governance and endorsement.

Outside of boxing, aquatic sports benefitted from sporting proprietor support. Rowing, like pugilism, was an activity where members of lower and genteel classes initially socialised before separate amateur and professional competitions created barriers for these interactions.¹¹¹ Although major rowing events usually were free to view due to their location, some publicans would provide unrestricted views from their establishments on the riverbanks where only a limited number of

¹⁰⁶ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 31; Boddy, “‘Under Queensbury Rules, So to Speak’: Some Versions of a Metaphor”: 401.

¹⁰⁷ Unknown Author, *Pancratia, or a History of Pugilism. Containing a Full Account of Every Battle of Note from the Time of Broughton and Slack, Down to the Present Day. Interspersed with Anecdotes of All the Celebrated Pugilists of the Country; with an Argumentative Proof, that Pugilism, Considered as a Gymnic Exercise, Demands the Admiration, and Patronage of Every Free State, Being Calculated to Inspire Manly Courage, and a Spirit of Independence – Enabling us to Resist Slavery at Home and Enemies from Abroad. Embellished with a Correct and Elegant Engraved Portrait of the Champion, Cribb* (London: W. Oxberry, 1812), 31, 41-44; Frank L. Dowling, *Fights for the Championship; and Celebrated Prize Battles; or Accounts of All the Prize Battles for the Championship from the Days of Figg and Broughton to the Present Time; and Also of Many Other Game and Extraordinary Battles Between First-Rate Pugilists of Ancient and Modern Times. Compiled from “Bell’s Life in London”, ‘Boxiana’, and Original Sources, by the Editor of Bell’s Life in London* (London: Bell’s Life, 1855), 3-6; Henry Wilson, *The Book of Wonderful Characters, Memoirs and Anecdotes of Remarkable and Eccentric Persons in All Ages and Countries. Chiefly from the Text of Henry Wilson and James Caulfield. Illustrated with Sixty-One Full Page Engravings* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1869), 142-144.

¹⁰⁸ Pierce Egan, *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism, from the Days of the Renowned Broughton and Slack, to the Championship of Cribb: Volume 1* (London: George Virtue, 1830), 66, 121, 151, 270, 422-423.

¹⁰⁹ *Scotsman*, February 15, 1868, 7.

¹¹⁰ Martin Polley, *The History of Sport in Britain 1880-1914: the Varieties of Sport, Volume 1* (London: Routledge, 2004), 434; Kasia Boddy, *Boxing: a Cultural History* (London: Reaktion, 2008), 8.

¹¹¹ James A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), 60.

paying entrants were permitted, attracting the leisured classes who could afford the privilege. Minor sculling events would be in the control of the innkeeper who would mark the courses by highlighting local monuments, bridges and public houses, the latter usually provided as the starting and finishing post for many professional activities, and attracted a range of spectators who combined their daily social drinking with the sporting experience. Gambling was paramount to its existence, with large amounts of money staked on professional sculling events and proprietors renovating their establishments to 'appeal to the public following rowing matches' and gain profit from the exploitation of the sport.¹¹²

While rowing struggled to contain its activities within the confines of entrepreneurial control, swimming capitalised on the growing support of the sporting proprietor who organised and regulated professional competitions within the industrial city. Like many other nineteenth-century sports, swimming was subjected to class restrictions with competitive events patronised by a mix of social classes. However, the propertied classes continued to engage in and observe these activities alongside the working-class for a much longer period than in other sports, with both amateur and professionals appearing alongside each other, even after the formation of the Amalgamated Metropolitan Swimming Clubs in 1869.¹¹³ The rapid expansion of washhouses and municipal public baths between 1820 and 1850 presented an enclosed location in which swimming could be exhibited, relocating these activities from the open-water sites to the proprietor-controlled environments.¹¹⁴ Competitive swimming benefitted from the status of professionals who were employed within the baths as superintendents and supervisors, supplementing their lifestyles by teaching, promoting swimming galas and giving public demonstrations of swimming techniques. Many of these individuals assumed the title of 'professor', meaning expert in the field, due to their success and breadth of their knowledge in aquatic enterprises.¹¹⁵ The Beckwith family were headed by champion swimmer 'Professor' Frederick Beckwith who became renowned for his aquatic skills, teaching, coaching and entrepreneurial entertainments during mid-nineteenth century London.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Eric Halladay, *Rowing in England: a Social History: the Amateur Debate* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 13-14, 67; Neil Wigglesworth, *The Social History of English Rowing* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 46; Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 8.

¹¹³ Christopher Love, 'Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 5 (2007): 603-604; Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 54.

¹¹⁴ Marilyn T. Williams, *Washing "The Great Unwashed": Public Baths in Urban America, 1840-1920* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1991), 7-8; Thierry Terret, 'Professional Swimming in England Before the Rise of Amateurism, 1837-75', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12, no. 1 (1995): 18; Jennifer R. Dillon, 'Modernity, Sanitation and the Public Bath: Berlin, 1896-1933, as Archetype' (PhD diss., Duke University, 2007), 5.

¹¹⁵ Claire Parker, 'The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878', *The Sports Historian* 21, no. 2 (2001): 56-58.

¹¹⁶ Dave Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England' (PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2008), 182-183.

The swimming 'professors' acted in the same manner as the pugilist and rowing promoters, obtaining public houses near swimming baths and bathing facilities. Publicans would utilise their establishments as a base for their promotion of swimming activities, with ambitious 'professors' also venturing into other working-class pastimes such as boxing and pedestrianism, moving around Britain to set-up their entrepreneurial businesses within the industrial cities. London born George Poulton competed in the premier aquatic events of 1840s Holborn, excelling in 'scientific and swift swimming' at the Holborn Bath Swimming Club. In 1847, Poulton was working in Northumberland when he displayed his ornamental swimming techniques and gave lessons in the 'art of swimming' before relocating to Leicester in 1849, and finally establishing himself in Manchester by 1855. Here, the 'professor' acquired a licence at the Griffin Inn, Hulme where he combined his role as swimming teacher with trainer, performer and sporting entrepreneur, endorsing pedestrian and angling competitions within the city and continuing these engagements until his death, aged 74, in 1898.¹¹⁷ Again, many supporters of these activities initially emerged from within the sport itself as ex-competitors and professional performers, which provided legitimacy to their practices, and these commercialised leisure opportunities increased in popularity from 1840 onwards as professional sport proved popular within working-class society.¹¹⁸

Pedestrianism and the Athletic "Show"

Pedestrianism, or foot-racing, a well-established amusement in which large numbers of people took part, was 'one of the delights of the sports man' and provided sporting entertainment during much of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁹ Although pedestrianism translated to 'walking', the activities were not limited to this one area of athletic competition.¹²⁰ Pedestrianism encompassed a range of activities including walking, running, leaping and throwing, being the forerunner to modern track and field athletics. These events would usually be competed in head-to-head competitions or with man against time, although group events started to gain popularity as well as the more novel man versus horse during the mid-century. Heel-to-toe walking and the running of set distances were the most common forms of pedestrian entertainments, with sprinting, middle-distance and the extreme long-distance feats the activities of choice for both athletes and spectators alike. However, hurdling started to gain prominence as well as leaping activities, such as jumping set heights and distances

¹¹⁷ Dave Day, 'Professor George Poulton: Natationist and Entrepreneur' (working paper, Department of Exercise and Sport Science, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, 2014), 1-11.

¹¹⁸ Halladay, *Rowing in England*, 13-14; Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism*, 75; Dave Day, 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: The "Beckwith Frogs"', *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 213-215.

¹¹⁹ *Otago Witness*, December 7, 1904, 58; Young, *Early Victorian England 1830-1865*.

¹²⁰ *Daily Mail*, January 3, 1938, 14.

and the hop, skip and jump, later the athletic disciplines of high, long and triple jump respectively, usually demonstrated as secondary events on the pedestrian race card. Additionally, leaping-pole and other vaulting style activities, including using one hand and arm to 'throw the body obliquely over the gate', were subsidiary activities within the athletic programme.¹²¹ However, competitions containing eccentric and diverse entertainments highlighted the range of novelties that had become part of the pedestrian "brand", designed to encourage spectatorship, drinking and gambling among its working-class patrons. Walking backwards, picking up stones, racing in clogs and carrying bricks provided a variety of competition in strength, concentration and endurance, and were designed to test athletic abilities.¹²² Robert Makepeace competed in a medley of feats on August 19, 1849, at Burnley cricket ground where events including running 160-yards and one mile, walking one mile, leaping through a fire balloon, over 100 four-foot hurdles and over five men's heads, picking up twenty-five eggs and bricks with his mouth, and bowling a hoop and wheeling a barrow for half a mile each, all completed in less than one hour and thirty minutes and attracting numerous betting men and sporting enthusiasts.¹²³ The showmanship surrounding the pedestrian events became part of their appeal, with the athletes paraded in the same manner as the pugilist had entered the ring. Many of the early practices within pedestrianism mirrored that of boxing; the construction of articles of agreement, the trophies, belts and 'champion' titles, the promoting, backing and training systems, and the pageantry that surrounded the athlete on match day were just some of the aspects that characterised both sports.¹²⁴

One custom present in many professional sports was the 'ceremony of peeling' in which the athlete would strip and parade around the course to display the trained body and demonstrate their readiness for the competition.¹²⁵ The first sighting of the athlete was part of the pedestrian show designed to cause "chatter" amongst the spectators, the informed sporting men and press. Athletes would usually go 'into training' several weeks prior to competition and would be hidden from view to appropriately prepare. Therefore, how the body was presented to the public provided the first indication of the success of the training regime. In 1850, *Bell's Life* described athletes wearing robes and displaying themselves on the grounds at Belle Vue, Manchester, before disrobing at the starting

¹²¹ John H. Walsh, *British Rural Sports: Comprising Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, and Pedestrianism, and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1861), 442-443.

¹²² Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 132.

¹²³ *Era*, August 19, 1849, 6.

¹²⁴ Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 130-131, 191; Dave Day, "'Science", "Wind" and "Bottom": Eighteenth-Century Boxing Manuals', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 19 (2012): 1460.

¹²⁵ Dave Day, 'Craft Coaching and the "Discerning Eye" of the Coach', *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching* 6, no. 1 (2011): 183-184.

post, and later contest reports recalled athletes disrobing when they came to 'scratch'.¹²⁶ Before Brian beat Wright in a six-miles walking match in 1848 the condition of both men at scratch 'looked superb and told how carefully they had been attended to'. Each man walked the ground with 'the proud step of a winner, while their skins were clear, with a bright healthful tinge spreading over their surface'.¹²⁷ When Jackson and Pudney prepared for the start of their two-mile race in 1852 they stripped off at the starting post, and 'both appeared to have taken every care to get themselves into first rate trim'.¹²⁸ The physique of the athlete was monitored by the crowds, as well as the clarity, fairness and brightness of skin, both being markers of health and conditioning.¹²⁹ The overall appearance of the body had an impact on patronage and betting with most bookmakers stating their odds once the unveiling ceremony had been performed. In 1834, Ben Hart and James Hall appeared in 'fine condition' at the scratch at Kersal Moor. Once the athletes had "jaunted" and paraded at the starting post the betting odds were opened with Hart becoming the favourite at 6 to 4.¹³⁰ Similar to the way in which the racehorse was paraded around the paddock for the gambling men to view, the pedestrian unrobing exhibition was practiced to divide the audience support and encourage sporting wagers.

The traditional pedestrian dress of full body suit with merino or silk running drawers, tied around the waist with an elastic band, chamois leather socks and thin calf leather running spikes generally concealed the athlete and limited the spectator's full view of the body itself.¹³¹ Nonetheless, the tightly fitted 'close-body' costume gave just enough indication of form without being too revealing for female observers.¹³² Customised costumes were utilised to separate competitors and add to the flamboyancy of the pedestrian entrance. Athletes incorporated bright colours and fanciful prints within their uniforms and would unveil their latest designs on the course before distributing their 'colours' to the supporter as a means of generating additional income. Replying to an enquiry from a reader in 1851, *Bell's Life* defined 'colours' as being handkerchiefs replicating the competitors costume given to the pedestrian's 'friends' for which, if they won they got a sovereign and if they lost they got nothing.¹³³ In 1846, the colours of Powell and East 'were liberally distributed among their artisans, upon the usual scale of a guinea win and nothing lose', and Book and Robinson distributed

¹²⁶ *Bell's Life*, February 24, 1850, 6; November 21, 1852, 6; January 23, 1853, 6.

¹²⁷ *Era*, July 23, 1848.

¹²⁸ *Bell's Life*, October 31, 1852, 6.

¹²⁹ Ed James, *Practical Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, Wrestling, Boxing, Jumping and All Kinds of Athletic Feats; Together with Tables of Proportional Measurements for Height and Weight of Men in and Out of Conditions; Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing and Advice to Trainers; Also, Banting's System of Reducing Corpulency, and Record of Fast Athletic Performances* (New York, NY: Ed James, 1877) 9-10.

¹³⁰ *Bolton Chronicle*, November 15, 1834.

¹³¹ James, *Practical Training*, 14-15.

¹³² *Bell's Life*, April 18, 1847, 7.

¹³³ *Bell's Life*, January 12, 1851, 2.

their colours in the form of handkerchiefs to the crowd at £1 a time in 1847. Before Driver beat Margetts over 160 yards at the Copenhagen Grounds, Islington, in 1851, he 'disposed of a great many colours at the usual price of 10s each prior to the start'.¹³⁴ Colours were often paid for by a pedestrian's backer with the money, minus expenses for accommodation and training, going to the athlete. In 1848, Brian circulated around 130, which, at the usual rates, would make a decent sum, after deducting expenses, for the pedestrian to 'haul into his exchequer'. After his own victory that same year, Levett received his money for his well-distributed colours and was then presented with a purse of forty sovereigns.¹³⁵ This process required a degree of trust on the part of the pedestrian. After he drew with Carter, Thurtell's supporters agreed to pay for the value of their handkerchiefs at half the price they would have had to pay had he won but it seems that pedestrians were not always as fortunate. After Cooke beat Rowan in 1859, not one of the thirty people who had taken his colours paid him a shilling.¹³⁶ There was also a psychological component to the use of colours with athletes gaining confidence by circulating significantly more 'colours' than their opponent, being a visual representation of support and patronage.¹³⁷

Colours were usually displayed around the competitor's 'cannisters' (head) or waist and worn by their supporters among the 'squeezes' (crowd).¹³⁸ They were made available at public houses prior to an event and Brian's colours for his matches in 1848 and 1849 could be obtained from 'his liberal backer, Mr Bland, of the Horse and Groom, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square'.¹³⁹ Seward's 'really excellent' colours for his match against Reed in 1849 were available at Broome's, Temperance's, Parr's, Green-Street, Grosvenor-Square and in Sheffield from 'Naylor, the Matilda Tavern or of Cullingwicke'.¹⁴⁰ The colours for Bull could be obtained at the Pilgrim, Queens Row, Walworth, before his match with Levett in 1849, Reed's colours for his match with Roberts in 1850 could be had at 'his house or Temperance's' and, for another event in 1852, cards with the names of runners and their colours could be purchased before the day from a local publican so that spectators could bet on the colour with the bookmaker.¹⁴¹ Colours could be transferred from one race to another and any objections to Inwood transferring his colours from a previous event to a forthcoming contest in 1849 were directed to Mr Welch, of the Blue Anchor, Shoreditch.¹⁴² Colours could be also be exchanged as

¹³⁴ *Era*, December 13, 1846; *Bell's Life*, January 17, 1847, 7; September 14, 1851, 7.

¹³⁵ *Era*, July 23, 1848; December 10, 1848.

¹³⁶ *Bell's Life*, April 8, 1849, 6; June 23, 1850, 7; January 18, 1852, 6; February 6, 1853, 7; October 23, 1859, 7.

¹³⁷ *Bell's Life*, June 10, 1849, 7; *Era*, June 24, 1849; July 1, 1849.

¹³⁸ *Bell's Life*, February 6, 1842; August 7, 1842.

¹³⁹ *Bell's Life*, July 16, 1848, 7; May 13, 1849, 7.

¹⁴⁰ *Bell's Life*, June 10, 1849, 7; *Era*, June 24, 1849; July 1, 1849.

¹⁴¹ *Bell's Life*, July 1, 1849, 7; February 17, 1850, 6; September 26, 1852, 7.

¹⁴² *Bell's Life*, January 7, 1849, 7; July 1, 1849, 7.

a betting token and, in 1851, Robinson 'betted two colours to one with a gentleman'.¹⁴³ By this stage, handkerchiefs had become more complex in design and when Searles issued his colours before attempting a challenge at Battersea in 1851, there was a portrait, 'not unlike him', on the handkerchief.¹⁴⁴ A year later, some pedestrians were embracing a different technology. John Howard had his likeness captured in a portrait with lithographs available, either coloured for £1 or plain for 10s, from his establishment in Manchester Road, Bradford, and all his performances were recorded on the bottom of the print. When Smith walked Jones over twenty miles in 1853 he 'had many colours out' while Jones, instead of handkerchiefs, hit upon the 'plan of having his likeness lithographed and distributed among his admirers on the terms of 'a guinea or nothing'. The 'likeness in all respects' was complete.¹⁴⁵

The use of 'colours' in pedestrian events had become integral to the activity by mid-century,¹⁴⁶ although, in some cases, it had taken time for this to become adopted as normal practice. The Belle Vue venue in Manchester, where the pedestrian course was described as 'ranking A1 amongst all its compeers', seems only to have adopted the 'colour' requirement after pressure from the sporting press. The *Era* suggested that if 'the colours in the next handicaps be specified' then foot racing at Belle Vue would vie with 'horse racing at Doncaster'.¹⁴⁷ *Bell's Life* advised the venue to print lists of competitors' names, along with their colours, because 'strangers as well as reporters were at a loss, especially at such monster meetings, to recognise the peds among forty-four contestants'. If each man had a broad piece of ribbon round his arms, just above the elbow, he could be as easily identified on the course as a jockey was by his jacket.¹⁴⁸ Belle Vue adopted the practice of requiring colours within a couple of years by which point the practice of wearing designated colours was commonplace in pedestrian events and competitors nominated their colours when filling in entry forms and forwarding entrance money.¹⁴⁹ Colours were also used in matches against time and, once stipulated, competitors were not allowed to change them.¹⁵⁰ By 1858, colours were being hoisted at the end of race to signify the winner, the same practice as that carried out in rabbit coursing where the names and colours of dogs were supplied before entries were accepted.¹⁵¹ At the Royal Oak Mile, the same principles were applied with each athlete's colours announced in the press and

¹⁴³ *Bell's Life*, November 9, 1851, 6.

¹⁴⁴ *Bell's Life*, August 3, 1851, 7.

¹⁴⁵ *Bell's Life*, June 6, 1852, 7; December 25, 1853, 7.

¹⁴⁶ *Bell's Life*, December 25, 1853, 7.

¹⁴⁷ *Era*, January 9, 1848; March 26, 1848.

¹⁴⁸ *Bell's Life*, January 9, 1848, 7; December 12, 1852, 6.

¹⁴⁹ *Bell's Life*, February 4, 1844; January 26, 1851, 6; March 9, 1851, 7; January 4, 1852, 7; June 20, 1852, 7; August 22, 1852, 7; September 5, 1852, 3; September 19, 1852, 7; April 24, 1853, 7; May 22, 1853, 6; July 1, 1855, 7.

¹⁵⁰ *Bell's Life*, March 31, 1850, 6; *Era*, January 4, 1852.

¹⁵¹ *Bell's Life*, September 12, 1858, 7; October 17, 1858, 7; October 24, 1858, 6.

'lists posted in all directions' for spectators to identify each competitor, their number order and attire.¹⁵²

By this point, the colours worn by athletes had been transferred from peripheral items such as handkerchiefs to the running uniform itself and, in their 1847 contest; Weaver wore a red cap with white drawers while Cutter had a blue cap and drawers.¹⁵³ In 1865, a foot race provided a novel attraction when thirty-eight athletes were requested to wear coloured body costumes at the Royal Oak half-mile handicap. Although failing to win the £25 prize money several competitors were each compensated with a £1 prize for the 'neatest dress' on the day.¹⁵⁴ This practice of using 'colours' was modelled to a certain extent on the traditional use of distinguishing colours in horseracing and other professional sports.¹⁵⁵ In the 1820s, reports on rowing noted that boats had coloured flags attached and that competitors had a 'colour' in individual races.¹⁵⁶ In cricket, members of the aristocracy had long decked out their teams in their personal colours and led them onto the field of play 'like medieval war-lords leading armies into battle'. Even in 1851, Romford Cricket Club colours were described as being as 'varied as the colours of the rainbow'.¹⁵⁷ When pugilist Sampson entered the ring for his fight with O'Neal in 1826, he tied his pink colours to the stake before O'Neal tied up his own colours of blue with white spots and, at another bout in 1828, the crowd waved handkerchiefs when their fighter was winning.¹⁵⁸ This practice of using 'colours' was extended to all forms of sporting activity, including swimming. In September 1861, when Frederick Beckwith took over a public house, The Good Intent, his racing colours were displayed behind the bar,¹⁵⁹ and in 1893, when professional James Finney raced American James McCusker in the sea at Blackpool each swimmer was accompanied by a boat in which were his trainers, a council of advisers, and men carrying his colours.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² *Era*, August 27, 1865, 6.

¹⁵³ *Bell's Life*, August 1, 1847, 3.

¹⁵⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, April 3, 1865, 4.

¹⁵⁵ Wray Vamplew, *The Turf: a Social and Economic History of Horse Racing* (London: Allen Lane, 1976).

¹⁵⁶ *Bell's Life*, August 29, 1824, 278.

¹⁵⁷ Eric Dunning and Dominic Malcolm, *Sport: the Development of Sport* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2003), 241; *Bell's Life*, January 26, 1851, 2.

¹⁵⁸ *Morning Post*, December 13, 1826; *Bell's Life*, May 11, 1828.

¹⁵⁹ *Bell's Life*, September 22, 1861, 6; September 29, 1861, 3; October 6, 1861, 6; October 13, 1861, 3; October 20, 1861, 6; December 1, 1861, 7; December 22, 1861, 6.

¹⁶⁰ *Rockford Daily Spectator*, June 29, 1893; *Manchester Guardian*, July 17, 1893, 6.

Table 1. Entrants and Colours for Mr Garrett's Twenty Mile Matches, Copenhagen House, 1852¹⁶¹

Surname	Colours
Adams	Blue and White Spotted drawers, Pink cap
Castell	Yellow cap, Blue Striped drawers
Cook	Blue and White spots
Dixon	Blue
Freeney	Pink
Frost	Blue and White Stripe drawers, Black and White Spotted cap
Golding	White drawers, White cap with Red border
Grantham	Eton Blue
Griffiths	Orange cap and White drawers
Harkaway	White and Crimson
Houghton	Scarlet
Huddle	White drawers, Blue and Green Striped cap
Jackson	(i) Crimson and Black (ii) Black
Jones	Crimson
Kelley	(i) Green (ii) Blue
Levitt	Light Blue
Mainwaring	White and Red Stripe
Manks	All White
Martin	(i) Dark Blue and White (ii) Light Blue drawers, Orange cap
Murdoch	White drawers, Red belt
Newman	Green and Black cap
Pudney	(i) Blue and White Spot (ii) Orange cap
Rock	White with Red Spot
Smith	Scarlet and Orange Braid, White drawers with Dark Blue Stripe, Pink and Blue shirt
Smith	All white
Smith	Yellow cap, Pink drawers
Stone	Blue with Yellow Spots
Tetlow	White drawers, White cap with Black Spots

Pedestrians displayed 'great taste in the choice of colours' which were often described as 'fanciful' and 'elegant' and which, depending on the pattern, could well be worth more than the price paid. When Reed and Seward raced over a quarter of a mile for 200 sovereigns their colours were described as being of an elegant, neat pattern. Colour designs included a 'blue bird's eye', a white background with a flowered border, and an orange background with a 'variegated border and stripe'. In 1850, Mountjoy's colours consisted of 'handsome, variegated stripes being worked on a brown ground' and in 1855, Henry Margetts wore a violet and white body suit.¹⁶² Table 1 summarises the variety of colours worn by competitors in two distance events at the Copenhagen Ground, London, during 1852. A description of one of these events, not surprisingly, suggested that the 'gay distinguishing colours' worn by pedestrians made 'the scene both interesting and picturesque'.¹⁶³ The

¹⁶¹ *Era*, January 11, 1852; *Bell's Life*, March 28, 1852, 7.

¹⁶² *Bell's Life*, October 30, 1842; February 14, 1847, 6; June 10, 1849, 7; January 27, 1850, 6; *Era*, June 24, 1849; July 1, 1849; November 21, 1847; August 12, 1855.

¹⁶³ *Bell's Life*, January 18, 1852, 6.

functions of 'colours' went beyond the basic idea of identifying an athlete to include contributing to the regulatory aspects of a contest. In some races, men were appointed to hold handkerchiefs at either end that the runner had to touch and turn, while, in other events, colours were tied together at the end of the course and competitors had to run through the colours to achieve victory.¹⁶⁴ Although runners were required to breast their colours, dishonest competitors sometimes grabbed them with their hands at the finish line.¹⁶⁵

According to Gorn, sport had its own unique position within society between leisure and work, containing its own rules and regulations that remained ambiguous and were restricted by the individuals that governed the activities.¹⁶⁶ Whereas in both swimming and boxing national ruling was encouraged, with the formation of the National Swimming Society in 1837 and the development of the Broughton and London Prize Rules in 1743 and 1838 respectively, pedestrianism did not subscribe to formalised constitutions with the Amateur Athletic Club being the first organisation to attempt to regulate athletic activities, albeit by distancing themselves from professional practices, in 1866.¹⁶⁷ However, as pedestrian activities increased in popularity and design some form of ruling was required to enable competitions to be honourably organised, measured and practiced. Lile states that as professional activities transitioned into the industrial environment the previous spontaneity of pedestrianism had disappeared and increased codification and structure penetrated the sport. This regulation was more stringently monitored throughout the nineteenth century as technology, such as the stopwatch, improved the accuracy and reliability of these competitions, and the recording of results meant that a more holistic and inclusive directive was necessary.¹⁶⁸ Simple practices were introduced that were appropriated from other sporting regulations, with 'articles of agreement' constructed, officials appointed and the match day procedures established. Other sports had successfully implemented this contractual structure with horseracing, cricket and boxing governed by the match-specific articles of agreements and later amending the contracts to form the general rules for each sport. These contracts fixed the wagers and deposits, being the integral component of each article, stated the location, date and time of competition, and identified the officials; stakeholder, referee, timekeeper, measurer and starter; and other minor conditions that

¹⁶⁴ *Bell's Life*, February 14, 1847, 6; *Era*, September 23, 1849; February 18, 1855.

¹⁶⁵ *Era*, February 6, 1848.

¹⁶⁶ Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*, 46.

¹⁶⁷ Boddy, "'Under Queensbury Rules, So to Speak": Some Versions of a Metaphor': 400; Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 54; Eric Halladay, 'Of Pride and Prejudice: the Amateur Question in English Nineteenth-Century Rowing', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 4, no. 1 (1987): 39; Harold Perkins, 'Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (1989): 145-155.

¹⁶⁸ Emma Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century', *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 2 (2000): 94.

may have been agreed prior to competition.¹⁶⁹ However, these practices did not always prove effective with athletes writing to the sporting papers to complain of unfair treatment and unjust rulings.

The starting of pedestrian events provided another area of debate with different courses applying different regulations. As a result, false starts were inevitable with some grounds abandoning competitions as errors were so numerous that light prevented the contests from continuing.¹⁷⁰ In 1851, Duckworth and Butler had 'nearly a dozen false starts' before they 'bounded away', and in 1869, Mills and Prince's 120-yard race had over ten minutes worth of false starts in London.¹⁷¹ Some officials therefore presented their own ruling in order to eliminate inappropriate behaviours and ensure effective commencement of the event. In 1884, rules stated that competitors were liable for disqualification if they left the mark three time before the start, with Malone dismissed from the course to the sounds of jeers.¹⁷² In starting, the traditional 'are you ready?' was usually followed immediately by 'Go' or 'Off', giving athletes time to prepare and settle before the race commenced.¹⁷³ However, these practices were amended and new novelties adopted, such as a start by mutual consent, the dropping or waving of a handkerchief and the firing of a pistol, which later became the standard practice in amateur regulation.¹⁷⁴ Race officials took guidance from horseracing where 'knowledgeable men' within the sport would be employed to start the race, time-keep, measure the course and provide general rulings.¹⁷⁵ However, this sometimes caused controversy as one man would take on the multiple officiating roles, usually being the promoter or ex-professional proprietor, and complaints of cheating, poor refereeing and inappropriate recording further plighted the sport; 'arguing over tangible objects such as stakes, location, elected officers and officials and accommodation was the norm, fuelling debate and conversation in the locale'.¹⁷⁶ Match officials would ensure that the courses were appropriately marked so athletes could clearly see the start and finish post and additional distance markers. As the tracks were non-standardised and lacked uniformity the measurer would also ensure the correct distances were set and specific areas were cordoned off for jumping and vaulting events, and the measurers were crucial in ensuring the success

¹⁶⁹ Dennis Brailsford, 'Morals and Maulers: the Ethics of Early Pugilism', *Journal of Sport History* 12, no. 2 (1985): 132; Wray Vamplew, 'Empiricist Versus Sociological History: Some Comments on the "Civilising Process"', *Sport in History* 27, no. 2 (2007): 165.

¹⁷⁰ *Bell's Life*, May 17, 1846, 6.

¹⁷¹ *Bell's Life*, February 9, 1851, 7; February 10, 1869, 7.

¹⁷² John Perry, *Quick and the Dead: Stawell and its Race Through Time* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 36.

¹⁷³ *Morning Chronicle*, October 22, 1861; *Era*, October 27, 1861, 6.

¹⁷⁴ *Bell's Life*, February 10, 1869, 7; September 16, 1871, 9; Louise M. Tricard, *American Women's Track and Field: a History, 1895 Through 1980, Volume 1* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1996), 24.

¹⁷⁵ Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790-1914: a Social and Economic History* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 74.

¹⁷⁶ Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*, 118, 143.

of the events from both a spectator and competitor perspective. Additionally, the role of the handicapper was also significant, with strict policies designed to ensure the fair calculation of 'marks' from the 'scratch' to ensure a closely contested race.¹⁷⁷ Texts were written by ex-athletes and officials in the principles of pedestrianism to provide clarity and objectivity yet the practices remained subjective and ambiguous, being one of the major contributory factors to the sport's decline during the late-nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸

Sport had been engrained within society during the nineteenth century as contemporary literary texts addressed the different aspects of competition; articles on gambling and how to protect money, practical instructions on avoiding pickpockets, and narratives on new athletic celebrities and activities were marketed to the sporting crowds. More specifically, texts on the 'the art of walking' and the 'lives of boxers' were developed for young men to stir conversation in the local public house and sporting establishments.¹⁷⁹ Sport had become synonymous with the publican and sporting promoter, even featuring within the pages of fictional narratives such as *Evelina* (1778), with conversations about locations for pedestrian matches, gambling legislation, betting and pub games discussed. *Man and Wife* (1870) followed the protagonist as he enters into training and competition for athletic matches and had a pub as the central location for the story, and *The Amateur Gentleman* (1913) explored the middle-class boxer and his family's transition into the publican trade.¹⁸⁰ Many of these novels focused on pedestrianism, which clearly had a public profile within both British society and the sporting environment, and the increased development of athletic activities reflected a widespread interest in the professional pedestrian arena. The "show" that surrounded the sport, usually orchestrated by the publican and sporting entrepreneur, helped to drive pedestrianism forward and turn it into a lucrative business that encouraged promoters to invest money and resources into devising major programmes of athletic entertainment, especially within the city. The origins of pedestrianism helped to shape its progression, with the sporting proprietor responsible for transforming and regulating the activity much earlier than previously considered.

¹⁷⁷ Peter Mewett, 'Discourses of Deception: Cheating in Professional Running', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (2002): 295-296.

¹⁷⁸ Steven A. Riess, *A Companion to American Sport History* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 334 Mewett, 'Discourses of Deception: Cheating in Professional Running': 292-293.

¹⁷⁹ Alison O'Byrne, 'The Art of Walking in London: Representing Urban Pedestrianism in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Romanticism* 14, no. 2 (2008): 98-100.

¹⁸⁰ Wilkie Collins, *Man and Wife: a Novel in Three Volumes* (London: F.S. Ellis, 1870); Jeffery Farnol, *The Amateur Gentleman: a Romance* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co., 1913); Earl R. Anderson, 'Footnotes More Pedestrian than Sublime: a Historical Background for the Foot-Races in *Evelina* and Humphry Clinker', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980): 56-68.

Foot-Racing: from Road to Arena

Traditionally associated with the aristocracy and royalty, pedestrian activities had become fashionable with the upper classes in fifteenth century Britain. However, attitudes towards these endeavours changed during the reign of Henry VIII when ‘new learning gradually took hold of the upper classes, and cultivated minds began to be rather contemptuous of rough bodily exercises’.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, athletic ventures were still promoted by the monarchy with Elizabeth I providing licences for sporting entrepreneurs to host athletic events as well as condemning “idle” activities such as cards and dice in favour of utilitarian sports such as archery and running in the 1570s, albeit directed towards the lower classes, not their gentlemen counterparts.¹⁸² Pedestrian events were common at feasts and fetes, with competition on Kersal Moor, Manchester, well attended on holy days and during seasonal celebrations from the sixteenth century. The roots of modern sport were embedded in the rural pastimes of agricultural Britain, being modified and exploited by society and contributing to the nineteenth-century leisure movement that diversified the sporting landscape.¹⁸³

Race-walking soon developed into a competitive activity during the seventeenth century when footmen of wealthy Earls and Lords competed for monies over set distances; advertisements for a four-mile foot race were reported in 1675, open to all footmen whose names were submitted to the Mayor of Preston.¹⁸⁴ Joseph Wood, footman to Major Darcy, competed against a Yorkshire butcher for 100 guineas in a four-mile race in 1688,¹⁸⁵ and in December 1700, ‘a foot-race was run at Leith for 30 guineas, by three Foot-men, belonging to the Earls of Mar and London and the Lord Rae’.¹⁸⁶ By 1720, reports suggested that thousands of pounds were gambled on such events, with upwards of 20,000 spectators, from all social classes, in attendance, and competitors came from a variety of social backgrounds.¹⁸⁷ However, it was the feats of individuals such as Foster Powell, Abraham Wood and Captain Barclay during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries that captivated the public and helped to convert pedestrianism into a popular sporting pastime.¹⁸⁸ Powell’s 1773 wager

¹⁸¹ Montague Shearman, *Athletics and Football* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1894), 6.

¹⁸² Gregory M.C. Semenza, *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 63-64; Brailsford, *British Sport: a Social History*, 23.

¹⁸³ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 23.

¹⁸⁴ *London Gazette*, January 31-February 3, 1675, 1.

¹⁸⁵ *London Gazette*, July 9-12, 1688, 2.

¹⁸⁶ *Flying Post or the Post Master*, December 14-17, 2.

¹⁸⁷ *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, September 29, 1716; *Applebee’s Original Weekly Journal*, September 24, 1720,

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Strutt, *Glig-Gamena Angel-Deod, or, the Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London: J White, 1801), 60-61; John A. Lucas, ed., ‘Pedestrianism and the Struggle for the Sir John Astley Belt, 1878-1879’, in *John Apostol Lucas: Teacher, Sport Historian, and One who Lived his Life Earnestly. A Collection of Articles and Essays with an Autobiographical Sketch* (Lemont, PA: Efrig, 2009), 9; Robert O. Ruhling and John

to walk from London to York, and back again, in six days was widely reported in the British press, with the scene of his return on December 4, being chaotic due to the public attention surrounding the event.¹⁸⁹ Using the turnpike-roads of England, Powell completed his journey in five days and eighteen hours and was greeted by 'three thousand people on foot, horseback, and in different carriages attending him from Highgate, accompanied with French horns',¹⁹⁰ whilst further spectators lined the streets outside Hick's Hall, Middlesex, and eagerly awaited his arrival.¹⁹¹ The betting far exceeded the initial 100-guinea wager and Powell benefitted financially from 'the noblemen and gentlemen who have won some thousands on his performance' who provided him with an additional purse that was presented on his return. The events were not always positively received, with robbery, theft and general unruly behaviours of spectators causing concern as many observers were 'thrown down, trod' on, and much bruised' in the excitement of event.¹⁹² Nonetheless, Powell's feats have been documented in nineteenth-century and contemporary texts as an exemplar of a pedestrian attitude that had almost disappeared by the mid-century.¹⁹³

Long-distance cross-country events were the main feature of foot-racing, noted as a 'fashionable species of pedestrian amusement' due to their risky nature.¹⁹⁴ As cities became increasingly industrialised, and land became developed, the space and time available for these activities dwindled.¹⁹⁵ Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the upper-class landowners and backers began to move away from the sporadic pedestrian entertainments, favouring horseracing, boxing and cricket, which had organised fixtures and meetings.¹⁹⁶ Foot races became secondary to other sporting amusements, popular at wakes, fairs and further celebrations, but not deemed popular

A. Hopkins, 'Race Walking', in *Physiology of Sports*, ed. Thomas Reilly, Niels Secher, Peter Snell and Clyde Williams (London: E & F.N. Spon, 1990), 136.

¹⁸⁹ *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, December 4-7, 1773; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, December 3-6, 1773, 543.

¹⁹⁰ *General Evening Post*, December 4-6, 1773, 1.

¹⁹¹ *London Evening Post*, December 4-7, 1773,

¹⁹² *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, December 6, 1776, 662.

¹⁹³ Walter Thom, *Pedestrianism; or, an Account of the Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians During the Last and Present Century: with Full Narrative of Captain Barclay's Public and Private Matches; and an Essay of Training* (Aberdeen: D. Chalmers & Co., 1813), 46-48; Shearman, *Athletics and Football*, 32-34; Anderson, 'Footnotes More Pedestrian than Sublime': 56-68; Sears, *Running Through the Ages*, 54-55; Peter Radford and A.J. Ward-Smith, 'British Running Performances in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Sports Sciences* 21, no. 5 (2003): 431.

¹⁹⁴ *Public Advertiser*, February 22, 1777, 2; *Evening Mail*, September 23-26, 1791, 3; *Manchester Guardian*, May 11, 1833, 4; Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century': 94; Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain* (London: Headline, 2001), 3.

¹⁹⁵ Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain*, 239-240.

¹⁹⁶ Dennis Brailsford, 'Sporting Days in Eighteenth Century England', *Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 3 (1982): 42-43; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 132.

enough to house their own programme of activities.¹⁹⁷ As events between footmen became less common, the businessmen of the industrial cities provided competition and financial backing for pedestrian matches to continue as, for example, when two publicans competed against each other in a two-mile race in 1777.¹⁹⁸ In other examples, Isaac Clegg, publican of the Queen's Head, Windsor, competed in front of numerous spectators against a Staffordshire Private on a marked course in 1800, and in 1804 two lawyers completed a one-mile battle along Hartford Bridge Road for several bets.¹⁹⁹ Wagers, in comparison, were modest, in keeping with the social background of the competitors and spectators; a wager of 'one guinea and a quarter of lamb' was collected by "Hambletonian" in 1799, whilst a turkey with trimmings was the prize for a London race in 1777.²⁰⁰

By the nineteenth century, the sport had moved to the racecourses of Britain where the increasingly influential middle-class businessmen could better control, organise and facilitate such events.²⁰¹ Abraham Wood regularly attended Knavemire Racecourse, Yorkshire, where he performed from the late-eighteenth century,²⁰² the Newton Course and Kersal Moor, both in the suburbs of Manchester, promoted pedestrian events during the mid-nineteenth century,²⁰³ and the Harwick annual race meeting advertised their programme of flat-racing, pedestrianism, gymnastics and ancient riding from 1844.²⁰⁴ Complaints were raised about the clientele which these types of events attracted though not all competitions had lost their upper-class backers; famously, Captain Barclay's 1000 miles in 1000 hours for 1000 guineas wager was performed on a marked section of the track at Newmarket 'in the presence of several thousand spectators' in 1809.²⁰⁵ Careful consideration was given to location, condition and construction of the half-mile course, with Barclay and his "team" ensuring the grass was short, the course smooth and even, and gas lamps were erected to illuminate the pathway for competitor and spectators alike.²⁰⁶ However, not all spectators wanted to see the feat completed with Barclay being shot at on several occasions, forcing him to complete the

¹⁹⁷ *Public Advertiser*, February 22, 1777, 2; *Evening Mail*, September 23-26, 1791, 3; *Albion and Evening Advertiser*, November 17, 1800; *Manchester Guardian*, May 11, 1833, 4; Metcalfe, 'Sport and Community: a Case Study of the Mining Villages of East Northumberland, 1800-1914', 27; Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century': 94.

¹⁹⁸ *Public Advertiser*, February 22, 1777.

¹⁹⁹ *True Briton*, October 21, 1800; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, February 25, 1804.

²⁰⁰ *Public Advertiser*, February 22, 1777; *Morning Herald*, March 29, 1799.

²⁰¹ Dennis Brailsford, *Sport, Time and Society: the British at Play* (London: Routledge, 1991), 64; Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 134.

²⁰² *True Briton*, January 26, 1797; *Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser*, March 27, 1813, 1; *Licensed Victualler's Mirror*, October 7, 1890, 471; Shearman, *Athletics and Football*, 36.

²⁰³ *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, April 18, 1841, 3; Bob Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul: Bill Roberts and Manchester's Sporting Heritage* (Manchester: Parr's Wood, 2002).

²⁰⁴ *Scotsman*, April 13, 1870, 7.

²⁰⁵ *York Herald*, May 13, 1809; June 10, 1809; July 15, 1809; *Oxford Journal*, June 10, 1809; *Morning Chronicle*, July 14, 1809.

²⁰⁶ *The Times*, June 15, 1809, 3; Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay*, 6-7.

remaining distance with a pugilist bodyguard and a pistol.²⁰⁷ Due to the additional gambling, which accrued to approximately £100,000,²⁰⁸ a variety of people were in attendance throughout the six-week event, including 'farmers, kitchen maids, grooms, tinkers and pickpockets...the sporting gentlemen of the Fancy, the riffraff who always hung around the edges, and numerous gentlemen and ladies who would not normally be seen dead at a sporting event'.²⁰⁹ Gambling encouraged many to flock to the roads, marked courses and race grounds in order to place their bets on sporting competitions,²¹⁰ and, according to Brailsford, as the courses themselves were open, this became a valuable source of income for the course proprietors.²¹¹ Additionally, entrepreneurial managers opened grandstands that provided shelter with unspoilt views of the entertainment, which restricted access to those who could afford the privilege but ensured attendance from a varied audience.²¹²

Pedestrian events attracted large crowds, regularly in their thousands,²¹³ and, by 1840, the sport, 'which had its own heading in *Bell's Life* in 1838',²¹⁴ had gained in popularity through the endorsement of local publicans who promoted, and provided land for, competitive races.²¹⁵ The notion that the enclosure of grounds was not considered before the nineteenth century is challenged by reports suggesting that eighteenth-century entrepreneurs had already constructed sporting venues as early as the 1720s.²¹⁶ Bellsize House, Hampstead, opened in April 1722, under the care of Mr Howell, provided a park with gardens and further entertainments for ladies and gentlemen of an 'agreeable' company.²¹⁷ Hunting and foot-racing events were regularly advertised, with entrance to the grounds on race day varying from sixpence to one shilling. To gain further proceeds a licence was granted for a tavern that sold wine and food in the large entertaining rooms whilst live music was provided 'without expense'.²¹⁸ Mr Howell also employed 'twenty stout labouring men...to line the road between Bellsize and London so that they will be safe to pass as well by night as day', which

²⁰⁷ *London Chronicle*, June 12, 1809, 13; *The Times*, June 15, 1809, 3; Tony Collins, John Martin and Wray Vamplew, *Encyclopaedia of Traditional British Rural Sports* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 40.

²⁰⁸ *The Times*, July 14, 1809, 3.

²⁰⁹ Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay*, 4.

²¹⁰ Peter Radford, 'Boney Left Waiting as Barclay Bet the Bank', *The Observer*, August 12, 2001, Sports section, UK edition.

²¹¹ Brailsford, 'Sporting Days in Eighteenth Century England': 43.

²¹² At Bishopsbourne, one shilling was charged to enter the 'great Stand' according to the *Kentish Gazette*, August 5, 1780; Neil Wigglesworth, *The Story of Sport in England* (London: Routledge, 2007), 12; Mike Huggins, 'Sport and the British Upper Classes c.1500–2000: a Historiographic Overview', *Sport in History* 28, no. 3 (2008): 383.

²¹³ *Manchester Guardian*, March 20, 1850, 7; April 18, 1864, 4; August 29, 1864, 3; June 5, 1865, 4.

²¹⁴ Young, *Early Victorian England 1830-1865*, 272.

²¹⁵ Vincent, "'Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman" Pedestrianism in Canterbury 1860-1885': 47; Baker, 'The State of British Sport History': 59.

²¹⁶ Brailsford, 'Sporting Days in Eighteenth Century England': 43.

²¹⁷ *Daily Post*, April 16, 1722; June 4, 1722.

²¹⁸ *Daily Post*, April 16, 1722; July 7, 1724; July 21, 1724.

ensured large crowds attended all year round.²¹⁹ Similarly, George Smith's Artillery Grounds, Finsbury Square, provided cricket and pedestrian matches between c.1740 and 1752.²²⁰ The grounds were benched around the perimeter so no spectator could walk into the ring,²²¹ and entrance fees were charged in accordance with the day's activities.²²² In 1750, a four-mile pedestrian event with 5 vs. 5 cricket was promoted within the enclosure; gates opened at 4pm with events beginning at 6pm, with music and further novelties, such as horse-riding, music and dancing, all for the price of tuppence.²²³ The grounds became so popular that many tried to jump the walls to gain entry for free, although Smith quickly controlled this behaviour by prosecuting individuals who entered his grounds illegally.²²⁴

Due to the rising profile of pedestrian sport in the mid-nineteenth century, entrepreneurial publicans enclosed grounds specifically for sporting purposes on a much larger scale, creating a niche market for themselves as gatekeepers to working-class activities within the towns and cities of Britain. Although appearing to help rationalise recreation time, the innkeepers were 'fully aware of the profit-making potential of such an enterprise',²²⁵ with some establishments forming allegiances with specific sporting ventures in order to increase proceeds.²²⁶ According to Hardy, the urban city provided the perfect location as disposable incomes were increasing and communication and transport networks expanded, which meant promoters could draw on the growing populations and establish popular leisure enterprises.²²⁷ The response from entrepreneurs was dynamic with many establishments considering the wider entertainment value of sporting pursuits by incorporating concert rooms, singing saloons and variety acts, as well as dancing, acrobats, clowns, waxworks, live exhibits and ornamental gardens.²²⁸ The London arenas were some of the first to extend their control; the Eagle Tavern, City Road, incorporated a circus, theatre, billiard room, 'flying mountain', promenade and pleasure ground, and music and dancing would accompany the sporting entertainments at the smaller inns and taverns that populated the city, such as the Blind Beggar,

²¹⁹ *Daily Post*, June 5, 1722.

²²⁰ *London Evening Post*, May 14-16, 1747; August 22-25, 1752; *Morning Post*, August 8, 1850, 1.

²²¹ *London Evening Post*, July 24-26, 1744.

²²² *General Advertiser*, June 8, 1748.

²²³ *Penny London Post or the Morning Advertiser*, July 20-23, 1750.

²²⁴ *London Gazetteer*, June 15, 1751.

²²⁵ Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century': 95.

²²⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, October 11, 1845, 12; Brailsford, *British Sport: a Social History*; Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*.

²²⁷ Stephen Hardy, 'Sport in Urbanizing America: a Historical Review', *Journal of Urban History* 23/6 (1997): 675-709.

²²⁸ Poole, *Popular Leisure and the Music-Hall in Nineteenth-Century Bolton*, 51-55.

Whitechapel, and the King's Head, Soho.²²⁹ Alternatively, some proprietors found success by endorsing specific pedestrian events, hosting 'championship' competitions with extravagant prizes and constructing closed sporting communities to protect their establishments in the already over-populated and ever-expanding sporting climate. Within London traditional long-distance events continued to be popular, whereas Sheffield became home to the best short-distance sprinters of the nineteenth century, and the middle-distance "milers" generated a vibrant and well-respected community within Manchester's city centre and neighbouring parishes.

The London running grounds have been well documented, with Warren Roe's *Front Runners* detailing the arenas and their proprietors from 1857 to 1875, and Paul Marshall's *King of the Peds* recalling the long-distance competitions and athletes of the late-nineteenth century.²³⁰ The London pedestrian scene also featured in contemporary texts such as Shearman's *Athletics and Football* (1894) as well as Ewing Ritchie's *About London* (1860), and recent authors have describes the metropolis in detail.²³¹ Although academics have explored the Northern cities, which had developed extensive pedestrian communities during this period, this research is limited in comparison. Gregson, Huggins and Watson's references to athletics illustrates the Victorian Tyneside and neighbouring counties scene,²³² Piper discusses athletics in Tameside 1837-1939,²³³ and Bailey, Phillip and Swain's individual reviews of popular recreations in Lancashire further consider the sport outside of London.²³⁴ With specific reference to venues, Edinburgh's Powderhall history between 1870 and 1943 has been

²²⁹ Bishopsgate Institute Archives – *Eagle Tavern/Grecian Theatre, City Road: Playbills and Illustrations, 1829-1899* (London Collection Manuscripts/72); Jerry White, *London in the Nineteenth Century: a Human Awful Wonder of God* (London: Vintage, 2008), 285.

²³⁰ Warren Roe, *Front Runners: The First Athletic Track Champions* (Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 2002); Paul S. Marshall, *King of the Peds* (Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2008).

²³¹ J. Ewing Ritchie, *About London* (London: William Tinsley, 1860); Shearman, *Athletics and Football*; Peter Lovesey, *The Kings of Distance: a Study of Five Great Runners* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968); *Wobble to Death: a Sergeant Cribb Mystery* (London: Macmillan, 1970); Sears, *Running Through the Ages*; Allen Guttmann, *Sports: the First Five Millennia* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 71-72, 97.

²³² Don Watson, 'Popular Athletics on Victorian Tyneside', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 3 (1994): 485-494; Keith Gregson and Mike Huggins, 'Sport, Music-Hall Culture and Popular Song in Nineteenth-Century England', *Culture, Sport, Society* 2, no. 2 (1999): 82-102; 'Northern Songs, Sporting Heroes and Regional Consciousness, c. 1800-c. 1880: "Wor Stars that Shine"', *Northern History* 44, no. 2 (2007): 141-158.

²³³ Glenn Piper, *Athletics in Tameside 1837-1939 Covering the Towns of Ashton, Audenshaw, Denton, Droylsden, Dukinfield, Gee Cross, Haughton Green, Hollingworth, Hyde, Mossley, Mottram, Stalybridge and Tintwistle* (Manchester: Glenn Piper, 2011).

²³⁴ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*; Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul*; Peter Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire', *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 382-404.

published as has work on the Sheffield pedestrian circuits of the nineteenth century.²³⁵ Biographies of the men and women who performed at these locations have increased in popularity with Rob Hadgraft's series of award-winning books surrounding nineteenth- and twentieth-century athletic celebrities, Warren Roe's monographs on the lives of 'champion' pedestrians John "The Gateshead Clipper" White (1837-1910) and Edward "Young England" Mills (1841-1894), and Sears' biographical novel of George Seward, which presents details of his running career in both America and Britain. The semi-fictional narrative of Tom Carruthers, a nineteenth-century sprinter, also features the pedestrian venues in Edinburgh, Sheffield and Manchester, and recent conference proceedings and academic texts have focussed on biographical narratives of athletic pioneers.²³⁶ However, these narratives are limited in scope and tend towards the descriptive rather than exploring the impact of the individual within the broader historical context of professional sport during the nineteenth century. In order to rectify this omission, this thesis adopts a more rigorous methodological approach to the study of pedestrians through the use of biographical methods in order to illuminate the social and sporting context of nineteenth century pedestrianism, specifically within Manchester.

²³⁵ David A. Jamieson, *Powderhall and Pedestrianism: the History of a Famous Sports Enclosure (1870-1943)*; Glenn Piper, *Peds of the Past 1837-1920: Famous Athletes and Pedestrians with Particular Reference to Sheffield* (Manchester: Glenn Piper, 2012).

²³⁶ Rob Hadgraft, *The Little Wonder: the Untold Story of Alfred Shrubbs: World Champion Runner* (London: Desert Island Books, 2004); *Beer and Brine: the Making of Walter George: Athletics' First Superstar* (London: Desert Island Books, 2006); *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage: from Indian Reservation to Champion of the World* (London: Desert Island Books, 2008); *Tea with Mr Newton: 100,000 Miles: the Longest Protest March in History* (London: Desert Island Books, 2010); *Plimsoles On Eyeballs Out: the Rise and Horrendous Fall of Marathon Legend Jim Peters* (London: Desert Island Books, 2012); Edward S. Sears, *George Seward: America's First Great Runner* (Plymouth: Scarecrow, 2008); Tom Carruthers, *Running for Money: a Decade of Corruption and Violence in Athletics* (Leicestershire: Matador, 2012); Warren Roe, *Jack White "The Gateshead Clipper" 1837-1910: a Life of Athletics* (Hornchurch, Warren Roe, 2007); *Edward "Teddy" Mills, "Young England" 1841-1894: Champion East-Enders* (Hornchurch, Warren Roe, no date); Panels on Coaching Biographies (papers presented at the British Society for Sport History annual conference, University of Glasgow, Scotland, September 7-8, 2012); Dave Day, ed., *Pedestrianism* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014).

Chapter 2. Narratives and Life Courses: Biography, Collective Biography and Prosopography¹

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.²

History is a social science that considers “events” and “facts” of the past in the present, and does so through constantly evolving theories and methodologies.³ 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; 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, 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, causing a conflict in the historical pursuit for “truth”.⁴

There are different types of historian, each adopting diverse perspectives, strategies and theories within the social science domain, although Roberts argues that narrative is ‘the central defining practice of History as a discipline’, linking historians together through the construction of story.⁵ In narrative research, there are several viewpoints that the historian needs to consider, with the empirical-postmodern debate fuelling the majority of philosophical disputes. Empirical researchers propose that surviving sources of the past are interrogated, pieced together systematically and

¹ This chapter has appeared in the following publications, shown in the appendices, with a revised and updated version produced for inclusion in this thesis for 2014:

Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘Narrative, Biography, Prosopography and the Sport Historian: Historical Method and its Implications’, in *Sports and Coaching: Pasts and Futures*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2012), 35-60; ‘The Manchester Milers 1850-1870’, in *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014), 78-110.

² Linda E. Mitchell, ‘Historians Reflecting on History and Historical Writing, Number 1’, *Historical Reflections* 36, no. 1 (2010): 1-3.

³ Hayden V. White, ‘The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory’, *History and Theory* 23, no. 1 (1984): 1-33; Edward H. Carr, *What is History?* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

⁴ Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002); Georg G. Iggers, ‘Review Paper: Historiography in the Twentieth Century’, *History and Theory* 44 (2005): 469-476; Mitchell, ‘Historians Reflecting on History and Historical Writing’: 1-3.

⁵ Wendy M. Duff and Catherine A. Johnson, ‘Accidentally Found on Purpose: Information-Seeking Behaviour of Historians in Archives’, *The Library Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (2002): 472-496; Geoffrey Roberts, ‘History, Theory and Narrative Turn in IR’, *Review of International Studies* 32 (2006): 704.

presented to form a well-rounded explanation that can be tested, being a cumulative process that is revised and enriched over generations.⁶ The interpretation of “facts” is central to postmodernist debate, most of whom deny the existence of “truth” and explain reality as an interpretation of what the world means to each individual. 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 cannot be trusted.⁷ Postmodern narrative approaches have struggled to gain acceptance with empirical traditionalists who believe that the interaction of the scholar with the sources causes a distorted history. On the other hand, postmodern theorists propose that all historians, through their narratives, impose history and, therefore, produce verbal fictions that even the most empirical chronicler employs when structuring their research.⁸ The traditional empiricist would argue that, in relation to narrative, history is based on the physical evidence which has been collected and objectively discussed,⁹ whereas the modern empiricist, who is more sensitive to the postmodern stance, would suggest that, while there is a need to engage and identify with the information, imagination and inventiveness are crucial in creating a solid narrative.¹⁰ Although postmodernists believe that this identification with the evidence encourages a modified and idealistic historical undercurrent, turning fact into fiction, the interpretive-empirical approach is defended by 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.¹¹

According to Lustick, history should aptly be renamed histories, as it is a collection of different interpretations on the same topic, 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”’.¹² The conclusion drawn is

⁶ Paul K. Feyerabend, *Problems of Empiricism: Philosophical Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Ronald Hutton, ‘History: Fact or Fiction? Ronald Hutton’s Early Experience of Discerning Reality: Telling Tales’, *Times Higher Education*, November 12, 2009, 40-41.

⁷ Keith Jenkins, *The Postmodern History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁸ Donna E. Alvermann, ‘Narrative Approaches’, in *Methods of Literacy Research: the Methodology Chapters from the Handbook of Reading Research Volume III*, eds. Michael L. Kamil, Peter B. Mosenthal, P. David Pearson and Rebecca Barr (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2009), 47-64; Alun Munslow, ‘Deconstructing History E-Seminar, 1997’, <http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/e-seminars/munslow-paper#1> (accessed April 14, 2012); *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 1997); *Deconstructing History*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006); Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History* (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁹ Maurice Mandelbaum, ‘A Note on History as Narrative’, in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), 52-58.

¹⁰ Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Fulbrook, *Historical Theory*.

¹¹ Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta, 2000); Lawrence Stone, *The Past and Present Revisited* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1983); Ian S. Lustick, ‘History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias’, *The American Political Science Review* 90, no. 3 (1996): 605-618.

¹² *Ibid*; Fulbrook, *Historical Theory*, 18.

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.¹³

In the construction of historical knowledge, subject specific historians work within the empirical-postmodern framework to present narratives in their respective disciplines, validating their methods not only within the confines of their sub-groups but also in the humanities space. According to Roberts, historical narrative has become fashionable within the academic and public sphere, contributing towards a 'narrative turn' across the human sciences,¹⁴ although there is still reluctance to accept such work in the academic field.¹⁵ Within economic history, Kadish presents a fact-based, continuous narrative that avoids lengthy discussion of perspectives and generally agreed events, ensuring the reader fully understands where his narrative sits within the historical context of the topic.¹⁶ Furthermore, social historians create narratives surrounding human experience which move beyond a visual representation of past, creating a sensory experience which is also systematic in approach whilst being flexible in reporting complex matters.¹⁷ Narrative is justified as a 'powerful stimuli to the imagination, and to the mind's effort to learn and explore',¹⁸ with each author identifying source material to validate their structure, developing a "narrative truth", which presents an honest re-enactment through story.¹⁹ Although "true" history is a romanticised concept,²⁰ "narrative truth" finds the balance between empiricism and postmodernity by utilising historical facts

¹³ Carr, *What is History?*, 3.

¹⁴ Roberts, 'History, Theory and Narrative Turn in IR', 703.

¹⁵ Paul A. Roth, 'Narrative Explanations: the Case of History', *History and Theory* 27, no. 1 (1988): 1-13; Mark Donnelly and Claire Norton, *Doing History* (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁶ Alon Kadish, *Historians, Economists, and Economic History* (London: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁷ George H. Roeder, 'Coming to Our Senses', *Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (1994): 1112-1122; Jean S. Phinney, 'Identity Formation Across Cultures: the Interactions of Personal, Societal, and Historical Change', *Human Development* 43 (2000): 27-31; Mark M. Smith, 'Making Sense of Social History', *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 1 (2003): 165-186; Colette Daiute and Cynthia G. Lightfoot, eds., *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society* (London: Sage, 2004).

¹⁸ John S. Lyons, Louis P. Cain and Samuel H. Williamson, eds., *Reflections of the Cliometrics Revolution: Conversations with Economic Historians* (London: Routledge, 2008), 190.

¹⁹ Noel Carroll, 'Interpretation, History and Narrative', in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), 246-266.

²⁰ Hayden V. White. 'Interpretation in History', *New Literary History* 4, no. 2 (1973): 281-314; *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973); '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; Elton, *The Practice of History*.

to construct an accurate representation of the past while creating a story that is open to a degree of interpretation.²¹

Sport History and Narrative Truth

The evolution of sport history has seen the use of narrative transform. In 1990, Riess wrote that sport history had well documented the period 1850-1920 through empirical study but new methods of interpreting the modernisation of sport were emerging, focusing on the narrative of the city.²² By taking an interdisciplinary approach, the principles of urbanisation could be applied to the organisation of the city, attributing economic development, formations of class, social reform, and demographic growth to the advancement of organised sport in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, providing social meaning and moving beyond timelines of dates and events.²³ Hill attributes Hobsbawm's ideologies in social history to the development of the sport history field during the 1980s, enabling scholars to analyse the broader impact of sport in society through construction of historical narratives, although Munslow argues that these narratives are fictional texts devoid of any academic worth.²⁴ In 1999, Nauright announced the end of sport history, stating that the second generation of sport historians had blurred the lines between sociology, sport and cultural history,²⁵ but Polley argues that this only cements its place within the broader historical framework, causing authors to be critical in their approach and, therefore, improving the quality of sport specific research.²⁶ Holt's *Sport and the British* moved away from the traditional chronological narrative in exchange for a thematic approach, 'deliberately interpretive, not encyclopaedic' in structure,²⁷ a method shared by Brailsford in *Sport, Time and Society* in which individual topics were examined, moving both backwards and forwards in time, and enriched with historical sources.²⁸ Later work by Holt and Mason reaffirms this process, applying sport to the wider social context through a

²¹ Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

²² Steven A. Riess, 'The New Sport History', *Reviews in American History* 18, no. 3 (1990): 311-325.

²³ Stephen Hardy, *How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation and Community, 1865-1915* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1982); George B. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838-72* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Steven A. Riess, *City Games: the Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

²⁴ Jeffrey Hill, *Sport in History: an Introduction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Munslow, *Deconstructing History*.

²⁵ John Nauright, 'The End of Sports History? From Sports History to Sports Studies', *Sporting Traditions* 16, no. 1 (1999): 5-13.

²⁶ Martin Polley, 'History and Sport', in *Sport and Society: a Student Introduction*, ed. Barrie Houlihan (London: Sage, 2008).

²⁷ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 10.

²⁸ Dennis Brailsford, *Sport, Time and Society: the British at Play* (London: Routledge, 1991).

reconstructed past that utilises ordinary individuals and empirical study.²⁹ Being impartial is sometime difficult for historians, especially when reviewing developments that have occurred during their lifetime,³⁰ but the modern sport historian has never claimed to present the *only* true answer, instead constructing sporting narratives that are an interpretation of the past and not an explanation of the present.³¹

According to Phillips, as a separate sub-discipline, sport history fails to develop its own 'methodological, epistemological and ontological premises', raising questions about the practice of sport history in the twenty-first century.³² However, several models of historical method are present, but the empirical, traditional narrative is a prominent paradigm in sport history research.³³ Applying Munslow's historical model, Booth argues that there are three distinct approaches to sport history; reconstructionism, constructionism and deconstructionism.³⁴ Reconstructionists believe that there is an 'absolute truth' and argue that narratives are enriched with primary materials which provide the *only* account of the period in question.³⁵ Conversely, deconstructionists disregard these grand narratives and suggest there can be no objectivity in academic research,³⁶ whereas the constructionist looks to both theory and evidence to legitimise their narratives.³⁷ According to Booth, 'reconstructionism and constructionism dominate sport history' using empirical methods to recover the past with little reflection to the results.³⁸ As a relatively new debate, few have questioned Booth and Phillips, although Guttmann challenges the 'dim-witted' perception of sport historians, suggesting that the re/constructionist is enlightened, understands the need for theory in academic research, and moves beyond presenting *what* happened to reporting the *why* and *how*, an approach

²⁹ Richard Holt and Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain, 1945-2000* (London: Blackwell, 2000).

³⁰ Polley, 'History and Sport'.

³¹ Holt, *Sport and the British*.

³² Murray G. Phillips, *Deconstructing Sport History: a Postmodern Analysis* (New York, NY: State University of New York, 2006), 3.

³³ Douglas Booth, 'Escaping the Past? The Cultural Turn and Language in Sport History', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 8, no. 1 (2004): 103-125; *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (London: Routledge, 2005).

³⁴ Munslow, *Deconstructing History*; Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*.

³⁵ Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow, *The Nature of History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004); Douglas Booth, 'Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 9, no. 4 (2005): 429-483.

³⁶ Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 2nd ed.; Phillips, *Deconstructing Sport History*; Duncan R. Jamieson, review of *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, by Douglas Booth, *Sport in History* 27, no. 1 (2007): 139-141.

³⁷ Vivien Burr, *Social Constructionism* (London: Routledge, 2003); Booth, 'Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History': 429-483.

³⁸ Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, 7; Richard Pringle, 'What Makes Good Sport History?: Reflections on the Crisis of Legitimation and the Politics of Knowledge Construction', *Sporting Traditions* 27, no. 2 (2010): 71-80.

prevalent in current sports academia.³⁹ In searching for “truth”, the modern reconstructionist accepts the relativist approach, using an anti-theoretical model which guides them toward *a* “truth” not *the* “truth”, with more historians embracing a modified reconstructionism rather than a deconstructionist methodology.⁴⁰ Each term can be attributed to the opposing views in the empirical-postmodern continuum; reconstructionist approaches selected by the traditional empiricist, deconstructionism, the practice of postmodernists, and the modern empiricist following a constructionist/modified reconstructionist theory.

Biographical Methods and Sources

Irrespective of the position of the researcher within the empirical-postmodern theoretical framework, historians invariably use biographical methodology, during the course of which they have relied on the use of historical sources as a means of verifying their epistemological position. The relationship between history and the archive has always been close, with the historian being the main consumer of such sources.⁴¹ Although the archive can be daunting to the historian, without the archivist’s care in providing these historical remnants the discipline would lack academic viability.⁴² Looking to surviving sources of the past has been common practice among empiricists in the reconstruction of historical narrative, using a scientific archival paradigm in the interpretation of historical topics,⁴³ but, as new historical disciplines emerged in the latter half of the twentieth-century, the archive also evolved, encouraging access to a wide range of sources which have benefitted from technological reproduction.⁴⁴

³⁹ Allen Guttman, ‘Review Essay: the Ludic and the Ludicrous’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 1 (2008): 102.

⁴⁰ Mike Tripp, ‘Persistence of Difference: a History of Cornish Wrestling’ (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2009), 15-16.

⁴¹ Terry Cook, ‘From Information to Knowledge: an Intellectual Paradigm for Archives’, *Archivaria* 19 (1985): 28-49.

⁴² Duff and Johnson, ‘Accidentally Found on Purpose: Information-Seeking Behaviour of Historians in Archives’; Hugh A. Taylor, ‘Information Ecology and the Archives of the 1980s’, *Archivaria* 18 (1984): 25-37.

⁴³ John Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism: a Concise History of Archival Theory* (Duluth, MN: Litwin, 2008).

⁴⁴ Maia-Laura Ibsen and Denys Brunsden, ‘The Nature, Use and Problems of Historical Archives for the Temporal Occurrence of Landslides, with Specific Reference to the South Coast of Britain, Ventnor, Isle of Wight’, *Geomorphology* 15, no. 3-4 (1996): 241-258; Peter E. Doolittle and David Hicks, ‘Constructivism as a Theoretical Foundation for the Use of Technology in Social Studies’, *Theory & Research in Social Education* 31, no. 1 (2003): 72-104; Bill Tally and Lauren B. Goldenberg, ‘Fostering Historical Thinking with Digitized Primary Sources’, *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 38, no. 1 (2005): 1-21.

As the historical genre has developed, so has archival theory, with Hixson arguing that the 'preoccupation with archival sources...crowds out critical thinking'.⁴⁵ Many would dispute such views as postmodern deconstructions lacking epistemological neutrality,⁴⁶ and the archive as a historical tool has yet to be discouraged; 'all studies of history are driven by the discovery of evidence from the period being studied, and its analysis and interpretation'.⁴⁷ Since the 1980s, access has transformed from an arduous library-based search of protected materials to facile digital systems of internationally shared sources with detailed online finding aids and electronic copies of original transcripts, rendering the traditional archive less significant in twenty-first century research.⁴⁸ Since 2000, the increased importance of the internet as a repository for historical sources has uncovered unique research topics and sources,⁴⁹ and in an output-driven climate, academics 'are not likely to remain tolerant of archival services that do not perform in a comparable manner'.⁵⁰ Reconstructing memory through digital archives has been a popular development in current literature, with multi-organisational archives, such as the British Library partnered and Gale online newspaper databases, the University of Sussex Mass Observation repository, and smaller academic collections, including the Voices of Post-War England forum,⁵¹ contributing to the solidification of biographical narrative in social and culture history communities, although not all sources have gained academic endorsement.⁵² According to Dalton and Charnigo, of 278 academic historians, 94 percent considered the archives, manuscripts and special collections as important sources when conducting research,

⁴⁵ Walter L. Hixson, *The Myth of American Diplomacy: National Identity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 4.

⁴⁶ Ann L. Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science* 2, no. 1-2 (2002): 87-109; Louise Craven, ed., *What are Archives?: Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: a Reader* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Till Geiger, Niamh Moore and Mike Savage, *The Archive in Question* (Southampton: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, March 2010), 1-33; Eric Ketelaar, 'Ten Years of Archival Science', *Archival Science* 10, no. 4 (2010): 345-352.

⁴⁷ Polley, 'History and Sport', 58.

⁴⁸ Ian G. Anderson, 'Are You Being Served? Historians and the Search for Primary Sources', *Archivaria* 58 (2004): 81-129; Isto Huvila, 'Participatory Archive: Towards Decentralised Curation, Radical User Orientation, and Broader Contextualisation of Records Management', *Archival Science* 8, no. 1 (2008): 15-36; 'Navigators, Debaters or Information Architects? How Library, Museum and Archive Professionals Perceive their Role in the Future Society', in *Information in E-Motion: Proceedings of the BOBCATSSS 2012 20th International Conference on Information Science. Amsterdam, 23-25 January 2012*, eds. Wolf-Fritz Riekert and Ingeborg Simon (Bad Honnef, Germany: Bock and Herchen, 2012), 190-194.

⁴⁹ Antoinette M. Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke UP, 2005).

⁵⁰ Anderson, 'Are You Being Served? Historians and the Search for Primary Sources', 83-84.

⁵¹ British Library, *The British Newspaper Archive*, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>; Gale, *Gale Digital Collections*, <http://gdc.gale.com/>; University of Sussex, *Mass Observation Repository*, <http://www.massobs.org.uk/>; Selina Todd and Hillary Young, *Voices of Postwar England: an Oral History of the Working-Class*, <http://voicesofpostwarengland.wordpress.com/>.

⁵² Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901: a Handbook for Historical Researchers* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2004); Robert Morris, review of *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901: a Handbook for Historical Researchers*, by Edward Higgs, *Reviews in History*, September 2005.

compared to only 23 percent who valued genealogical resources,⁵³ reaffirming Pope's argument that non-academic literature, such as documentaries, museum artefacts and genealogical societies, are often marginalised within the scholarly community.⁵⁴ However, the use of census material, birth, marriage and death records (BMD), and other genealogical documents has proved critical in supplying and verifying biographical information, including name, age, address, family, and profession, with the digital age making access easier and encouraging their use in sport research.⁵⁵ In 1997, Cox suggested that the internet had little to offer the sport historian beyond a starting point for scholarly research,⁵⁶ but now, with dedicated websites, collections and databases for sport-specific inquiry, sporting narratives can be constructed in partnership with academic provision.⁵⁷

Irrespective of the epistemological position adopted by the historian, historical materials and relics are imperative to research. Knowledge of society, life and culture can all be obtained through remnants of the past, whether official documents, memories, visual items or mass communications.⁵⁸ According to Barton, as access to sources has changed so has our response to their use; while it is now common for primary sources to be ubiquitous and accessible they often are utilised incorrectly, presented to add credibility and authenticity rather than to challenge perceptions and ideologies. Sometimes 'primary sources represent narrow or partisan perspectives...sometimes they were created intentionally to deceive', so consultation with additional texts and sources is required to improve reliability and develop historical understanding.⁵⁹ As a result, historians use an array of sources within their research to interrogate or clarify historical questions and to avoid bias, therefore validating their data.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, historians value sources differently; whilst newspapers may form an important measure of the reconstructionist biography, the deconstructionist views these as

⁵³ Margaret S. Dalton and Laurie Charnigo, 'Historians and their Information Sources', *College & Research Libraries* 65, no. 5 (2002): 400-425.

⁵⁴ Steven W. Pope, 'Sport History: Into the 21st Century', *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 2 (1998): i-x.

⁵⁵ Dave Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England' (PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2008); 'London Swimming Professors: Victorian Craftsmen and Aquatic Entrepreneurs', *Sport in History* 30, no. 1 (2010): 32-54; *Sporting Lives* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011); Kris Inwood and Richard Reid, 'Introduction: the Use of Census Manuscript Data for Historical Research', *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 28, no. 56 (1995): 301-311; William H. McDowell, *Historical Research: a Guide* (London: Pearson, 2002).

⁵⁶ Richard W. Cox, *The Internet as a Resource for the Sports Historian* (Frodsham: The British Society of Sports History and Sports History Publishing, 1997).

⁵⁷ Daryl Adair, 'Making Sense of Australian Sport History', in *Youth Sport in Australia*, ed. Steve Georgakis and Katrina M. Russell (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2011), 1-25.

⁵⁸ Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, 82.

⁵⁹ Keith C. Barton, 'Primary Sources in History: Breaking Through the Myths', *The Phi Delta Kappa* 86, no. 10 (2005): 746.

⁶⁰ Matthias Kipping, R. Daniel Wadhwani and Marcelo Bucheli, 'Analyzing and Interpreting Historical Sources: a Basic Methodology', in *Organizations in Time: History, Theory, Methods*, eds. Marcelo Bucheli and R. Daniel Wadhwani (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 317-318.

arbitrary, further adding to the interpretative layers that shroud “truth”. Table 2 presents an overview of the standard historical materials utilised in sport history research, illustrating their use and significance to the various practitioners. Briefly, according to the re/constructionist these sources provide the foundations of historical knowledge, yielding truth when tested, whereas the deconstructionist, sceptical of “truth”, believes that these sources only provide partial or fragmented information which is ambiguous and leads to false interpretations.⁶¹

Table 2. Historical Sources and their Epistemological Value⁶²

Historical Materials	Epistemological Assumptions		
	Reconstructionism <i>interrogation reveals the truth</i>	Constructionism <i>theory reveals reality</i>	Deconstructionism <i>another layer of interpretation</i>
<i>Official Documents</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yield knowledge about the past • Archives: sites for the retrieval of knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contextualised by theory to reveal reality • Archives: non-theorised 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serve political interests • Archives: sites for the production of knowledge
<i>Newspapers</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sport’s prime historical record • Represent specific interests (revealed by interrogation) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contextualised by theory to reveal reality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mediating texts
<i>Oral Testimony</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produced through structured interviews • Detachment from subject essential • Memory variously and obstacle to, or a data bank of, the past • Memory and forgetting: distinct conditions • Truth and falsity: absolute values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contextualised by theory to reveal reality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produced in negotiated dialogue • Involvement with informant a virtue • Memory a creative construction produced in dialogue • Memory and forgetting: one and the same condition • Truth and falsity: obsolete concepts
<i>Visual Materials</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A powerful medium for transporting viewers to events • Documentary films and historical practice generally incompatible • Represent <i>prima facie</i> evidence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contextualised by theory to reveal reality • Reception resides in theorised context and circumstances of image 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fictional creations • Ambiguous texts passed through many mediating filters

The archive, by definition, is simply ‘a place in which public records are kept’,⁶³ and the numbers of primary materials available online is substantial, with over forty databases dedicated to soccer history alone.⁶⁴ While the sources entrusted by the sporting community are relatively modest,

⁶¹ Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, 83-85.

⁶² Adapted from Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, 83.

⁶³ Irving Velody, ‘The Archive and the Human Sciences: Notes Towards a Theory of the Archive’, *History and Philosophy of Science* 11, no. 4 (1998): 1.

⁶⁴ Ian Nannestad, ‘Researching the Game’s Past: a Short Guide to Resources Available on the Internet’, *Soccer History* 15 (2007): 37-39.

historical knowledge continues to evolve, as do attitudes towards the archival materials. Newspapers are highly regarded within sport history, alongside other written texts, such as minutes, monographs, manuals, magazines and sporting programmes, with narratives often academically judged based on the number of primary sources identified.⁶⁵ Vella notes that newspapers have featured less heavily in modern research due to the difficulties of accessing materials, but as digitisation projects are completed, the social and cultural importance of these documents is being realised.⁶⁶ Lacking neutrality, the historian should be aware that the newspaper reports from a particular political and social perspective, consisting of filtered ideas that academics are quick to apply, but require further analysis to ensure viability of the content in a scholarly capacity.⁶⁷ Biographers can trace individuals through the sporting press whilst consulting additional titles to contextualise the practices of these characters in wider society,⁶⁸ drawing upon periodicals such as the *Sporting Gazette*, *Sporting Life*, *Illustrated Sporting and Theatrical Review*, and *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, and popular papers such as *The Times*, *The Guardian* and the *Daily Express*. By consulting additional sources, attitudes can be accurately reinterpreted through newspaper analysis.⁶⁹

Photographs and drawings are supplementary sources used in the study of sport, confronting the viewer with history itself, although these are interpreted differently to biographical text. Showing the competitors, stadiums, equipment, etc., the photograph is a muted source that creates an immediate impression of society without descriptive characters.⁷⁰ Appreciated by reconstructionist philosophers, images are respectable, legitimate documents which depict the “true” experience of the individual in question,⁷¹ although Phillips, O'Neill and Osmond argue that the language of the photographs requires development and they should not be taken at face value due to their staged

⁶⁵ Martin Johnes, 'Researching the Game's Past: an Introduction to Using Local Newspapers to Research the History of Football', *Soccer History* 9 (2004): 44-47.

⁶⁶ Stephen Vella, 'Newspapers', in *Reading Primary Sources: the Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History*, eds. Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann (London: Routledge, 2009), 192-209.

⁶⁷ Ibid; Adrian Bingham, 'The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians', *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 225-231; Javier Guallar and Ernest Abadal, 'The Digital Press Archives of the Leading Spanish Online Newspapers', *Information Research* 15, no. 1 (2010): paper 424.

⁶⁸ Mark O'Neill, 'The Phar Lap Story: Representations of the Sporting Past' (PhD diss., University of Queensland, 2011).

⁶⁹ Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, eds., *Reading Primary Sources: the Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁷⁰ Gary Osmond, 'Photographs, Materiality and Sport History: Peter Norman and the 1968 Mexico City Black Power Salute', *Journal of Sport History* 37, no. 1 (2011): 119-137.

⁷¹ W. Raymond Wood, 'Ethnohistory and Historical Method', *Archaeological Method and Theory* 2 (1990): 81-109; David K. Wiggins and Patrick B. Miller, eds., *The Uneven Playing Field: a Documentary History of the African American Experience in Sport* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Booth, 'Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History': 429-483.

nature, with rigorous deconstruction needed to comprehend their “truth”.⁷² In contrast, film and historical sporting documentaries are marginalised due to their perceived lack of academic quality, although Phillips champions the use of these sources in sporting narrative.⁷³ According to Daniels, film presents a world rooted in masculine culture and absent of female athleticism, which is not an accurate representation of the contemporary sporting climate, suggesting that women are not equal and that their sporting endeavours and success are not important.⁷⁴ Jones questions the value of fictional sporting feature film, analysing social and cultural impressions of sport through movies such as *Raging Bull* (1980), *Rocky* (1976) and *Chariots of Fire* (1981), concluding that these sources are beneficial to the historical commentator but, agreeing with Booth, he suggests that they need to be interrogated to be academically viable.⁷⁵ Contributing to a visual turn in sport history, the exploitation of visual sources such as photography, film, television, and other digital media is inescapable, but, with theoretical underpinning, the cinematic representation of sport can be embraced by the modern historian.⁷⁶

The interconnections experienced by individuals in the past can help to understand subsequent practices.⁷⁷ In constructing collective lives, non-academic databases, such as *Ancestry* and *Find My Past* are regularly utilised, contributing to the “narrative turn” in twenty-first century research.⁷⁸ As previously suggested, the sources available to family historians are now permeating into the sports domain, with BMD, census and other personal information of both elite and average individuals being uncovered.⁷⁹ Postmodern scholars have also embraced these records with Osmond presenting biographies using census, family papers and BMD materials to underpin his narratives,⁸⁰ although

⁷² Murray G. Phillips, Mark E. O'Neill, and Gary Osmond, 'Broadening Horizons in Sport History: Films, Photographs, and Monuments', *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 2 (2007): 271-293; John Bale, 'The Mysterious Professor Jokl', in *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies Life-Histories and Methods*, eds. John Bale, Mette K. Christensen and Gertrud Pfister (Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2004), 25-40.

⁷³ Murray G. Phillips, 'Public History and Sport History: Evaluating Commissioned Histories and Historical Documentaries', *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 3 (2008): 393-410; *Deconstructing Sport History*.

⁷⁴ Dayna B. Daniels, 'You Throw Like a Girl: Sport and Misogyny on the Silver Screen', *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies* 35, no. 1 (2005): 29-38.

⁷⁵ Glen Jones, "'Down on the Floor and Give Me Ten Sit-Ups": British Sports Feature Film', *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies* 35, no. 2 (2005): 29-40.

⁷⁶ Mike Huggins, 'The Sporting Gaze: Towards a Visual Turn in Sports History – Documenting Art and Sport', *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008): 311-329; Martin Johnes, 'British Sport History: the Present and the Future' (paper presented at the annual meeting for the British Society for Sport History, University of Stirling, Scotland, September 8, 2007); Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Routledge, 2012), 91, 150-152.

⁷⁷ Donnelly and Norton, *Doing History*.

⁷⁸ Tanya Evans, 'Secrets and Lies: the Radical Potential of Family History', *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 49-73.

⁷⁹ Dave Day, 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: the "Beckwith Frogs"', *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 194-218; Oldfield, 'George Martin, "Wizard of Pedestrianism" and Manchester's Sporting Entrepreneur'.

⁸⁰ Osmond, 'Photographs, Materiality and Sport History'.

Morris states that these types of sources are a 'prison as much as a guide to the historian' because these records found are not always correct.⁸¹ Problems surrounding these documents include illegible handwriting, incomplete entries, changing marital statuses and names, and unreliable reporting of addresses, ages and birthplaces, creating doubt for the researcher and the need to triangulate the sources.⁸² For post-war biography, oral testimony is vital in the construction of life histories and, whilst new sources of inquiry are being made in sport, interview and oral evidence are largely ignored from a historical perspective.⁸³ A recently accepted practice among sport historians, the use of present actors to explain past events, requires prompting and probing, with semi-structured interview the preferred method,⁸⁴ but the topic is not adverse to other approaches, with blogs, forums and social media now accepted forms of data collection.⁸⁵ Constructing or reaffirming narrative through oral history relies on the memory of the participants, but, as with other personal records, these are open to interpretation, falsification and distortion from both the actor and the writer.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the practice of oral history in sport has escaped its empirical-postmodern confines, placing itself within the public sphere where increased autobiographical works, television documentaries, podcasts and other multimedia narratives are the historian's alternative outputs.⁸⁷ Utilised by twenty-first century researchers, these resources facilitate robust and comprehensive narratives that provide a sensory experience of the sport,⁸⁸ and by combining a multitude of these biographies surviving sources can be shared and interrogated collectively to further understand the impact of society in differing communities and on specific individuals who have often been the subject of biographical research.⁸⁹

⁸¹ Morris, review of *Making Sense of the Census Revisited*, ¶ 3.

⁸² Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census* (London: HMSO, 1996).

⁸³ Susan K. Cahn, 'Sport Talk: Oral History and its Uses, Problems, and Possibilities for Sport History', *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (1994): 594-609; Kumiko Torikai, *Voices of the Invisible Presence: Diplomatic Interpreters in Post-World War II Japan* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009); Stephen Kelly, 'An Oral History of Footballing Communities at Liverpool and Manchester United Football Clubs' (PhD diss., University of Huddersfield, 2009); Jeffrey Hill and Jean Williams, 'Introduction', *Sport in History* 29, no. 2 (2009): 127-131; Polley, 'History and Sport'.

⁸⁴ Brian Brivati, Julia Buxton, and Anthony Seldon, eds., *The Contemporary History Handbook* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Caroline Essers, 'Reflections on the Narrative Approach: Dilemmas of Power, Emotion and Social Location While Constructing Life-Stories', *Organization* 16, no. 2 (2009): 163-181.

⁸⁵ See Dorothy S. Mills, *Chasing Baseball: Our Obsession with its History, Numbers, People and Places* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010) and Lindsay Pattison, "'The Dynamics of the Disc": Ultimate (Frisbee), Community, & Memory, 1968-2011' (PhD diss., Concordia University, 2011).

⁸⁶ Matthew Taylor, 'From Source to Subject: Sport, History and Autobiography', *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 3 (2008): 469-491.

⁸⁷ Donnelly and Norton, *Doing History*.

⁸⁸ David Rowe, 'Media and Sport: the Cultural Dynamics of Global Games', *Sociology Compass* 3, no. 4 (2009): 543-558; Kath Woodward and David Goldblatt, 'Introduction', *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 1 (2011): 1-8.

⁸⁹ Hill and Williams, 'Introduction'.

Biographical Method

From documenting the origins of modern sport to developing intricate case studies of cities, towns, groups and people, sport history has used the archives, interviews and oral testimonies as a means of reconstructing the past, with an increased number of biographical texts being produced.⁹⁰ Biographical methodology encompasses life history, personal history, oral history and case study,⁹¹ being popular in all academic and non-academic disciplines, with historical and sporting discussions often centring on individuals and their narratives.⁹² Biography essentially describes 'turning-point moments in individuals' lives' by interpreting data to present an holistic version of a life course, or, alternatively, a construction of past experiences of an individual to relate to a story.⁹³ It is not always written chronologically, instead capturing a snapshot of a moment of time with some elements more developed, enabling the reader to foster their own meanings and analogies through the text.⁹⁴ Many life stories are shaped by significant events experienced by the individual, demonstrating their impact on the overall life course and positioning their stories at the centre of the analysis.⁹⁵ Biographies are subjective accounts that present an idiosyncratic perspective and require further interrogation in order to contextualise their "findings", although generalisations are limited due to the personal nature of these accounts.⁹⁶ Nonetheless, life writing can be used to study complex historical developments by explaining the interactions between man and environment where 'state of mind and state of affairs may be critical in explaining events'.⁹⁷ As Lee notes, 'biography is not so imposing to the general eye as pyramids and mausoleums...but it is the safest way, to protect a memory from oblivion', transmitting character, personality and achievement to the audience with appeal and attractiveness.⁹⁸ As a result, biography is a longitudinal process, taking time for detail and characters to grow,⁹⁹ enabling a detailed story to be constructed as further layers are exposed.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ See John Bale, Mette Christensen and Gertrud Pfister, eds., *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies, Life-Histories and Methods* (Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2004); Day, *Sporting Lives; Pedestrianism* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History, 2014).

⁹¹ Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (London: Sage, 1989).

⁹² Martin Polley, *Sports History: a Practical Guide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 52.

⁹³ Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*, 7; Ann Nilsen and Julia Brannen, 'Contextualising Lives: the History-Biography Dynamic Revisited', in *C. Wright Mills and the Sociological Imagination: Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. John Scott and Ann Nilsen (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2013), 93.

⁹⁴ Penelope Harnett, 'Life History and Narrative Research Revisited', in *Exploring Learning, Identity and Power Through Life History and Narrative Research*, eds. Ann-Marie Bathmaker and Penelope Harnett (London: Routledge, 2010), 159.

⁹⁵ Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*.

⁹⁶ Ken Plummer, *Documents of Life: an Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), 14; Phinney, 'Identity Formation Across Cultures: the Interactions of Personal, Societal, and Historical Change', 30.

⁹⁷ Jonathan Haslam, 'Biography and its Importance to History', *Past and Future* 11 (2012): 10-11.

⁹⁸ Sidney Lee, *Principles of Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 8-9.

⁹⁹ Haslam, 'Biography and its Importance to History': 11.

The traditional approach to biography, where original documentation is found, sifted and balanced with a cautious hypothesis and tentative conclusions drawn, has almost disappeared, and alternative approaches to life writing, where styles and perspectives are interrogated and intertwined with societal and cultural issues, have added a new dimension to biographical writing.¹⁰¹ However, key information is still always required; the what, why, where, when, who, how and why dimensions are the backbone to the narrative and the author 'fills out' these details through fact, interpretation and written exploration, 'engaging with stories...using textual cues'.¹⁰² These narratives become targets for interpretation but are also a means of making sense of the wider experiences and situations.¹⁰³ Margadant's "new" biography of French females integrates several life stories within the grand historical narrative of French history, expanding historical understanding by revealing connections and themes through the interrogation and contextualisation of each individual narrative, thereby creating a 'cultural interpretation' of the female identity in nineteenth-century France. By addressing questions that differ from the expected biographical process, multiple interpretations of the self can be presented and combined to form a coherent impression of femininity.¹⁰⁴ Although pragmatism is important, the reader must be convinced of the interpretation,¹⁰⁵ and by combining the narrative with cultural or historical knowledge a more substantial and persuasive text is produced. Interpretation means, essentially, 'to understand the internal logic of an excerpt of the data or to put into context...determining what statements you can make about the data and what conclusions you can draw from the empirical material'.¹⁰⁶ Hence, its importance within the social science and humanities fields where there are several answers and explanations to each theory and multiple valid interpretations emerge and evolve.¹⁰⁷

Through the construction of biography, several 'layers of truth' are developed, creating a well-rounded impression of the individual in question. The more sources found by the biographer, the more detailed the picture with a representation of 'reality' offered rather than a one-dimensional

¹⁰⁰ Anselm L. Strauss and Barney G. Glaser, *Anguish: a Case History of a Dying Trajectory* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1977), 183.

¹⁰¹ Jo Burr Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (London: University of California Press, 2000), x; Ryan Roberts, 'Inventing a Way to the Truth: Life and Fiction in Julian Barnes's *Flaubert's Parrot*', in *Julian Barnes: Contemporary Critical Perspectives*, eds. Sebastian Groes and Peter Childs (London: Continuum, 2011), 29.

¹⁰² David Herman, 'Approaches to Narrative Worldmaking', in *Doing Narrative Research*, eds. Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou (London: Sage, 2013), 179.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 182.

¹⁰⁴ Margadant, *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France*, 3-25.

¹⁰⁵ David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research: a Practical Handbook*, 4th ed. (London: Sage, 2013), 369.

¹⁰⁶ Uwe Flick, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 5th ed. (London: Sage, 2014), 375-376.

¹⁰⁷ Wendy Patterson, 'Narratives of Events: Labovian Narrative Analysis', in *Doing Narrative Research*, eds. Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou (London: Sage, 2013), 57.

narrative.¹⁰⁸ According to Bale, each individual life course contains multiple layers of truth, which are slowly uncovered and pieced together, illustrating character, values, position and influence in numerous situations examined throughout the narrative. As more layers are uncovered, it is assumed that understanding is heightened, but this may cause confusion if the data presents conflicting views or the narrator chooses to ignore unfavourable evidence.¹⁰⁹ Empirical biographical research has expanded and further areas of critical study have been identified,¹¹⁰ with previously unchallenged narratives reconstructed as access is made available to new historical sources.¹¹¹ Bale's biography of Ernst Jokl demonstrates how authors hide inconsistencies and how truth becomes distorted and accepted, with many accounts portraying Jokl as an Olympic athlete with little evidence to support this claim.¹¹² Similarly Day and Pitchford's narrative of early-twentieth century athletic trainers Sam Mussabini and Sam Wisdom presents new evidence to disprove the well-established notion that Wisdom was actually Mussabini, emphasising that sources should be triangulated, and myths scrutinised, in order to uncover the 'real truth'.¹¹³

Lives and their experiences are represented as stories. They are like pictures that have been painted over, and, when paint is scraped off an old picture, something new becomes visible...Something new is always coming into sight, displacing what was previously certain and seen. There is no truth in the painting of a life, only multiple images and traces of what has been, what could have been, and what is now.¹¹⁴

Trustworthiness can be measured but due to the interpretive nature of biography there is no one formula or validation approach.¹¹⁵ Foucault suggests that societies each have their regimes of 'truth' and have their own mechanisms, techniques and procedures to acquire verity and distinguish falsity.¹¹⁶ Likewise, biographers have their individual criteria, systems and measures in constructing narrative, presenting an interpretation of the life-course that is truthful in their eyes. In essence,

¹⁰⁸ Michael E. Salla, 'There is No Nonviolent Future', *Social Alternatives* 15, no. 3 (1996): 41.

¹⁰⁹ See John Bale, 'Ernst Jokl and Layers of Truth', in *Sporting Lives*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 1-15.

¹¹⁰ Carol A. Osborne, and Fiona Skillen, 'The State of Play: Women in British Sport History', *Sport in History* 30, no. 2 (2010): 189-195.

¹¹¹ Gabriele Rosenthal, 'Biographical Research', in *Qualitative Research Practice*, eds. Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman (London: Sage, 2004), 48-64.

¹¹² Roberts, 'History, Theory and Narrative Turn in IR': 10-12.

¹¹³ Dave Day and Deborah Pitchford, "'Play in Again Sam": Mussabini and Wisdom: a Biographical Conundrum' (paper presented at the British Society for Sport History annual conference, University of Glasgow, Scotland, September 6-7, 2012), 1-4.

¹¹⁴ Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*, 81.

¹¹⁵ Catherine K. Riessman, 'Analysis of Personal Narratives', in *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, eds. Jaber F. Gubrium and James Holstein (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 706.

¹¹⁶ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 131.

history and truth are intertwined with criticism and interpretation,¹¹⁷ the latter being an important factor in biographical research. However, interpretation can distort biography, especially if the author is concerned with being a voice for the subject, empathising with the individual and, therefore, neglecting to critically examine the evidence.¹¹⁸ Similarly, some authors idolise individuals and remove traces of their flaws, reaffirming myths and legends to further venerate their impact on society, (re)creating hagiographies that lack realism, although Lifshitz states that hagiographical narratives do provide truth and should not be ignored because the professional historian utilises detailed sources with which to construct the final identity.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, trustworthy biography can be achieved by ensuring several criteria are adhered to; persuasive and convincing research evoking sensitivity to the story, coherent and detailed descriptions of events, checking consistency with memories, historical and social context, and finally, pragmatism, which allows the researcher to assess and review the impact and value of the narrative 'from the perspective of the teller, the listener and Western society'.¹²⁰ In the 'search for truth', authors may follow a standard blueprint which guides critical questioning but distorts the realities of society and/or the individual.¹²¹ Therefore, a one-size-fits-all approach is not appropriate in biographical research, which, instead, requires different methods depending on the nature of the subject.¹²² Silverman suggests that there are no right or wrong methods, just appropriate or inappropriate approaches which help to shape understanding and map outcomes.¹²³

According to Smith, there are too many outdated sporting biographies. Traditionally, the sport biography presents an interpretation of the individual's life that exemplifies their history; typical themes include humble origins, apprenticeship and growth, overcoming adversity, and stability and success, all presented in an optimistic package. Further categories include the 'confessional life', modified to send a cautionary message to the reader, and the 'exposé', designed to shock by focussing on personal anecdotes rather than professional accounts.¹²⁴ However, authors should be aware of their position within the text as narratives are shaped by personal cultural, gender, class and social politics. Therefore, these texts are a representation of the author's stance and should be

¹¹⁷ Karin Bauer, 'Adorno's Wagner: History and Potential of the Artwork', *Cultural Critique* 60 (2005): 85.

¹¹⁸ Carl Rollyson, 'Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing', *Biography* 36, no. 2 (2013): 393-394.

¹¹⁹ Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator* 25 (1994): 95-96.

¹²⁰ Janine van Someren, 'Women's Sporting Lives: a Biographical Study of Elite Amateur Tennis Players at Wimbledon' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2010), 71.

¹²¹ Salla, 'There is No Nonviolent Future': 42.

¹²² Michael G. Bamberg, *Narrative – State of the Art* (Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2007), 165, 172-173.

¹²³ Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research*, 9-10, 125.

¹²⁴ Joyce Woolridge, 'These Sporting Lives: Football Autobiographies 1945-1980', *Sport in History* 28, no. 4 (2008): 623-624.

acknowledged as such.¹²⁵ Popular biographies include *Babe Ruth: A Biography*, Hauser's *Muhammad Ali: His Life and Times*, the award-winning *The Damned United*, which portrays Brian Clough at the peak of his managerial career, and Hillenbrand's book, and later feature film, *Seabiscuit: An American Hero*,¹²⁶ providing the 'feel-good factor' and heroic narratives. Ghost written autobiographies, such as *Gazza: My Story* and *The Hitman*, often project a story of a troubled life outside of sport.¹²⁷ With new techniques and approaches there has been a significant improvement in the academic rigour of the genre in the twenty-first century, with historians now recognising groups that are worthy of further analysis.¹²⁸ Explanation of macro-level processes through micro-level enquiry have been popular in sport literature, creating biographical articles which help to inform social concepts; King utilises a social constructionist framework to build contextual biographies of natives in sport, Kennett and O'Shea use detailed biography to help explain motives in professional race cycling in New Zealand, and Williams presents narratives of female athletes in an Olympic context.¹²⁹ Whannel's *Media Sports Stars* thoroughly examines and challenges the biographical research discipline, utilising previously formed narratives to explain cultural themes, such as role models, stardom and celebrity, the relationship between sport and media, and masculinity and femininity.¹³⁰ More recently, academic biographies and their collections, such as Day's papers on the Beckwith swimming family, James' examination of Manchester City trainer Jimmy Broad, and Wagg and Russell's *Sporting Heroes of the North* all consider novel topics from a sociological, historical and, sometimes, fictional literary approach.¹³¹ These accounts are insightful and exhaustive, placing the individuals within the activities, communities and contexts that developed during the particular era.¹³²

¹²⁵ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (London: Sage, 2013), 215.

¹²⁶ Thomas Hauser, *Muhammad Ali: His Life and Times* (London: Robson, 1991); Laura Hillenbrand, *Seabiscuit: an American Legend* (New York, NY: Random House, 2001); David Pearce, *The Damned United* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006); Wayne Stewart, *Babe Ruth: a Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006).

¹²⁷ Paul Gascoigne and Hunter Davies, *Gazza: My Story* (London: Headline, 2004); Ricky Hatton and Niall Hickman, *The Hitman: My Story* (London: Ebury, 2006).

¹²⁸ Maureen Smith, 'Sports Biographies', in *A Companion to American Sport History*, ed. Steven A. Riess (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 634; Woolridge, 'These Sporting Lives: Football Autobiographies 1945-1980': 621.

¹²⁹ C. Richard King, *Native Athletes in Sport and Society: a Reader* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Kennett Brothers, *Ride: the Story of Cycling in New Zealand* (Wellington: Kennett Brothers, 2003); Phil O'Shea, *Wizards of Wheels: New Zealand Cycling Legends 01* (Wellington: Kennett Brothers, 2005); Jean Williams, 'Frisky and Bitchy: Unlikely British Olympic Heroes?', *Sport in History* 30, no. 2 (2010): 242-266; 'The Immediate Legacy of Pat Smythe: the Pony-Mad Teenager in 1950s and 1960s Britain', in *Sporting Lives*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 16-29.

¹³⁰ Garry Whannel, *Media Sports Stars: Masculinities and Moralities* (London: Routledge, 2002); Andrew C. Miller, review of *Media Sports Stars: Masculinities and Moralities*, by Garry Whannel, *Journal of Sport History* 29, no. 3 (2002): 501-502.

¹³¹ Dave Day, 'London Swimming Professors: Victorian Craftsmen and Aquatic Entrepreneurs', *Sport in History* 30, no. 1 (2010): 32-54; 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: the "Beckwith Frogs"', *History*

While biography has long been valued in sport history,¹³³ further exploratory methods, such as collective biography and prosopography, have had limited usage, although sport historians have recently started to interrogate the discipline through such techniques.¹³⁴ Academic support for more collective studies to be realised, and increased public interest in sporting biography and genealogical inquiry, has stimulated the historical community to reassess the value of life history in sport.¹³⁵ However, with only a small percentage of sport biographies academically constructed and celebrity culture encouraging distorted hagiographies rather than well-rounded narratives, these life histories often suffer methodologically, though epistemological justification can be achieved through narrative paradigms.¹³⁶ Forming a sub-strand within narrative research and entangled in empirical-postmodern discourse, biography, or life history, explains larger social and cultural concepts, 'paralleling multiple individual stories against an overarching narrative'.¹³⁷ The propensity to develop narratives of successful stars has given way to the documenting of average individuals whose athletic endeavours are relatively modest,¹³⁸ enabling the author to place the narrative in the larger context of sport history, and further understanding of the anonymous population who historians deem crucial in the

Workshop Journal 71, no. 1 (2011): 194-218; "What Girl Will Now Remain Ignorant of Swimming?" Agnes Beckwith, Aquatic Entertainer and Victorian Role Model', *Women's History Review* 21, no. 3 (2012): 419-446; Gary James, 'The Sporting Broads' (paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group and British Society for Sport History North West symposium on Pedestrianism and Athletics, MMU Cheshire, Crewe, March 23, 2014); Steven Wagg and Dave Russell, eds., *Sporting Heroes of the North* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Northumbria Press, 2010).

¹³² Alex Jackson, review of *Sporting Heroes of the North*, by Steven Wagg and Dave Russell, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 6 (2012): 948; John Bale, review of *Professionals, Amateurs and Performance: Sports Coaching in England, 1789-1914*, by Dave Day, *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 359.

¹³³ Denzin, *Interpretive Biography*; Michael Erben, *Biography and Education: a Reader* (London: Falmer, 1998).

¹³⁴ Michael Erben, 'A Preliminary Prosopography of the Victorian Street', *Auto/Biography* 4, no. 2/3 (1996), 53-68; John Gleaves and Mark Dyreson, 'The "Black Auxiliaries" in American Memories: Sport, Race and Politics in the Construction of Modern Legacies', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27 (2010): 2893-2924; Joyce Kay, 'Grass Roots: the Development of Tennis in Britain, 1918-1978', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 18 (2012): 2532-2550; Mark W. Pennings and Robert Pascoe, 'The Corio Oval Tribe: a Prosopographical Perspective of the Geelong Football Club in the Nineteenth Century', *Sporting Traditions* 29, no. 1 (2012): 77-94.

¹³⁵ Nancy B. Bouchier and Ken Cruikshank, 'Reflections on Creating Critical Sport History for the Popular Audience: the People and the Bay', *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 2 (1998): 309-316; P. Kupisz, 'Reconstructing Biographical Archives', *Moveable Type* 3 (2010): 103-113.

¹³⁶ Whannel, *Media Sports Stars: Masculinities and Moralities*; Michael Crick, *The Boss: the Many Sides of Alex Ferguson* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2002); Bale, Christensen and Pfister, *Writing Lives in Sport*.

¹³⁷ Christiane N. Job, 'Envisioning Basketball: a Socio-Biographical Investigation of Ruth Wilson – One of Western Canada's Sporting Pioneers' (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2004), 147; Rubby Dhunpath, 'Life History Methodology: "Narradigm" Regained', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 13, no. 5 (2000): 543-551; Brian Roberts, *Biographical Research* (Buckingham, PA: Open University Press, 2002); Sara Delamont, *Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2012); J. Amos Hatch and Richard Wisniewski, *Life History and Narrative* (London: Falmer, 1995).

¹³⁸ Bale, Christensen and Pfister, *Writing Lives in Sport*.

development of modern sport.¹³⁹ Deconstructionism is, again, sceptical of biographical investigation as the narratives tend towards a reconstructionist approach,¹⁴⁰ but all perspectives agree that consideration needs to be given to the sources to ensure that accurate biographical representations are reported.¹⁴¹ Additionally, although they may lack evidence in parts, this does not invalidate the research as these narratives do not need to be “stuffed with truth”: extreme detail does not necessarily reveal “the essence of the real man”.¹⁴²

Prosopography and Collective Biography

If we are to assemble the wider collective biography that academic history seeks then we should not be afraid of telling the stories of individuals and specific clubs and places. Only by doing so, can we start to even remotely see our past in the terms of those who actually lived it.¹⁴³

The combination of case studies and biographical narratives in a collective form cements their use as a methodological tool in historical research, helping to build knowledge of society within a real-life context and identifying innovative topics for examination.¹⁴⁴ Berridge notes, ‘there are problems with history – there are a multitude of opinions...however, two legal opinions are better than one’,¹⁴⁵ and, through detailed individual studies, these opinions can be validated and triangulated, developing historical understanding of social phenomena.¹⁴⁶ Adopting a constructionist perspective, tending

¹³⁹ Richard Holt, ‘Sport and the British: its Origins, Ideas and Composition’, *Sport in History* 31, no. 2 (2011): 137-148; Tracy J.R. Collins, review of *The Sporting Life: Victorian Sports and Games, and Cricket, Literature and Culture: Symbolising the Nation, Destabilising Empire*, by Nancy Fix Anderson, *Victorian Studies* 54, no. 1 (2011): 121-123.

¹⁴⁰ Steve Weinberg, ‘Biography: the Bastard Child of Academe’, *Chronicle of Higher Education* 54 (2008): 1-5; Elizabeth Podnieks, ‘Introduction: “New Biography” for a New Millennium’, *Auto/Biography Studies* 24, no. 1 (2009): 1-14.

¹⁴¹ Douglas Booth, ‘Theory: Distorting or Enriching Sport History?’, *Sport History Review* 34, no. 1 (2003): 1-32; *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*; Phillips, *Deconstructing Sport History*.

¹⁴² Bale, ‘The Mysterious Professor Jokl’, 26.

¹⁴³ Martin Johnes, ‘Putting the History into Sport: on Sport History and Sport Studies in the UK’, *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 2 (2004): 149.

¹⁴⁴ Robert K. Yin, ‘The Case Study Crisis: Some Answers’, *Administrative Science Quarterly* 26, no. 1(1981): 58-65; ‘Life Histories of Innovations: How New Practices become Routinized’, *Public Administration Review* 41 (1981): 21-28; ‘Case Study Methods’, in *Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education Research*, eds. Judith L. Green, Gregory Camilli and Patricia B. Elmore (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006), 111-122.

¹⁴⁵ Virginia Berridge, ‘History Matters? History’s Role in Health Policy Making’, *Medical History* 52, no. 3 (2008): 318.

¹⁴⁶ Kathleen M. Eisenhardt, ‘Building Theories from Case Study Research’, *The Academy of Management Review* 14, no. 4 (1989): 532-550; Michael Gibbert and Winfried Ruigrok, ‘The “What” and “How” of Case Study Rigor: Three Strategies Based on Published Work’, *Organizational Research Methods* 13, no. 4 (2010): 710-737.

towards the empirical rather than the postmodern, biographical narrative can be used to gain legitimate knowledge of society, moving away from simply reporting observations to applying them to broader social and cultural theories,¹⁴⁷ a method called prosopography. Prosopography describes 'external features of a population group that the researcher has determined has something in common',¹⁴⁸ following the interrogation of biographical information through archival research and the analysis of that data to contextualise historical processes in a specific situ.¹⁴⁹ 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.¹⁵⁰

Historians face many issues surrounding the validity of sources, and prosopography attempts to overcome this by subjecting a population to a standardised set of questions in order to expose shared qualities.¹⁵¹ 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',¹⁵² thereby guiding historians towards a broader spectrum of primary materials in order to increase the dependability of their research.¹⁵³ Keats-Rohan believes the prosopographer should allow their sources to be made public, reducing the chance of falsification and ensuring an empirical structure.¹⁵⁴ There is need for the researcher to be careful of generalising too broadly and to ensure that the sample is representative.¹⁵⁵ The individuals selected should be common to the populace, as the unique are of

¹⁴⁷ Erben, *Biography and Education: a Reader*; John H. Goldthorpe, *On Sociology: Numbers, Narratives, and the Integration of Research and Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 59-60.

¹⁴⁸ Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, ed. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 39.

¹⁴⁹ Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Progress or Perversion? Current Issues in Prosopography: an Introduction* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2003).

¹⁵⁰ Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 46.

¹⁵¹ Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 35-70.

¹⁵² Theodor Mommsen, *The History of Rome* (London: Bentley, 1880); Peter Cunningham, 'Innovators, Networks and Structures: Towards a Prosopography of Progressivism', *History of Education* 30, no. 5 (2001): 436.

¹⁵³ Sarah Barber and Corinna M. Peniston-Bird, *History Beyond the Text: a Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁵⁴ Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007).

¹⁵⁵ 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*

no importance and the average represents the collective, enabling particular characteristics and distinctive traits of the group to be established in relation to the historical situ, a defining feature of mass prosopography.¹⁵⁶ 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.¹⁵⁷

While classical historians use prosopography, collective biography has been adopted by historians of later periods. The terms prosopography and collective biography have been used interchangeably, although they actually have different meanings; collective, or group biography, studies the life stories of a selection of characters whereas prosopography explores 'biographical details about individuals in aggregate', analysing the connections between individuals, not the specifics that make their lives unique,¹⁵⁸ a significant difference between the methods that has often been overlooked.¹⁵⁹ Both are related, but as Magdalino notes, 'the primary concern of one [is] the secondary concern of the other'.¹⁶⁰ Whereas collective biography still values the individual narratives, taking a thematic approach in order to highlight their significance and presenting distinctive examples throughout the text, prosopography is concerned with facts and figures, utilising narratives for their quantitative support rather than their uniqueness. Biographies, well-rounded studies of a single life, can be combined and interrogated to amass evidence of behaviours, origins and exceptionalism to form collective identities 'concerned with the whole or totality...considered with reference to his [or her] links to the whole', while prosopography uncovers only the normalities of the group, targeting the 'common aspects of people's lives, not their individual histories'.¹⁶¹ While 'collective biography is only possible if information about members of the group is well documented', prosopography can

Applications: a Handbook, ed. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 211-229.

¹⁵⁶ Stone, 'Prosopography': 46-79.

¹⁵⁷ Francesca Tinti, 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England: Facts and Factoids', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, ed. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007): 197-209.

¹⁵⁸ Dion C. Smythe, 'Putting Technology to Work: The CD ROM Version of Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I (641-867)', *History and Computing* 12 (2000): 85; Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', 46; Krista Cowman, 'Collective Biography', in *Research Methods for History*, eds. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 83-84.

¹⁵⁹ Cowman, 'Collective Biography', 83-84; Steven Shapin and Arnold Thackray, 'Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: the British Scientific Community, 1700-1900', *History of Science* 12 (1974): 3; Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, 20.

¹⁶⁰ 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.

¹⁶¹ Kong Ying, 'A Dictionary of Maqiao: Metafiction of Collective Biography', *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 5, no. 4 (2011): 635; Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 41; Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, Identity and Names: Understanding the Pursuit of the Individual in Prosopography', course syllabus, Oxford University (1999) <http://www.coelweb.co.uk/NamesIdentity.pdf> (accessed May 10, 2014), 141.

have omissions in detail yet still enable themes and links to be explored.¹⁶² However, prosopography cannot be undertaken without basic individual biographical information, with the prosopographer requiring pre-determined data-capturing “questionnaires” to provide this rudimentary data, such as name, age, location, before asking further questions linked specifically to the researcher’s requirements.¹⁶³ Collective biography can contain fragmentary stories, if it contains several subjects linked together to offer a chronologically coherent narrative, but successful examples of this method tend to involve small numbers, paying constant attention to overlapping ideas, connections and points of diversion.¹⁶⁴ The routine employed in collective biography, the construction of biographical dossiers, the discussion of each life in historical situ and the development of themes, has become more sophisticated, as has prosopography, which has been developed as a tool for establishing clearer links and addressing questions between context and actions through scientific techniques.¹⁶⁵

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.¹⁶⁶ Tilly suggests that collective biography is open to various interpretations and exposes connections that lead to false correlations,¹⁶⁷ with Macleod and Nuvolari maintaining that prosopography also risks reconstructing preconceptions of identity and society if not utilised correctly.¹⁶⁸ Kantor insists that biography is also open to falsification, but, by cross-correlating data, a historical “truth” can be found through prosopographical analysis.¹⁶⁹ Previous work in this area has focussed on elite individuals, but, as new forms of collective biography have identified, the anonymous population are also worthy of discussion and it is these individuals who do not require extensive profiles.¹⁷⁰ As a result, ‘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

¹⁶² Anne L. Poulsen, ‘Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: a Collective Biography’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 21, no. 1 (2004): 21; Keats-Rohan, ‘Biography, Identity and Names’, 141; Cowman, ‘Collective Biography’, 84.

¹⁶³ Keats-Rohan, ‘Biography, Identity and Names’, 147.

¹⁶⁴ Cowman, ‘Collective Biography’, 97.

¹⁶⁵ Shapin and Thackray, ‘Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science’: 3.

¹⁶⁶ Erben, *Biography and Education: a Reader*; Shapin and Thackray, ‘Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science’: 7; Diana K. Jones, ‘Researching Groups of Lives: a Collective Biographical Perspective on the Protestant Ethic Debate’, *Qualitative Research* 1, no. 3(2001): 325.

¹⁶⁷ Charles Tilly, ‘Family History, Social History, and Social Change’, *Journal of Family History* 12 (1987): 319-330.

¹⁶⁸ Christine MacLeod and Alessandro Nuvolari, ‘The Pitfalls of Prosopography: Inventors in the “Dictionary of National Biography”’, *Technology and Culture* 47, no. 4 (2006): 775.

¹⁶⁹ Jonathan Kantor, ‘A Psycho-Historical Source: the Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent’, *Journal of Medieval History* 2, no. 4 (1976): 281-303.

¹⁷⁰ Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*.

biographies'.¹⁷¹ Fleming, however, suggests that by depriving the study of narrative, these individual cannot be fully understood, and that this is a major flaw of the prosopographical method.¹⁷² The lines between each method are blurred, with collective studies utilising a prosopographical approach and vice versa, and researchers have failed to understand what their methodology is, how to apply each terminology, and how they differ.¹⁷³

Collective studies have been well represented in feminist history with biographies of forgotten women, which emerged in the 1970s, being expanded and combined to form collective narratives, leading to their theorisation in literary, historical, psychoanalysis and sociological research.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, by applying a thematic approach rather than the standard chronology, biographies can be positioned within the wider historical narrative and collective accounts made explicit,¹⁷⁵ as explored in Shoup's collective biography of world-class leaders.¹⁷⁶ In sport, Van Someren's collective biography of elite female tennis players provides an excellent example of how four individual life courses can be constructed, united and compared to the socio-historical context to create a more comprehensive and meaningful understanding of female amateur tennis provision during the mid-twentieth century.¹⁷⁷ Williams has also provided numerous samples of collective female narratives, addressing the contentious issues that surrounded gender and sport during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁷⁸ However, there has been limited application of this method away from of minority issues, such as gender and race, with more collective studies required to fully appreciate the individual, as well as local, regional and national sporting conditions.¹⁷⁹ While chapter five addresses the individual through biographical analysis, a combination approach is taken in chapter three of this

¹⁷¹ Magdalino, 'The Contribution of Prosopography', 42.

¹⁷² Robin Fleming, 'Writing Biography at the Edge of History', *American Historical Association Review* 114, no. 3 (2009): 606-614.

¹⁷³ Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, Identity and Names', 141; Cowman, 'Collective Biography', 84-85.

¹⁷⁴ Cowman, 'Collective Biography', 83-84.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁷⁶ John R. Shoup, *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-Class Leaders: a Study of Developing Exemplary Leaders* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005).

¹⁷⁷ Someren, 'Women's Sporting Lives: A Biographical Study of Elite Amateur Tennis Players at Wimbledon'.

¹⁷⁸ Jean Williams, 'Send her Victorious: a Historiography of British Women Olympians 1896-2012' (working paper, De Montfort University, August 2010), 7-8; 'Speed: Towards a Collective Biography of Brooklands' Female Motor Racing Drivers', *BSSH Members' Bulletin* (March, 2011): 3-10; 'Speed: Towards a Collective Biography of Brooklands Women, 1907-1939' (paper presented at the Institute for Historical Research Sport and Leisure History Seminar Series, Institute for Historical Research, London, November 28, 2011); *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960* (London: Routledge, 2014); 'Frisky and Bitchy: Unlikely British Olympic Heroes?': 242-266; See also Carol Osbourne and Fiona Skillen, eds., *Sport in History* 30, no. 2 (2010), a special issue on Women and Sport.

¹⁷⁹ Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport*, 131; Johnes, 'Putting the History into Sport': 149.

thesis which ‘follows the people’,¹⁸⁰ employing both chronological and thematic exploration to determine the role and transition of the sporting entrepreneur in nineteenth century Manchester, ‘[retaining] a focus on the individual, while locating this within collective experiences and the historical context’, as recommended by Knowles and Cowman.¹⁸¹

Traditionally, prosopographical studies have focused on Medieval, Roman and Byzantine communities due to the plethora of information surrounding these eras and the opportunity to collect this work and develop it into large-scale databases, explaining political motives through family, work, events and ideas of the ruling society.¹⁸² 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’.¹⁸³ This type of 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.¹⁸⁴ Access to modern information has seen prosopography begin to interrogate nineteenth and twentieth century inhabitants,¹⁸⁵ with a smaller scale approach taken,¹⁸⁶ 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.¹⁸⁷ Decisions about how to apply prosopography will be different in every case because sources differ

¹⁸⁰ Christopher Knowles, ‘Collective Biography’, *How it Really Was Blog*, http://howitreallywas.typepad.com/how_it_really_was/2013/03/collective-biography.html (accessed May 10, 2014).

¹⁸¹ Christopher Knowles, ‘Winning the Peace: the British in Occupied Germany, 1945-1948’ (PhD diss., King’s College, London, 2014), 14; Cowman, ‘Collective Biography’, 96.

¹⁸² See John R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); PBW, *Prosopography of the Byzantine World Database*, <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/> (accessed March 21, 2010); Chris P. Lewis, ‘Joining the Dots: a Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book’, in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan (Suffolk: Boydell, 2007), 69-88; Paul Sturges, ‘Collective Biography in the 1980s’, *Biography* 6, no. 4 (1983): 316-332.

¹⁸³ Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, 13.

¹⁸⁴ Smythe, ‘Putting Technology to Work’: 85; Keats-Rohan, *Progress or Perversion? Current Issues in Prosopography*; John Bradley and Harold Short, ‘Texts into Databases: the Evolving Field of New-Style Prosopography’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 20 (2005): 3-24.

¹⁸⁵ Erben, ‘A Preliminary Prosopography of the Victorian Street’: 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).

¹⁸⁶ Poulsen, ‘Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: a Collective Biography’: 16-33; Erben, ‘A Preliminary Prosopography of the Victorian Street’; 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., University of New South Wales, 2009).

¹⁸⁷ Stephen Hardy, ‘Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians’, *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 1 (1986): 14-33; Wray Vamplew, ‘Australian Sport History: a Research Agenda’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (1989): 252-255.

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.¹⁸⁸

Recent prosopographical studies have been used to explain how sporting infrastructures, such as clubs, developed in Britain, analysing growth and membership on a national and regional scale.¹⁸⁹ However, biographical subjects are still commonly explored, with Gleaves and Dyreson establishing both black and white American memories of 'black auxiliaries' at the 1936 Olympics through prosopographical analysis. By initially keeping the biographical information limited, the facts surrounding collective identity are clearer to the reader, only utilising personal stories and struggles to explain their position in public legacy.¹⁹⁰ This approach has been adopted in chapter four, in presenting limited biographical data tied to standardised research questions in order to draw out themes and defining characteristics of the mile runner, while only acknowledging their personal stories to enrich the narrative.

While each biographical method is discrete in its own right, they can be combined to further explore and develop historical knowledge; individual biographies can be combined to form collective biographies and prosopographical studies can be based on already formed collective biographies. Hence, their imprecise definitions and interchangeable use in academia.¹⁹¹ MacLeod and Nuvolari present a prosopographical analysis of inventors in the Dictionary of National Biography (1650-1850) with 383 individual biographies scrutinised through stringent criteria to find collective traits.¹⁹² In arguing that a small selection of biographies could 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, suggesting that social history should challenge shared ideas through a more rigorous method such as collective biography.¹⁹³ Subsequently, education studies have embraced a collective turn, using interviews to construct life stories of teachers and identify collective attitudes in the development of the education sector. Scholars at the History of Education annual conference (2001) explored educational reform through prosopographical inquiry, Arreman examined Swedish post-war primary school teachers, and Burke presented findings from the British Academy-funded prosopography project into educational thought and school design in England since

¹⁸⁸ Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, 20.

¹⁸⁹ Kay, 'Grass Roots: the Development of Tennis in Britain, 1918-1978': 2532-2550; Wray Vamplew, 'Theories and Typologies: a Historical Exploration of the Sports Club in Britain', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20, no. 14 (2013): 1569-1585.

¹⁹⁰ Gleaves and Dyreson, 'The "Black Auxiliaries" in American Memories': 2893-2924.

¹⁹¹ Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, Identity and Names', 141; Cowman, 'Collective Biography', 84.

¹⁹² MacLeod and Nuvolari, 'The Pitfalls of Prosopography': 757-776.

¹⁹³ Cunningham, 'Innovators, Networks and Structures', 433-451.

WWII.¹⁹⁴ Fuchs claims that this practice quantifies the experiences of these individuals, measuring networks and social systems and the interrelations between agency and structure, which are historically relevant.¹⁹⁵ Outside education, Poulsen presents a “collective biography” of physical education teachers utilising historical archives to analyse female experiences within the profession from 1900-1940, the first modern prosopography in sport history.¹⁹⁶ Erard and Bancel present a sporting prosopography of French Olympians 1945-1972, attributing the increase in such studies to the support of narrative research in the historical genre. Their work expands the use of collective biography to incorporate male attitudes and diverges from the her-story of previous narratives.¹⁹⁷ This study used semi-structured interviews to examine the networks surrounding forty athletes, analysing collective characteristics and experiences through grounded biographical tables, and attributing class, family life, childhood and sporting opportunities to their success as Olympic athletes.¹⁹⁸ As sport historians look toward the future, the prosopographical should be more readily employed,¹⁹⁹ theorising the discipline and furthering the development of the constructionist approach within sport.

Summary and Application

Historical methodology has been a relatively uncontested area of study, routed in an empirical tradition, although this has come under greater scrutiny in the latter half of the twentieth century.²⁰⁰ This discourse has forced academics to justify their methodology and carefully position themselves

¹⁹⁴ Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman, ‘Reforming Lives? Progressivism, Leadership and Educational Change’, *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education* 30, no. 5 (2001): 409-412; Inger E. Arreman, ‘Research as Power and Knowledge: Struggles Over Research in Teacher Education’, *Journal of Education for Teaching: International Research and Pedagogy* 31, no. 3 (2007): 215-235; Catherine Burke, ‘About Looking: Vision, Transformation, and the Education of the Eye in Discourses of School Renewal Past and Present’, *British Educational Research Journal* 36, no. 1 (2010): 65-82.

¹⁹⁵ Eckhardt Fuchs, ‘Networks and the History of Education’, *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 43, no. 2 (2007): 185-197.

¹⁹⁶ Poulsen, ‘Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: a Collective Biography’: 16-33.

¹⁹⁷ See Katherine T. Bucher and M. Lee Manning, ‘Telling Our Stories, Sharing Our Lives: Collective Biographies of Women’, *ALAN Review* 26, no. 1 (1998): 12-16; Anna Hillyar, ‘*Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870-1917: a Prosopographical Study*’ (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 1999); Gertrud Pfister, ‘We Love Them and We Hate Them: on the Emotional Involvement and Other Challenges During Biographical Research’, in *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies Life-Histories and Methods*, eds. John Bale, Mette K. Christensen and Gertrud Pfister (Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2004), 131-156; Alison Booth, *How to Make it as a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2004); Gaby Weiner, ‘Olive Banks and the Collective Biography of British Feminism’, *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29, no. 4 (2008): 403-410.

¹⁹⁸ Carine Erard and Nicolas Bancel, ‘Prosopographical Analysis of Sports Elites: Overview and Evaluation of a Seminal Study’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 1 (2007): 67-79.

¹⁹⁹ Dave Day, ‘Historical Perspectives on Coaching’, in *Routledge Handbook of Sports Coaching*, eds. Paul Potrac, Wade Gilbert and Jim Denison (London: Routledge, 2013), 12.

²⁰⁰ Iggers, ‘Historiography in the Twentieth Century’; Polley, ‘History and Sport’.

on the empirical-postmodern continuum, although narrative epistemology still divides many scholars.²⁰¹ However, in progressing towards a modern ideal, history has moved away from simply reporting a chronology of events and dates to presenting sophisticated narratives, interdisciplinary in nature, and theory driven, with social history crucial to many historical sub-groups.²⁰² In sport, the application of narrative to wider social phenomena has caused a shift from traditional empirical perspectives to a modified constructionist approach whereby life histories are juxtaposed with sporting literature and social paradigms,²⁰³ and collective identities achieved through a biographical turn, although this is still a relatively new area of investigation. Emerging technology, such as the internet, has compelled historians to reassess their use of sources and access to archives,²⁰⁴ and Pope has pointed out that, 'the future of sport history may well depend on the degree to which practitioners engage and help shape these changes within academic and publishing environments'.²⁰⁵ As contemporary issues emerge and knowledge further develops, the sport historian must draw upon twenty-first century documents, such as film, sporting fiction and online databases, diverging from habitual practices in order to contextualise historical narratives in today's culture.²⁰⁶

Although each individual's sporting experience will differ, social constraints and interactions can be analysed in aggregate, encouraging a "collective turn" that Hardy, Vamplew and Day stress should be embraced in order to fully understand the wider social, political and cultural phenomena surrounding sport.²⁰⁷ Whilst biography, collective biography and prosopography are connected, their use should not be confused since each method requires a different approach and has distinctive outcomes. By exploring the prosopographical method, common characteristics of a previously anonymous population can be identified, and the interconnections and relationships that form their social networks interrogated in depth.²⁰⁸ Although prosopography requires biographical data, its concern is to explain socio-cultural and historical processes through standardised questioning, rather than the

²⁰¹ Roberts, 'History, Theory and Narrative Turn in IR'; Tripp, 'Persistence of Difference: a History of Cornish Wrestling', 15; Mitchell, 'Historians Reflecting on History and Historical Writing': 1-3.

²⁰² Roeder, 'Coming to our Senses': 1112-1122; Smith, 'Making Sense of Social History': 165-186.

²⁰³ Guttman, 'Review Essay: the Ludic and the Ludicrous': 100-112.

²⁰⁴ Anderson, 'Are You Being Served? Historians and the Search for Primary Sources'; Burton, *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History*; Huvila, 'Participatory Archive: Towards Decentralised Curation, Radical User Orientation, and Broader Contextualisation of Records Management'; 'Navigators, Debaters or Information Architects? How Library, Museum and Archive Professionals Perceive their Role in the Future Society'.

²⁰⁵ Pope, 'Sport History: Into the 21st Century': vii.

²⁰⁶ Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*; Phillips, *Deconstructing Sport History*; 'Public History and Sport History'; Phillips, O'Neill and Osmond, 'Broadening Horizons in Sport History: Films, Photographs, and Monuments'; Huggins, 'The Sporting Gaze: Towards a Visual Turn in Sports History'.

²⁰⁷ Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians'; Vamplew, 'Australian Sport History: a Research Agenda': 252-255; Day, 'Historical Perspectives on Coaching', 5-15.

²⁰⁸ Stone, 'Prosopography'; Keats-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*.

precise details surrounding each individual's life. While some prosopographical studies have addressed personal biographies, these are usually constructed in combination with additional narrative methods, such as biography or collective biography, or have been incorrectly defined due to the perceived interchangeable nature of the terminology in the humanities discipline.²⁰⁹ By contrast, collective biography enables the individual's experiences to receive prominence instead of being subsumed within the historical context. Providing detailed biographical dossiers enables oversimplistic generalisations to be avoided and themes to develop organically from the narratives rather than being imposed, a possible disadvantage of the prosopographical approach.²¹⁰ Some collective studies exploit incomplete narratives by combining several short biographies to form one overarching narrative or by hiding fragmented stories within more comprehensive accounts. This is accepted practice but may lead to falsification of interpretation and a lack of integrity, hence the necessity for honesty by the narrator during the biographical process. However, small-scale collective studies are more popular, considering two or three complete biographies rather than numerous disjointed stories, as clear themes can be identifiable, so this approach is justified within the socio-historical context.²¹¹ In the construction of these individual biographies, the sources accessed must be robust, limiting the element of interpretation to minor aspects of the narrative and, therefore, encouraging "truth" to be revealed.²¹² All methods are open to interpretation but with careful retrieval of archival and academic literature, and the triangulation of sources, a "narrative truth" can be found, uncovering and examining the multiple 'layers of truth' that are central to the empirical-postmodern debate.²¹³

This is not a linear approach. Although individual biography can lead to collective studies and prosopographical data can draw on collective accounts, each method is discrete and must be used appropriately. It is the narrator's responsibility to determine which method is suitable given the information collected. Whilst data-rich biographies would be wasted in a prosopographical study this should not discourage researchers from attempting this method, especially if these narratives form part of a larger database of individuals. Lone coaching biographies, both partial and complete, could be analysed from a prosopographical approach, combining standardised questioning with pre-formed and original material, highlighting continuities and changes to the role whilst exposing origins

²⁰⁹ See MacLeod and Nuvolari, 'The Pitfalls of Prosopography'; Poulsen, 'Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: a Collective Biography'; Erard and Bancel, 'Prosopographical Analysis of Sports Elites: Overview and Evaluation of a Seminal Study'; Cowman, 'Collective Biography', 83.

²¹⁰ Knowles, 'Winning the Peace: the British in Occupied Germany, 1945-1948', 14-15.

²¹¹ Cowman, 'Collective Biography', 97; Bale, 'The Mysterious Professor Jokl', 26.

²¹² Strauss and Glaser, *Anguish: a Case History of a Dying Trajectory*, 183; Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, 82.

²¹³ Day and Pitchford, "'Play in Again Sam": Mussabini and Wisdom: a Biographical Conundrum'; Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*.

and the social networks in which the collective group operate.²¹⁴ Similarly, prosopographical catalogues could help authors to be strategic in their research choices, enabling evaluation and experimentation to occur before detailed studies are undertaken. However, the use of each method is still distinct and reliant on the data collated at the time of inquiry. The content in the next three chapters has been designed to provide an exemplar of each method in action, helping to advance knowledge of the development and decline of pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester, as well as furthering understanding of twenty-first century narrative practices. Each method has been carefully selected and applied to a different scenario, designed to provide diverse answers and examine new questions in respect to the socio-cultural and historical innovations of the city, sport, and individual endeavour.

²¹⁴ Day, 'Historical Perspectives on Coaching', 12.

Chapter 3. Training and Promoting Pedestrianism in Manchester: A Collective Biography¹

Although the history of pedestrianism has been well documented, there are few papers that directly address the business potential of these early enterprises. By considering the entrepreneurial nature of athletic entertainments, which were controlled and governed by individuals rather than specific sporting organisations,² this chapter highlights the importance of the publican in the development of pedestrianism within Manchester. At a time of natural decline, Manchester's pedestrian scene was thriving amid the numerous taverns, inns and running grounds established around the city centre. By developing their own programme of events, which opposed the formalised amateur institutions that were beginning to appear throughout Britain, these athletic entrepreneurs created a culture for professional activities that has had little acknowledgement to date. This chapter examines some of the pioneers of Manchester pedestrianism, taking a collective biographical approach, which considers their interconnections and impact on the success of the sport during the nineteenth century.

Introduction

Between 1780 and 1840, during the early industrial age, leisure entertainments grew in strength, supported by innovations in technology, transport and the development of popular culture; the pantomime was re-imagined, circus invented and sport refined.³ The expansion of the railway contributed to the development of, and access to, sport by providing travel options and widening access for competitors and spectators alike, thus enabling national competition on a much larger scale.⁴ For example, the railway enabled both jockeys and horses to be transported to meetings with limited costs and the avoidance of fatigue from lengthy journeys by road, whilst crowds now attended meetings other than those in the local vicinity.⁵ Huggins and Tolson argue that sport had already established a following prior to the establishment of the railways as attendance figure both

¹ Content from this chapter has appeared in the following publications: Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'George Martin, "Wizard of Pedestrianism" and Manchester's Sporting Entrepreneur', in *Sporting Lives*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 142-166; 'Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester', *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 223-248.

² Graham Scambler, *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), 35.

³ Andy Croll, 'Popular Leisure and Sport', in *A Companion to 19th-Century Britain*, ed. Chris Williams (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 400.

⁴ James Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1978), 24-25.

⁵ Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 47.

pre- and post-1840 show little variation, suggesting that the audience remained relatively localised,⁶ although Mangan suggests that growth did occur but that this was a gradual process.⁷ Nonetheless, the increase in the number of external competitors in provincial areas demonstrates the importance of these networks in importing and exporting athletic talent, especially within the industrial city.⁸ Additionally, the invention of the telegram enabled sporting information to be readily available and promoted events outside of a local press that, in turn, had provided increased patronage and information about events. The demand for sporting news accelerated, and businesses and entrepreneurial companies responded; newspapers increased sport coverage, racing programmes were printed and sport-specific equipment produced, all providing profitability at a time of economic expansion.⁹ An awareness of the marketable viability of such endeavours provided the catalyst for sport's presence within society. It was no longer a marginal activity but became a 'commercialised mass culture' in its own right.¹⁰

Between 1800 and 1850, sport was increasingly commercialised and private gardens and public house fields became ideal locations for leisure opportunities. Pugilism and horseracing, among the earliest commercial ventures, were widely patronised whilst cricket, pedestrianism and wrestling were emerging as popular spectator activities, with crowds being charged to watch these competitions unfold.¹¹ There were regional variations with respect to the types of activities promoted; in Northumberland bowling was encouraged, especially within the mining communities, whereas Sheffield endorsed football from the 1840s onwards.¹² However, all cities provided some form of professional athletic competition that brought continuity to the sport. For example, 'pedestrian mania' surfaced in Newcastle and Gateshead with the opening of commercial running grounds, the Grapes, Gateshead Borough Gardens and Fenham Park, whilst Liverpool's Strawberry Gardens and Aintree racecourse attracted thousands of visitors for athletic events which featured

⁶ Mike Huggins and John Tolson, 'The Railways and Sport in Victorian Britain: a Critical Reassessment', *The Journal of Transport History* 22, no. 2 (2001): 100.

⁷ James A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), 57.

⁸ Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 34.

⁹ Ibid, 77; Huggins and Tolson, 'The Railways and Sport in Victorian Britain: a Critical Reassessment': 100.

¹⁰ Stephen Tate, 'The Professionalisation of Sports Journalism, c1850 to 1939, with Particular Reference to the Career of James Catton' (PhD diss., University of Central Lancashire, 2007), 35.

¹¹ Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 2-3.

¹² Alan Metcalfe, 'Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889', *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 4 (1982): 477; John Goulstone, 'The Working-Class Origins of Modern Football', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17, no. 1 (2000): 137-139.

competitors from throughout the United Kingdom.¹³ According to Scambler, the ‘control of pedestrianism transferred to the taprooms and public houses’, especially in the city centre where talented working-class men were pursuing running as a source of income. The inclusion of the 1838 chronology of pedestrianism in the pages of *Bell’s Life* demonstrated the Victorian population’s knowledge of, and interest in, the sport with the names of popular enclosures prominent, such as Hyde Park, Sheffield, and Old Brompton, London, and their publican owners were familiar household names.¹⁴ However, it was the capital’s interest in and promotion of foot racing, particularly through the gambling tied to such events, which created the conditions for pedestrianism’s expansion in the cities and towns of industrial Britain. Within London, successful running grounds were established next to public houses, pleasure gardens and cricket grounds in the late 1840s and early 1850s; Beehive Ground, Walworth, and Rosemary Branch Ground, Peckham, both closed their running tracks in the late 1840s before a new wave of running enclosures emerged. John Garrett’s Copenhagen Grounds, Islington, and the Flora Tea Gardens, Bayswater, both opened in 1853, followed by the Royal Oak, Barking Road, in 1855, all of which had been lost by 1860.¹⁵

The establishment of Hackney Wick changed the fortunes of pedestrianism within the metropolis, with proprietor James Baum enclosing one acre of land attached to the family-run White Lion in 1857.¹⁶ The pear-shaped, gravel, running path of 260-yards, later extended to 320-yards, presented an ideal site where activities including foot racing, wrestling and boxing could be enjoyed from the railway embankment for six-pence or, at an additional cost, from the small pavilion at the top of the slightly-uphill finishing straight. Originally a low-key venue, the “Wick” quickly gained in popularity when Baum and running grounds manager, sprinter Frank Diamond, recruited some of the most renowned athletes of the period, including Bill Price, Charles Westhall, William Jackson and James Pudney, and spectators flocked to the grounds on the North London Railway, which stopped directly outside the arena.¹⁷ According to Roe, the early years at Hackney Wick were ‘instrumental in reviving pedestrianism within London’ and the proprietor’s enthusiasm in promoting events was vital to its success. The restoration of the sport within the metropolis saw an expansion in the construction of running grounds, all competing for the patronage of the city’s spectators, including Old Ford Road, Bow, John Roberts’ West London Cricket and Running Ground, West Brompton, and the Prince of

¹³ Metcalfe, ‘Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889’: 478; David Kennedy, ‘The Split: a Social and Political History of Everton & Liverpool Football Clubs, 1878-1914’, *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 4 (2011): 477.

¹⁴ Scambler, *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture*, 34-35.

¹⁵ Warren Roe, *Front Runners: The First Athletic Track Champions* (Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 2002), 9-10.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 10.

¹⁷ *Era*, October 19, 1856, 5; March 28, 1858, 14; *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, December 21, 1856, 7; ‘Mr Baum’s White Lion, Victoria Park, Hackney Wick, adjoining the Victoria Park station’ February 8, 1857, 7; March 29, 1857, 7.

Wales “Olympia” Running Ground, Bow.¹⁸ Attached to the White Swan Tavern, proprietor Charles Wilson constructed a 543-yard circular course and 160-yard sprinting straight wide enough for twenty competitors, with a 1,000 seat grandstand and space for an additional 50,000 spectators within the enclosure. Close to Bow railway, the grounds opened on March 10, 1863, with an extensive programme of pedestrian and trotting entertainments including live music and pageantry, all under the watchful eye of ex-champion and running ground manager James Pudney.¹⁹

While early grounds were often situated in London and the surrounding boroughs, with further expansion sport spread to the provinces and many cities created a reputation as hubs for particular pedestrian activities. In Manchester, pedestrianism continued in the suburbs in places such as Newton Heath, Hyde and Salford where industrialisation had yet to impinge.²⁰ Arenas were built next to, and within, the grounds of the local rural public houses and hotels, and some entrepreneurial publicans enclosed their grounds in order to reap the rewards through entrance fees, drink and food proceeds, and betting commissions. Although there were still reports of foot-racing occurring on the roads of Manchester, the majority of events moved to the purpose built stadia where publicans had control over the sport and athletes could be monitored. Not only did these arenas cater to the pedestrian crowds, they offered further sporting entertainments such as wrestling, rabbit coursing, pigeon shooting, quoits and pony trotting, which guaranteed attendance from the working class community.²¹ For example, the Pomona Gardens pleasure ground and gymnasium was established by brothers William and Joseph Beardsley and opened to the public during the 1830s with further attractions added until its closure in 1888.²² Due to having primarily working-class customers, the Gardens provided entertainments akin to their clientele, with ‘theatres, circuses...music, drinking,

¹⁸ Roe, *Front Runners*, 22.

¹⁹ *Bell's Life*, February 22, 1863, 7; March 15, 1863, 6; *Standard*, April 2, 1863, 5.

²⁰ Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 7; Robina McNeil and Michael Nevell, *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Greater Manchester* (Telford: Association for Industrial Archaeology, 2000); N. Burton, ‘Leisure in the City: the Entertainment Sector in the Manchester Central Business District, 1770-1930’, *The Manchester Geographer, Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society 1980-1993* (1987): 15-32.

²¹ *Bell's Life*, May 1, 1825, 141; April 28, 1833; January 12, 1840, 7; November 12, 1843, 7; December 09, 1849, 7; January 16, 1853, 7; *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, April 9, 1864, 54; April 23, 1864, 77; John Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Peter G. Mewett, ‘History in the Making and the Making of History: Stories and the Social Construction of Sport’, *Sporting Traditions* 17, no. 1 (2000): 2; Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: a Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Martin Johnes, ‘Pigeon Racing and Working-Class Culture in Britain, c. 1870-1950’, *Cultural and Social History* 4, no. 3 (2007): 362-367.

²² Isaac Slater, *Slater's Classified Directory of the Following Important English Towns, Birmingham, Bristol, Derby, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, and West Bromwich* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1847), 65; Stuart Hylton, *The Little Book of Manchester* (Gloucestershire: History Press, 2013).

and dancing – as well as prostitution and illicit sexual activity’ proving popular.²³ Pavilions, restaurants and zoological gardens were permanent constructions within the estate, accessible by omnibus or, for a more novel approach, the ‘steamer’ boat, which large numbers of spectators utilised, making the journey from Manchester Cathedral to the Garden’s dock.²⁴ Sport was widely promoted in its early years with rabbit-coursing, boating and pedestrianism favoured by the proprietors, and firework displays and musical acts also linked to these sporting events.²⁵ Pomona Gardens was a prime example of how sport was both enjoyed and located in the suburban regions of the manufacturing towns of Britain. Situated in Cornbrook, Hulme, and bound by the river Irwell and the Bridgewater canal, the Gardens provided a rural escape from the city for many of the labouring classes, one that was later replicated by other Manchester entrepreneurs.²⁶

Manchester’s running tracks were designed to accommodate the large crowds that followed the sport, with grandstands that guaranteed clear views of the events and space for upwards of 10,000 spectators.²⁷ Entrepreneurial publicans not only provided Manchester’s athletic venues but also drew up and held ‘articles of agreement’ at their establishments, stating the rules, conditions, and payments for each athlete before advertising competitions in the local and national press. Innkeepers not only organised these events but would also take bets, referee, time, and provide prizes whilst others became trainers and financiers of their own ‘stable’ of athletes, which left them with little time to serve their patrons, hiring managers and additional staff to ensure customers were entirely satisfied.²⁸ As a result, while the role of the publican was traditionally a male domain it was not uncommon for women to take on this responsibility as the public house expanded. Usually the

²³ Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Cultures and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2012), 24-25.

²⁴ Louis M. Hayes, *Reminiscences of Manchester and Some of its Local Surroundings from the Year 1840* (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1905), 115-116; David E. Owen, *The Manchester Ship Canal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 4; Mark Crinson, ‘Photography and the Industrial City: Manchester and Salford, Ancient and Modern’, *Word & Image: a Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 18, no. 1 (2002): 310, 313.

²⁵ Ibid; John H. Walsh, *Manual of British Rural Sports: Comprising Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, and Pedestrianism, and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain* (London: London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1861), xiii.

²⁶ Walsh, *Manual of British Rural Sports* 1861, 216; Thomas A. Bullock, *Bradshaw’s Illustrated Guide to Manchester* (Manchester: Bradshaw and Blacklock, 1857), 23-24.

²⁷ *Bell’s Life*, September 27, 1857, 6; March 29, 1857, 7; April 16, 1864, 7; April 23, 1864, 2; August 23, 1865, 9; August 26, 1865, 8.

²⁸ Peter Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association* (Enfield: Guinness, 1979), 15; William J. Baker, ‘The State of British Sport History’, *Journal of Sport History* 10, no. 1 (1983): 59; Peter F. Radford and A.J. Ward-Smith, ‘British Running Performances in the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Sports Sciences* 21, no. 5 (2003): 429-430; Geoffrey T. Vincent, ‘“Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman” Pedestrianism in Canterbury 1860-1885’, *Sporting Traditions* 18, no. 1 (2001): 47; Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain*, 133; Wray Vamplew, ‘Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 7 (2007): 845; *Bell’s Life*, January 28, 1844, 7; October 24, 1847, 7; February 1, 1852, 7; January 18, 1857, 6.

wife or daughter of the entrepreneur would continue in his position, which not only freed up time for their significant others to host lucrative races, but also encouraged businesses to stay within the family, a defining feature of many “sporting inns”. For example, at Betty Berry’s Snipe Inn, Audenshaw, opened circa 1840, the landlady financed and promoted pedestrianism, wrestling, bowling and gymnastics.²⁹ Likewise, while the Salford Borough Gardens, Regent Street, Salford, promoted pedestrian and other sporting events, operated under the management of Abraham Attenbury, the courses’ public house, the Borough Inn, was licensed to Mrs Ann Attenbury, his mother and original proprietor of the grounds. During the 1850s, Abraham supported the family business by caring for the grounds and developing diverse and profitable programmes of entertainment to subsidise the drinking establishment, and canvassing respectable local community patronage of the facilities.³⁰ According to Roberts, families who entered into business, especially the beer trade ‘grew at once in economic status, though social prestige accrued much more slowly’.³¹

Many of Manchester’s public houses were under the management of successful athletes and this presented a base from which the performer could agree matches, promote their races, and display colours and trophies. Many sporting publicans became coaches and trainers of their own athletes who were usually housed within the hostelry, reinforcing the relationship between sport and the public house. The traditional route for the licensed victualler emphasises the transition from athlete to publican, many of whom then obtained running grounds or aligned themselves with neighbouring venues;³² George Hardy of the Rising Sun, Swan Street, Manchester, sponsored many pedestrian events within the city, provided accommodation for athletes and spectators, and hosted benefits and sporting meetings. Hardy also provided his own ‘stable’ of competitors that he financed, trained and promoted, and his public house displayed pictures, prints and newspapers of pugilists, watermen and pedestrians, ‘the most complete out of London’.³³

²⁹ Dave Russell, ‘Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present: an Introduction’, *Manchester Region History Review* 20 (2009): 4.

³⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, September 16, 1846, 4; *Bell’s Life*, March 23, 1851, 6; *Era*, November 26, 1854, 4; *Bell’s Life*, September 27, 1857, 3; September 7, 1872, 6; 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.

³¹ Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (London: Penguin, 1971), 6.

³² Examples of which are detailed in Pierce Egan, *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism, from the Days of the Renowned Broughton and Slack, to the Championship of Cribb: Volume 1* (London: George Virtue, 1830), 66, 121, 151, 270, 422-423, 476.

³³ *Bell’s Life*, May 4, 1862, 7; December 12, 1863, 6; Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 173.

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.³⁴

This chapter presents a collective biography of one of Manchester’s influential sporting families, the Holden family, detailing the different generations that provided sporting entertainment within the city. As Gordon and Nair state, ‘the life-span of the family [encompasses] standard nuclear, non-standard nuclear and extended forms at various stages...[and] no clear distinctions can be made between friends and family, neighbours and family, for very often friends and neighbours *were* family’.³⁵ To provide clarity, the term “family” is used here to incorporate both immediate and extended relations as well as those who form part of the larger community that surrounded the Holden dynasty during the mid-nineteenth century. This family is used as an example of the communities of practice that emerged out of the working-class population and provided the platform for the new popular cultures of Victorian England. Although this chapter focusses on pedestrianism, the practices employed by the community in developing the sport can also be applied to other sporting pursuits and leisure activities, such as music, art and theatre, as detailed by Robinson, Georgiou and Day.³⁶ As previously mentioned, the collective biography is a well-established method of enquiry in sport history so this thesis begins by examining the topic of Manchester pedestrianism from a familiar approach before testing new and alternative techniques in the subsequent chapters.

Collective biography can be applied in a number of ways, such as assessing group memory of a specific moment, idea or object as presented by Davies and Gannon or, as utilised in this chapter, by combining individual biographical stories to ‘knit the individual accounts together in a meaningful way by suggesting common threads among the lives of the profiled persons’.³⁷ By keeping the individual at the heart of the research a better understanding of motives and practices is obtained,

³⁴ Ibid, 195.

³⁵ Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), 47-48.

³⁶ See Dave Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England’ (PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2008); Claire Robinson, ‘Pantomime in Manchester 1880-1903’ (paper presented at the Politics of Pantomime conference, Lancaster, July 7, 2011); Dion Georgiou, ‘“The Drab Suburban Streets were Metamorphosed into a Veritable Fairyland”: Spectacle, Ritual and Festivity in the Ilford Hospital Carnival, 1905-1914’ (paper presented at the Institute for Historical Research Sport and Leisure History Seminar Series, London, November 5, 2012).

³⁷ Bronwyn Davies and Susanne Gannon, *Doing Collective Biography: Investigating the Production of Subjectivity* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006), 6; Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, ed., ‘Biography, Identity and Names’, in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 143.

which, in turn, can be utilised to explore the collective experiences of a group, community or geographically defined society, as presented in this chapter.³⁸ The purpose here is to provide illustrative examples of the entrepreneurial men and women who developed pedestrianism in nineteenth-century Manchester, each individual story being tied together to identify similarities in character, approach and success whilst acknowledging differences through anecdotal sketches and indicators that are just as important in understanding the collective function and relationship of the group.³⁹ Taking a chronological approach, the biographies presented intersect and entwine to create an impression of the pedestrian entrepreneur before the work examines the themes and significance of such networks in the context of Manchester sport.

Early Manchester Pedestrianism: James Holden, Manchester's 'Great Stakeholder'

James Holden was born in 1797 in Haslingden, Lancashire, being the third of five children born to John and Alice Holden, both natives of Lancashire.⁴⁰ Holden was initially apprenticed in the family business, a common practice in nineteenth-century Britain; entrusting kin with skills for employment, or providing funds to apprentice them in an appropriate trade was imperative to the father-son relationship as this provided independence and status for the family, and 'property in skill' which secured the future.⁴¹ Along with his brothers, John and Robert, Holden trained as a calico printer and engraver, a skilled textile craft that provided an approximate weekly income of forty shillings but slowly became obsolete due to technological advancements in the workplace.⁴² By 1823, the family declared bankruptcy,⁴³ moving to different locations in order to pursue new career opportunities. Whilst some of his siblings moved to Blackburn, Holden journeyed to Manchester where he embarked on a career in sport, which included holding stakes for pugilist fights within the local

³⁸ Krista Cowman, 'Collective Biography', *Research Methods for History*, eds. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 85.

³⁹ Patricia Cox Miller, 'Strategies of Representation in Collective Biography: Constructing the Subject as Holy', in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, eds. Tomas Hagg and Philip Rousseau (London: University of California Press, 2000), 231.

⁴⁰ *England and Wales Christening Records 1530-1906* (1068835), James Holden (July, 1796); John Holden (June 10, 1792); Ann Holden (April 9, 1794); Henry Holden (December 1799); Robert Holden (September 1803).

⁴¹ *Penny Illustrated Paper*, January 17, 1863, 43; Andrea Colli, *The History of Family Business, 1850-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 29; David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 74; Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1992), 140; Rob Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage: from Indian Reservation to Champion of the World* (London: Desert Island Books, 2007), 58.

⁴² James Pigot, R. Dean and William Dean, *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford, 1821-22* (Manchester: R. & W. Dean and J. Pigot, 1822), 78; David Chadwick, 'On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford, and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839-59', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 23, no. 1 (1860): 10-11.

⁴³ *Derby Mercury*, March 20, 1823, 67; *Bell's Life*, April 20, 1823, 476.

area.⁴⁴ On June 27, 1825, he married Elizabeth Kennedy at the Church of Latter Day Saints, Manchester,⁴⁵ after which Elizabeth gave birth to five children, Alice, John, Sarah, James and Elizabeth.⁴⁶ Holden's entrepreneurial skills first emerged during this period when 'James Holden & Co. Tallow Chandlers' opened at 12 Deansgate, ensuring his expanding family a secure financial income.⁴⁷ However, Holden soon found that his skills could be further employed by transforming his interest as a local sporting stakeholder into a business venture.

In 1834, the family took proprietorship of The White Lion Inn, 4 Long Millgate, Manchester,⁴⁸ on one of the principal roads into Manchester and at the heart of working-class Manchester.⁴⁹ The publicans became the primary facilitator of popular entertainment in this period, employing the social skills acquired from tending to their establishments in developing successful and vibrant amusements. According to Bailey, the publican 'sang in the pub harmonic society...presided over the Derby sweepstakes, he provided prizes for the clubs which met at his premises; he played host and stakeholder to the various sporting fraternities, and gave cover to "listmen", the early bookmakers'.⁵⁰ Holden's expertise in the sports market presented the pub with a specific clientele, that of the working-class sporting male, attracting men from the pedestrian scene both locally and throughout England.⁵¹ In 1836, Holden became licensed victualler, a purveyor of provisions, at the White Lion and his continued support of local sport provided him with a reputation as 'the great stakeholder of Lancashire pedestrianism', a title that he retained throughout his life.⁵² The role of stakeholder was only given to those well respected within the sporting community,⁵³ an entrusted position being responsible for all monies deposited by competitors and backers for professional competition. Additionally, 'articles of agreement' would give power to stakeholders to rearrange matches, examine rules and regulations and ensure these were strictly followed before final payments were

⁴⁴ *Bell's Life*, March 20, 1825, 96.

⁴⁵ *Marriage Register* (459020), James Holden and Elizabeth Kennedy (June 27, 1825).

⁴⁶ *England and Wales Christening Records 1530-1906* (1068835), Alice Holden (June 7, 1827); John Holden (November 3, 1830); Sarah Holden (March 2, 1834); James Holden (May 19, 1835); Elizabeth Holden (November 2, 1841).

⁴⁷ Edward Baines, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster* (Liverpool: WM. Wales, 1824), 215.

⁴⁸ James Pigot, *Pigot & Co.'s 1834 Directory of Northern Counties* (Manchester: J. Pigot, 1834), 465.

⁴⁹ Frederick Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (London: Echo Library, 2009), 50.

⁵⁰ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London: Routledge, 1978), 27-28.

⁵¹ *Bell's Life*, October 7, 1838, 7; November 4, 1838, 7; *Era*, December 5, 1841, 10; August 13, 1848, 11; March 11, 1849, 10; June 20, 1858, 10; October 3, 1858, 10; February 5, 1860, 11; March 25, 1860, 10.

⁵² *Bell's Life*, April 17, 1836, 7; August 5, 1838, 7; *Census Returns*, James Holden 1841 (HO 107/573/4); James Pigot and Isaac Slater, *Pigot & Slater's Directory of Manchester & Salford, 1841* (Manchester: Pigot & Slater, 1841), 130; *Era*, January 8, 1843, 10.

⁵³ David Maurer, *The Big Con: the Story of the Confidence Man* (New York, NY: Random House, 1940), 13.

received.⁵⁴ Reports comment on the character of the stakeholder and their willingness, or lack of, in releasing monies to successful parties; when swimmer, Jennings, was found to be in breach of agreement the stakeholder compiled evidence and released monies to Franklin 'in the most timely manner',⁵⁵ while bets were suspended and stakeholders arrested when collusion between officials and pugilists was evident in a fight between Dutch Sam and Bill Noseworthy.⁵⁶ Initially, the stakeholder was independent to other officials, working closely with the referee and attending meetings in order to ensure money was correctly counted, divided and presented. However, it was also common for stakeholders to take on additional roles, such as timekeeper, referee and measurer due to their personal authority and well-respected status.⁵⁷

During the mid-century, businesses flourished, as did interest in pedestrian activities.⁵⁸ *Bell's Life's* 1843 chronology of pedestrianism identified over 250 competitors, each undertaking two or more footraces during the twelve-month period,⁵⁹ and in 1848, summaries of around fifty matches contended for in the Manchester area were also recorded.⁶⁰ The 1840s saw the 'golden age' of pedestrianism with crowds upwards of 10,000 attending a 'Saint Monday' race, the most popular day for such contests to proceed.⁶¹ Holden became renowned for holding monies for many of Manchester's sporting events.⁶² *Bell's Life* and the *Era* would regularly print Holden's name and public house within the pedestrian pages, highlighting their appreciation of this 'good-natured' and 'respectable stakeholder'.⁶³ Although not all of Holden's endeavours were reported positively - letters from disgruntled competitors sometimes challenged his decisions - these were generally hidden amid the praise given to 'honest James Holden' who became as highly regarded as the editor of *Bell's Life*, William Clement Jr, within the sporting fraternity.⁶⁴

Not all publicans had their own sporting arenas but many made money by promoting, organising and hosting events such as pigeon shooting, foot racing, rabbit coursing and quoits in other local parks

⁵⁴ Thomas Sayers, *Tom Sayers, Sometime Champion of England, his Life and Pugilistic Career* (London: S.O. Beeton, 1866), 9, 101.

⁵⁵ *Bell's Life*, October 3, 1852, 7.

⁵⁶ Pierce Egan, *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism: from the Championship of Cribb to the Present Time* (London: Sherwood, Jones and Co., 1824), 64.

⁵⁷ Sayers, *Tom Sayers*, 181.

⁵⁸ Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 116; Charles L. Neil, *Walking: a Practical Guide to Pedestrianism for Athletes and Others* (London: C Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1903), 19.

⁵⁹ *Bell's Life*, January 28, 1844, 7.

⁶⁰ *Bell's Life*, January 9, 1848, 6.

⁶¹ Adrian Harvey, 'The Emergence of Football in Nineteenth-Century England: the Historiographic Debate', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 18 (2013): 2159; Peter Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire', *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 389.

⁶² *Bell's Life*, December 3, 1843, 8; January 25, 1846, 6.

⁶³ *Bell's Life*, October 2, 1842, 7; *Era*, January 8, 1843, 10.

⁶⁴ *Bell's Life*, February 23, 1845, 7; December 7, 1845, 7; October 25, 1846, 7; January 9, 1848, 7; August 6, 1848, 7; November 13, 1853, 7; September 3, 1854, 7.

and enclosures.⁶⁵ Holden's White Lion and other inner-city sporting hostelries had minimal land for the erection of stadiums because of the design of the city centre where '[every scrap of space] has been filled up and patched over until not a foot of land is left to be further occupied'.⁶⁶ Therefore, in order to further establish his position within the sporting community, Holden forged ties with local athletes, publicans and sport promoters, establishing a network of men (and sometimes women) who continued to support these activities and create a hub for athletic competition in Manchester. One such connection was with the Jennison family, proprietors of the Belle Vue public house, whose attached zoological gardens and newly established pleasure grounds hosted a variety of sporting and musical entertainments. Located in Gorton, approximately three miles outside of the city centre and next to the newly formed toll road which connected Hyde and Manchester, proprietor John Jennison purchased a lease for the thirty-five acres of land along Hyde Road in 1836 acquiring an inn, bowling green, forest and gardens.⁶⁷ The grounds opened in 1837 with the addition of an aviary, exotic wildlife, Italian gardens and a large boating lake.⁶⁸ From the 1830s pedestrian races were promoted on the roads around the Belle Vue Tavern before moving to a track designed within the Belle Vue site. The association with professional sporting activities provided Belle Vue with viable income but this affected the reputation of the grounds and the class of customer. Nonetheless, pedestrianism was promoted within the enclosure that included a 440-yard straight sprint track attached to a half-mile circular course, both extremely narrow and only suitable for head-to-head matches.⁶⁹ With space to hold 10,000 spectators, the racecourse was well attended, although there were numerous complaints within the press. According to *Bell's Life*, 'the accommodation is anything but good...there is nothing to keep the pressure of the mob from the competitors, and the umpires and referees have great difficulty in doing their duty', suggesting railings and a larger stand would improve conditions, notions later adopted by the proprietor.⁷⁰ Additionally, the inequality in prize money baffled many followers of the sport with Jennison Jnr refusing to split gate money, a standard practice in pedestrianism, and frequently hiding in the White Tower to escape threatening crowds.⁷¹ Serious riots in Manchester in 1842 occurred at Belle Vue, with police unable to control the 'rough men', the inn wrecked and the road closed to contain damage. Nonetheless, competitions continued until the

⁶⁵ Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 115.

⁶⁶ Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, 50.

⁶⁷ George Jennison, *The Making and Growth of the Famous Zoological Gardens, Belle Vue, Manchester and the History of its Competitors: a Century of Lancashire Open-Air Amusements 1825-1925* (Berwick Lodge, Disley: George Jennison, 1929), 11.

⁶⁸ Robert Nicholls, *The Belle Vue Story*. (Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1992), 3; *Manchester Times and Gazette*, August 26, 1837, 1.

⁶⁹ Jennison, *The Making and Growth of the Famous Zoological Gardens, Belle Vue*, 24.

⁷⁰ *Bell's Life*, December 7, 1845, 7; May 16, 1847, 7.

⁷¹ *Bell's Life*, March 9, 1845, 7; Jennison, *The Making and Growth of the Famous Zoological Gardens, Belle Vue*, 24.

1850s when the gardens expanded and new building closed the racing grounds permanently.⁷² On race days, events would start at Holden's White Lion before spectators travelled to Belle Vue to watch the events.⁷³ The Jennisons appointed Holden in various roles as well as utilising their own family to regulate activities; Holden usually acted as final stakeholder and referee for competitions whilst members of the Jennison family took bets and eldest son, John Jennison Jnr, became manager of the ground, official judge and referee.⁷⁴ Reports of Holden at Belle Vue in 1843, aged 46, described him as a notable 'face' amongst sportsmen, and reinforced the continuing respect and admiration accorded to him in Manchester,⁷⁵ thereby cementing his position within the wider sporting community.

The Holden Era of Pedestrianism: Expansion and Development

Pedestrianism was prospering and Holden had enhanced his status and his sporting networks by taking stakes for high profile matches as well as attending local racing venues to fulfil match day duties, especially Attenbury's Salford Borough Gardens and the Knutsford course, and transfer prizes to winning parties.⁷⁶ Additionally, he assumed a more prominent role as judge and referee, and devised articles of agreement that were held at the White Lion.⁷⁷ The public house became a renowned meeting place for athletes where matches could be organised and accommodation provided for travelling competitors, including London-based George Martin who regularly stayed at his hostelry.⁷⁸ Outside of pedestrianism, Holden had developed a reputation as a 'respectable' and

⁷² Ibid; *Gorton Historical Reporter*, August 10, 1842, 187.

⁷³ *Bell's Life*, May 16, 1847, 7.

⁷⁴ *Bell's Life*, February 20, 1842, 7; December 18, 1842, 7; May 14, 1843, 7; May 21, 1843, 7; April 26, 1846, 7; July 2, 1848, 7; May 13, 1849, 7; *Era*, July 23, 1848, 10; Jennison, *The Making and Growth of the Famous Zoological Gardens, Belle Vue*, 24.

⁷⁵ *Era*, January 8, 1843, 10.

⁷⁶ *Bell's Life*, November 6, 1842, 7; December 18, 1842, 7; January 22, 1843, 7; April 9, 1843, 7; June 18, 1843, 7; July 30, 1843, 7; January 21, 1844, 7; September 15, 1844, 7; November 10, 1844, 7; July 6, 1845; November 9, 1845, 7; January 25, 1846, 7; March 8, 1846, 7; April 19, 1846, 7; May 31, 1846, 7; June 28, 1846, 7; October 11, 1846, 7; December 13, 1846, 7; January 24, 1847, 6; April 18, 1847, 7; June 20, 1847, 7; August 15, 1847, 7; October 24, 1847, 7; December 26, 1847, 7; February 13, 1848, 6; June 11, 1848, 7; December 3, 1848, 7; January 21, 1849, 7; March 11, 1849, 6; April 8, 1849, 6; July 1, 1849, 7; September 9, 1849, 7; November 11, 1849, 7; December 23, 1849, 7.

⁷⁷ *Bell's Life*, December 10, 1843, 7; November 16, 1845, 7; December 7, 1845, 7; February 21, 1847, 7; January 9, 1848, 7; February 27, 1848, 7; February 4, 1849, 7; April 1, 1849, 6; July 22, 1849, 3; July 28, 1849, 7; *Era*, August 13, 1848.

⁷⁸ *Bell's Life*, August 7, 1842; November 6, 1842; December 25, 1842; February 26, 1843; April 2, 1843, 7; December 10, 1843, 7; July 14, 1844, 7; July 21, 1844, 7; April 27, 1845, 7; March 1, 1846, 7; April 19, 1846, 7; June 28, 1846, 7; August 2, 1846, 7; September 13, 1846, 7; November 22, 1846, 7; January 3, 1847, 7; February 7, 1847, 6; February 28, 1847, 7; March 14, 1847, 6; July 11, 1847, 7; September 5, 1847, 6; August 20, 1848, 7; January 7, 1849, 7; February 4, 1849, 7; April 22, 1849, 6; June 24, 1849, 7; November 25, 1849, 7; December 23, 1849, 7.

‘honest’ man,⁷⁹ which transferred across to other sports and activities; regular meetings were held and stakes deposited at Holden’s establishment for rabbit coursing, dog fighting, Cumberland wrestling and quoits, as well as the more obscure leisure pursuits of bell-ringing competitions and ‘a match for a Yorkshireman to fight a main of cocks’,⁸⁰ further extending his reach across the Northern counties. In 1848, wife, Elizabeth, died leaving Holden to care for his five children,⁸¹ but, by integrating them into the drink trade, the family were able to expand their control over sport within the city.⁸²

Of the Holden children, three continued to work in public houses - daughters Alice and Sarah, and son James Jnr. Son John followed a career as a mechanic at 17 Brunswick Street, Hulme, while daughter Elizabeth fulfilled a role as homemaker.⁸³ According to Bailey, the employment of family, especially women, in the pub environment was commonplace. Women provided patrons with allure, hospitality and excitement, whereas the male embodied control, governance and legacy within the establishment.⁸⁴ The seduction of the barmaid was one of the attractions of the inn and, given the publican’s concern over respectability, wives and daughters would be utilised to fulfil this role.⁸⁵ Expansion through marriage also provided legitimacy for the business and further opportunities for investment (and success). Those who entered into the Holden household supported the sporting business and continued in the role of victualler across establishments in Manchester. Marriage was a ‘unifying feature’ that solidified status and consolidated capital but the middle-class ideal of the ‘saintly mother’ and ‘kept’ wife was one in that the working classes could not conform. Females were expected to finance the home as well as provide families, and the drinks trade enabled women to work side-by-side with their partners in ensuring success.⁸⁶ Holden’s network increased once more at a period of supposed decline within professional pedestrianism, presenting a Manchester based contingent that had power and influence in the sport and embedded themselves within the local racing circuit due, in part, to the connections surrounding his daughters. Eldest daughter, Alice Holden, was a regular feature at the White Lion, tending to the business in the absence of her father and accepting a more maternal role after her mother’s death. Whilst working in the family trade she

⁷⁹ *Bell’s Life*, October 2, 1842; March 26, 1843; July 2, 1848, 7.

⁸⁰ *Bell’s Life*, December 3, 1843; January 25, 1846, 6; February 15, 1846, 7; February 14, 1847, 7; August 8, 1847, 6; November 26, 1848, 5; April 29, 1849, 7; October 28, 1849, 6.

⁸¹ *Death Registration*, Elizabeth Holden 1848 (MST/31/450).

⁸² *Census Returns*, James Holden 1851 (HO 107/2229).

⁸³ Isaac Slater, *Slater’s Directory of Manchester* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1855), 583; *Census Returns*, Elizabeth Gregory, 1871 (RG 10/4024).

⁸⁴ Peter Bailey, ‘Parasexuality and Glamour: the Victorian Barmaid as Cultural Prototype’, *Gender & History* 2, no. 2 (1990): 150-151.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 151.

⁸⁶ Jennifer Hargreaves, ‘The Victorian Cult of the Family and the Early Years of Female Sport’, in *Gender and Sport: A Reader*, eds. Sheila Scratton and Anne Flintoff (London: Routledge, 2002), 54.

met and wed sporting personality and pedestrian George Martin in 1851.⁸⁷ The marriage benefitted both parties; Martin's celebrity status provided a platform for further exposure and Holden's reputation enabled Martin to have a quick transition from athlete to successful sporting entrepreneur. Similarly, daughter Sarah Holden married ex-professional rower George Piers in 1852,⁸⁸ and later resided at the White Lion where the newly-weds took on additional roles within the business.⁸⁹ By examining their life courses, further dynamics surrounding the Holden network can be illuminated.

Marriage and Sporting Success: The Holden Network

George Martin was born in 1826 in Blackwater, Hampshire, son of Prudence and James Martin, a local shoemaker.⁹⁰ From a working class background, Martin entered into the family trade in adolescence residing with his grandparents, John and Martha Yeoman, in Frimley, Surrey. By 1841, Martin was practising as a journeyman shoemaker.⁹¹ However, at the age of 18, Martin turned to sport for his fortune and moved to London to pursue a career in pedestrianism under the care of 28-year-old Edward "Ned" Smith, the 'West-End Runner'.⁹² Throughout his career, Martin continued to practice as a shoemaker and boot closer, affecting his attendance at some events, causing him to forfeit matches, and leading to insolvency claims.⁹³

⁸⁷ *Marriage Certificate*, George Martin and Alice Holden 1851 (MXE 606479); *Era*, January 26, 1851, 5.

⁸⁸ *Bell's Life*, February 21, 1847, 5; *Marriage Certificate*, George Piers and Sarah Holden 1852 (MXF 084965); *Manchester Guardian*, October 9, 1852, 10.

⁸⁹ *Census Returns*, 1861 (RG 9/2950), Cathedral Church, Manchester, 4 Long Millgate 'White Lion', James Holden, Head, 62, 'public house keeper'; Elizabeth Holden, Daughter, 20; George Pearse (Piers), Son-in-Law, 30, 'letter-press printer'; Sarah Pearse (Piers), Daughter, 27; Sarah A. Pearse (Piers), Grand-child, 7; Elizabeth Pearse (Piers), Grand-child, 4.

⁹⁰ *Parish Registers for Frimley, 1590-1914* (0804127), George Martin baptised on September 24, 1826 in Frimley, Surrey to James Martin and Pandora (sic); *Census Returns*, George Martin 1841 (HO 107/1074/1); (HO 107/2227); *Bell's Life* (Hereinafter called *Bell's Life*), 24 December 1848, 7; *Marriage Certificate*, George Martin and Alice Holden 1851 (MXE 606479).

⁹¹ *Census Returns*, 1841 (HO 107/1074/1), Hamlet of Frimley, George Martin, 15, 'Shoe m j'; 1841 (HO 107/684/12), St Pancras, Marylebone, Clarence Gardens, James Martin, 45, Prudence Martin, 40, Mary Martin, 15, Maria Martin, 12, Henry Martin, 8, all noted as occupation 'Shoe m'; 1851 (HO 107/1493), St Pancras, Marylebone, London, 47 Clarence Gardens, James Martin, 56, 'Shoemaker'; Prudence Martin, 53; Henry Martin, 18, 'Shoemaker'.

⁹² *Bell's Life*, August 19, 1841, 7; September 21, 1845, 7; October 19, 1845, 7.

⁹³ *Bell's Life*, May 17, 1846, 6; February 21, 1847, 7; *Manchester Guardian*, May 27, 1858, 2.

Martin followed traditional practices, as illustrated in *The Training Instructor*:

...as soon as a man determines to go into training, it is, of course, advisable that he go into training quarters. These, if they can be obtained in another town to that in which he lives, will be all the better from the fact that they are situated some distance from the pedestrian's old haunts...and if he lodged in a public house it would not matter.⁹⁴

He stayed at the White Hart, Drury Lane, with host, Ned Smith, and proprietor, John 'the Regent Street Pet' Smith, who provided facilities for several athletes.⁹⁵ Both men were well-established pedestrians, 'celebrated trainers', and athletic backers - Ned a hurdling champion and John a quarter of a mile sprinter being originally trained by his brother.⁹⁶ The Smith brothers used their expertise to train novices and create first-rate pedestrians; the most successful graduates being Patterson, Robinson, 'Blower Brown', Spooner, and Martin himself.⁹⁷ Training, according to Egan was 'indispensably necessary' for pedestrians, pugilists and others who competed against rivals or time, and underwent a system that was tailored to the competitor's needs.⁹⁸ The athlete usually went into training for two to three months before competition, relying on the expertise of the trainer to prepare the individual both physically and mentally.⁹⁹ It was crucial that the trainer and backer worked together, sometimes assuming both roles in promoting the athlete and providing enough time for effective training prior to racing. At 8st 6lb, Martin was conditioned as a 120-yard sprinter and short distance hurdler, making his first appearance in 1845, at the age of 18.¹⁰⁰ After a successful start to his athletic career, and having obtained a degree of support, his backer, Smith, challenged any young pedestrian in England to beat his man.¹⁰¹ This was quickly accepted by Birmingham-based "ped" Joseph Messenger, and the competition was held at Mrs Emerson's sprint ground, the Old Hat Inn, Ealing, with reports detailing the expense to which the grounds proprietor had gone to accommodate both men. The course was roped, chained and staked and London's premier

⁹⁴ Sportsman, *The Training Instructor* (London: Sportsman Offices, 1885), 50-51.

⁹⁵ *Bell's Life*, January 4, 1846, 7; November 1, 1846, 7; November 15, 1846, 7.

⁹⁶ *Bell's Life*, January 7, 1844, 7; March 16, 1845, 7; January 11, 1846, 6; December 30, 1860, 7; September 22, 1861, 7; John Dugdale Astley, *Fifty Years of my Life in the World of Sport at Home and Abroad* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1895), 282.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*; *Bell's Life*, January 11, 1846, 6; February 8, 1846, 6-7; March 15, 1846, 7.

⁹⁸ Pierce Egan, *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected; Including Numerous Characteristic Portraits of Persons in Every Walk of Life, who have Acquired Notoriety for Their Achievements on the Turf, at the Table, and in the Diversions of the Field, with Sketches of the Various Animals of the Chase: to which is Added, an Account of Noted Pedestrians, Trotting Matches, Cricketers, &c. the Whole Forming a Complete Delineation of the Sporting World* (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1820), 82.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 81.

¹⁰⁰ *Bell's Life*, September 21, 1845, 6; January 4, 1846, 7.

¹⁰¹ *Bell's Life*, January 4, 1846, 7.

pedestrian official, "Temperance", had been appointed stakeholder and referee.¹⁰² *Bell's Life* promoted the race as 'London vs Birmingham' with two young and exciting 'first-raters' in competition and Martin being the favourite despite his lack of conditioning; 'two smarter fellows could not be picked in England, but Martin looked in the best condition, although he had but a week's training'.¹⁰³ Although Martin lost by one yard he was highly praised, being considered a pedestrian prospect for the future and he continued to feature on the racing bill at Emerson's sprinting course.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, Martin regularly appeared in hurdling events at the Beehive Cricket Ground, Walworth, where he gained numerous successes, claiming prizes such as a silver snuff-box, a silver watch, and a silver cup for a '300 yards, and to leap 15 hurdles' event.¹⁰⁵ Again, Martin and his trainer were praised, with reports stating 'the pedestrian school that he [Martin] was brought up in must be a first-rate one, in producing so good a runner, who will, no doubt, with care, prove something extraordinary'.¹⁰⁶ Towards the end of 1846, Martin was unbeatable but he started to gain a negative press for illegally entering competitions and persistent forfeiting of matches due to his work commitments.¹⁰⁷ On Monday May 11, 1846, Martin's 120-yard race for £25 a side enraged spectators as the false starts were so numerous that darkness had fallen and police, now finding the road blocked, halted the proceedings. Martin refused to rearrange and intended to withdraw his stakes but the written articles prevented this.¹⁰⁸ Martin continued to waste considerable amounts of money on races he could not fulfil and filed for bankruptcy, being remanded for two months in February 1847.¹⁰⁹

Martin eventually moved out of London only to re-emerge in the pedestrian community as 'George Martin of Sunderland' in 1848.¹¹⁰ Residing at 'sporting victualler' Mr Harrison's, Golden Lion, Sunderland, Martin challenged men in the North East to sprinting and hurdling events, many of which he won with ease.¹¹¹ Not content with human competition, 'Little George' tested his talent against horses and his events became the main attraction at Sunderland's running grounds luring spectators in their thousands, although betting was minimal.¹¹² However, his previous reputation had followed him and it was not long before controversy surrounded the ped, with many supporters of

¹⁰² *Bell's Life*, January 16, 1846, 7.

¹⁰³ *Bell's Life*, January 25, 1846, 6.

¹⁰⁴ *Bell's Life*, March 29, 1846, 7; September 19, 1847, 7

¹⁰⁵ *Bell's Life*, February 8, 1846, 6; February 22, 1846, 7; March 15, 1846, 7; April 12, 1846, 7; June 21, 1846, 7; July 5, 1846, 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Bell's Life*, March 15, 1846, 7.

¹⁰⁷ *Bell's Life*, May 17, 1846, 6; July 5, 1846, 7.

¹⁰⁸ *Bell's Life*, May 17, 1846, 6.

¹⁰⁹ *Bell's Life*, February 21, 1847, 7.

¹¹⁰ *Bell's Life*, January 9, 1848, 7; *Era*, January 30, 1848, 6.

¹¹¹ *Bell's Life*, March 19, 1848, 7; April 9, 1848, 6; April 16, 1848, 6.

¹¹² *Era*, January 2, 1848, 5; *Bell's Life*, January 2, 1848, 7.

the sport concerned about Martin's hoaxing of the public and *Bell's Life* voiced concern that 'Martin frequently offers to make matches, but as frequently disappoints parties. Let us have a little more work, and not so much talk'.¹¹³ Nonetheless, he continued to race, as many spectators and sporting papers still supported the now infamous hurdler, and his indiscretions became a secondary consideration to his skill. Martin, now a 'pedestrian of celebrity', ventured to Manchester where he trained and conditioned himself for athletic competition. His physique was marvelled at, 'being well built about the chest and thighs, with a waist as fine as a lady', and his dominance in the sprinting world was recognised.¹¹⁴ Martin, for many, was a pedestrian sensation, his condition, style and manner very widely admired, and, although short in stature, 'Martin's skin was clear, step elastic, eye...bright as a diamond, and as full of confidence as man could possibly be...Martin is as smart a pedestrian as can be met...and, when he chooses, can run both beautifully and excellently, in fact he is a little model'.¹¹⁵ Regularly spotted at the White Lion, Long Millgate, Martin's association with the Holden family, and his growing relationship with daughter Alice Holden, encouraged the athlete to frequent Manchester more regularly and eventually led to his relocation to the city in 1851.¹¹⁶ On January 14, 1851, 'the smart and dapper George Martin...led the good tempered Miss Alice Holden, eldest daughter of the great pedestrian banker, to the altar', at St John's Church, Manchester, and two months later he took proprietorship of the Plasterer's Arms, 29 Gregson Street, Deansgate, Manchester.¹¹⁷ Martin continued to expand the trade of father-in-law Holden, and his pub became a pedestrian base where stakes and deposits could be paid.¹¹⁸ His old sporting "friends" lodged at his hostelry and he continued to race within the Manchester area, conveniently utilising Holden's acquaintances to promote his activities.¹¹⁹ On the Belle Vue course, Martin competed again Edward "Ruthin Stag" Roberts, taking a prize of £40 plus bets for a 100-yard hurdling event,¹²⁰ later causing an upset at the ground when his 130-yard sprint versus Flockton was postponed.¹²¹ Due to his expertise, Martin also became a trainer to many young sprinting and hurdling pedestrians, a

¹¹³ *Bell's Life*, June 25, 1848, 7; September 17, 1848, 7; October 22, 1848, 6; *Era*, March 11, 1849, 6.

¹¹⁴ *Bell's Life*, April 1, 1849, 6.

¹¹⁵ *Bell's Life*, September 17, 1848, 7; *Era*, August 11, 1850, 9.

¹¹⁶ *Era*, January 8, 1843, 10; *Bell's Life*, August 20, 1848, 7; November 4, 1849, 7; November 25, 1849, 7; *Census Returns*, George Martin 1851 (HO 107/2227).

¹¹⁷ *Marriage Certificate*, George Martin and Alice Holden 1851 (MXE 606479) *Era*, 26 January 1851, 5; *Manchester Guardian*, 26 March 1851, 5; *Census Returns*, George Martin and Alice Holden 1851 (HO 107/2227); W. Whellan and Co., *A New General Directory of Manchester and Salford, Together with the Principle Villages and Hamlets in the District* (Manchester: Booth and Milthorp, 1852), 216.

¹¹⁸ *Bell's Life*, April 4, 1852, 7.

¹¹⁹ *Bell's Life*, July 6, 1851, 7; August 31, 1851, 7; January 18, 1852, 6; February 4, 1852, 7; February 8, 1852, 6.

¹²⁰ *Bell's Life*, December 24, 1848, 7.

¹²¹ *Era*, March 11, 1849.

preferred distance for many because training was not laborious and patronage was substantial.¹²² Sprinting, according to James, required approximately five weeks of gentle training with three to four quarter-mile runs per day. As the weeks progressed it was advised that, as speed increased, races should be reduced to two sprints (around one fifth longer than the final distance) per day, and competition against one or two good sprint runners provided. Technique was the most important element with athletes told to 'race on your toes, with an easy, springing action of the thighs', to practice the correct standing position at the scratch, and to ensure that pace was never reduced until completion of the distance. If all these factions were achieved then success would become more likely.¹²³ The same training applied to hurdling but with the added 'art' of bucking; 'spring is taken from one leg, and the alight comes of the other so that the jump, instead of being actual interruption of the regular strides...is merely an exaggerated stride'. Advice included taking practice jumps over small hurdles at the correct distance until the style was perfected.¹²⁴ Martin regularly requested matches for himself and his athletes in the pages of *Bell's Life*, as well as informing the athletic community of his and Holden's booths where pedestrians could view other athletes before entering into articles of agreement.¹²⁵ Tents devoted to specific sporting endeavours were promoted at race meetings where champion belts could be showcased and young talent introduced to the inquisitive spectator. According to Huggins, these tents would be laid out so all classes or professions could meet, drink and reminisce.¹²⁶ Martin's travelling huts were '25 yards by 10, and canvas top. The fittings consist of a counter, seats, spirit kegs, pots, &c.' and he provided alcohol at race meetings in and around Manchester, where, besides flat-racing, gymnastics and horse riding events were showcased; a demonstration of Martin's early entrepreneurial vision.¹²⁷

Martin's family expanded with the arrival of son James, his first of six children, and soon afterwards, Martin left the Plasterer's Arms, transferring the license to brother-in-law, George Piers.¹²⁸ Ex-

¹²² Sportsman, *The Training Instructor*, 71; John H. Walsh, *Manual of British Rural Sports; Comprising Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, and Pedestrianism, With All Rural Games and Amusements* (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1886), 615.

¹²³ Ed James, *Practical Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, Wrestling, Boxing, Jumping and All Kinds of Athletic Feats; Together with Tables of Proportional Measurements for Height and Weight of Men in and Out of Conditions; Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing and Advice to Trainers; Also, Banting's System of Reducing Corpulency, and Record of Fast Athletic Performances* (New York, NY: Ed James, 1877), 16-17.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, 18-19.

¹²⁵ *Bell's Life*, June 8, 1851, 7; August 22, 1851, 7.

¹²⁶ Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 191.

¹²⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, March 5, 1853, 3; *Scotsman*, April 13, 1870, 7.

¹²⁸ *Manchester Times*, February 23, 1853; *Manchester Guardian*, February 23, 1853, 5; *Census Returns*, 1861 (RG 9/2923), St Bartholomew, Salford, 14 Walter Street, George Martin, Head, 34, 'trainer of pedestrians', b. Surrey, York House; Alice Martin, Wife, 32, b. Lancashire, Manchester; James Martin, Son, 9, b. Lancaster, Manchester; George Martin, Son, 7, b. Middlesex, London; Thomas Martin, Son, 5, b. Middlesex, London; Elizabeth Martin, Daughter, 3, b. Lancaster, Salford; Harry Martin, Son, 1, b. Lancaster, Manchester; 1871

professional rower Piers competed in sculling matches along the river Irwell and was a regular patron of the Foundation Inn, a popular waterman's haunt, and the Manchester Arms, Long Millgate, near Holden's White Lion pub. Rowing was another working-class pastime, although it was later associated with the amateur, educated, middle-class university man during the mid-nineteenth century, which had contributed to a collapse of professional activities by 1870.¹²⁹ Professional scullers appeared frequently on the rivers of England, often assisted by the loyalty of inn and hotel proprietors who lined the riverbanks; here oarsmen could store boats, organise training and use the public houses to mark courses, routes and distances. Like all sporting hostelries, rowing taverns obtained information about individual rowers and competitions, offering gossip and news that fostered both their own, and transferred across, sporting communities.¹³⁰ Being a hub for athletic entertainment, it is clear that Long Millgate provided an opportune location for sporting groups to form, socialise and unite, with many sporting families established and cultivated from these connections. Married to Sarah Holden at Manchester Cathedral on October 7, 1852,¹³¹ Piers stayed at the family's establishment where he was apprenticed in the drinks trade and where he interacted with the pedestrian faction.¹³² A printer by trade, Piers provided skills that could enhance the sporting business, drafting up contracts for races and producing publications and posters for match day betting and promotion.¹³³ Additionally, the increase in public readership of inexpensive newspapers during the 1850s made them a feature of everyday life but not everyone could read.¹³⁴ The public house provided access to these publications and enabled illiterate men (and sometimes women) to listen and discuss the news whilst individuals, such as Piers, would read the content aloud to the patrons.¹³⁵ The printing industry provided schooling in literacy and higher intellectual status that could be transferred into proprietary work, such as inn-keeping ownership and enterprises. Nonetheless, not all publicans would have been literate, sometimes conducting their business by

(RG 10/4054), St Michael, Manchester, 11 Brass Street, Alice Martin, Head, Widowed, 43, 'Dress Maker', b. Lancashire, Manchester; Alice Holden, Daughter, 9, b. Surrey, Handsworth.

¹²⁹ Eric Halladay, *Rowing in England: a Social History: the Amateur Debate* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 12.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 12-13.

¹³¹ *Bell's Life*, February 21, 1847, 5; *Marriage Certificate*, George Piers and Sarah Holden 1852 (MXF 084965); *Manchester Guardian*, October 9, 1852, 10.

¹³² *Census Returns*, 1861 (RG 9/2950), Cathedral Church, Manchester, 4 Long Millgate 'White Lion', James Holden, Head, 62, 'public house keeper'; Elizabeth Holden, Daughter, 20; George Pearse, Son-in-Law, 30, 'letter-press printer'; Sarah Pearse, Daughter, 27; Sarah A. Pearse, Grand-child, 7; Elizabeth Pearse, Grand-child, 4; Isaac Slater, *Slater's Directory of Manchester* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1855), 725; *Will and Probate*, James Holden, 16 August 1865 (G 3000 6/63).

¹³³ Isaac Slater, *Slater's Directory of Manchester* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1855), 725; *Census Returns*, George Pearse (Piers) 1861 (RG 9/2950).

¹³⁴ Patrick Brantlinger, *The Reading Lesson: The Treat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 148.

¹³⁵ Harvey J. Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Cultural Integration and Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1991), 300.

utilising family members and employees who could perform this skill.¹³⁶ Printing was very much a man's domain and a skilled trade that required some level of education, making it a valuable asset in business management. Holden had also been apprenticed as a calico printer in his formative years and the expansive nature of the trade, and the skills it provided, had offered opportunities for progression, job mobility and increased wages.¹³⁷ Education provided status, which, in turn, provided social capital and respectability. As a result, Piers was eagerly accepted into the sporting world, often present as starter, referee and timekeeper for local athletic, wrestling and shooting events within the city, and taking on additional tasks in Holden's absence.¹³⁸

Martin and his family relocated to London in 1854, following a personal tragedy, leaving behind the pedestrian community he had generated in Manchester. Suffering from mental illness and unable to cope with his failing business, Martin's father, James, murdered wife, Prudence, and then committed suicide at their home at Clarence Gardens, St Pancras.¹³⁹ As the eldest son, Martin returned to the capital to organise funeral arrangements, comfort his siblings and take control of the family's shoe-making business.¹⁴⁰ He continued to be active within the pedestrian community by coaching and training pedestrians whilst competing locally and arranging events from his new residence at 7 Little Windmill Street, Golden Square, Westminster.¹⁴¹ Martin competed in sprint skating events on the Serpentine, having been trained by Patterson, a member of Ned Smith's pedestrian school during the 1840s.¹⁴² He displayed backwards running techniques at Windsor alongside distance runner Charles Westhall,¹⁴³ and provided further competition at Shepherd's Bush with both Patterson and Martin's pupil, Roberts.¹⁴⁴ Martin was also appointed trainer to army athlete Sergeant Newton, who competed in military pedestrianism in Slough, Windsor and other London boroughs.¹⁴⁵ His techniques were praised and highly commended by both the professional and military crowds, and, when the shoe-making business failed, an alternative opportunity to develop his expertise emerged. In May 1858, Martin again filed for bankruptcy, returned to Manchester and, at the age of 30, announced his retirement from pedestrianism.¹⁴⁶ He then stated his intension of pursuing training

¹³⁶ Ibid, 93.

¹³⁷ Ibid; Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*, 27.

¹³⁸ *Era*, June 7, 1857, 8; October 10, 1858, 10; October 17, 1858, 10; April 14, 1861, 10; *Manchester Guardian*, October 28, 1861, 4.

¹³⁹ *Essex Standard*, March 31, 1854, 1; *Daily News*, 31 March 1854, 6; *Examiner*, April 1, 1854, 6; *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian*, April 1, 1854, 3; *Era*, April 2, 1854, 13; *Derby Mercury*, April 5, 1854, 7.

¹⁴⁰ *Saint Pancras Parish Church, Register of Burials, Including Burials at Kentish Town Chapel, Dec 1854* (p90/pan1/191), 74.

¹⁴¹ *Bell's Life*, August 20, 1854, 6; October 26, 1856, 7.

¹⁴² *Bell's Life*, January 8, 1854, 6.

¹⁴³ *Bell's Life*, February 17, 1856, 6.

¹⁴⁴ *Bell's Life*, November 30, 1856, 7; December 21, 1856, 7.

¹⁴⁵ *Bell's Life*, December 14, 1856, 7; December 21, 1856, 7.

¹⁴⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, May 27, 1858, 2; *Bell's Life*, October 17, 1858, 7.

full-time, subsequently housing athletes in his beerhouse on 14 Walter Street, Salford, which was within close proximity to the well-established Salford Borough Gardens.¹⁴⁷ Although there were no fixed rules for success,¹⁴⁸ trainers developed their own methods for pedestrianism, gaining reputations based on their outcomes and building 'stables' of athletes that were managed and endorsed in the same manner as racehorses or dogs. For example, Preston's James "Jerry Jim" Parker trained over 100 pedestrians at his 'athletic boarding-school' during his twenty year career, with multiple men being coached simultaneously for various events at his New Hall Lane training centre, where he provided diet, exercise and accommodation in the lead up to competition.¹⁴⁹ Martin's training pedigree and celebrity status meant he 'was the star round which the Manchester men concentrated' and his athletes, Charles Mower, John Nevin and John White, who lodged with Martin and his family, were strictly trained and promoted, becoming champions within the sport.¹⁵⁰ In May 1861, not content with English competition, Martin sailed to America to display his athletes, leaving behind his family during the two-month expedition. Holden supported his daughter in the management of the Walter Street Inn,¹⁵¹ but, due to his dwindling health, he relied on his family connections to continue the day-to-day running of the White Lion, engaging Piers and Sarah as managers of the establishment,¹⁵² and encouraging his professional pedestrian son, James Jnr, to fulfil some of his sporting commitments. Holden's authority over pedestrianism was still evident but, through the extension of his network, a widened community emerged that propelled the sport forward in Manchester during a period of resistance and decline elsewhere.

¹⁴⁷ *Bell's Life*, October 17, 1858, 7; *Census Returns*, 1861 (RG 9/2923), St Bartholomew, Salford, 14 Walter Street, George Martin, Married, 34, 'trainer of pedestrians', b. Surrey, York House; Alice Martin, Wife, 32, b. Lancashire, Manchester; John Nevin, Boarder, 23, 'pedestrian', b. Middlesbrough; Charles Mower, 22, 'bricklayer', b. Norfolk, Denham; Salford Borough Gardens, Borough Inn 1861 (RG 9/2924); Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage*, 58.

¹⁴⁸ Egan, *Sporting Anecdotes*, 81.

¹⁴⁹ Dave Day, ed., 'Jerry Jim's Training Stable in Early Victorian Preston', in *Pedestrianism* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and History Group), 58, 62-64.

¹⁵⁰ *Bell's Life*, June 17, 1860, 7; March 3, 1861, 6; *The Times*, October 10, 1861, 12; *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, March 29, 1862, 17.

¹⁵¹ *Census Returns*, 1861 (RG 9/2923), St Bartholomew, Salford, 14 Walter Street, George Martin, Married, 34, 'trainer of pedestrians', b. Surrey, York House; Alice Martin, Wife, 32, b. Lancashire, Manchester; John Nevin, Boarder, 23, 'pedestrian', b. Middlesbrough; *Era*, May 12, 1861, 5.

¹⁵² *Census Returns*, 1861 (RG 9/2950), Cathedral Church, Manchester, 4 Long Millgate 'White Lion', James Holden, Head, 62, 'public house keeper'; Elizabeth Holden, Daughter, 20; George Pearse (Piers), Son-in-Law, 30, 'letter-press printer'; Sarah Pearse (Piers), Daughter, 27; Sarah A. Pearse (Piers), Grand-child, 7; Elizabeth Pearse (Piers), Grand-child, 4.

Manchester's Pedestrian Expansion: The "New Wave" of Holden's Administration

The enclosure of sporting arenas was common practice by 1850 with each ground developing attractive racing programmes in order to attract local and national audiences. Within Manchester's surrounding parishes, pedestrianism had a significant following with multiple arenas constructed to fulfil the demand for sport. The Salford Borough Gardens and attached Borough Inn, was acquired by the Attenbury family in the 1820s. Evolving from a gardens and pleasure ground to a racecourse in 1851, this arena hosted numerous pedestrian and coursing events within the city under the management of Abraham Attenbury until its closure on October 23, 1863. The family could no longer sustain the grounds, with the lease expiring on November 12, and the land was 'required for other purposes'. The emergence of more affluent and popular sporting venues also contributed to its decline.¹⁵³ Peter Waddacor's City Grounds, developed in rural Bradford, Manchester, became a first-class rabbit course from 1859. Attached to a working agricultural farmyard, "the Grange" expanded in 1862 being renamed and rebranded as a multi-purpose enclosed sporting venue affiliated to the Grange Hotel. Waddacor tended to the grounds until his death in 1870, utilising the expertise of "Sergeant" John Brittain for pedestrian promotion, and providing a breeding centre for competition rabbits, dogs and pigeons sustained by son, Peter Jnr, and daughter, Elizabeth, until circa 1886.¹⁵⁴ Additional venues included the Snipe Inn, Audenshaw, and the Park Inn Grounds, Prestwich, both established as renowned pedestrian pubs and later developed into running arenas,¹⁵⁵ whilst the Ash Inn Grounds, Stockport, and the Oldham based Higginshaw Grounds also catered for athletic competition outside of the city centre.¹⁵⁶

Whilst pedestrian facilities were being extended, updated and newly constructed, Martin established a different form of athletic entertainment that transported pedestrianism to all of Britain's regions, building on the efforts of his predecessors, such as Seward, in the late 1840s. A small group of pedestrians, which included Martin, Henry Reed of London, Edward "Welshman/Ruthin Stag" Roberts, Henry Molyneux of Halifax, John "Regent Street Pet" Smith, Charles Westhall, and George "the American Wonder" Seward, had regularly competed against each other in hurdling and sprinting

¹⁵³ *Census Returns*, Attenbury Family 1841 (HO 107/586/10); 1851 (HO 139/2224/416/46); 1861 (RG 9/2924); *Manchester Guardian*, September 16, 1846, 4; *Bell's Life*, April 11, 1852, 7; September 27, 1857, 3; October 10, 1863, 3; October 24, 1863, 3; September 7, 1872, 6.

¹⁵⁴ *Bell's Life*, December 18, 1859, 7; January 15, 1860, 6; April 21, 1861, 7; February 23, 1862, 7; June 29, 1862, 6; September 3, 1864, 7; February 3, 1866, 10; March 5, 1870, 3; December 24, 1870, 4; *Manchester Guardian*, December 5, 1866, 4; February 23, 1867, 5; July 27, 1867, 7; September 3, 1870, 7; January 27, 1871, 4; *Census Returns*, Peter Waddacor 1861 (RG 9/2968/62); 1871 (RG 10/4060/10); 1881 (RG 11/4016/84-85); *Manchester Times*, April 8, 1871, 6; August 23, 1879, 7; *Wills and Administration*, Peter Waddacor, April 27, 1870.

¹⁵⁵ *Bell's Life*, November 11, 1838; January 11, 1846, 7; June 7, 1857, 6; August 8, 1858, 8; March 23, 1862, 7; October 24, 1863, 3.

¹⁵⁶ *Bell's Life*, October 15, 1854, 7; September 9, 1855, 7; April 5, 1857, 1; March 23, 1862, 7.

events at different venues throughout England.¹⁵⁷ In July 1849, Seward recognised the potential for an exhibition demonstrating athletic prowess and the “Seward Benefit”, which saw himself and Reed ‘tour through the towns that he has visited’ throughout his time in England, was established in July 1849.¹⁵⁸ The 5ft 7, 11st, Seward, was born in Newhaven, Connecticut on October 16, 1817, beginning a successful athletic career in October 1840. In 1843, he travelled to England searching for new athletic competition, working and living in Durham, and befriending Martin in the process. British pedestrians ‘succumbed to his truly astonishing powers’ and he was titled ‘Champion of England and America’, although the term “champion” was rather ‘loosely employed’ and given to athletes by pedestrian promoters as a means of generating public patronage.¹⁵⁹ Nonetheless, his pedestrian feats attracted thousands of spectators, although his audiences soon dwindled. The American secured funding for a ‘monster pavilion (capable of holding 10,000 persons)’ that was to travel around the United Kingdom performing ‘old English sports and pastimes...which many “first-raters” have entered’, one of which was 22-year-old Martin. This short-lived amusement, aptly named ‘The Great American Arena’, was scheduled to commence at Peel Park Tavern, Pendleton, on September 24, 1849, but was postponed until October since the canvas could not be constructed in time.¹⁶⁰ On its grand opening, in the presence of approximately 2,000 people, George Martin defeated Roberts, Flockton and Smith in a 300-yard hurdle race to win a silver snuffbox before Seward conquered “Black Bess”, Mr Harwood’s mare, in a 100-yard event.¹⁶¹ The circus soon ended when it became impossible to dismantle, transport, and erect the tent effectively, with the final performance being held in Rochdale on October 8, 1849.¹⁶² However, this touring format was soon adapted and resurrected with Martin’s entrepreneurial venture, the “Deerfoot Circus”, in 1861.

In May, Martin, as part of his promotion of his pedestrian stable, sailed to America with the intention defeating his American counterparts.¹⁶³ On their arrival in the USA, the athletes entered competitions at the Fashion Race Course, Long Island, where their speed could not be matched and they remained undefeated. On July 10, 1861, White and Mower competed in ‘the great ten-mile foot-race’ against two Cattaraugus Indian athletes, Bennett and Smith, who, according to the *New York Daily Tribune*, ‘walked around with the imperturbable gravity of their race, and evidently viewed

¹⁵⁷ *Bell’s Life*, July 1, 1849, 7; July 9, 1849, 6.

¹⁵⁸ *Bell’s Life*, July 15, 1849, 3.

¹⁵⁹ *Bell’s Life*, July 1, 1849, 7; David A. Jamieson, *Powderhall and Pedestrianism: the History of a Famous Sports Enclosure (1870-1943)* (London: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1943), 35; Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics’ Noble Savage*, 129.

¹⁶⁰ *Bell’s Life*, September 23, 1849, 7; September 24, 1849, 7; September 30, 1849, 7.

¹⁶¹ *Bell’s Life*, October 7, 1849, 7.

¹⁶² Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics’ Noble Savage*, 129.

¹⁶³ *Era*, May 12, 1861.

their two white competitors with complacency'.¹⁶⁴ The 28-year-old native, Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett, who at 5ft 11½ and 11st 6lb towered over the British athletes, led the race from the start.¹⁶⁵ However, at seven miles, White, who had been 'running as light as an antelope', overtook the exhausted Bennett and claimed victory to 'the enthusiastic applause of the spectators'. Martin's techniques were admired, with reports stating that White's focus and execution had 'certainly never been seen in this country'.¹⁶⁶ Although elated with his runner's success, Martin was impressed with Bennett, and he encouraged the Indian to travel to Britain.¹⁶⁷ In July 1861, the Indian raced in costume around the decks of the Great Eastern and, on his arrival to Britain, began training under the watchful eye of Jack MacDonald, a solicitor, amateur runner and 'advisor' to Cambridge University athletes, 'who has been appointed by his [Bennett's] American backer to look after his interests'.¹⁶⁸ Many sporting men had come to view the 'Red Jacket' and his first competition, a ten-mile championship at London's Hackney Wick, attracted a varied clientele:

We do not remember to have seen for a long time past such an array of vehicles arriving at these grounds, and within the enclosure between 2,000 and 3,000 spectators were assembled, including many gentlemen who are not frequently in the habit of visiting courses set apart for foot racing. In short, all grades were present, including officers belonging and not belonging to the police; pedestrians (including the champion); pugilists, represented by the ex-champion; wrestlers of considerable note; the bar was represented by the presence of a barrister instead of a felon; the Turf by several connected with it, not omitting pigeon-shooters, as well as a considerable number of "publicans and sinners".¹⁶⁹

A 'marketing genius ahead of his time', Martin, aware of the interest surrounding Deerfoot within the sporting and British public and press, approached Bennett after his ten-mile success, and proposed a tour around the United Kingdom.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ *New York Daily Tribune*, June 11, 1861, 8.

¹⁶⁵ *The Times*, September 24, 1861, 10; October 9, 1861, 7; October 10, 1861, 12; October 15, 1861, 12; *Bell's Life*, September 15, 1861, 7.

¹⁶⁶ *The Times*, June 26, 1861, 12.

¹⁶⁷ *Post Standard*, November 10, 1997; John Lucas, 'Deerfoot in Britain: An Amazing Long Distance Runner, 1861-1863', *Journal of America Culture* 6, no. 3 (1983): 13.

¹⁶⁸ *Bell's Life*, September 8, 1861, 6; *Racing Times*, December 9, 1861, 389; Lovesey, *The Official Centenary of the Amateur Athletic Association*, 15; Alfred Rosling Bennett, *London and Londoners in the Eighteen-Fifties and Sixties* (Gloucestershire: Dodo Press, 2009), 351.

¹⁶⁹ *Scotsman*, September 10, 1861, 3; *Bell's Life*, September 22, 1861, 7.

¹⁷⁰ Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage*, 127.

Table 3. The ‘Deerfoot Circus’ Schedule 1862¹⁷¹

Month	Date	Location	Month	Date	Location	
May	7	Tunbridge Wells	June	1	Burslem	
	8	Reigate		2	Macclesfield	
	9	Guildford		3	Chesterfield	
	10	Aldershot		4	Retford	
	12	Windsor		5	Doncaster	
	13	Harrow		6	Pontefract	
	14	St Albans		7	Goole	
	15	Hertford		9	Hull	
	16	Hitchin		10	Grimsby	
	17	Bedford		11	Louth	
	19	Northampton		12	Lincoln	
	20	Rugby		13	Horncastle	
	21	Leamington		14	Boston	
	22	Coventry		16	Newark	
	23	Birmingham		17	Nottingham	
	24	Walsall		18	Derby	
	30	Dudley		19	Leicester	
	31	Wolverhampton		20	Stamford	
				21	Peterborough	
July	8	Ramsgate		August		
	9	Dover			1	Workington
	10	Folkstone	2		Cockermouth	
	11	Hastings	4		Maryport	
	12	Chichester	5		Carlisle	
	14	Southampton	6		Kendal	
	15	Bath	7		Bradford	
	16	Cheltenham	8/9		Halifax/Harrogate	
	26	Birkenhead	11/12		York/Scarborough	
	28	St Helens	13/14		Malton/Darlington	
	29	Lancaster	15/16		Durham/Sunderland	
	30	Ulverston	18/19		Newcastle/Edinburgh	
	31	Whitehaven	20/21		Glasgow/Stirling	
					22/23	Perth/Dundee
September	1	Manchester	25/26		Montrose/Aberdeen	
	2/10	Ireland	28		South Shields	
			29		Ripon	
			30		Leeds	

¹⁷¹ *Bell's Life*, May 11 1862, 7; May 18 1862, 7; May 25, 1862, 7; June 1, 1862, 6; June 8, 1862, 7; June 17, 1862, 7; June 22, 1862, 22; July 13, 1862, 7; July 27, 1862, 7; August 3, 1862, 6; August 10, 1862, 7; August 17, 1862, 7; *John Bull*, September 13, 1862, 581; Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage*, 131.

Martin planned and financed the show, entitled the 'Deerfoot Circus', which, working on the same principle as Seward's 1849 arena, would see Bennett and several professional athletes compete in sporting feats as part of a travelling exhibition as detailed in Table 3. The tour was arranged and Deerfoot, plus various famed pedestrians, including 'six-mile champion' Teddy "Young England" Mills, 'four-mile champion' John "Milkboy" Brighton, 'mile champion' William "Crowcatcher" Lang, and 'English champions' Mower, William "American Deer" Jackson, Stapleton and Andrews, agreed to compete every day, except Sunday, in four-mile displays whilst other athletes, pedestrians, jumpers, boxers, and horsemen, participated in 'all kinds of old English sports'.¹⁷² Whilst the circus was being constructed, Martin continued to promote Bennett. As ten-mile Champion, the Indian was required to race any man who wished to challenge his title, and Martin announced these events within the pages of *Bell's Life*.¹⁷³ Exotic advertising and promotional methods were utilised. Deerfoot would promenade before his races in ornate Indian clothing and his body overtly showcased, much to the female spectators' delight. Rumours that he refused a bed and would sleep naked on an animal skin only added to his allure.¹⁷⁴ Deerfoot's limits were challenged and he was subjected to many sporting trials, with the conclusion being that distance running was his forte.¹⁷⁵ Not satisfied with his pedestrian dominance, Bennett challenged 'champion swimmer of England', Frederick Beckwith, 'to swim 20 lengths of Lambeth Baths, for £50', but this was ultimately forfeited one week before its execution due to the 'Red Jacket's demanding schedule'.¹⁷⁶ In December 1861, Martin travelled to Cambridge University where, in the presence of the Prince of Wales, he watched Deerfoot overcome Lang, Brighton and Barker in a six-mile contest.¹⁷⁷ Doubts about the legitimacy of these events, however, had started to surface. The *Racing Post* suggested that 'the pedestrians whom Deerfoot has "beaten" have been hired to play their part in the farce like any other actor', and this view was confirmed when Edwin "Young England" Mills reported that his non-start at the Cambridge race was due to his reluctance to 'play second fiddle to the red 'un...the consequence being that they [Martin and MacDonald] would not allow him to start at all'.¹⁷⁸ Nonetheless, visitors of both sexes still travelled, and paid, to see the 'star runner', which Martin used to his advantage.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² *Bell's Life*, May 11, 1862, 7; *Scotsman*, August 18, 1862, 1.

¹⁷³ *Bell's Life*, September 29, 1861, 6.

¹⁷⁴ David Sampson, 'Strangers in a Strange Land: the 1868 Aborigines and Other Indigenous Performers in Mid-Victorian Britain' (PhD. diss., University of Technology, Sydney, 2000), 105.

¹⁷⁵ *Scotsman*, October 15, 1861, 3; *Bell's Life*, November 10, 1861, 7.

¹⁷⁶ *The Times*, October 7, 1861, 10; *Bell's Life*, September 29, 1861, 3; October 20, 1861, 6; *Manchester Guardian*, October 28, 1861, 4.

¹⁷⁷ *John Bull*, December 7, 1861, 773.

¹⁷⁸ *Racing Post*, December 9, 1861, 389; *Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, December 8, 1891, 581.

¹⁷⁹ *Scotsman*, October 2, 1861, 3; April 2, 1862, 3; Lucas, 'Deerfoot in Britain': 14.

Martin was known as the ‘wizard of pedestrianism’ or the ‘wizard of the North’, according to Sears, ‘for his innovative ideas and promotional abilities’, examples of which are clearly demonstrated through Deerfoot’s competitions.¹⁸⁰ Martin had stakes in photographs of the Indian that were hung in public houses all over Britain, lithographs were produced in the *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, and the operetta “Deerfoot” became a musical hit.¹⁸¹ As part of the racing “show”, Martin would parade Bennett in native clothing with ‘wolfskin cloak’, ‘buckskin moccasins’ and around his head ‘one eagle-feather, the symbol of victory and power’. His racing apparel included ‘tights, and wearing a girdle richly ornamented with floss silk and feathers, and also a slight belt, to which several small bells were attached’.¹⁸² Deerfoot would give his war-cry, a ‘yell so shrill, ear-splitting, and protracted’ when he defeated his opponents and, as Hayes describes:

...when Martin thought he [Deerfoot] had exercised his legs enough, he used to run into the middle of the course, stretch out his arms, shout out some gibberish, which passed for Cherokee or Iroquois, and try to stop the wild man who used to act the part to perfection and take a lot of catching and holding.¹⁸³

The performance element of the races added to their entertainment value and when the ‘Deerfoot Travelling Race Course’ opened in May 1862, Martin continued to present the native in a similar manner:

G. Martin wishes to inform the public that, having received so many application for Deerfoot to run at various parts of the country, and so few places being enclosed where a race can take place, Martin has, at an enormous expense, built a travelling race course, twelve feet high, and nearly a quarter of a mile in circumference, so that a race can take place in any town where an even piece of ground can be selected.¹⁸⁴

Martin’s ‘*monstre* canvas race course, 1,000ft in circumference’ contained a 220-yard portable track for these demonstrations, which was transported by road to each venue, whilst the athletes themselves went by rail, travelling over 3,000 miles in the first nine weeks alone.¹⁸⁵ The tour regularly

¹⁸⁰ *Era*, September 22, 1861, 9; *Bell’s Life*, July 2, 1864, 4; *Sports Quarterly Magazine*, no. 6 (1978): 12-14; Edward S. Sears, *Running Through the Ages* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2001), 139.

¹⁸¹ *Bell’s Life*, September 22, 1861, 7; June 22, 1862, 2; *Scotsman*, April 1, 1862, 1; *Birmingham Daily Post*, September 18, 1862, 8.

¹⁸² *The Times*, October 3, 1861, 7; *Penny Illustrated Paper*, October 19, 1861, 11; Warren Library Association, *Warren Centennial: An Account of the Celebration at Warren, Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania: Warren Library Association, 1897), 121.

¹⁸³ *John Bull*, April 19, 1862, 256; Matthew Horace Hayes, *Among Men and Horses* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), 18.

¹⁸⁴ *Bell’s Life*, May 11, 1862, 7.

¹⁸⁵ *Bell’s Life*, September 14, 1862, 7.

attracted 4,000-5,000 spectators from all backgrounds, including 'a large proportion of ladies, noblemen, any officers, and a great number of military'.¹⁸⁶ The races started each evening at six, with admission from five for the price of one shilling within the amphitheatre and sixpence in stand, where there were also 'seats for ladies'.¹⁸⁷ However, Martin began to struggle financially and trouble with the law ensued.

According to Hadgraft, 'tales emerged of heavy drinking and the occasional brawl, and as the weeks went by the reputation of Martin and Deerfoot, in particular, took a pounding'.¹⁸⁸ Martin was prosecuted for assault and ordered to face one month's imprisonment or pay a £3 fine, choosing the latter, with Bennett also being charged for strangling a spectator.¹⁸⁹ Within the crowds, pick pocketing was rife, which led to confrontations in court, and members of the "circus" staff were tried for robbery.¹⁹⁰ Martin's athletes, concerned about the growing number of illegalities, presented themselves as witnesses against their manager, and on the October 23, 1862, William "American Deer" Jackson, with the support of his fellow performers sued Martin for lack of pay and poor living conditions. Throughout the hearing, and in the presence of numerous reporters, Jackson announced that the matches were fixed with Martin 'working' them in the Indian's favour. Harry Andrews also appeared in a separate court dispute where he stated that prizes were 'imaginary' and that the public were unaware of the practices Martin employed.¹⁹¹ Tour manager, William Lang, one of Martin's close confidants, confirmed malpractice and, as a result, interest in the extravaganza subsided, concluding on September 10, 1862, only five months after its launch.¹⁹² Martin's reputation was threatened on many occasions but towards the end of his career it was the allegations of match-fixing, violence and fraud that were being widely reported. It should be noted, however, that this was a common feature of professional foot-racing in the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁹³

Due to the negative attention that surrounded Deerfoot, the Indian returned to America in May 1863, with 'upwards of a thousand pounds as the fruits of his running labours', subsequently

¹⁸⁶ *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, May 17, 1862, 75; *Era*, May 18, 1862, 14; *Bell's Life*, May 18, 1862, 7.

¹⁸⁷ *Scotsman*, August 18, 1862, 1.

¹⁸⁸ Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage*, 133.

¹⁸⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, January 12, 1863, 3; *Penny Illustrated*, January 17, 1863, 43; *Lancaster Gazette, and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland, Yorkshire &c.*, January 17, 1863, 6.

¹⁹⁰ *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, June 13, 1862, 6; *Bedford Times*, cited in Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage*, 133.

¹⁹¹ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, May 1, 1864, 12.

¹⁹² *John Bull*, October 25, 1862, 685; *Scotsman*, October 25, 1862, 3; *Bell's Life*, October 26, 1862, 7; *New York Clipper*, October 28 1862, 284; *Standard*, November 7 1862, 3; Hayes, *Among Men and Horses*, 18.

¹⁹³ Don Watson, 'Popular Athletics on Victorian Tyneside', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 3 (1994): 485-494; Emma Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century', *The Sports Historian*, 20, no.2 (2000): 58.

becoming the wealthiest man in his reserve.¹⁹⁴ Deerfoot always maintained that his races were legitimate and, before his death in 1896, he insisted that his training was the same, if not more intense, than all of Martin's athletes. He 'ran and walked at least forty miles a day...his trainer watched with a watch in one hand and a whip in the other...he had no rest...only at night'. He had been treated like an animal and as a profit-making tool rather than a human being.¹⁹⁵ Martin's reputation was further damaged with news reports emerging that described his 'dishonourable character' and 'disgraceful shams and frauds upon the public', with County Court Judge, Mr J.F. Fraser, announcing in 1862, 'I trust that you (addressing the reporters) will convey my strong opinion of such disgraceful affairs'.¹⁹⁶ However, Martin continued to work as a trainer and backer at his new home in Garratt Lane, Tooting, near to Mr John Garratt's 'Copenhagen Grounds, Garratt-Lane, Wandsworth' where he constructed, witnessed and held articles of agreements for races against his pedestrian athletes.¹⁹⁷ In November 1863, Martin returned to Manchester where he undertook a new business project that contributed to his celebrity, which was maintained for years to come.

Oldham Road Community

In the mid-1860s, pedestrianism had started to decline, and the 'triple role of promoters, layers, and backers...could only have one conclusion, namely, the loss of confidence from the public and the ultimate collapse of the whole series of promotions'.¹⁹⁸ Although the excitement of Deerfoot and his exhibitions brought a renewed interest in the sport, especially in London, this was short lived and the capital's pedestrian circuit soon disappeared.¹⁹⁹ However, outside of London pedestrianism continued to survive in working-class communities with the number of pedestrian venues ever increasing.²⁰⁰ Although land in Manchester was heavily developed, being mostly reserved for housing and factory construction, the rural outskirts still provided open space for athletic endeavours. Newton Heath's Oldham Road, a major thoroughfare lined with high-density housing and mills, and well-known for its social deprivation, 'was swarming with drunken men and women and with young mill girls shouting, hallooing and romping with each other...the public houses roaring full...[and] loud

¹⁹⁴ *Scotsman*, May 20, 1863, 3; Lucas, 'Deerfoot in Britain': 16-17.

¹⁹⁵ Warren Library Association, *Warren Centennial*, 122-123; *Washington Post*, July 19, 1908, 15.

¹⁹⁶ *John Bull*, October 25, 1862, 685; *New York Clipper*, October 28, 1862, 284; *Standard*, November 7, 1862, 3.

¹⁹⁷ *Bell's Life*, December 22, 1861, 6; July 19, 1863, 7.

¹⁹⁸ Neil, *Walking: a Practical Guide to Pedestrianism for Athletes and Others*, 19; Jamieson, *Powderhall and Pedestrianism*, 104.

¹⁹⁹ Roe, *Front Runners*, 51-53.

²⁰⁰ Metcalfe, 'Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889': 478.

sounds of music and jollity floated out of the public house windows'.²⁰¹ During the 1850s, the Newton Heath area also established a reputation as a sporting centre with over forty public houses within the vicinity tied to sporting entertainment. For example, Tom Price's Vulcan Inn, Oldham Street provided a 'large room for public and private sparing',²⁰² and J. Seville's Pedestrian Tavern, Manchester Road, was named after its primary interest groups.²⁰³ The Old King's Arms, Newton, was under the management of John Booth, and the Weavers' Arms, Failsworth, was run by Joseph Etchells, both prominent pedestrian trainers,²⁰⁴ while professional athlete and instructor William Lang took the license at the Pheasant Inn, Openshaw.²⁰⁵ Sporting referee J. Taylor lived at the New Inn and cycling enthusiast Jack Rooke hosted the Locomotive Inn.²⁰⁶ Elsewhere, mile runners William Richards and Siah Albison both tended to their establishments the Black Horse, and Britannia Inn respectively, all of which were located on the Oldham Road thoroughfare, Newton Heath.²⁰⁷ Pedestrian activities were widely promoted through the Newton Heath network and the formation of the Copenhagen Grounds in 1857 further demonstrated the locale's control of sport during the mid-nineteenth century, with many of the major players remaining inextricably connected to the Holden family.

As a leading sporting venue in Manchester, the Copenhagen Grounds hosted pedestrian, wrestling, rabbit coursing and pigeon shooting events, all under the watchful eye of Thomas Hayes. A professional middle-distance runner, "Tommy" Hayes, was born February 1826, in Wolverhampton, Staffordshire,²⁰⁸ moved to Manchester with his blacksmith family, and was pursuing a career in athletics by 1846.²⁰⁹ Alias the "Halshaw-Moor Pet", and later noted as 'Hayes of Middleton', he had an illustrious pedestrian career and he became the leading runner over four miles under the guidance of J. Walker, the "Rochdale Antelope", and T. Marler of Newton Moor.²¹⁰ Many of his races were conducted against John Tetlow, the well-known Oldham runner, both being credited as 'the most celebrated runners of the day'. Public interest in these head-to-head matches was so

²⁰¹ Angus B. Reach, *Manchester and the Textile District in 1849* (Helmshore, Lancashire: Helmshore Local History Society, 1972), 61.

²⁰² *Bell's Life*, October 19, 1867, 7.

²⁰³ *Bell's Life*, April 5, 1857, 1.

²⁰⁴ *Bell's Life*, June 18, 1864, 7; February 22, 1868, 7.

²⁰⁵ *Bell's Life*, June 12, 1869, 7.

²⁰⁶ *Bell's Life*, December 15, 1861, 6; August 5, 1871, 5.

²⁰⁷ *Bell's Life*, October 26, 1867, 7; July 21, 1869, 4.

²⁰⁸ *Parish Registers for Wolverhampton St Peter's, 1538-1875*, Thomas Hayes baptised on February 28, 1826 in St Peter's, Wolverhampton, to Peter and Maria Hayes (FHL 497360-5).

²⁰⁹ *Census Returns*, Thomas Hayes 1841 (HO 107/999/13/25/9/1); 1851 (HO 47/2242); 1861 (RG 9/2965); 1871 (RG 10/4037); 1881 (RG 11/3989); 1891 (RG 12/3227); Hayes Family 1851 (HO 107/2226/521/54-55); *Bell's Life*, July 25, 1847, 7; April 30, 1848, 6; *Era*, September 10, 1848, 7.

²¹⁰ *Bell's Life*, July 25, 1847, 7; December 5, 1847, 7; January 9, 1848, 6; January 7, 1849, 6; March 7, 1852, 6; *Era*, December 19, 1847, 4; April 2, 1848, 4; April 22, 1849, 4.

considerable that extra trains were arranged to carry spectators from Manchester to Aintree, Liverpool, when both athletes competed on May 1851.²¹¹ In 1852, Hayes married Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of publican and pedestrian referee John Taylor,²¹² and the couple then moved to the Commercial Inn, Middleton, where Hayes' family expanded.²¹³ Hayes subsequently announced his retirement from the sport,²¹⁴ entering into the training of and conditioning of athletes for numerous events.²¹⁵ Although reports of Hayes competing re-emerged in 1855,²¹⁶ he continued to attend Belle Vue and Salford Borough Gardens where he supported his athletic stable, comprising of "Dad Lad", Pomfret and the "German Lad".²¹⁷ Throughout Hayes' competitive career he had been acquainted with James Holden, Holden being stakeholder to Hayes in 1847, officiating in Hayes' match against Tommy Lee in 1855, and acting as referee for his athlete Pomfret in 1856.²¹⁸ This relationship blossomed further with Hayes' new business enterprise in 1857.

Although a successful trainer, Hayes raised his public profile considerably when he acquired the Shear's Inn, located on the corner of Oldham Road and Shears Street, Newton Heath, two miles outside of Manchester city centre. Here, he began construction of a superior running ground in the eighteen acres of land situated behind the public house.²¹⁹ *Bell's Life* reported that 'the spread of pedestrianism is, at all times, gratifying, and therefore we hail with satisfaction the formation of any additional foot-racing arena, especially when we have good reason to believe to sport will be fairly and honourable conducted within it'.²²⁰ Costing approximately £600, and taking five months to construct, the Copenhagen Grounds opened on the March 21, 1857. The *Era* described Hayes as a household name and suggested that his ground would be acknowledged in the same way. Over 3,000 spectators paid three-pence admission to view the opening weekend's 'All England' sprinting

²¹¹ *Manchester Guardian*, May 14, 1851, 8.

²¹² *Marriage Certificate*, Thomas Hayes and Elizabeth Taylor April 22, 1852; *Bell's Life*, September 2, 1860, 7.

²¹³ *Register of Baptisms in the Parish of Tonge cum Alkrington, St Michael, in the County of Lancashire, October 1839-September 1862*, Emma Hayes, April 26, 1854, 158; Walter Hayes, March 16, 1856, 185; *Register of Baptisms in the Parish of Manchester and Chapelry of Newton in the County of Lancaster, 1844-1860*, Elizabeth Heyes (sic.), November 29, 1857, 263; Annie Hayes, January 22, 1860, 298; *1860-1886*, Thomas Hayes, February 2, 1862, 28; Mary Hayes, July 3, 1864, 63; Ralph Hayes, June 10, 1866, 87; Death of Mary Hayes, aged 9 months, *Manchester Times*, February 11, 1865, 8; *Register of Baptisms, St Matthew's Manchester*, Volume 4, *January 1864-June 1876*, Sarah Hayes, February 13, 1870, 249; James Hayes, January 28, 1872, 340; John Hayes, November 22, 1874, 472; Whellan, *A New General Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 883.

²¹⁴ *Bell's Life*, May 9, 1852, 7.

²¹⁵ *Bell's Life*, November 2, 1856, 7; *Era*, March 11, 1855, 4; April 8, 1855, 4; *Manchester Guardian*, May 14, 1851, 8.

²¹⁶ Reports of a race between Hayes (29; 9st, 2lb) and Lee (31-32), publicans of Middleton, is announced (*Era*, April 8, 1855, 4), although, according to later reports, this was his last race (*Era*, March 29, 1857, 13).

²¹⁷ *Era*, March 11, 1855, 9; February 22, 1857, 13; *Bell's Life*, November 2, 1856, 7.

²¹⁸ *Bell's Life*, April 18, 1847, 7; April 8, 1855, 6.

²¹⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, October 22, 1856, 1; October 25, 1856, 8; *Manchester Times*, January 17, 1857, 4; *Bell's Life*, February 22, 1857, 7; *Era*, February 22, 1857, 4.

²²⁰ *Bell's Life*, March 29, 1857, 7.

festivities, which continued even when snowfall covered the cinder track on the final afternoon.²²¹ The course consisted of a perfectly flat and well-drained 750-yard circular track, with a 235-yard straight six-yards wide, which was fully enclosed, 'except where the canal forms a boundary', by 5ft high wooden barriers. For an additional fee of two shillings, upwards of 1,000 spectators could enjoy the 'substantial and commodious stand, from which an uninterrupted view of the contests is obtained'. Reports suggested that the grounds quickly gained a good reputation among both pedestrians and spectators alike, and ranked highly 'in the estimation of the lovers of sport in the locality in which it situates'.²²² Hayes' marketing of the arena meant that he no longer had time to continue training pedestrians, and he announced his retirement as a trainer in order to effectively promote foot racing at the grounds.²²³ Hayes developed the profile of athletes by gaining the rights for several high-profile peds, most notably Thomas Horspool who became the 'English Champion' and record holder for the mile in 1858, a novel marketing tool which encouraged attendance on match days.²²⁴ Hayes continuously promoted the Copenhagen Grounds, continuing to increase its profile in the local and national press by regularly featuring within the pedestrian pages of *Bell's Life*, and the grounds gained a reputation as a leading pedestrian and shooting venue.²²⁵ In the early years, Hayes relied on Holden to foster interest by holding stakes at his White Lion establishment, and father-in-law John Taylor, a well-respected referee and judge, regularly attended the course to provide his expertise on race days.²²⁶ Hayes soon assumed responsibility as stakeholder, referee and timekeeper in numerous races,²²⁷ working closely with Holden, Piers and Taylor,²²⁸ and his constant presence and 'jolly disposition' made the Copenhagen a favoured venue for those in the sporting world, with subsequent reports of the ground being overpopulated highlighting the success of the business.²²⁹

With the closure of the Salford Borough Gardens in 1863, the Copenhagen Grounds increased its commercial viability, becoming the premier pedestrian arena in Manchester. The Newton Heath area also benefitted from transportation developments when Miles Platting railway station opened in

²²¹ *Era*, March 29, 1857, 13.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Bell's Life*, March 22, 1857, 7.

²²⁴ *Bell's Life*, February 4, 1865, 7; Bob Phillips, 'The Ancient Art of Mile Pacemaking', *Official Journal of the British Milers' Club*, 3, no. 16 (2004): 29.

²²⁵ The Copenhagen Grounds had its own heading within the pedestrianism pages of *Bell's Life* from 1858.

²²⁶ *Bell's Life*, February 22, 1857, 7; May 3, 1857, 7; January 3, 1858, 7; *Era*, June 20, 1858, 6; November 28, 1858, 7.

²²⁷ *Bell's Life*, January 10, 1858, 7; January 17, 1858, 6; February 7, 1858, 7; September 26, 1858, 6; December 18, 1859, 7; *Era*, January 2, 1859, 4.

²²⁸ *Bell's Life*, December 15, 1861, 6.

²²⁹ *Bell's Life*, March 29, 1857, 7; January 3, 1858, 6; *Era*, April 19, 1857, 14; May 31, 1857, 5; January 3, 1858, 6.

1844, extending its reach to commuters from Leeds, Liverpool and Bolton, and the omnibus system, established circa 1832, grew in size, reach and frequency whilst becoming cheaper.²³⁰ In November 1863, quick to realise the potential for another arena and the best location in which to exploit the sporting community, Martin retired as a trainer and backer of pedestrians and announced his intention to develop the grounds attached to the Royal Oak Hotel, his new establishment on Oldham Road, Fletcher Street, Newton Heath.²³¹ The location was perfect since Miles Platting railway station was within 600 yards, omnibuses stopped every fifteen minutes within 200 yards of the ground, and it was less than half a mile from the renowned Copenhagen Running Grounds, with which Martin had strong connections.²³² Sixteen-acres of land were enclosed with Martin spending £2000 to ensure the ground would be 'first class'.²³³ The Royal Oak Park boasted an 651-yard circular track, a quarter of a mile straight course, a circular 750-yard rabbit course where 'no dog can meet with accident', a wrestling arena, bowling green, quoits ground, trotting course and grandstand all within a fenced enclosure capable of holding 20,000 people with ease. Further amenities included a shower-bath with soap, towels and brushes which could be used by the public for one penny, and a portable dressing room, with carpets and fittings, where athletes could 'strip by the fireside opposite the starting post'.²³⁴ Martin promoted the grounds as the most exclusive in Britain, surpassing all others grounds in size, facilities and convenience.²³⁵ A festival spirit was reported on opening day with crowds of over 3,000 spectators flocking to the ground and the first event, a 'great mile race' between two leading 'spinners', Siah Albison and James "Treacle" Sanderson, widely promoted within the sporting press.²³⁶ The track was marked by coloured flags at each quarter mile as a guide for spectators, the dressing room placed directly opposite the starting mark and, in true British style, the 'royal standard hoisted at the finish'.²³⁷ At the conclusion of the athletic events, music played, which 'greatly enlivened the proceedings', and the *Era* reported that the Royal Oak would 'no doubt be the finest enclosed pedestrian ground in the kingdom'.²³⁸ The *Illustrated Sporting News and*

²³⁰ Manchester Corporation Transport Department, *A Hundred Years of Road Passenger Transport in Manchester* (Manchester, Manchester Corporation Municipal Government, 1935), 11-14; John A. Patmore, 'The Railway Network of the Manchester Conurbation', *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 34 (1964): 166.

²³¹ *Bell's Life*, November 28, 1863, 7.

²³² *Bell's Life*, February 20, 1864, 6.

²³³ Approximately £145,000 by today's monetary value; *Bell's Life*, February 22, 1857, 7; *Era*, February 22, 1857, 9; November 28, 1863, 7; April 24, 1864, 14.

²³⁴ *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, April 9, 1864, 54; April 23, 1864, 77.

²³⁵ *Bell's Life*, February 13, 1864, 6; February 20, 1864, 6.

²³⁶ *Era*, April 17, 1864, 14.

²³⁷ *Bell's Life*, April 9, 1864, 7.

²³⁸ *Era*, April 24, 1864, 14.

Theatrical and Musical Review observed that Martin was ‘the right man at the right place...we trust Mr Martin will receive that support which he deserves’.²³⁹

Reports of Newton Heath’s sporting grounds being overpopulated were common.²⁴⁰ During the St Ledger Mile in 1864, the Royal Oak exceeded its capacity, with the proprietor taking over £600 in entrance fees alone, and the ‘rush for admission was so great that the gates were burst through, and thousands gained admission for free’.²⁴¹ Holden and Piers took on the duties of stakeholder, starter and referee at both facilities along the Oldham Road whilst Hayes regularly appeared at Martin’s course and Martin at Hayes’.²⁴² With the Copenhagen Grounds being within the same locality as the Royal Oak, Martin and Hayes, as proprietors of these venues, worked in conjunction with each other to ensure profits. To avoid clashing with the Royal Oak programme, Hayes delayed Fitton and Radcliffe’s four-mile race in 1864 to enable spectators to migrate from stadium to stadium, thereby turning these entertainments into daylong affairs.²⁴³ However, as pedestrianism started to lose credibility, the race grounds that survived did so by providing further amusements and introducing innovative business ventures.²⁴⁴ In this respect, Martin followed the same principles as successful publicans such as William Sharples and Mr Rouse. Proprietor of The Star Inn, Bolton, Sharples provided a concert hall with dancing, acrobats, clowns, waxworks, live exhibits and ornamental gardens, regularly filling the venue to its 1,500 capacity.²⁴⁵ The renowned Mr Rouse, of the Eagle Tavern, City-Road, London, offered entertainments such as T.Cooke’s Circus, “Cockney Sportsmen”, and grand concerts within the Grecian Saloon and Olympic Temple, which was ‘capable of containing about fifteen hundred people’, as well as ‘ornamental pleasure grounds...most tastefully laid out in parterres of flowers and gravelled walks, relieved by beautiful fountains’.²⁴⁶ Martin’s own grounds featured ornamental gardens with statues and sculptures, pianists and singers, aeronauts and photographers. The grounds were open to visitors daily from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. where, for a small fee, they could stroll in the gardens, enjoy dancing and view “live exhibits”.²⁴⁷ During the Royal Oak’s

²³⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, April 18, 1864, 4; *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, April 23, 1864, 77.

²⁴⁰ *Bell’s Life*, April 16, 1864, 7; *Manchester Guardian*, June 27, 1864, 4; *Era*, July 3, 1864, 14.

²⁴¹ *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, June 27, 1864, 3.

²⁴² *Birmingham Daily Post*, June 19, 1865, 7; *Bell’s Life*, August 20, 1864, 7.

²⁴³ *Bell’s Life*, April 9, 1864, 2; June 11, 1864, 7; *Era*, July 30, 1865, 14.

²⁴⁴ *Manchester Times*, July 9, 1853, 3; *Bell’s Life*, February 22, 1857, 7; *Free Lance*, February 8, 1868; Robert Poole, ‘Wakes Holidays and Pleasure Fairs in the Lancashire Cotton District, c.1790-1890’ (PhD diss., Lancaster University, 1985), 159; Reach, *A Cotton-Fibre Halo: Manchester and the Textile Districts in 1849*, 111.

²⁴⁵ Robert Poole, *Popular Leisure and the Music-Hall in Nineteenth-Century Bolton* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Press, 1982), 51-55.

²⁴⁶ Bishopsgate Institute Archives – *Eagle Tavern/Grecian Theatre, City Road: Playbills and Illustrations, 1829-1899* (London Collection Manuscripts/72).

²⁴⁷ *Era*, March 13, 1864, 14; September 3, 1865, 1; *Manchester Guardian*, September 6, 1865, 1.

construction, noted runner and Seneca Indian, “Steeprock”, stayed at the hostelry, and Martin allotted him and his family a piece of land in the centre of the course where he erected a wigwam.²⁴⁸ Every Sunday, Steeprocks would dress in native costume and parade the gardens, and display his regalia before and after his pedestrian matches at the grounds.²⁴⁹ His wife was an accomplished bead-worker and manufactured small pieces of handmade crafts that were later sold to the public.²⁵⁰ Similarly, in September 1865, Martin’s agent, Harry Montague, advertised for several permanent positions at the Royal Oak including a scholastic tutor, first-class hairdresser, and a barman and cellarman of good ability, as well ‘novelties of any description – bird or beast’ for hire or purchase. Ten barmen and twenty waiters were also needed once a week for important weekend fixtures. The Royal Oak presented a ‘Gipsy Encampment’ where the gypsy king, queen and their tribe would be situated, accompanied by daily music and dancing and the ‘great horse show’, launched in conjunction with the traveller’s arrival. These exhibits became as much a part of the Royal Oak’s allure as the sporting festivities, with Martin providing Saturday and Monday sporting activities, in association with his exhibits. Trotting was provided during the gypsy gathering and pedestrianism promoted during Steeprocks’s appearances. Hayes moved away from pedestrianism in order to focus on the promotion of pigeon shooting and Cornish wrestling, breeding and selling pigeons for competition and designing equipment for the wrestling circuit.²⁵¹

Death and Decline: The Holden Legacy

The sport of pedestrianism declined due to the pressure of amateur organisations and concerns surrounding the publicans and their increased sporting influence, which ‘could only have one conclusion, namely, the loss of confidence from the public and the ultimate collapse of the whole series of promotions’.²⁵² Whilst Alice Martin continued to use her knowledge of the drinks trade to help run the Royal Oak, as barmaid and collecting gate money on race days,²⁵³ both her father and husband were suffering with illness. By 1860, Holden’s association with sport had started to decline as old age and ailments prevented him from being present at race meetings. Holden contracted bronchitis which rendered him house bound and resulted in his death on May 26, 1865, aged 69, in

²⁴⁸ *Era*, March 13, 1864, 14.

²⁴⁹ *Bell’s Life*, April 9, 1864, 7; May 7, 1864, 7.

²⁵⁰ *Era*, March 13, 1864, 14.

²⁵¹ *Bell’s Life*, March 20, 1875, 9; June 16, 1869, 7; *Manchester Guardian*, March 3, 1870, 8; January 27, 1871, 4.

²⁵² Neil, *Walking: a Practical Guide to Pedestrianism for Athletes and Others*, 19; Jamieson, *Powderhall and Pedestrianism*, 104.

²⁵³ *Manchester Guardian*, April 18, 1864, 4.

the presence of his son at the family home.²⁵⁴ Prior to Holden's death, daughter Sarah and husband Piers acquired the Royal Hunt, Bury Street, Salford, where the family promoted coursing within the locale, utilising Hayes and Waddacor's expertise to successfully run the establishment.²⁵⁵ James Holden Jnr, a professional sprinter himself,²⁵⁶ had assisted his father in running the White Lion from 1864. He was also regularly seen at the various Manchester and Sheffield grounds, assuming the role of referee and timekeeper.²⁵⁷ Holden Jnr subsequently embraced his father's legacy by taking proprietorship of the White Lion with the approval of both the local and national press.²⁵⁸ In Holden's last will and testament he expressed his gratitude to his brother, John, and friend, Samuel Pearson, for 'apprenticing my children James and Sarah to suitable trades or businesses', and he left the public house and effects of under £100 to his five children.²⁵⁹

Although the Royal Oak was in excellent condition, Martin was not. His physique, which had previously attracted admiration, had become rotund and he looked older than his father-in-law Holden, who was nearly 30 years his senior.²⁶⁰ In September 1865, reports spread that the previously 'energetic and spirited proprietor', Martin, had been suffering from 'mental afflictions' and was unable to officiate.²⁶¹ On September 7, 1865, Martin was hospitalised at Wye House, Buxton, for 'over attention to business and excitement'.²⁶² The Victorian asylum was considered in a negative light, as were the lunatics themselves, even though the 1845 Lunacy Act and County Asylum Act had 'fundamentally changed the treatment of mentally ill people from that of prisoners to patients...one of the great moves towards compassionate social reform'.²⁶³ The Act was concerned with the lack of pauper asylums, county-run institutions, hospitals, workhouses and prisons, all of which had a long history of mistreatment of inmates and overcrowding.²⁶⁴ During the nineteenth century, 'charitable hospitals' opened that provided the upper- and middle-class lunatics, a refuge from the county asylums for a fee, and it was common for these private asylums to be described as 'retreats' where

²⁵⁴ *Death Certificate*, James Holden 1865 (DYC 866432); *Manchester Guardian*, May 27, 1865, 5; *Bell's Life*, May 27, 1865, 8.

²⁵⁵ *Bell's Life*, August 27, 1864, 7.

²⁵⁶ *Era*, February 22, 1857, 13; October 3, 1858, 10; June 5, 1859, 6.

²⁵⁷ *Bell's Life*, May 13, 1865, 7; May 20, 1865, 7; October 21, 1865, 7.

²⁵⁸ *Bell's Life*, May 27, 1865, 8; September 30, 1865, 7; November 10, 1866, 7.

²⁵⁹ *Will and Probate*, James Holden, August 16, 1865 (G 3000 6/63).

²⁶⁰ *Bell's Life*, May 13, 1865, 7.

²⁶¹ *Bell's Life*, September 16, 1865, 7; October 21, 1865, 7.

²⁶² *Notice of Admission*, George Martin, September 1865, Derbyshire Record Office (Q/Asylum).

²⁶³ Cambridge County Council, *General Introduction: A History of County Asylums* (Cambridge: Cambridge Council, 2011), 3.

²⁶⁴ Joan Lane, *A Social History of Medicine Health, Healing and Disease in England, 1750-1950* (London: Routledge, 2001), 99.

families could commit 'disturbed relatives' for a period of respite.²⁶⁵ Wye House, a privately funded institution, marketed itself as a hospital for 'the care and treatment of the insane of the higher and middle classes'. The property had been designed to resemble an 'ordinary dwelling-house', offering home comforts and promoting health to visitors from the West-Midland and North-West regions. According to its advertisements, 'amusements, such as reading, music, drawing, excursions, fishing, billiards, &c' were provided whilst the library was stocked with daily newspapers, magazines and periodicals, the patients connected by telegraph to their families, and the extensive pleasure gardens contained conservatories, lawns for outdoor games, a skating rink, American bowling alleys and indoor gymnastic apparatus for further sporting novelties.²⁶⁶ Ultimately, these private institutes were expensive and patients who could not afford their hospitalisation would be admitted into state-funded establishments where care was not as comfortable.²⁶⁷ Wife, Alice, committed Martin for his continued rambling and refusal to sleep. Friend and ex-athlete, Teddy Mills, noted 'he refuses food; and also refuses to see his wife saying that she wants to kill him', while John Parke, another close acquaintance, insisted 'he declares he is going to make his racing grounds into a paradise and invite the French King, Victoria and all the Royal Family. He is going to lay the Atlantic Cable and have it completed in a month and he is going to invite the moon down into his gardens and make £100,000 a month'. Acute mania was certified.²⁶⁸ However, less than a week after his admission Martin was discharged, said to have 'recovered by the authority of Alice Martin',²⁶⁹ although reports suggested that he had escaped.²⁷⁰ According to Roe, Martin travelled to London where he stayed with friends in a 'very disturbed state', being so distressed that he had to be restrained and transported to Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum, Hanwell, a hospital for the criminal and pauper insane.²⁷¹

On October 21, 1865, 38-year-old Martin died at St Martins Workhouse Hospital, Middlesex, with the cause of death diagnosed as 'cerebral disease' due to mania.²⁷² A lengthy obituary was published in *Bell's Life* on October 28, 1865, the publication that for so many years had supported the well-known sporting entrepreneur. According to the author, 'in the estimation of the late George Martin all other

²⁶⁵ William Parry-Jones, 'Asylums for the Mentally Ill in Historical Perspective', *Psychiatric Bulletin* 12 (1988): 407-408; David Wright, 'Getting Out of the Asylum: Understanding the Confinement of the Insane in the Nineteenth Century', *Social History of Medicine* 10 (1997): 137.

²⁶⁶ Post Office, *Post Office Directory of the Counties of Derby, Leicester, Rutland and Nottingham* (London: Kelly & Co. 1876), 36.

²⁶⁷ John K. Walton, 'Lunacy in the Industrial Revolution: a Study of Asylum Admissions in Lancashire, 1848-1850', *Journal of Social History* 13 (1979): 6.

²⁶⁸ *Medical Certificate*, George Martin, September 1865, Derbyshire Record Office (Q/Asylum).

²⁶⁹ *Notice of Discharge or Removal of a Lunatic from a Licensed House*, George Martin, October 3, 1865, Derbyshire Record Office (Q/Asylum).

²⁷⁰ *Sporting Life*, October 18, 1865.

²⁷¹ Roe, *Front Runners*, 124.

²⁷² *Death Certificate*, George Martin, October 21, 1865 (DYC 866274); *Manchester Guardian*, October 23, 1865, 4; *Leeds Mercury*, October 24, 1865, 9.

sports sunk into comparative insignificance when placed in juxtaposition with pedestrianism', and his death at such a young age clearly affected the sporting community.²⁷³ By comparison, Holden's death received much less attention and his obituary was relatively modest, perhaps due to his age and reduced involvement in sport over his final years. Nonetheless, Manchester had lost two of its major sporting promoters within a few short months and there was concern that Manchester sport would not recover;²⁷⁴ 'as judge of foot racing pace, allotting starts in handicaps, or as timekeeper, poor Martin had few equals – certainly no superior – and his decease has caused a vacancy which it will be difficult to supply'.²⁷⁵ Martin left little money for his wife and large family, with creditor, wine and spirits merchant Joseph Fildes, reclaiming the majority of Martin's £2000 estate.²⁷⁶ Too often the fate of professional sportsmen would follow this pattern. Throughout swimmer Joey Nuttall's career he had established himself as a champion before retiring to the public house trade where he amassed a substantial debt, having to pawn his trophies and prizes in order to continue trading. He died in 1943 and was buried in an unmarked grave, having been unable to turn his sporting celebrity into financial security.²⁷⁷ Sprinting sensation Reggie Walker, 1908 South African Olympic sprinting gold medallist, left so little money that the family could hardly afford his burial fees in 1953.²⁷⁸ Even the formation of Mr Knight's Pedestrian Benevolent Institution in 1852, established to reform the sport and provide aid for 'sick or in need' athletes and 'protection to the widow and orphan', could not support Martin's family.²⁷⁹ However, charitable and sporting benefits funds were raised for Martin's widow and seven young children and pedestrian friends and family members continued his legacy, sharing the responsibilities of proprietor, referee, starter, stakeholder and timekeeper at the Royal Oak. Holden Jnr managed the grounds as well as his father's establishment, William Richards continued to promote Royal Oak events, and Hayes supported these activities whilst searching for a buyer.²⁸⁰ In September 1866, local sporting referee, John Cooper, took license of the establishment where he continued to work with Holden Jnr, Hayes and the City Grounds' Waddacor, Lang and Brittain.²⁸¹ The grounds continued to attract customers with trotting and cycling proving popular events alongside

²⁷³ *Bell's Life*, October 28, 1865, 7.

²⁷⁴ *Bell's Life*, November 4, 1865, 7.

²⁷⁵ *Bell's Life*, October 28, 1865, 7.

²⁷⁶ *Will and Probate*, George Martin, August 19, 1866 (G 62/21); *Manchester Guardian*, November 10, 1866, 2.

²⁷⁷ Keith Myerscough, 'Joey Nuttall: the "Lightening Merman" of Stalybridge', in *Sporting Lives*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 123-125.

²⁷⁸ Deborah Pitchford, 'Turning Professional: Reggie Walker 1908 Olympic Champion', in *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and History Group, 2014), 229.

²⁷⁹ *Bell's Life*, January 2, 1853, 6.

²⁸⁰ *Bell's Life*, October 28, 1865, 7; *Marriage Certificate*, William Richards and Sarah Selina Davies, July 10, 1866, Address: Royal Oak, Newton Heath (GB127.M403/6/3/42); Roe, *Front Runners*, 126; Sears, *Running Through the Ages*, 139.

²⁸¹ *Bell's Life*, February 3, 1866, 6; September 8, 1866, 2; September 15, 1866, 2; September 22, 1866, 7; December 8, 1866, 7; July 6, 1872, 9; *Racing Times*, September 10, 1866, 7; *Manchester Guardian*, August 25, 1866, 8; March 16, 1868, 4.

traditional pedestrian activities, all managed by the Cooper father and son team.²⁸² However, in 1871, concern arose regarding the conduct of activities within the arena; Cooper had been cautioned for illegal gambling, the 'great number of low people...sporting men' who assembled on match days had caused damage to neighbouring properties and the general condition of the street in the vicinity of the Royal Oak was 'very rough' and unsafe, according to local parish clergymen.²⁸³ Court appearances, the revoking of the drinks license and magistrate fines for betting all contributed to a decline in the respectability of the facility, which eventually closed in 1876, although it still maintained the title 'the best in England' within the community.²⁸⁴

Likewise, in 1869, the Copenhagen Grounds were not granted a license extension as a result of comments about the running of all such establishments, with the church and amateur gentlemen particularly influential in trying to redirect sport under the aegis of religion, education, politics and the organised clubs system.²⁸⁵ Anti-sabbatarian worker groups formed in Manchester from 1866, condemning leisure activities, which they believed promoted immoral behaviours, with the public house held accountable.²⁸⁶ Oldham Road witnessed numerous complaints, especially on race days, which were epitomised by violence, debauchery and petty theft that turned the Newton Heath area into a pretty unsavoury district. Police were refused entry to courses whilst street gangs gathered opposite the grounds and women were pushed from the footpaths as a result of over-crowding.²⁸⁷ The arena was subsequently destroyed with all railings, fixtures and boarding being sold at auction after the final race on Monday June 14, 1869.²⁸⁸ Press reports recorded their disappointment about this decision and Hayes was praised for the 'honourable and straightforward manner in which the proceedings at these grounds have been conducted...during the twelve years and a half they have been in his possession'.²⁸⁹ Further equipment, such as the large outdoor refreshment marquees, was later sold to agricultural and other established societies.²⁹⁰ Although the running grounds had disappeared, the pub itself remained a sporting institution, continuing to house pedestrians under

²⁸² *Manchester Guardian*, April 10, 1867, 2; August 16, 1871, 8; March 15, 1876, 1; January 13, 1905, 3; *Bell's Life*, August 8, 1874, 4; May 6, 1876, 8.

²⁸³ *Manchester Guardian*, September 23, 1871, 7; October 28, 1871, 8.

²⁸⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, October 28, 1871, 8; October 30, 1871, 2; *Sporting Gazette*, April 22, 1876, 400; *Bell's Life*, September 15, 1877, 12.

²⁸⁵ Wray Vamplew, 'Theories and Typologies: a Historical Exploration of the Sports Club in Britain', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 14 (2013): 1577-1579.

²⁸⁶ Brian Harrison, 'Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 38 (1967): 104-105; *Manchester Guardian*, September 28, 1874, 7.

²⁸⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, April 10, 1865, 4; October 28, 1871, 8.

²⁸⁸ *Bell's Life*, June 16, 1869, 7; *Manchester Guardian*, June 19, 1869, 9.

²⁸⁹ *Bell's Life*, June 16, 1869, 7.

²⁹⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, September 16, 1873, 7.

several proprietors, before becoming better known as the location of Manchester United's formation in 1878.²⁹¹

Hayes, an 'enterprising proprietor' and local celebrity,²⁹² continued to promote sport within Manchester, taking license at the Haymarket Hotel, 10-12 Tonman Street, Deansgate,²⁹³ where he promoted and provided prizes for pigeon shooting and pedestrianism at the City Grounds, Royal Oak Park, and other Manchester arenas.²⁹⁴ In 1875, Hayes' relatives and sporting entrepreneurs, John and James Taylor of the Peel Arms, Mason Street, Swan Street, Manchester, developed the recreation grounds at Moston Park, Chadderton, 'one minute's walk from Moston Station and only four miles from Victoria Station, Manchester', which was marketed as a professional running enclosure and designed to replace the Royal Oak.²⁹⁵ The 732-yard railed cinder path and grandstand was opened on September 4, 1875, with a 'grand amateur athletic festival' in which 518 athletes displayed their talent in front of over 14,000 spectators.²⁹⁶ Although catering for a more exclusive clientele, the grounds still endorsed 'low' activities and Moston Park was praised for re-establishing renewed interest in pedestrianism, 'having completely resuscitated the sport in the neighbourhood'.²⁹⁷ Hayes was instrumental in establishing the grounds, promoting and officiating in amateur athletics, cycling, shooting, dog racing and trotting, as well as agricultural and musical entertainments, and he endorsed pedestrian handicap matches, offering cash prizes for sprinting and middle-distance events.²⁹⁸ When Moston Park went into liquidation in 1880, Hayes took control of the venue and continued to promote both professional and amateur athletics, spending over £2000 in developing the house, outbuildings and 4,580-yards of land into a hotel, stables and additional fenced enclosure. However, in 1883, the venue was advertised for sale and then sold and demolished in 1885.²⁹⁹ There is little reference to Hayes post-1885 and his date of death remains unknown, but his contribution to professional sport was almost unprecedented, continuing into the amateur era, and he developed a

²⁹¹ Ibid; Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915* (Brighton: Harvester, 1980), 27.

²⁹² *Bell's Life*, June 14, 1857, 6.

²⁹³ *Bell's Life*, November 6, 1869, 8; April 13, 1870, 5; *Census Returns*, Thomas Hayes 1871 (RG 10/4037), 10 Tonman Street 'Haymarket Hotel'; 1881 (RG 11/3989), 10-12 Tonman Street.

²⁹⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, January 27, 1871, 4; *Bell's Life*, November 6, 1869, 8; April 1, 1871, 11; January 13, 1871, 9; April 27, 1872, 8; October 5, 1872, 8; April 26, 1873, 9.

²⁹⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, August 21, 1875, 1; September 18, 1875, 1; January 13, 1905, 3; *Bell's Life*, September 11, 1875, 5; January 19, 1878, 10.

²⁹⁶ *Sporting Gazette*, September 11, 1875, 907.

²⁹⁷ *Bell's Life*, September 15, 1877, 12.

²⁹⁸ *Bell's Life*, July 8, 1876, 9; January 19, 1878, 10; June 14, 1879, 4; February 21, 1880, 10; January 10, 1880, 9; February 4, 1882, 12.

²⁹⁹ *Bell's Life*, January 14, 1882, 10; February 18, 1882, 11; February 25, 1882, 8; May 20, 1882, 12; June 1, 1885, 4; *Manchester Guardian*, May 14, 1883, 2; May 16, 1883, 2; May 22, 1883, 3.

hub for the continuation of pedestrianism. One of his last endeavours was the acquisition of a coffee shop on West Park Street, Salford, after which he faded into relative obscurity.³⁰⁰

A similar fate was reserved for both Holden Jnr and Piers. After Holden's death, Piers took residence at the Royal Hunt, Salford, from where he promoted animal sports at City Grounds, Salford.³⁰¹ In 1869, he licensed a wine bar on Warwick Street and then seemed to retire from the sporting business.³⁰² Sarah Piers continued as a beer retailer in Salford after her husband's death, with youngest daughter, Elizabeth, also apprenticing in the trade.³⁰³ Holden Jnr continued his father's legacy at the White Lion, marrying barmaid Mary Ann Moorhouse on August 30, 1866, and starting a family at the public house.³⁰⁴ In 1869, Holden Jnr sold the White Lion to father-in-law, Edward Moorhouse, and later took a license at a larger establishment, the Custom House Hotel, Chapel Street, Salford, where 'no house in town will possess better facilities for obtaining the latest items of important sporting news, and the latest tips on all great sporting events of the coursing season'.³⁰⁵ Holden Jnr continued to be heavily involved in both pedestrian and coursing events at the Royal Oak Park, establishing a reputation as an 'efficient referee' and course slipper,³⁰⁶ but he soon disappeared from public view. Although the Custom House Hotel was advertised for lease in 1874, Holden Jnr remained at the property until 1877,³⁰⁷ but little is known about the family after this date. The disappearance of the family from the sporting landscape may be due to personal circumstances, death or relocation, or to the decline of the running grounds, professional activities and the formation of amateur organisations, but extensive research has failed to find any evidence for the seemingly instantaneous nature of their decline.³⁰⁸

Holden Connections and Conclusions: A Thematic View

³⁰⁰ *Census Returns*, Thomas Hayes 1891 (RG 12/3227/23), 16 West Park Street, 'Public Caterer – Coffee'.

³⁰¹ *Bell's Life*, July 30, 1864, 7; September 24, 1864, 6; October 29, 1864, 7; November 5, 1864, 7.

³⁰² *Liverpool Mercury*, November 26, 1869.

³⁰³ *Census Returns*, Piers Family 1881 (RG 11/3975/25), 193 Robert Hall Street, Salford, Sarah Piers, 47, widower, 'Retailer of Beer', Elizabeth Piers, unmarried, 24, 'Assists at Home', J.W. Piers, 5 months, grandson.

³⁰⁴ *Marriage Certificate*, James Holden and Mary Ann Moorhouse 1866 (MXE 606484); *Birth Index*, Q3 (Jul-Aug-Sep) 1867, Annie Holden, Market Street, Manchester (Vol. 8d, Page 237); *Census Returns*, James Holden 1871 (RG 10/4061/42).

³⁰⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, January 6, 1869, 6; *Bell's Life*, February 10, 1872, 8; February 24, 1872, 9; March 2, 1872, 4.

³⁰⁶ *Bell's Life*, September 2, 1871, 9; December 16, 1871, 2; January 13, 1872, 9; April 27, 1872, 8; July 6, 1872, 9; October 26, 1872, 5; March 1, 1873, 9; January 3, 1874, 4; February 28, 1874, 9; May 9, 1874, 9; April 24, 1875, 5; May 1, 1875, 8; January 20, 1877, 5.

³⁰⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, May 9, 1874, 12; August 16, 1877, 6; Isaac Slater, *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford with their Vicinities, 1876* (Manchester: Slater, 1876), 249; *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford, with their Vicinities, 1878* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1878), 254.

³⁰⁸ Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*, 59.

Collective biographies should explain experiences based on observation, interpretation and analysis, attempting to answer ‘*what is going on here*’ from a qualitative perspective.³⁰⁹ Hilliar and McDermid suggest that any information, however sparse or minor, enables a more representative biographical picture to be constructed,³¹⁰ validating (or disproving) arguments through the primary documents and texts. By producing each individual narrative, experiences are not ‘obscured by statistical analysis’ and realism can be achieved with issues emerging organically from the material.³¹¹ Whilst these biographies provide insight into each individual’s life, themes can be drawn from the collective and discussed in relation to the role of the nineteenth-century entrepreneur.

While some patrons were well-to-do men, it was the gamblers and entrepreneurs, together with the subscriptions collected in local inns, taverns and shops, which raised funds for matches to be staged, thereby attracting a local supporter base that followed competitive matches within Manchester. As a means of promoting athletes, backers would parade and display their “talent” in public houses, sporting arenas, and the local and national press, enabling spectators to develop relationships with individual competitors and fostering a community culture and alliance. The tavern was central to this practice in many sports, including swimming, pugilism and pedestrianism, with alcohol lowering inhibitions and “manly” attitudes being admired, thus providing athletes with the peer recognition they desired among the working-class cliques that surrounded each sport.³¹² As Hardy notes, entrepreneurs ‘insulated themselves from outside forces’ by incorporating their complex organisations into the larger interdependent network of consumer sport, where their rules, practices and authority could be protected.³¹³ The Holden ‘community of practice’ contained a group of individuals with shared ideologies, goals and concerns, who wanted to learn how to improve the interest in and commitment to the activity. Each member of the community was a practitioner, sharing their resources, ‘experiences, stories, tools’, with their affiliates and new members in order to address problems, develop solutions and encourage the community to prosper. Through interaction, relationship development and knowledge transfer, the community was strengthened and common interests focused on.³¹⁴ The group shared common traits and experiences, and new members had to conform in order to be accepted. By apprenticing in the drinks trade and coming to

³⁰⁹ Davies and Gannon, *Doing Collective Biography*, 1.

³¹⁰ Anna Hillyar and Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870-1917: a Study in Collective Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 8.

³¹¹ Ibid, 160-161.

³¹² Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 143.

³¹³ Stephen Hardy, ‘Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects on Search of Historians’, *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 1 (1986): 15.

³¹⁴ Etienne Wenger, ‘Communities of Practice: a Brief Introduction’ (paper presented at the STEP Leadership Workshop, University of Oregon, October 20, 2011), 1-3.

understand sporting regulations and training principles, knowledge was accumulated, being transferred from existing to novice members who were then accepted as part of the community.³¹⁵ Members were not always aware that this was occurring, and their actions were unconscious outcomes of the conversations and interactions that were created both inside and outside the 'web of interdependences'.³¹⁶ According to Wenger, knowledge 'is a matter of displaying competences defined in social communities',³¹⁷ and the Holden family exhibited their skill within the sporting network through the varied roles they assumed, positioning themselves at the centre of Manchester's professional pedestrian circuit.

Within the community of practice, each individual was positioned differently with power relations distinctive to their position and access to knowledge varied depending on their group status.³¹⁸ These communities were characterised by the ever-changing variance of group dynamics, 'one day seen as full members and the next as outsiders as their own self-conceptions alter[ed] at the same time as those of their peers'.³¹⁹ Knowledge was accrued, presented, then accepted or rejected, and the power shifted based on this new information. Belle Vue was initially central to the community of practice, staging early pedestrian races, which were heavily promoted by the Holden network. When the Copenhagen and City Grounds were established, their proprietors already had acquired the latest knowledge and acumen to re-establish pedestrianism, subsequently consigning Belle Vue and its proprietor to the periphery. Managerial hierarchies, such as the Holdens, emerged during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries based on the production and distribution of services, such as sport, with individuals becoming specialists in a single product in order to receive capital gain.³²⁰ In America the rail network and telegraph system managed the mass retail establishments due to the flow of goods and connections between the individual organisations, with several levels of administration generated to coordinate and monitor the enterprise.³²¹ By applying this principle to Manchester sport, the Holden family managed the sporting infrastructure within the city centre through the provision of service (stakeholder, promoters of events, running arenas), goods (referees, timekeepers, officials, articles of agreement, etc.), and the distribution of these to the populace. Although this process included incorporating other individuals to provide this service, Holden was

³¹⁵ Etienne Wenger, 'Communities of Practice and Social Learning Systems', *Organization* 7, no. 2 (2000): 227.

³¹⁶ Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 66.

³¹⁷ Wenger, 'Communities of Practice and Social Learning Systems': 226.

³¹⁸ David Kirk, 'Educational Reform, Physical Culture and the Crisis of Legitimation in Physical Education', *Discourses: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 19, no. 1 (1998): 106.

³¹⁹ Carrie Paechter, 'Masculinities and Femininities as Communities of Practice', *Women's Studies International Forum* 26, no. 1 (2003): 75.

³²⁰ Alfred D. Chandler Jr, 'The Emergence of Managerial Capitalism', *Business History Review* 58 (1984): 473.

³²¹ Alfred D. Chandler Jr, *The Visible Hand: the Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 486-487.

gatekeeper of this knowledge, and was therefore at the heart of the Manchester sporting community.³²²

Even within these networks, there were differences in opinion and approach, but the collective goal connected these individuals together and drove the community forward.³²³ The shared interest in developing a viable identity for pedestrianism united the Holden family, and the endeavours and enterprises they supported were all established to further the Manchester sporting landscape. While some community members may have been acquired through marriage, others were carefully selected because of their knowledge, expertise and passion for sport, contributing to the overall success of the pedestrian network. Craft knowledge, 'embedded within informal communities of practice', was passed on primarily through kinship groups,³²⁴ whether in sport or business, providing status within the network. As these communities evolved, interaction patterns changed. Flat structures, 'where everybody interacts with everybody', evolved into clusters where 'individuals collaborate[d] with a few others in the community', and the overall number of members and the diversity of skill was transformed and became more varied.³²⁵ However, access to knowledge was still protected, and, whilst some members withheld or limited access, others disseminated information, each individual having their own specific role.³²⁶ These processes were based on trust, acceptance and perceived contribution to the network, with information being released and filtered at different speeds depending on the individual's status within the group.³²⁷ These principles were standardised to the position of the sporting entrepreneur, permitting access according to class restrictions, perceptions of professional sport and the position of the drinks trade in society. Information access was accorded at different levels. The hotelier was seen as central to the group, and in a position to acquire important information, as compared to the beerhouse owner. Although this could cause

³²² Dave Day, 'Craft Coaching and the "Discerning Eye" of the Coach', *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching* 6, no. 1 (2011): 180.

³²³ Wenger, 'Communities of Practice: a Brief Introduction', 1.

³²⁴ Dave Day, 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: The "Beckwith Frogs"', *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 196.

³²⁵ Bernardo A. Huberman and Tad Hogg, 'Communities of Practice: Performance and Evolution', *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory* 1, no. 1 (1995): 74.

³²⁶ Hubert Saint-Onge and Debra Wallace, *Leveraging Communities of Practice for Strategic Advantage* (Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2003), 43-44, suggest that there are several roles that people assume within a community of practice, for example 'sparkers' who identify gaps, 'synthesisers' who help the community create meaning, 'witnesses' who support ideas with "votes of confidence" and 'lurkers' who are seen but not heard. Where an individual is positioned grants or restricts access to tacit knowledge.

³²⁷ Hans-Dieter Evers, Solvay Gerke and Thomas Menhoff, 'Knowledge Clusters and Knowledge Hubs: Designing Epistemic Landscapes for Development', *Journal of Knowledge Management* 14, no. 5 (2010): 679.

friction within the wider community of practice, by creating small cliques, knowledge was circulated more rapidly and evenly, and the network further experienced and informed as a result.³²⁸

The social standing of sporting entrepreneurs was constantly scrutinised within the press, and success in a densely populated market was obtained through trust. The integrity of the individual was influential in gaining patronage and developing business connections. Holden was well-respected – ‘honest’, ‘respectable’ and ‘trustworthy’ – providing a platform for his endeavours to succeed, and, by increasing his reach through moving into other sports and linking with other proprietors, his status was elevated and his practices validated within the sporting community. As a spectator activity, sport is seen as ‘fair’ with all players competing on a ‘level playing field’. If the legitimacy of the event is compromised, then participants and spectators will move away to search for more moral pursuits,³²⁹ as was displayed by the failure of Martin’s ‘Deerfoot Circus’. The character of the referees and officials in ensuring a fair result, the ability of a handicapper to correctly set distances, and the stakeholder’s impartiality and authenticity in counting and releasing monies all contributed towards the acceptability of pedestrianism. Honesty cultivated public support and investment, leading to further success. As Sugden points out, individual progress relies on virtue of character as well as commercial and occupational success.³³⁰ The Holden family developed their reputation through carefully constructed relationships, tied to respectable figures within the sporting landscape. Piers’ reputation as a coursing expert, Hayes’ illustrious pedestrian career and management of a premier arena, and Holden Jnrs’ sporting knowledge and refereeing abilities gave legitimacy to their sporting network. Although Martin’s character was in many ways flawed, he continued to be successful, becoming a key player in the development of Manchester sport, at least partly due to his ‘insider’ status within the Holden network. By surrounding himself with reliable individuals his less savoury practices could be both hidden and reformed, with more ethical traditions being absorbed through community sharing.³³¹ Nonetheless, uncertainties about the standard of this ‘new class of entrepreneurs’, men like Martin and Cooper, who organised working-class sport, led to a decline in support and eventually relegated professional activities to small pockets of the United Kingdom.³³²

³²⁸ Priya Sharma, Susan M. Land, Robert Jordan, Jeff Swain and Brian K. Smith, ‘Patterns of Interaction and Everyday Knowledge Sharing in Social Network Environments’, *JCLS* 2 (2010): 395.

³²⁹ Alun Hardman, Carwyn Jones and Robyn Jones, ‘Sports Coaching, Virtue Ethics and Emulation’, *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy* 15, no. 4 (2010): 345.

³³⁰ John Sugden, *Boxing and Society: an International Analysis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 186.

³³¹ Wenger, ‘Communities of Practice and Social Learning Systems’: 227-228.

³³² Peter Burke, ‘Trades Football in Melbourne 1896-1909: from Middle Class Leisure to Working-Class Sport’, *Sporting Traditions* 19, no. 1 (2002): 10-11.

Holden's affiliations with local pedestrian promoters and courses ensured his popularity within the sport,³³³ but, more importantly, provided his family with a stable future. According to Anderson, kinship ties were important in Victorian Lancashire; family was instrumental in gaining employment and its influence encouraged trades to be passed down from father to son, although this was not exclusive to the immediate family as it also included relations such as son-in-laws, a model reflected in Holden's narrative.³³⁴

There is a mass of cases in the literature where people are noted as interacting with and engaging in activities in company and co-operation with relatives, both with their current nuclear family and with wider kin. Among types of interaction noted are shared leisure activities (trips to the beer shop or to the country, or just a chat over tea), visiting and dropping in, at holiday times outings and family gatherings, parties for birthdays and weddings and mothers' day. Families attended funerals and church and night school together. They are recorded as begging together and as criminals together, and as minding each other's children and helping in sickness and unemployment and death and old age and every other crisis and contingency. Knowledge seems often to have been widespread about relationships and where relatives live or were last heard of as living, and about their jobs and the sizes of their families.³³⁵

As this study of the Holden collective demonstrates, family connections existed between households as well as within them, creating a web that linked many individuals together in a more complex manner. The 'hidden connections', as presented in this chapter, are usually recovered through 'happy accident or idle curiosity' but it is these connections that enable the larger community and their impact to be revealed.³³⁶ Without the entrepreneurial vision and dedication of such families, pedestrian amusements and competitions in Britain's industrial cities would have been unable to survive. According to Swain, Manchester's sporting grounds and their managers have received little attention due to the rapid rise and fall of such professional activities. Although these individuals laid the foundation for modern athletics, the working-class nature of pedestrianism, and other sports

³³³ Specifically the Jennison family at *Belle Vue*, Thomas Hayes at *The Copenhagen Grounds*, Newton Heath (*Era*, February 22, 1857, 10), *The City Grounds*, which were under the care of a variety of proprietors, and son-in-law George Martin's *Royal Oak Race Grounds* (*Bell's Life*, March 12 1864, 7).

³³⁴ Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 119-124; Day, 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: The "Beckwith Frogs"': 196 suggests that knowledge is not only imparted to the immediate and extended family, but to the "sporting family" through the coach-athlete relationship.

³³⁵ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, 62.

³³⁶ Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain*, 47.

promoted by the proprietors, lacked respectability, with the history of athletics later being re-written by the middle-class amateurs who emerged in the late-nineteenth century.³³⁷ Whilst the amateur ideology was emerging during the 1860s, Manchester's working-class alternatives received significant attention, with pedestrianism entering a 'golden age' with respect to public interest.³³⁸ The promotion of activities, the transfer of knowledge and the development of an accessible community for sport provided a platform for a new generation of entrepreneurs and activities to emerge. Oldham Road, for example, became established as the home of the mile race from 1858, with the Manchester proprietors closely involved in the promotion of this particular event, developing a pedestrian culture around the distance that exploited working-class sport, the drinks trade, commercialisation and gambling.

³³⁷ Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire': 400.

³³⁸ Ibid; Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*, 6.

Chapter 4. The Manchester Milers: A Prosopographical Analysis¹

From 1857, the professional mile race was both popular and profitable in Manchester with local promoters endorsing the event within their sporting enclosures. Whilst other pedestrian activities were still provided, the national attention surrounding the mile events enabled the city to develop an identity as the home to the distance. Many athletes travelled to Manchester in order to compete for the mile titles provided by pedestrian entrepreneurs, attracting spectators and sporting enthusiasts from all over Britain. By creating a hub for this form of athletic entertainment, Manchester pedestrianism continued to thrive even during the early amateur era when professional activities elsewhere in England were under pressure and in decline. This chapter explores the Manchester mile circuit through prosopographical analysis, constructing and interrogating the profiles of the nineteenth-century middle-distance runners who contributed to the vibrant “miler” scene, which brought Manchester a significant reputation for athletic entertainment.

Pedestrianism and Regional Identity

During the 1840s, pedestrianism remained a popular sporting pastime, eclipsing many other sports in both entertainment value and spectatorship.² Whilst its origins were rooted in London’s walking scene, which emerged at the turn of the century, as pedestrianism became formalised more complex competitions emerged that combined long-distance running and shorter novelty events.³ Distance races from three- to ten-mile running and the six-day ‘wobbles’ were promoted and endorsed by entrepreneurs and popularised pedestrianism within London. The ten-mile competitions emerged out of James Baum’s White Lion Race Grounds, Hackney Wick, with the championship cup contested for at the grounds between 1859 and 1868, the champion belt presented in 1863, and the ten-mile championship developed by Baum but later relocated to Charles Wilson’s Prince of Wales Ground, Bow, following the promoter’s death. Similarly, championship cups and belts from four- to six-miles

¹ Content from this chapter has appeared in the following publications: Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘The Manchester Milers 18501-870’, in *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014), 78-110; Dave Day and Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘Delineating Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England’, *Sport in History* 34 (2015, forthcoming).

² Geoffrey T. Vincent, “‘Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman’ Pedestrianism in Canterbury 1860-1885’, *Sporting Traditions* 18, no. 1 (2001): 47; William J. Baker, ‘The State of British Sport History’, *Journal of Sport History* 10, no. 1 (1983): 59; Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885* (London: Redwood Burn, 1978), 12-13, 21.

³ Glenn Piper, *Athletics in Tameside 1837-1939 Covering the Towns of Ashton, Audenshaw, Denton, Droylsden, Dukinfield, Gee Cross, Haughton Green, Hollingworth, Hyde, Mossley, Mottram, Stalybridge and Tintwistle* (Manchester: Glenn Piper, 2011), 26.

were also endorsed by London-based entrepreneurs Baum, Wilson and John Roberts at the West London Cricket Ground, Brompton, and John Garrett at the Copenhagen Grounds, Islington.⁴

Although further competitions emerged in the North, with Peter Waddacor's ten-mile championship cup created at the City Grounds and a seventy-five hour 'fair heel-to-toe' contest promoted by Mr R. Lewis of Stepney at the Pomona Gardens, both in Manchester, their popularity was never realised, being noted as 'somewhat tedious contests' that promoters were reluctant to endorse.⁵ Instead, a focus on shorter distances, where spectators received instantaneous results and gambling was fast-paced,⁶ featured in the majority of pedestrian entertainments on match day. The London grounds used these "lighter" sporting entertainments as preliminary competitions, with race advertisements and posters identifying the details of the main event and opening matches to the paying public. The 'Great Race Championship of the World', for example, was billed at the White Lion, Hackney Wick, on April 7, 1871, with a four-mile competition between George Hazel, the London ten-mile champion, and John Fleet, Manchester's two-mile champion, the main feature of the day. Prior to the championship match, scheduled to start at five o'clock, was a one-mile 'All-England handicap', a one-mile steeplechase and a half-mile race for novices, providing the spectators with full value for their sixpence entry.⁷ However, as pedestrianism spread into the northern cities, programmes containing numerous short distance events were favoured, as illustrated at the Ashton athletic festival in 1877, where seven head-to-head 120-yard handicap sprints were competed for, followed by three heats of a 200-yard flat handicap. An amateur one-mile walking match and a two-mile pony trot rounded up the proceedings with music and dancing scheduled for the evening entertainment.⁸ Whilst these types of competitions increased in popularity,⁹ London men were still heavily featured in all forms of pedestrian entertainment, travelling around Britain to compete against other 'champions' and reinforcing their position at the heart of athletic performance. According to Huggins and Gregson, as northern pedestrianism spread, the London competitors were seen as their major rivals, with competition between northern men and their London counterparts highly anticipated and patronised.¹⁰ However, although London claimed to be the home for pedestrianism, its control

⁴ Ibid, 178-180; Glenn Piper, *Peds of the Past 1837-1920: Famous Athletes and Pedestrians with Particular Reference to Sheffield* (Manchester: Glenn Piper, 2012), 132.

⁵ *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, April 3, 1869, 7; May 12, 1869, 7; March 20, 1880, 9.

⁶ Mark Clapson, 'Popular Gambling and English Culture, c. 1845 to 1961' (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 1989), 25; Emma Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century', *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 2 (2000): 95-96.

⁷ Warren Roe, *Front Runners: The First Athletic Track Champions* (Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 2002), 162.

⁸ *Ashton Reporter*, June 2, 1877.

⁹ Bob Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul: Bill Roberts and Manchester's Sporting Heritage* (Manchester: Parr's Wood, 2002), 39.

¹⁰ Mike Huggins and Keith Gregson, 'Northern Songs, Sporting Heroes and Regional Consciousness, c.1800-c.1880: "Wor Stars that Shine"', *Northern History* 44, no. 2 (2007): 148.

wavered as northern cities invested in athletic sport and developed their own identities within the sporting landscape.¹¹

Creating a regional identity for competition was crucial to success, with athletes touring England to gain honour and celebrity, thereby elevating themselves and their hometown's status within the sporting community. Pubs and sporting venues capitalised on this success by creating hubs for pedestrian and further professional entertainments and public interest in their activities increased as noted sporting men endorsed and performed at the grounds.¹² For instance, pedestrian and potshare bowler Robert Gledson, a regular at the Newcastle and Gateshead enclosures from 1867, provided the town of Dudley with recognition as the home to professional bowling, establishing a culture for lawn games in the West Midlands region with numerous quoits and bowling champions emerging within the surrounding villages.¹³ However, whilst individual athletes could generate public interest, the entrepreneur transformed cities and towns into sporting epicentres by creating new entertainments that survived, even after their celebrity residents had departed. Famed cricketer George Parr, 'the Lion of the North', competed from 1844 to 1871, customarily at the Trent Bridge Inn, Nottingham, but it was publican and builder William Clarke who developed the ground and pioneered Northern professional cricket. Whilst Parr's initial success provided legitimacy to the ground, it was through Clarke's entrepreneurial organisation that the venue became highly successful, cementing a reputation as one of England's finest locations for cricket that extends into the twenty-first century.¹⁴ Alternatively, in order to achieve sporting notoriety, some areas developed specific versions of a sport. In Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cornwall, variations of wrestling were devised, initially regionalised but later expanding into the surrounding counties; Cumberland and Westmorland wrestling penetrated Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Scotland while Cornish wrestling was popularised in London, as well as Australia, South Africa and America during the twentieth century.¹⁵ Similarly, pedestrianism created regional hubs where different athletic disciplines and activities were prominent. Sheffield became home to the premier sprinting handicaps from 1857, with specific courses being built for sprint races within

¹¹ See Roe, *Front Runners*.

¹² Huggins and Gregson, 'Northern Songs, Sporting Heroes and Regional Consciousness, c.1800-c.1880': 148; Richard Holt, 'Heroes of the North: Sport and the Shaping of Regional Identity', in *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, eds. Jeff Hill and Jack Williams (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1996), 140, 148.

¹³ Alan Metcalfe, 'Sport and Community: a Case Study of the Mining Villages of East Northumberland, 1800-1914', in *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, eds. Jeff Hill and Jack Williams (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1996), 28-29.

¹⁴ Holt, 'Heroes of the North: Sport and the Shaping of Regional Identity', 144.

¹⁵ Mike Huggins, 'The Regular Re-Invention of Sporting Tradition and Identity: Cumberland and Westmorland Wrestling c.1800-2000', *The Sports Historian* 21, no. 1 (2001): 38-39; Mike Tripp, 'Persistence of Difference: a History of Cornish Wrestling' (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2009), 1; 'Cornish Wrestling in Australia', *Sporting Traditions* 28, no. 1 (2011): 21; Tim S. Corvin, *Pioneers of Professional Wrestling 1860-1899* (Bloomington, IN: Archway, 2014), 5-6.

the city, whereas Newcastle and Gateshead promoted sprinting alongside quoits at the city's four sporting venues from 1858 until their final closures in 1875.¹⁶ The re-introduction of champion cups and belts, such as the Halifax half-mile championship belt (1854), competed for at Westhill Park, Halifax, Hannah Heathcote's Hyde Park's one and a quarter-mile cup (1862), the 110-yard champion cup and the champion silver cup for standing spring jumping (1862), both presented at the Snipe Inn, Audenshaw, and, in America, Sir John Astley's championship belt (1878) for the 'long distance challenge championship of the world', helped to reignite public interest and establish each location as a niche market for pedestrian competition.¹⁷

Manchester and Oldham Road Miling

Within Manchester, the pedestrian ventures seen in London were replicated amid the semi-rural suburbs of Salford, Bradford, Pendleton, Hulme, and, more notably, Newton Heath.¹⁸ Because the metropolis' long-distance events did not attract the same attention among their Northern counterparts, a new programme of popular activities developed. Sprinting (from 110- to 880-yards) and the "miler" were the events of choice for athletes and spectators alike, due to their fast-paced nature, although, by the 1840s, hurdling and jumping events had also become as popular, and athletes started to develop their own style for jumping over obstacles of all shapes and sizes.¹⁹ Some men, not content with human competition, tested their talents against horse and time. George Seward regularly competed against, and beat, "Black Bess", Mr Harwood's mare, in 100-yard events and George Martin's jumping and sprinting events against horses became the main attraction at Sunderland's running grounds. Furthermore, many reports discussed athlete's achievements against time, providing accounts of both the challenge and the outcome. John Rhode's nine-mile race (1848) in under one hour over a quarter of a mile was completed with five minutes to spare, and in 1860, 'a match against time, in which a novice was backed to walk a mile in eight minutes, which, after being closely contested, was won by time by only two seconds'.²⁰ Between 1840 and 1870, championship matches were organised within Manchester, with numerous records documented on the track for

¹⁶ Metcalfe, 'Sport and Community: a Case Study of the Mining Villages of East Northumberland, 1800-1914', 20; Piper, *Peds of the Past 1837-1920*, 128, 195.

¹⁷ *Bell's Life*, January 1, 1854, 7; January 5, 1862, 3; January 26, 1862, 7; Thomas J. Osler and Edward L. Dodd, 'Six-Day Pedestrian Races', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 301 (1977): 854; Roe, *Front Runners*, 181.

¹⁸ The Salford Borough Gardens were under the management of the Attenbury family from 1851 (*Manchester Guardian*, September 16, 1846, 4; *Bell's Life*, March 23, 1851, 6; *Era*, November 26, 1854, 4), Peter Waddacor's City Grounds were attached to the Farmhouse Hotel, Quarry Gap, Bradford (*Bell's Life*, July 2, 1864, 7; November 26, 1864, 3; February 3, 1866; 10), and James Turner's Ash Inn Grounds, Stockport (*Bell's Life*, October 15, 1854, 7; November 28, 1858, 7).

¹⁹ Sportsman, *The Training Instructor* (London: Sportsman Offices, 1885), 75; Peter Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association* (Enfield: Guinness Superlatives, 1979), 15.

²⁰ *Bell's Life*, October 16, 1842; January 2, 1848, 7; October 7, 1849, 7; June 3, 1860, 6; *Era*, January 2, 1848, 5.

220-, 440- and 880-yards, and one- and two-mile races,²¹ while London continued to attract competitors in three-mile events upwards, with records for many of these distances being set in the capital.²² Manchester eventually became home to the mile race, with the ‘heroes’ of the distance and the top “spinners” of the period travelling to the city to compete.²³ The mile championship was held in Manchester annually,²⁴ and the fastest mile was recorded between two Manchester publicans, attracting further competition and support.²⁵ Manchester’s running tracks were designed to accommodate the large crowds that followed the sport, with grandstands built guaranteeing clear views of the events,²⁶ and the newly developed Oldham Road venues became particularly favoured by the Manchester public. Between 1857 and 1868, all records for the mile were set in Manchester, either at the Royal Oak or Copenhagen Grounds, as detailed in Table 4, and many more sub-four minute thirty-second miles were run in the city. Further mile races were promoted by Lancashire proprietors such as Thomas Warren at the Snipe Inn Grounds, Audenshaw, and Mr Boothroyd at the Ash Inn Grounds, Stockport.²⁷

Established in 1857, the Copenhagen Grounds became one of leading sporting venues in Manchester during the mid-nineteenth century, hosting pedestrian, wrestling, rabbit coursing and pigeon shooting events, all under the management of ex-professional runner, Thomas Hayes.²⁸ Attached to the Shear’s Inn, Newton Heath, in an eighteen-acre plot to the rear of the establishment, the newly designed course was completed within five months and cost approximately £600 to construct.²⁹ The flat and well-drained 750-yard circular cinder track, with 235-yard straight six-yards wide, was fully

²¹ Dave Russell, ‘Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present: an Introduction’, *Manchester Region History Review* 20 (2009): 4.

²² Roe, *Front Runners*, 186-188.

²³ *Bell’s Life*, November 4, 1860, 6; Siah Albison of Bowlee held the record for the mile in 1856, completing the distance in 4 minutes and 22 ½ seconds, whilst John White from Gateshead was a regular competitor for the mile championship belt, regularly participating in the city (*Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1861, 5), and William Lang of Middlesbrough, Samuel Brighton of Norwich, Job Smith of Hulme, and William “The American Deer” Jackson competed in mile events within Manchester in front of large crowds (*Bell’s Life*, October 2, 1859, 7; August 26, 1865, 9; *Colonist*, June 17, 1862, 4); *Bell’s Life*, August 26, 1865, 7; John H. Walsh, *Manual of British Rural Sports; Comprising Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, and Pedestrianism, With All Rural Games and Amusements* (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1886), 631-633.

²⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, April 3, 1865, 4; July 14, 1865, 4; September 4, 1865, 4; February 19, 1866, 4; *Penny Illustrated Paper*, August 26, 1865, 206.

²⁵ *Bell’s Life*, August 19, 1865, 8; August 26, 1865, 2; August 26, 1865, 8; August 26, 1865, 9.

²⁶ *Bell’s Life*, September 27, 1857, 6; March 29, 1857, 7; April 16, 1864, 7; April 23, 1864, 2; August 23, 1865, 9; August 26, 1865, 8.

²⁷ *Bell’s Life*, March 2, 1862, 6; December 6, 1862, 7; Roe, *Front Runners*, 185-186.

²⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, October 22, 1856, 1; October 25, 1856, 8; *Manchester Times*, January 17, 1857, 4; *Bell’s Life*, February 22, 1857, 7; *Era*, February 22, 1857, 4.

²⁹ *Era*, March 29, 1857, 13; *Bell’s Life*, March 29, 1857, 7.

enclosed by wooden barriers and a grandstand provided exceptions views for upwards of 1,000 spectators.³⁰

Table 4. Progressive Mile Record 1857-1865³¹

Date	Location	Time (min:sec)	Pedestrian
Sept 28, 1857	Copenhagen Grounds	4:28	Thomas Horspool
August 12, 1858	Copenhagen Grounds	4:23	Thomas Horspool
October 27, 1860	Copenhagen Grounds	4:22¼	Siah Albison
July 11, 1863	Copenhagen Grounds	4:21¼	William Lang
April 23, 1864	Royal Oak	4:20½	Edward Mills
June 25, 1864	Royal Oak	4:20	Edward Mills
August 19, 1865	Royal Oak	4:17¼	William Lang & William Richards

Through substantial promotion and marketing, the Copenhagen Grounds became a favoured venue of Manchester's many athletes and supporters, with some of Lancashire's leading stakeholders, officials and trainers regularly in attendance on match day.³² Hayes' promotion of the mile race was noted when, in 1858, he acquired the services of Thomas Horspool, a renowned champion runner, and the first of many mile records was set at the arena.³³ On August 11, 1860, Hayes' Championship Belt, a 'beautiful specimen of workmanship' and valued at 60 guineas,³⁴ was competed for by five leading milers, including William "Crowcatcher" Lang of Middlesbrough, Jack "The Gateshead Clipper" White, Charles Mower of Dereham, Norfolk, Siah Albison of Bowlee, Middleton, and Job Smith, later a well-known Manchester trainer.³⁵ The race was widely reported within the sporting press, with Albison defeating an in-form Lang and White to win first prize.³⁶ Lang immediately challenged Albison to a title race, which was scheduled for October 27, 1860, when Albison ran a British record of 4:22¼.³⁷ Further competitions ensued but Albison beat all opponents to become the outright holder of the belt in 1862.³⁸ Other head-to-head mile matches were promoted within the

³⁰ *Era*, March 29, 1857, 13; *Bell's Life*, March 29, 1857, 7.

³¹ *Bell's Life*, July 2, 1864, 4; Roe, *Front Runners*, 185-186; Andreas Janssen, 'Progressive 1-Mile All Time List', <http://thegreatdistanacerunners.de/1Milealltime.html> (accessed September 1, 2013).

³² *Bell's Life*, February 22, 1857, 7; March 22, 1857, 7; March 29, 1857, 7; May 3, 1857, 7; January 10, 1858, 7; January 17, 1858, 6; February 7, 1858, 7; September 26, 1858, 6; December 18, 1859, 7; *Era*, January 2, 1859, 4.

³³ See Table 4. Progressive Mile Records 1857-1865; *Bell's Life*, February 4, 1865, 7; Bob Phillips, 'The Ancient Art of Mile Pacemaking', *Official Journal of the British Milers' Club*, 3, no. 16 (2004): 29.

³⁴ *Bell's Life*, August 5, 1860, 7.

³⁵ *Bell's Life*, July 15, 1860, 6; July 26, 1860, 7; August 11, 1860, 7; August 12, 1860, 7; August 19, 1860, 7.

³⁶ *Bell's Life*, August 12, 1860, 7; August 19, 1860, 7.

³⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1861, 5.

³⁸ Roe, *Front Runners*, 180-181.

city, but it was not until the development of the Royal Oak that the mile competition entered a new era.

In November 1863, the once disgraced ex-professional hurdler, sprinter, well-known trainer and promoter of the “Deerfoot Circus”, George Martin, announced the enclosure of sixteen-acres of land directly behind the Royal Oak Hotel, Newton Heath, to form the Royal Oak Park running and pleasure grounds.³⁹ The ‘first class’ fenced arena consisted of a 651-yard circular pedestrian track with an additional 440-yard straight, a circular 750-yard rabbit course, a wrestling arena, bowling green, quoits ground, trotting course and grandstand.⁴⁰ Musical and sporting entertainments were both on offer, and on opening day, a ‘great mile race’ between local sporting milers, ‘champion’ Siah Albison and James “Treacle” Sanderson, was the main feature of the promotion.⁴¹ In May 1864, Martin announced his intention of holding a ‘Great One Mile Sweepstakes’ with competitors racing for the right to own a silver cup weighing 76oz, ‘immediately the winner’s absolute property’, plus £110 in cash.⁴² Six champion ‘clippers’ were invited to compete, each paying a £20 entrance fee, namely Albison, Sanderson of Rochdale, Lang (now a resident of Manchester), Edward “Young England” Mills of London, Patrick Stapleton of Mossley, near Stalybridge, and Stockport native James Nuttall. In the months prior to the race, many of the men competed against each other, performing one-mile head-to-head wagers in the locale and creating substantial public interest.⁴³ The sweepstake was held on June 25, 1864, with over 30,000 spectators at the ground to witness this ‘group of foremost runners’ compete, crowding the public houses, rooftops and spaces surrounding the grounds, in order to gain a suitable vantage point.⁴⁴ Betting and general interest in the competition weeks prior to the event was substantial, Lang being the bookkeeper’s favourite, and spectators travelled from all over Britain to witness the event.⁴⁵ Martin took on the role of starter and referee, and introduced the athletes to the crowds, who paraded around the arena in their colours before being numbered and placed into their starting positions. As a ‘great novelty’, they started together, with the race beginning at

³⁹ *Bell’s Life*, September 21, 1845, 6; January 4, 1846, 7; January 25, 1846, 6; February 22, 1846, 7; March 15, 1846, 7; April 12, 1846, 7; June 21, 1846, 7; July 5, 1846, 7; February 11, 1849, 6; April 1, 1849, 6; June 8, 1851, 7; August 22, 1851, 7; January 8, 1854, 6; August 20, 1854, 6; February 17, 1856, 6; October 26, 1856, 7; November 30, 1856, 7; December 14, 1856, 7; December 21, 1856, 7; June 17, 1860, 7; March 3, 1861, 6; November 28, 1863, 7; *The Times*, October 10, 1861, 12; *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, March 29, 1862, 17; April 9, 1864, 54; April 23, 1864, 77; Rob Hadgraft, *Deerfoot: Athletics’ Noble Savage: from Indian Reservation to Champion of the World* (London: Desert Island Books, 2007), 127.

⁴⁰ *Bell’s Life*, February 22, 1857, 7; *Era*, February 22, 1857, 9; November 28, 1863, 7; April 24, 1864, 14; *Illustrated Sporting News*, April 9, 1864, 54; April 23, 1864, 77.

⁴¹ *Era*, April 17, 1864, 14.

⁴² *Bell’s Life*, May 7, 1864, 7; May 14, 1864, 7; May 13, 1865, 7.

⁴³ *Bell’s Life*, May 7, 1864, 7; May 14, 1864, 7; May 21, 1864, 7; May 28, 1864, 5; *Liverpool Mercury*, May 31, 1864.

⁴⁴ *Era*, July 3, 1864, 14; *Bell’s Life*, July 2, 1864, 4; *Otago Witness*, December 7, 1904, 58.

⁴⁵ *Bell’s Life*, June 25, 1864, 1.

5:30pm, under a hoisted union jack flag, to the sound of Martin's pistol.⁴⁶ The race was fast and spectators rushed the course to carry the athletes from the arena with the winner, Edward "Teddy" Mills, completing the mile in 4:20, half a second outside of the record time.⁴⁷ Lang was announced as runner up and Stapleton was third, each man receiving £25 and £10 respectively.⁴⁸

The popularity of the event encouraged Martin to announce a second instalment of the 'One Mile Champion' footrace, arranged for August 19, 1865, and designed to attract a similar audience.⁴⁹ The event was open to all competitors who paid the £5 entrance fee with ten of the best milers confirmed; the six who previously entered were joined by Scottish champion Robert McKinstry, William "Welshman" Richards, who trained in London before settling in Manchester, George Martin's protégé Charles Mower, and John Neary of Hulme.⁵⁰ The men competed for the Royal Oak Cup, 'an elegant vase about 15 inches in height, beautifully chased, bearing a shield on each side, and (emblematic of the grounds) the top of the lid formed of acorns', £30, plus half of the gate money divided between first, second, third and fourth places.⁵¹ Once more Martin resumed the role of starter and referee and at 5:22pm over 20,000 spectators witnessed a record time of 4:17¼.⁵² Subsequently referred to as the dead-heat mile, William "Crowcatcher" Lang (prepared by Hardy of Derbyshire) and William "Welshman" Richards (prepared by George Martin at the Royal Oak) could not be separated by the referee, who declared the event tied, and a new date was set to resolve the outcome.⁵³ Eventually, Lang took the title when on August 26, 1865, a deciding heat was run in front of 10,000 spectators at the Royal Oak course.⁵⁴ This record stood for nearly sixteen years until May 14, 1881, when William J. Cummings became the 'Champion Miler of England' with a recorded time of 4:16½ at Preston's Borough Grounds.⁵⁵

Subsequent handicap mile races were competed for at the arena, but Martin's death in October 1865, and the closure of the Copenhagen Grounds in 1869, contributed to a decline in pedestrian patronage, although championship meetings were relatively well attended within the city.⁵⁶

⁴⁶ *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, June 27, 1864, 3; *Bell's Life*, July 2, 1864, 4; *Era*, July 3, 1864, 14.

⁴⁷ *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, June 27, 1864, 3.

⁴⁸ *Bell's Life*, June 25, 1864, 1; July 2, 1864, 4.

⁴⁹ *Bell's Life*, June 17, 1865, 7; August 19, 1865, 8; *Manchester Guardian*, August 21, 1865, 4; Phillips, 'The Ancient Art of Mile Pacemaking': 30.

⁵⁰ *Penny Illustrated*, August 26, 1865, 206; *Era*, August 27, 1865, 6.

⁵¹ *Bell's Life*, August 29, 1865, 9.

⁵² *Bell's Life*, August 19, 1865, 8; August 29, 1865, 9; *Preston Guardian*, August 26, 1865, 2; *Penny Illustrated*, August 26, 1865, 206.

⁵³ *Era*, August 27, 1865, 6; *Bell's Life*, August 19, 1865, 8; *Preston Guardian*, August 26, 1865, 2; Edward S. Sears, *Running Through the Ages* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2001), 113.

⁵⁴ *Belfast News-Letter*, August 31, 1865; *Sporting Gazette*, September 2, 1865, 675; *Preston Guardian*, September 2, 1865, 3; *Era*, September 3, 1865, 6.

⁵⁵ *Bell's Life*, May 21, 1881, 9.

⁵⁶ Royal Oak One Mile Handicap was scheduled for September 2, 1865 (*Bell's Life*, August 19, 1865, 7); 'three of the most noted men in the world', Neary, Lang and Nuttall competed in the 'meeting of champions' in

Organised on the same principle as Martin's 'golden mile', John Cooper, the new proprietor of the Royal Oak Park, promoted his mile event on June 1, 1867, presenting a golden cup, valued at eighty guineas, and £30, for the Royal Oak 'One Mile Champion Sweepstakes' when five athletes competed in front of a modest numbers of spectators.⁵⁷ According to Roe, entry was poor as challenge cup competitions were now out of favour, owing to the transferability of the trophy, with most pedestrians preferring monetary prizes instead.⁵⁸ Established mile runners McKinstry, Mills (trained by Richards), Neary and Nuttall were joined by Albison's promising novice, Ike Hughes, with McKinstry proving the eventual winner.⁵⁹ Manchester middle-distance runner, John Fleet, quickly challenged McKinstry to his title, defeating the champion on July 22, 1867, and becoming outright holder of the cup on September 14, 1867.⁶⁰ Hayes continued to support the city's miler community through the endorsement of the 'Great One Mile Sweepstakes' where a gold belt, valued at £20, was presented at Waddacor's City Grounds to R. Ridley on April 9, 1870.⁶¹ Mile racing was also endorsed by the recently formed Amateur Athletic Club (AAC) in 1867, with a professional competition scheduled alongside amateur sprinting at Beaufort House between 'six of the best pedestrians of the present time', Manchester men Lang, Neary and Fleet, Brighton of Norwich, Cooper of Leeds and Canavan of Dublin. The AAC chairman, the Earl of Jersey, presented the £30 prize to Neary in front of numerous Manchester spectators who had travelled only to witness the professional handicap.⁶² Nonetheless, this revival was short-lived. Public attention diminished and the mile seemed to go out of favour with professionals as the Sheffield handicaps and shorter distances became more fashionable and attracted much larger crowds.⁶³ This chapter considers the individuals who competed in Manchester mile events during their heyday in order to identify the key characteristics of the middle-distance pedestrian and to analyse their contribution to the city's highly successful and well-respected mile circuit that operated in the mid-nineteenth century.

1867 (*Bell's Life*, April 13, 1867, 7); Tom Senn's 'Great Sensation One Mile Handicap' attracted numerous competitors on November 30, 1872 (*Bell's Life*, November 23, 1872, 8); Lang and Richards attempted to recreate the golden mile at Royal Oak in 1866 (*Bell's Life*, May 5, 1866, 6).

⁵⁷ *Bell's Life*, June 1, 1867, 7; June 8, 1867, 6.

⁵⁸ Roe, *Front Runners*, 139.

⁵⁹ *Bell's Life*, June 8, 1867, 6.

⁶⁰ Roe, *Front Runners*, 181.

⁶¹ *Bell's Life*, February 26, 1870, 3; March 19, 1870, 3; April 2, 1870, 7; April 9, 1870, 7; April 13, 1870, 4.

⁶² *Morning Post*, April 15, 1867, 3.

⁶³ *Bell's Life*, May 1, 1875, 8; *Otago Witness*, November 14, 1885, 22.

The Manchester Milers: A Prosopography

By exploring individuals at a micro-social level through the construction of biographical dossiers, individual themes can be presented, but by analysing them as a collective group through standardised questioning using a prosopographical approach, commonalities and differences can be more clearly identified and knowledge of the topic increased. The construction and analysis of individual biographical stories relating to Manchester's mile runners could encourage a collective representation of the group to be identified, classifying individuals based on type and exploring their similarities and differences through each narrative account. However, these narratives can be overwhelming, characterised by sameness and repetition with little reflection or assessment presented regarding their impact on the community in which they are situated. By constructing individual biographies, which rehearse the same basic content, individuality disappears and authors provides narratives that hide their originality in order to conform to the larger overarching narrative, altering this method from its intended outcome.⁶⁴ To provide a more rigid analysis, the prosopographical method provides a framework where characteristics, deemed to be important by the researcher, can be evaluated, interrogated and subjected to historical understanding and interpretation through standardised questioning.⁶⁵ Previous research has blurred the boundaries between prosopography and collective biography, suggesting both terms are utilised to produce the same result. However, both methods have different outcomes with collective biography being 'subjective' and 'close focused', using individual life stories to explain motives and experiences of a limited group, whereas prosopography is much more 'objective', unconcerned with individual lives but with the characteristics that provide a broader understanding of society.⁶⁶ Whilst individual biographical details may be accessed in order to provide pictorial examples, their inclusion is secondary to the greater narrative, which, in this case, seeks to understand the impact of the group within Manchester's pedestrian community.⁶⁷

In considering the individuals who competed in both the 1864 and 1865 Royal Oak Mile, it is clear to see several reoccurring similarities and anomalies in their histories. Details surrounding this group have been collected through both primary and secondary sources, with newspaper, monograph,

⁶⁴ Patricia Cox Miller, 'Strategies of Representation in Collective Biography: Constructing the Subject as Holy', in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, eds. Tomas Hagg and Philip Rousseau (London: University of California Press, 2000), 228-229.

⁶⁵ Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, ed., 'Introduction: Chameleon or Chimera? Understanding Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 20; Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, ed. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 57.

⁶⁶ Krista Cowman, 'Collective Biography', in *Research Methods for History*, eds. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 85.

⁶⁷ Miller, 'Strategies of Representation in Collective Biography', 229.

magazine, photograph and genealogical archives being accessed. Consulting additional sources increases validity as information is shared and interrogated, with further analysis provided through narrative explanation.⁶⁸ Both personal and career details are identified, as suggested by Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn, subjecting the group to a list of feasible questions intended to explain the specifics of a population during a particular historical period.⁶⁹ Tables 5, 6 and 7 on the following pages reflect the responses to these questions while the accompanying text explains the significance of this data through historical contextualisation.

Table 5. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Personal Information

Name (Alias)	Born (Location)	Resided	Death (Location)	Height & Weight	Occupation
Albison, Siah ⁷⁰	Apr 26, 1840 (Middleton, Lancs)	Manchester	c. Oct 1891 (Oldham, Lancs)	5ft 11 10st 10lb-11 st	Silk Weaver (1861) Publican (1871) Beerseller (1881) Beer House Keeper (1891)
Lang, William ⁷¹ (Crowcatcher)	Dec 22, 1839 (Stockton-on-Tees, Durham)	Middlesbrough Manchester London America	Jul 29, 1905 (Stockton-on-Tee)	5ft 9 ½ 9st 7lb – 11st 7lb	Blacksmith Apprentice (1851) Blacksmith Labourer (1861) Pedestrian (1871) Labourer (1881) Blacksmith (1891) Living on own means (1901)
McKinstry, Robert ⁷² (Scottish Champion)	Apr 18, 1835 (Ayrshire, Scotland)	Glasgow, Scotland London	Sept 27, 1881 (Ayrshire, Scotland)	5ft 6 ½ 9st	Butcher (1861-71) Spirit Dealer (1881)
Mills, Edward ⁷³ (Young England)	Aug 25, 1841 (London)	London Manchester	Jul 16, 1894 (London)	5ft 3 - 5ft 5 8st-9st	Dyer (1861) Beer Shop Keeper (1871) Victualler (1881)

⁶⁸ Jennifer C. Greene, Valerie J. Caracelli and Wendy F. Graham, 'Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Design', *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 11, no. 3 (1989): 256-257; Lisa A. Guion, David C. Diehl and Debra McDonald, 'Triangulation: Establishing the Validity of Qualitative Studies' (working paper FCS6014, Department of Family, Youth and Community Sciences, Florida Cooperative Extension Services and the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, University of Florida, Gainesville, 2011), 1.

⁶⁹ Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 55-56.

⁷⁰ *Bell's Life*, July 7, 1865, 9; August 26, 1865, 9; July 7, 1866, 7; *Census Returns*, Siah Albison 1841 (HO107/545/10); 1861 (RG9/2973); 1871 (RG10/4057); 1881 (RG11/4012); 1891 (RG12/3239/52/14-15); *Death Index*, Siah Albison, Oct-Dec, 1891, 8.

⁷¹ *Bell's Life*, August 14, 1859, 3; January 6, 1861, 6; October 31, 1863, 3; July 7, 1865, 9; August 26, 1865, 9; *York Herald*, January 20, 1866, 12; *Census Returns*, William Lang 1841 (HO107/317/23); 1851 (HO107/2400); 1861 (RG9/3029); 1871 (RG10/3983); 1881 (RG11/3901); 1891 (RG12/3062); 1901 (RG13/3738); *Death Index*, William Lang, Jul-Sep 1905, 171; *Otago Witness*, September 20, 1905, 58.

⁷² *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; July 7, 1866, 7; *Scotland Census Returns*, Robert McKinstry 1861 (6/30/9/CSSCT1861_88); 1871 (6/21/8/CSSCT1871_113); 1881 (6/14/15/CSSCT1881_193); *Marriage Certificate*, Robert McKinstry to Jane Brown, June 13, 1873, Maybole, Ayr, Scotland (6035516); James T. Gray, *Maybole, Carrick's Capital* (Ayr: Alloway, 1972), 176-192.

⁷³ *Bell's Life*, January 27, 1869, 7; October 29, 1870, 3; *Census Returns*, Edward Mills 1861 (RG9/164); 1871 (RG10/285); 1881 (RG11/415); *Will and Probate*, Edward Mills, September 20, 1894 (1894/KK/257).

Table 5. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Personal Information, Continued

Name (Alias)	Born (Location)	Resided	Death (Location)	Height & Weight	Occupation
Mower, Charles ⁷⁴	Nov 25, 1839 (Dereham, Norfolk)	Norwich Manchester	Oct-Dec 1882 (Norwich)	5ft 9 9st 3lb-10st	Bricklayer (1861-1881)
Nuttall, James ⁷⁵	Dec 28, 1841 (Reddish, Stockport, Lancs)	Manchester Salford	Feb 1907 (Lancs)	5ft 8 10st-11st	Clogger's Apprentice (1861) Clogger (1871-91)
Neary, John "Jack" ⁷⁶ (Bradbury)	c.1841 (Manchester, Lancs)	Hulme, Manchester Australia	Jul-Sep 1913 (Manchester, Lanc)	5ft 8 10st 10lb	Thread Cutter (1861) Elastic Thread Cutter (1871) Labourer (1881) Rubber Thread Cutter (1901-1911)
Richards, William ⁷⁷ (Welshman)	Oct 11, 1839 (Glamorgan, Wales)	London Manchester Tollawain, Wales	Unknown	5ft 8 ½ 10st 5lb-6lb	Smith (1861) Blacksmith (1866)
Sanderson, James ⁷⁸ (Treacle)	Dec 29, 1837 (Whitworth, Rochdale)	Whitworth, Lancs	Dec 23, 1905 (Rochdale, Lancs)	5ft 7-7½ 8st 10lb-12lb	Blacksmith (1881-91) Master Blacksmith (1901)
Stapleton, Patrick ⁷⁹	c.1831 (Tipperary, Ireland)	Mossley, Staleybridge Bolton, Lancs	Jan-Mar 1894 (Bolton, Lancs)	5ft 4-5 7st 5lb-7lb	Grocer's Labourer (1881) Joiner's Labourer (1891)

Birth, Marriage and Death

The diversity of hometowns suggests that location of birth does not influence the decision to participate in professional activities with athletes from all over Britain competing in the miler events, highlighting the widespread nature of pedestrianism during this period. The sport penetrated the major cities of Britain, moving outside of London and extending into Birmingham, Manchester,

⁷⁴ *New York Tribune*, June 26, 1861, 12; *Era*, February 22, 1863, 4; *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; *Census Returns*, Charles Mower 1851 (HO107/1825); 1861 (RG9/2923); 1871 (RG10/1807); 1881 (RG11/1952).

⁷⁵ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; July 7, 1866, 7; February 23, 1870, 4; November 18, 1871, 7; *Census Returns*, James Nuttall 1861 (RG9/2947); 1871 (RG10/4057); 1881 (RG11/3972); 1891 (RG12/3168); *Death Index*, James Nuttall, Jan-Mar 1907, 8c, 477.

⁷⁶ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; August 11, 1866, 7; *Census Returns*, John Neary 1861 (RG9/2886); 1871 (RG10/3997); 1881 (RG11/3927); 1901 (RG13/3700); 1911 (RG14/23868); *Death Index*, John Neary, Jul-Sep, 1913, 8c, 1100.

⁷⁷ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; July 7, 1866, 7; August 11, 1866, 7; *Census Returns*, William Richards 1861 (RG9/164); *Marriage Certificate*, William Richards and Sarah Selina Davies, July 10, 1866 (GB127.M403/6/3/42).

⁷⁸ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; *Census Returns*, James Sanderson 1881 (RG11/4124); 1891 (RG12/3344); 1901 (RG13/3843); *Will and Probate*, James Sanderson, March 5, 1906 (1906/B2/11); Roe, *Front Runners*, 119; Kathryn Burns, 'Whitworth to Recognise Champion Victorian Runner', The Best of Rossendale, <http://www.thebestof.co.uk/local/rossendale/community-hub/blog/view/whitworth-to-recognise-champion-victorian-runner> (accessed September 3, 2013).

⁷⁹ *Southland Times*, July 26, 1894, 3; *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; *Census Returns*, Patrick Stapleton 1881 (RG11/3864); 1891 (RG12/3124); *Australasian*, August 26, 1871, 12; Roe, *Front Runners*, 98.

Liverpool, Newcastle and Edinburgh, and their surrounding towns throughout the early nineteenth-century.⁸⁰ Although some pedestrians were born in Lancashire, the professional athlete of the period travelled to compete in events throughout the country, benefitting from the development of transport links during the long nineteenth-century.⁸¹ In 1842, five railway lines entered the four Manchester stations, with little planning as to their connectedness, but 'by 1850 the railway network had grown considerably' with links between Yorkshire, North West, Midlands and Southern regions now well established.⁸² Despite the availability of sophisticated and reliable travel, many athletes relocated to the city for competition, taking either permanent or temporary residence near Manchester's sporting establishments and using their status to endorse sport within the city.⁸³ Lang, Richards and Albison took licenses at well-known Manchester sporting inns, while Mower lodged with Martin at his Salford-based beerhouse, and Stapleton and Sanderson stayed in nearby Lancashire towns and districts with easy commutes to both Manchester and Sheffield for competition.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the principal motive for migration into Manchester was the economic viability of the city where employment levels were high due to the continued industrial expansion of the Northern regions, with short-term migration into the city typical of both manual and artisan labourers.⁸⁵

According to Busteed and Hodgson, peak population numbers occurred during the late 1850s, stabilising even when the cotton famine (1861-65) contributed to a decline in the conditions for Lancashire's working classes.⁸⁶ Movement into the city was highly important and popular during Manchester's second period of expansion, and, as the city recovered, seasonal migration occurred and the entrepreneurial classes flourished.⁸⁷ According to the 1861 census, 105,335 people were

⁸⁰ Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004) 12.

⁸¹ Roberta J. Park, 'Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a "Man of Character"', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (2007): 1546.

⁸² John A. Patmore, 'The Railway Network of the Manchester Conurbation', *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 34 (1964): 162-166; Robert Schwartz, Ian Gregory and Thomas Thevenin, 'Spatial History: Railways, Uneven Development, and Population Change in France and Great Britain, 1850-1914', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42, no. 1 (2011): 53-88.

⁸³ Huggins and Gregson, 'Northern Songs, Sporting Heroes and Regional Consciousness, c.1800-c.1880': 148.

⁸⁴ *Census Returns*, Charles Mower 1861 (RG9/2923); *Bell's Life*, December 12, 1863, 7; August 26, 1865, 9; July 21, 1869, 4; April 22, 1871, 5.

⁸⁵ Jan G. Harris, 'Mormons in Victorian Manchester', *BYU Studies* 27, no. 1 (1987): 49.

⁸⁶ Mervyn Busteed and Roy Hodgson, 'Irish Migration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth Century Manchester, with Special Reference to the Angel Meadow District in 1851', *Irish Geography* 27, no. 1 (1994): 1-2; Stephen Mosley, *The Chimney of the World: a History of Smoke Pollution in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester* (London: Routledge, 2008), 72; Michael Nevell, 'Living in the Industrial City: Housing Quality, Land Ownership and the Archaeological Evidence from Industrial Manchester, 1740-1850', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15, no. 4 (2011): 594-606.

⁸⁷ Gerard Moran, "'A Passage to Britain": Seasonal Migration and Social Change on the West of Ireland, 1870-1890', *Saothar* 13 (1988): 22-31; Hartmut Berghoff, 'Regional Variations in Provincial Business Biography: The Case of Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester, 1870-1914', *Business History* 37, no. 1 (1995): 64; Simon Szreter, 'Rapid Economic Growth and "the Four Ds" of Disruption, Deprivation, Disease and Death: Public

densely packed into the Salford borough alone, with outdoor and inexpensive entertainment required to satisfy their needs.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, professional sport struggled to gain acceptance as a legitimate profession or trade,⁸⁹ which is supported by the finding shown here that no individual chose to classify themselves as an athlete according to census returns, preferring instead to identify their skilled craft, trade or entrepreneurial position. A craft/trade occupation provided higher social status and prestige, with the educated artisan being categorised as part of the skilled working class.⁹⁰ All but one “miler” undertook a traditional skilled craft or trade apprenticeship, with many having family connections within the business.⁹¹ The practice of passing on knowledge and skills from father to son was commonplace in the Victorian period as a means of ensuring that children were assets rather than liabilities, with subsequent movement into the city providing opportunities for work and an increased family income.⁹² According to Hobsbawm, trades such as smiths, mechanics and clothdrawers were likely to gain secure annual employment, with average weekly wages between nineteen and twenty-six shillings in 1838. Conversely, craft workers including dyers, bricklayers and shoemakers might only work for approximately nine months but would expect higher weekly wages, with some subscribing to local ‘houses of call’ to find further employment.⁹³ Apprenticeship started at a young age with either fathers, close male family members, such as grandfathers and uncles, or family friends taking children into their home for technical education,⁹⁴ although changing practices during the industrial revolution rendered some artisan crafts obsolete with the factory becoming a competing space for instruction.⁹⁵ Within Manchester, kinship ties enabled many individuals to enter lucrative and already well-established businesses, with some trades giving preference to sons or brothers of already trained men.⁹⁶ General education included Masters modelling their techniques whilst the apprentice observed, absorbing knowledge and essentially ‘stealing’ the craft ‘with the

Health Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Britain for Twenty-First Century China?’, *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 4, no. 2 (1999): 147-148.

⁸⁸ Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul*, 35.

⁸⁹ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 107.

⁹⁰ David Lockwood, ‘The “New Working Class”’, *European Journal of Sociology* 1, no. 2 (1960): 248; Andrew Miles and Mike Savage, *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940* (London, Routledge, 2013), 34.

⁹¹ *Census Returns*, Neary Family 1841 (HO107/583/13), brother’s John ‘grinder of cotton’ and Martin ‘piece cutter’ respectably.

⁹² Claudia Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian Britain* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), 91; Miles and Savage, *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940*, 34.

⁹³ Eric J. Hobsbawm, ‘The British Standard of Living 1790-1850’, *The Economic History Review* 10, no. 1 (1957): 56-57; ‘The Tramping Artisan’, *Economic History Society* 3, no. 3 (1951): 229.

⁹⁴ Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 54; Wally Seccombe, ‘Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Wage Norm in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Social History* 11, no. 1 (1986): 54-56.

⁹⁵ Frank Musgrove, *The Family, Education and Society* (London: Routledge, 2012), 22.

⁹⁶ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, 119.

eyes'.⁹⁷ Generally, the artisan worker received relatively good wages compared to the national average,⁹⁸ and the free time associated with these trades may help to explain why many athletes had time to compete. For example, reports state that Lang, a blacksmith by trade, had the full backing of his employer to train and travel to competitions.⁹⁹

Pedestrianism was popular not only in Britain but was one of the major sports exported throughout the Empire and America during the Victorian era.¹⁰⁰ Park notes a resurgence in male pedestrianism during the 1840s and 50s that coincided with the movement of American professionals into England, such as George "Little Wonder" Seward, Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett and Edward Payson Weston, contributing to the development of transatlantic competition.¹⁰¹ Telegraphs were received challenging any British athlete to compete against the American 'champions' and these activities were reported across the world through newspaper correspondence.¹⁰² Their success in Britain led to American athletes settling in England, where they were able to obtain regular competition and develop a profile within the working-class towns and cities. George Seward, a native of Connecticut, remained in Lancashire from 1843 until his death in 1883, frequently competing in professional sprint racing as the 'American champion' before retiring to develop and maintain the Stalybridge Recreation Grounds from 1858 to 1866.¹⁰³ Additionally, as competitors migrated from America into England, a 'counter-current' was occurring with British athletes entering the United States for financial gain. The transatlantic journey improved over the course of the nineteenth century, as did the ships themselves, with migration increasing due to the perceived opportunities for exploration, stability and economic security, 'an exaggerated picture of prosperity and freedom' according to reports in 1854.¹⁰⁴ In 1838, the journey from Liverpool to New York took approximately fifteen days with the wooden steamships capable of holding around 200 people. However, by 1860, the journey

⁹⁷ Dave Day, 'Victorian Coaching Communities: Exemplars of Traditional Practice' (paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, in Conjunction with Sports Coaching Review, Conference on Sporting Cultures, Crewe, Cheshire, June 22-23, 2013).

⁹⁸ Hobsbawm, 'The British Standard of Living 1790-1850': 55.

⁹⁹ See Roe, *Front Runners*.

¹⁰⁰ Harold Perkin, 'Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (1989): 145-146; Steven A. Riess, *Sport in Industrial America 1850-1920* (West Sussex: John Wiley, 1995), 231-232.

¹⁰¹ Roberta J. Park, 'Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 2, no. 1 (1985): 1570-1603; 'Contesting the Norm: Women and Professional Sports in Late Nineteenth-Century America', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 5 (2012): 735.

¹⁰² Detailed reports of American pedestrianism featured in the pages of *Bell's Life* (May 31, 1840; January 4, 1846, 7; August 22, 1852, 7; January 6, 1869, 7) and American publications (*Sacramento Daily Union*, December 13, 1860, 1; *New York Times*, February 17, 1880) with challenges made between English and American athletes also promoted within the press (*Bell's Life*, June 12, 1842; February 10, 1850, 6; January 6, 1869, 7; *Daily Dispatch*, August 15, 1856, 1; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 20, 1868, 2).

¹⁰³ Edward S. Sears, *George Seward: America's First Great Runner* (Plymouth: Scarecrow, 2008).

¹⁰⁴ Gunther Moltmann, 'American-German Return Migration in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Central European History* 13, no. 4 (1980): 378-379.

time had significantly decreased, taking between eight and nine days to complete, and the iron passenger liners were more economical in cost and safer in design.¹⁰⁵ A ticket cost around £9 in 1860, approximately one-month wages for a baker or two weeks work for a blacksmith or carpenter,¹⁰⁶ and decreased to approximately £5 by 1880. With standard passenger ships now able to hold over 1,500 travellers, migration to and from the United States was increasing and liners appeared more frequently in the ports of Europe and North America, and New York became the main point of entry into the United States, absorbing over seventy percent of immigration from 1850 onwards.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, pedestrianism within New York and the surrounding states was popular, with many professionals competing at the Union Racecourse and Fashion Racecourse, Long Island, Madison Square Gardens, New York, and the Beacon Race Course, New Jersey. These grounds regularly attracted English competitors from the 1840s with large cash prizes as an incentive to encourage transatlantic travel. British born William Howitt, or William “The American Deer” Jackson as he was more commonly known, regularly travelled to the United States to participate in a multitude of events and distances, receiving ‘thousands of dollars in prize money’ and increasing his status within both American and English pedestrianism.¹⁰⁸ Between 1860 and 1869, Lang, Richards and Mower also made several journeys to America in search for new competition with varied success, whilst Neary ventured further afield to Melbourne, Australia, where he competed under the alias “Bradbury” to acclaim between 1871 and 1872.¹⁰⁹

Although English athletes may have found success abroad, they tended to return because of their family commitments. The professional sportsman usually made the transatlantic passage alone, either leaving their wife and children at home or venturing abroad as single men. The length of stay varied but, generally, those who were prosperous had extended vacations, returning once all competitive avenues were exhausted. However, in the case of Greenhalgh, he returned to England at the height of his success as he was due to be married, and Lang’s disappointing American journey ended with him being sued for divorce and abandonment in 1869.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, all of the milers married and many proceeded to start families, as noted in Table 6. Most men married during the early 1860s and at the peak of their professional careers, with an average age of marriage 26.8 years.

¹⁰⁵ Peter J. Hugill, *World Trade Since 1431: Geography, Technology, and Capitalism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1993), 128.

¹⁰⁶ Arthur L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 133.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: an Ethnic History* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1989), 45; Walter T.K. Nugent, *Crossings: the Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Indianapolis: Indian University Press, 1995), 45.

¹⁰⁸ George Moss, ‘The Long Distance Runners of Ante-Bellum America’, *The Journal of Popular Culture* 8, no. 2 (2004): 370-372, 375.

¹⁰⁹ *Era*, August 11, 1861, 7; *Bell’s Life*, January 6, 1869, 7; January 13, 1869, 7; *Argus*, September 27, 1871, 8; February 10, 1872, 8; *Australasian*, June 3, 1871, 11; August 26, 1871, 12; October 7, 1871, 12; February 24, 1872, 12; March 9, 1872, 12; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, March 29, 1873, 27.

¹¹⁰ *Bell’s Life*, January 19, 1845; June 30, 1869, 7; Roe, *Front Runners*, 124.

Table 6. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Family Information¹¹¹

Name	Marriage and Spouse		Children (Step-Children)		
	Year	Name	Total	Boys	Girls
Albison, Siah	c.1870	Elizabeth Warren	3	1	2
Lang, William	1861	Unknown	1		--
	c.1890	Anne Taylor		(1)	--
McKinstry, Robert	1873	Jane Brown	3	3	--
Mills, Edward	1870	Emma Bigg	4	2	2
Mower, Charles	1862	Sarah Ireson	1	--	1
Nuttall, James	1866	Elizabeth Brookfield	8	1	1
	c.1876	Amy Jones		4	(2)
Neary, John	1864	Mary McCann	3	2	1
Richards, William	1866	Sarah Selina Davies	Unknown		
Sanderson, James	1860	Alice Pilkington	8	3	5
Stapleton, Patrick	1853	Mary Rosetta Withercomb	0	--	--

The average age of first marriage in the United Kingdom was approximately 25.1 years old for males and 23.2 years old for females between 1831 and 1849.¹¹² Marriage became a standard practice within England and Wales with both the Marriage Act 1836 and Registration Act 1836 being legally enforced, resulting in 118,000 recorded marriages by the first full year of civil registration.¹¹³ Between 1850 and 1875, marriage rates continued to increase as economic stability, birth rates and population distributions contributed to a shift in relationship patterns.¹¹⁴ Within this pedestrian sample, the average age of marriage was slightly higher than the British average, although fifty percent of these athletes had married before the age of twenty-five, and ninety percent before the age of thirty.¹¹⁵ Generally, spouses were younger with the age difference being approximately -6.5 years and age at matrimony being 21.4 years old, lower than the population average. However, there are extremes in this data with both Albison and Nuttall marrying women thirteen years their junior,

¹¹¹ Content here is a reflection of the sources identified in Table 5. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Personal Information.

¹¹² E. Anthony Wrigley, 'British Population During the "Long" Eighteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Volume 1: Industrialisation, 1700-1860*, eds. Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 74; Roger S. Schofield, 'British Population Changes, 1700-1871', in *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, Volume 1: 1700-1860*, 2nd ed., eds. Roderick Floud and Dierdre McCloskey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 74.

¹¹³ Jen Beaumont, *Social Trends 41: Households and Families* (London, Office for National Statistics, 2011), 9.

¹¹⁴ G. Udny Yule, 'On the Changes in the Marriage- and Birth-Rates in England and Wales During the Past Half Century: with an Inquiry to their Probable Causes', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 69, no. 1 (1906): 88-89.

¹¹⁵ Male age of marriage: Stapleton and Lang, 23; Sanderson, Neary and Mower, 24; Nuttall, 26; Richards, 28; Mills and Albison, approx. 29; McKinstry is the outlier, marrying for the first time at 38 years old.

and McKinstry and Brown marrying aged thirty-five and thirty respectively.¹¹⁶ Whilst teenage brides were not uncommon, especially amongst the unskilled manual occupations,¹¹⁷ marriage at sixteen, the equivalent age to Albison and Nuttall's brides, and Elizabeth Albison's illegitimate pregnancy aged fourteen, was deemed 'inappropriate' and socially unacceptable. Victorian doctors warned that childbearing was physically demanding and that the teenage body was incapable of producing healthy offspring, with age restrictions on marriage initially stipulated as a means of reducing pregnancy and 'unfit' children.¹¹⁸ Nonetheless, the legal age of marriage remained at twelve for girls and fourteen for boys, with parental consent required if under the age of twenty-one. The Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885 raised the age of sexual consent to sixteen but this remained out of kilter with the marital laws, with all Acts being eventually harmonised in 1926.¹¹⁹ Nichols' *How to Behave* (1873) suggested a five year age gap as appropriate, ideally with brides between the ages of twenty and twenty-five and grooms twenty-five to thirty at the time of marriage, although he insisted that a marriage based on class far outweighed a match in age.¹²⁰ By 1840, it was uncommon for youths to marry before the age of twenty-one as emphasis was placed on courtship where 'indoor habits', such as frequenting theatres and taverns, provided opportunities for couples to 'meet with greater anonymity'.¹²¹ Richards married barmaid, Sarah Davies, daughter of sporting publican Henry Davies, in 1866, before the end of his professional career. Whilst staying at the Royal Oak, Manchester, he courted Sarah before taking proprietorship of her family pub, the Black Horse, within walking distance of the Oldham Road venues.¹²² Similarly, Mills and Albison married towards the end of their athletic careers, both licensing drinking establishments where they lived with their growing families.¹²³ It is interesting to note that marriage for many occurred during their athletic career, despite the travelling nature of the pedestrian profession, perhaps explaining why many sporting celebrities settled in new locations, within close proximity to their spouse's family.

¹¹⁶ Female age of marriage: Elizabeth Nuttall (Brookfield) and Elizabeth Albison (Warren), 16; Sarah Richards (Davies), 18; Emma Mills (Bigg) and Mary Neary (McCann), 19; Alice Sanderson (Pilkington), 24; Mary Stapleton (Withercomb), 25; Sarah Mower (Ireson), 26; Jane McKinstry (Brown), 30.

¹¹⁷ E. Anthony Wrigley, R.S. Davies, James E. Oeppen and Roger S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 454; Eilidh Garrett, Alice Reid, Kevin Schurer and Simon Szreter, eds., *Changing Family Size in England and Wales: Place, Class and Demography, 1891-1911* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 223.

¹¹⁸ Kristin Luker, *Dubious Conceptions: the Politics of Teenage Pregnancy* (Harvard, CT: Harvard University Press, 1996), 30-32, 39.

¹¹⁹ George Monger, *Marriage Customs of the World: from Henna to Honeymoons* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 8.

¹²⁰ T.L. Nichols, *How to Behave: a Manual of Manners and Morals* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1873), 140, 145.

¹²¹ John R. Gillis, *For Better, for Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) 176.

¹²² *Marriage Certificate*, William Richards and Sarah Selina Davies, July 10, 1866 (GB127.M403/6/3/42); *Bell's Life*, July 14, 1866, 7; July 28, 1866, 6; September 8, 1866, 7; February 16, 1867, 7.

¹²³ *Marriage Certificate*, Edward Mills and Emma Bigg, November 2, 1870 (P79/JNJ/033/88/175); *Census Returns*, Edward Mills 1871 (RG10/285); 1881 (RG11/415); Siah Albison 1891 (RG12/3239/52/14-15).

In contrast, Stapleton married in Ireland in 1853 prior to his achieving sporting success and his background is distinctly different to that of the other athletic men. From 1845, the Great Famine stimulated mass emigration into England, with an influx of young Irish migrants, average age 25.6 years old, obtaining work in the North.¹²⁴ In Lancashire, it was particularly common for immigrants to come from Galway, Roscommon and Mayo counties, forming their own communities within urban environments with most acquiring labour intensive jobs that reflected the region's major modes of production.¹²⁵ Stapleton is the epitome of this stereotype; from Tipperary, County Galway, he moved to Lancashire c.1854 at the age of 23 with his wife, Mary, staying in tenements at the heart of Great Bolton's Irish community, near St Paul's parish, where he worked as a general labourer in businesses within the locale. Pedestrianism would have provided an additional source of income for young men, with many Irish competitors appearing in athletic, rowing, cricket and pugilistic events.¹²⁶ According to census reports, Stapleton and his wife did not have any children, being the only member of the miling group to diverge from this traditional path, although this decision may have been biological or due to involuntary circumstances rather than deliberate.¹²⁷

D'Cruze states that the size of the family reflected class; the professional middle classes did not have substantial disposable wealth and, therefore, chose to limit their family numbers in order to live a comfortable life. However, the working classes believed the number of children produced was a reflection of a successful marriage, with children seen as assets in agricultural and mining communities where young workers could provide an additional income. Nevertheless, population growth slowed from 1870 as economics and an improved awareness of health and mortality influenced marital procreation.¹²⁸ Even working class communities saw a reduction in household numbers as new legislation surrounding both child labour and education made it financially difficult to sustain large families.¹²⁹ Families on average contained between three and five children,

¹²⁴ Jeffery Williamson, 'Coping with City Growth', in *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, Volume 1: 1700-1860*, 2nd ed., eds. Roderick Floud and Dierdre McCloskey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 339.

¹²⁵ Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922* (London: St Martin's Press, 1999), 66; Jill Dale, 'Irish Migration to England Before, During and After the Great Famine with Emphasis on Immigration from County Mayo and County Roscommon, Ireland' (working paper, County Mayo Beginnings, 2010).

¹²⁶ Peter Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire', *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 393; Dennis Brailsford, 'Sporting Days in Eighteenth Century England', *Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 3 (1982): 45-46; W.F. Mandle, 'Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies* 15, no. 60 (1973); John Sugden, *Boxing and Society: an International Analysis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 23, 123; Sears, *Running Through the Ages*, 140; Ralph Wilcox, 'Irish Americans in Sports: the Nineteenth Century', in *Making the Irish America: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, eds. Joseph J. Lee and Marion R. Casey (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2006), 443, 446.

¹²⁷ Donald T. Rowland, 'Historical Trends in Childlessness', *Journals of Family Issues* 28, no. 10 (2007): 1319.

¹²⁸ Shani D'Cruze, 'The Family', in *A Companion to 19th-Century Britain*, ed. Chris Williams (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 256.

¹²⁹ Jane Humphries, 'The Working Class Family, Women's Liberation, and Class Struggle: the Case of Nineteenth Century British History', *Review of Radical Political Economics* 9, no. 3 (1977): 31.

corresponding with this Manchester sample, a significant reduction from early-nineteenth century values but still high by twenty-first century standards.¹³⁰ Large families, such as Sanderson's ten-member household, were not discouraged but contributed to poverty and poor conditions, and, as family composition changed, domestic numbers were again raised.¹³¹

Whilst some families extended through second or even third marriages that produced further offspring, others expanded as children from different maternal and paternal lineages would co-habit as part of a stepfamily. During the nineteenth-century, the average marriage lasted less than twenty years as complications at childbirth, infectious illnesses and other health and lifestyle-related issues contributed to the reduced life expectancy of the working classes. Those individuals who survived tended to remarry on multiple occasions with marriage much preferred to the single or widowed life.¹³² For example, Nuttall's brood was increased when the widower married Amy Jones and proceeded to co-habit with her parents and two young daughters. The family was extended with the birth of four boys but Amy's death in 1891, due to birthing complications, left Nuttall with a large family to raise, including two adult children from his previous marriage, two teenage stepdaughters, four adolescent boys and his niece, all living at his four roomed home in Ardwick, Manchester.¹³³ Nuttall was one of two athletes known to outlive their spouses and he was the only one to remarry. Conversely, widower Neary lived with daughter Ann and her family according to the 1901 and 1911 census, working with son-in-law Joseph Weston at the Hulme rubber factory.¹³⁴ Additionally, many of the milers were either living in multigenerational houses or accepting lodgers within their homes; Sanderson's son-in-law was staying with the family in 1881, when he was being apprenticed as a blacksmith, and, in 1891, his grandchildren and widower son returned to the home, whereas Lang and Albison provided regular accommodation for several boarders at their respective dwellings.¹³⁵ In Lancashire, co-residence and multigenerational living provided some financial stability to the family structure, also enabling businesses to be passed on through apprenticeship and work experience.¹³⁶ This "'instrumentalist" attitude to family ties' helped to protect the kinship group from poverty and enabled households to support each other through the 'huddling' of resources, such as rent and housekeeping expenses, with each member a domestic and wage labour commodity.¹³⁷ However,

¹³⁰ Michael Murphy, 'Long-Term Effects of the Demographic Transition on Family and Kinship Networks in Britain', *Population and Developmental Review* 37 (2011): 56.

¹³¹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 120, 328; Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, 166.

¹³² Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988), 30.

¹³³ *Census Returns*, James Nuttall 1881 (RG11/3972); 1891 (RG12/3168); *Death Index*, Amy Nuttall, aged 37 at Chorlton Hospital, Sept-Dec 1891, 8c, 470.

¹³⁴ *Census Returns*, John Neary, 1881 (RG11/3927); 1901 (RG13/3700); 1911 (RG14/23868).

¹³⁵ *Census Returns*, James Sanderson 1881 (RG11/4124); 1891 (RG12/3344); Siah Albison 1871 (RG10/4057); William Lang 1901 (RG13/3738).

¹³⁶ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, 57.

¹³⁷ Humphries, 'The Working Class Family': 28, 32.

many married couples tended to head their own households with other alternative arrangements, such 'stem-family' creation through living with kin, a temporary resolution for newly married couples and residents entering their senior years.¹³⁸ Within both the athletic and artisan/craft trades, where income was sporadic and seasonal, residing in multi-family dwellings would enable relatives to reduce costs and guarantee income from the diverse number and type of occupations and skills each individual member performed.

In the post-industrial landscape, new familial systems formed, characterised by late marriages and diminutive conjugal structures that limited kinship connections.¹³⁹ Apprenticeships in their youth and the travelling nature of many occupations enabled men and women from different locations to meet and elope, with family roots often more diverse, but limited in size, as households would form around either the male or female's family, not necessarily both. However, Wrigley argues that this provided an opportunity for families to further increase as individuals contributed to several different family memberships simultaneously rather than the standard cognate relationship provided by mother, father and siblings. Through relocating and lodging with varied family members as youths, such as grandparents or aunts and uncles, the individual became part of their family structure. Working life may then cause the individual to migrate from town to town, with family friends, acquaintances and extended family offering support, before marriage provided an additional community through spousal networks.¹⁴⁰ Despite many of the milers relocating on numerous occasions throughout their athletic careers, their family networks were still highly concentrated around their birthplace, and they generally married from within the community from which they originated. Mower, a native of East Dereham, Norfolk, married Sarah Ireson from the neighbouring village of Mattishall, before settling in the newly developed town of Heigham, Norwich, thereby only moving approximately twenty miles between birth and death. Couples reproduced and settled close to home where the female would receive familial support, enabling the male to continue to travel for financial opportunities and return intermittently throughout the course of the year.¹⁴¹

As the miler's families continued to grow, their sporting careers were replaced by secure and fixed occupations requiring less mobility and restricting the family to one specific area. McKinstray, after living in London, returned to his hometown of Maybole, Ayrshire, where he married resident Jane

¹³⁸ Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, 48, 53; Steven Ruggles, *Prolonged Connections: the Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth Century England and America* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 77-78.

¹³⁹ E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Reflections on the History of the Family', *Daedalus* 106, no. 2 (1977): 76.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid: 72; See Christiane Eisenberg, 'Artisans' Socialization at Work: Workshop Life in Early Nineteenth-Century England and Germany', *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 3 (1991).

¹⁴¹ Andrew Popp, 'From Town to Town: How Commercial Travel Connected Manufacturers and Markets During the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 659-660.

Brown, had three children and became proprietor of drinking establishments within the locale.¹⁴² A localised pattern of return-migration is identified throughout the data, suggesting that the athletes journeyed to new settings before returning to hometowns after their running careers ended, with only Richards and Stapleton permanently relocating outside their county of birth. Rossi suggests that mobility was linked to major life events, with marriage, occupational advancement and empty-nest syndrome contributing factors in early-migration patterns, whereas death, disability, retirement and income decline all contributed to later-life mobility. Individuals chose to return to villages and towns where extended family and friends lived, and this could offer emotional connections to a specific location.¹⁴³ Similarly, migrants who had established a residence overseas tended to return to their hometowns in later life where ancestral communities provided familial connections, social networks and support for ageing residents.¹⁴⁴ In both environments, social capital could be accrued and (re)established, making the return to home a culturally profitable experience.¹⁴⁵ McKinstry converted his sporting, social and cultural capital in his hometown of Maybole, on his return being 'respected by all and honoured as the greatest British runner of his day'.¹⁴⁶ While no conclusive judgements can be made regarding age or cause of death, as each individual died of different ailments and at various ages, location of death clarifies the importance of hometown migration. Eight of the miler's deaths were within close proximity to their birth locations where their kinship networks had originated and remained.¹⁴⁷

The Professional Body

The professional pedestrian body throughout the nineteenth century generally reflected the class of person that engaged in the sport and an initial analysis suggests that the milers matched up to expectations in terms of height and weight. In early nineteenth-century texts, trainer John Jackson observed that pedestrians ranged from five feet to six feet tall, with long thighs and short legs, and were aged between eighteen and forty. Pedestrian trainer John Hall looked for muscular men, aged

¹⁴² *Marriage Certificate*, Robert McKinstry to Jane Brown, June 13, 1873, Maybole, Ayr, Scotland (6035516); *Scotland Census Returns*, Robert McKinstry 1881 (6/14/15/CSSCT1881_193); Gray, *Maybole, Carrick's Capital*, 178.

¹⁴³ William H. Walters, 'Later-Life Migration in the United States: a Review of Recent Research', *Journal of Planning Literature* 17, no. 1 (2002): 39-40.

¹⁴⁴ George Gmelch, 'Return Migration', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 3 (1980): 135; Ken Blakemore, 'International Migration in Later Life: Social Care and Policy Implications', *Aging and Society* 10, no. 6 (1999): 769; Hong Liu, *The Chinese Overseas, Volume 1* (London: Routledge, 2006), 192.

¹⁴⁵ Carlo Levi, in Russell King, 'Return Migration: a Neglected Aspect of Population Geography', *Area* 10, no. 3 (1978): 175; Hein de Hass, 'Migration and Development: a Theoretical Perspective', *International Migration Review* 44, no. 1 (2010): 254-255; Kam Hung, Honggen Xiao and Xiaotao Yang, 'Why Immigrants Travel to their Home Places: Social Capital and Acculturation Perspective', *Tourism Management* 36 (2013): 307-310.

¹⁴⁶ Gray, *Maybole, Carrick's Capital*, 178.

¹⁴⁷ See Table 5. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Personal Information.

between twenty and twenty-six, 'round in their chests, short in their waists, long in their thighs, from five feet seven, to five feet ten'.¹⁴⁸ Although there are some variations relating to height and weight,¹⁴⁹ on average across this sample the professional athletic body was within normal proportion for the average working class male, 5ft 6/7inches and 10st 3lb, and was specifically leaner than the professional middle-class body, which weighed approximately 12st 5lb.¹⁵⁰ With respect to weight it should be noted that these include "out of training" physiques and competition as veterans, perhaps showing the effects of over-indulgence on the frame.¹⁵¹ Many had an optimum weight and followed an intense training regime in the lead up to competition, similar to boxing practices today,¹⁵² and, with close ties between pugilism and pedestrianism during the nineteenth-century, it should be expected that knowledge spill over occurred. Writing in 1820 about the training practices of pedestrians, Egan suggested that 'training for pugilism is nearly the same...the object in both being principally to obtain additional *wind* and strength', wind referring to athletic endurance.¹⁵³ The specifics of pedestrian training included a course of physic (detox), followed by regular exercise up to twenty-four miles a day, a diet of red meat, bread and beer, before "sweating" out the impurities to ensure a 'smooth, elastic, and well-coloured, or transparent' skin, with the process taking between two and three months to gain optimal condition.¹⁵⁴ Walsh expressed a similar opinion, taking into consideration exercise, diet and artificial sweating, although he subscribed to the belief that each type of activity being trained for required a different approach. For sprinting, only two to three hours a day was required in order to maintain speed, whereas distance events required further preparation but at a reduced pace, demonstrating his knowledge about the varying principles of both aerobic and

¹⁴⁸ John Sinclair, *Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises* (London: E. Blackader, 1806), 15, 27.

¹⁴⁹ Height range 5ft 3-5ft 11, with the extremes classified as 'abnormal' (Gary E. Pittman, 'WHO is Sir Francis Galton?', *The Galton Institute Newsletter* 35 (1999)); Weight range of 7st 5lb-11st 7lb but within proportion.

¹⁵⁰ P. Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England: its Moral, Social and Physical Conditions, and the Changes which have Arisen from the use of Steam Machinery* (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1833), 161-162; Stephen Nicholas and Richard H. Steckel, 'Heights and Living Standards of the English Workers During the Early Years of Industrialisation, 1770-1815', *The Journal of Economic History* 51, no. 4 (1991); Pittman, 'WHO is Sir Francis Galton?'; Peter Razzell and Christine Spence, 'The Hazards of Wealth: Adult Mortality in Pre-Twentieth-Century England', *Social History of Medicine* 19, no. 3 (2006): 393.

¹⁵¹ *Bell's Life*, May 5, 1866, 6; May 11, 1867, 6; *Sporting Gazette*, January 18, 1868, 49.

¹⁵² Ricky Hatton and Niall Hickman, *The Hitman: My Story* (London: Ebury, 2006), 54; Duncan Simpson and Craig Wisberg, 'Fail to Prepare, Prepare to Fail: Professional Boxers' Experiences of Training', *The Sport Psychologist* 27 (2013): 110.

¹⁵³ Pierce Egan, *Pierce Egan, Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected; Including Numerous Characteristic Portraits of Persons in Every Walk of Life, who have Acquired Notoriety for Their Achievements on the Turf, at the Table, and in the Diversions of the Field, with Sketches of the Various Animals of the Chase: to which is Added, an Account of Noted Pedestrians, Trotting Matches, Cricketers, &c. the Whole Forming a Complete Delineation of the Sporting World* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1820), 86; Dave Day, "'Science", "Wind" and "Bottom": Eighteenth-Century Boxing Manuals', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 10 (2012): 1446.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 73-85.

anaerobic training.¹⁵⁵ Another amateur commentator, Montague Shearman, later discussed the process of 'going into training', suggesting that the pugilistic influence in reducing weight was not needed for athletic performance, and calling these previous methods 'old' and 'obsolete'. He, like many amateurs, promoted individualised training regimes rather than the one-size-fits-all approach.¹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, all three authors recognised the power of training and suggested that employing a trainer, in order to ensure preparation was strictly adhered to, was imperative. According to Lupton and Lupton, a miler required both endurance and stamina, with a long, lean body 'seldom of Herculean form' being the perfect physique to endure the distance.¹⁵⁷ Images of the Manchester milers show the benefits of such regimes, depicting slender but muscular frames in keeping with the build of a physical manual labourer that was associated with artisan occupations and suited to the all-round distance runner of the Victorian period.¹⁵⁸

Many pedestrian practices had their roots in the eighteenth century, when the sport's organisational development had paralleled that of pugilism and from which traditions migrated. Those pugilistic practices which were most clearly connected to gambling, such as the formal unveiling that preceded sporting contests, the 'Ceremony of Peeling', when spectators were able to evaluate a contestant's physical condition before laying their wager, became commonplace in pedestrianism. This practice of exposing the trained body to the crowd before a contest was generally referred to as 'unrobing' and provided athletes with an opportunity to display the results of their training and encourage financial patronage from betting men. On stripping, the athlete exposed not only the body itself but also how it was being presented to the public. Not surprisingly, nineteenth-century professional sportsmen adopted different modes of dress according to their sport with pugilists apparently retaining the britches that had been popular with their predecessors. In swimming, it was still common practice, even in mid-century, for professionals to compete without drawers so ladies did not generally attend their matches when held in public baths.¹⁵⁹ There is also some evidence that early pedestrians dispensed with clothing altogether but, by the 1830s, particular forms of pedestrian dress were being recorded in the reports of matches and in the stipulations being made in contest regulations. The general trend seems to have been to cover much more of the body as time went by. In 1839, pedestrians Temperance and Mountjoy were 'attired in Guernsey shirts, drawers, socks and light

¹⁵⁵ John H. Walsh, *Manual of British Rural Sports: Comprising Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism, and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1861), 449-453.

¹⁵⁶ Montague Shearman, *Athletics and Football* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887), 166-168.

¹⁵⁷ James I. Lupton and James M.K. Lupton, *The Pedestrian's Record: to which is Added a Description of the External Human Form Illustrated with Anatomical Plates* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1890), 80.

¹⁵⁸ Sears, *Running Through the Ages*, 81; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, May 1, 1880, 8; *County Gentleman: Sporting Gazette, Agricultural Journal, and "the Man About Town"*, December 27, 1890, 1813; *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury*, November 23, 1895, 3.

¹⁵⁹ *The Times*, October 7, 1863, 12. The moniker 'Mr' was invariably used to designate an amateur while professionals made do with just their surname.

shoes' with Mountjoy in blue and Temperance in crimson.¹⁶⁰ Pedestrians often competed bare-chested in the early 1840s, with drawers of varying lengths, from waist to knees, and with a handkerchief tied around the waist and the head.¹⁶¹ When Tetlow and Openshaw competed in 1844, they wore coloured caps and drawers and a report from 1845 described pedestrians competing with 'their respective colours round their heads, and dressed in the usual running trim, with their light shoes well spiked'.¹⁶² A year later, however, 'close body dresses' were being required for a pedestrian event in Cardiff and contestants were often being requested to wear similar attire by 1847.¹⁶³ Competitors were described as 'casing limbs in running togs and tying running colours around the waists', and at Bellevue, Manchester, on September 4, 1848, pedestrians had to have 'the whole body from the neck to below the calf of the leg' covered.¹⁶⁴ Given that there was no central regulation of the sport, and that pedestrian entrepreneurs were at liberty to frame their own rules for competition, considerable variety remained with respect to required dress. When Jackson "The American Deer" raced Manks over an open road in February 1847, both men wore Guernsey shirts and short drawers, Jackson in his preferred chamois leather ones. Stockings had been reduced to socks, being pulled over the shoes and stitched at the ankle to prevent slipping, although their light racing shoes made things difficult for them because of the uneven road surface. Each man bound a handkerchief round his 'knowledge box'.¹⁶⁵ Despite this gradual refinement in the professional pedestrian costume, organisers of more generic events such as the Belle Vue Wakes in Manchester in 1856, which included many of the games and sports usual at country wakes and fetes, remained concerned about the appropriateness of the professional's athletic dress. Competitors were required to wear trousers and shirts so that ladies could attend the events and, in order to give amateurs a chance, normal shoes or boots, rather than 'running pumps', had to be used.¹⁶⁶ Although variations remained up until mid-century, the specialist pedestrian dress seems to have gradually become standardised enough for organisers to require athletes to appear in 'usual running attire' rather than having to explain what that might mean.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ *Bell's Life*, July 21, 1839.

¹⁶¹ *Bell's Life*, October 22, 1843.

¹⁶² *Bell's Life*, November 10, 1844; February 16, 1845.

¹⁶³ *Bell's Life*, February 8, 1846, 6; April 18, 1847, 7.

¹⁶⁴ *Era*, January 31, 1847; *Bell's Life*, August 6, 1848, 7.

¹⁶⁵ *Bell's Life*, February 14, 1847, 6.

¹⁶⁶ *Bell's Life*, August 31, 1856, 7.

¹⁶⁷ See Day and Oldfield, 'Delineating Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England'.

Table 7. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Career Information

Name (Alias)	Age (Career)	Specialist Event (Time)	Fastest Mile ¹⁶⁸ (Date/Location)	Trained By	Publican (Location)	Trainer (Significant Athletes)
Albison, Siah ¹⁶⁹	16-30* (1856-1871)	Quarter Mile (1:13 ½)	4:22¼ (Oct 27, 1860, Copenhagen, Manchester)	Joseph Etchells Benjamin Taylor (Rocker of Failsworth) John Booth C Cooper	Yes (Three Crowns, Oldham Road; Britannia Inn/Tavern, Newton Heath, Manchester)	Yes (Warburton, amateur; Nuttall; McKinstry)
Lang, William ¹⁷⁰ (Crowcatcher)	16-32 (1856 – 1871)	All distances to Ten Miles	4:17¼ (Aug 19, 1865, Royal Oak, Manchester)	Billy Fish Jesse Smith George Martin J Hardy	Yes (Pheasant's Inn, Openshaw; Navigation Inn, Ancoats Road; Robert Burns Inn, Oldham Road, Manchester)	Yes (James Edgar – AAC; Richards; Mills)
McKinstry, Robert ¹⁷¹ (Scottish Champion)	15-34 (1855-1869)	Half Mile (1:56 ½) Mile (4:10 unrecorded)	4:24½ (Aug 19, 1865, Royal Oak, Manchester)	Bill Thomas Hugh Dunachie William Straker John Booth Siah Albison Mr Oldham, Macclesfield	Yes (Bank Tavern, Trongate, Glasgow; Mason Arms, Whitehall)	Unknown
Mills, Edward ¹⁷² (Young England)	18-30 (1860-1871)	One – Ten Miles	4:20 (Jun 25, 1864, Royal Oak, Manchester)	Bill Price George Martin William Lang William Richards Samuel Barker William & Charles Mills	Yes (Northampton Arms; Britannia Theatre; Hand in Hand; Crown & Anchor; Cock Inn, London; Royal Oak, Oldham Road)	Yes (Tom King – Pugilist; Richards)

¹⁶⁸ Data collected from Roe, *Front Runners*, 185-186, and Janssen, 'Progressive 1-Mile All Time List'.

¹⁶⁹ *Bell's Life*, August 10, 1856, 6; November 14, 1863, 7; November 21, 1863, 7; August 26, 1865, 9; July 21, 1869, 4; January 7, 1871, 4; April 22, 1871, 5; December 14, 1872, 8; *Census Returns*, Siah Albison 1871 (RG10/4057); *Era*, October 14, 1866, 4; *Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*, March 30, 1872, 4; *Sporting Gazette*, October 3, 1874, 925; *Manchester Guardian*, November 16, 1861, 5.

¹⁷⁰ *Bell's Life*, October 17, 1858, 7; June 26, 1859, 7; June 24, 1865, 6; March 5, 1870, 3; December 31, 1870, 4; February 14, 1874, 9; February 21, 1874, 9; April 24, 1875, 9; May 29, 1875, 9; February 9, 1878, 9; *Census Returns*, William Lung (sic.) 1861 (RG9/3029).

¹⁷¹ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; Gray, *Maybole, Carrick's Capital*, 176-192; Roe, *Front Runners*, 124.

¹⁷² *Era*, February 22, 1863, 14; *Manchester Guardian*, August 25, 1866, 8; *Bell's Life*, June 17, 1865, 7; December 8, 1866, 7; January 27, 1869, 7; *Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, December 8, 1891, 581; Roe, *Front Runners*, 105.

Table 7. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Career Information, Continued

Name (Alias)	Age (Career)	Specialist Event (Time)	Fastest Mile ¹⁷³ (Date/Location)	Trained By	Publican (Location)	Trainer (Significant Athletes)
Mower, Charles ¹⁷⁴	19-31* (1858-1870)	One Mile	4:24 (Dec 22, 1860, Copenhagen, Manchester)	George Martin	No	Yes (Deerfoot)
Nuttall, James ¹⁷⁵	17-35* (1859-1876)	330yds 440yds (0:51 ½) Half Mile (1:55 ½)	4:29¾ (May 18, 1868, Brompton, London)	Billy Beswick John Booth Siah Albison D. Richardson	No	Yes (Platt; Walsh; Bolton Wanderers FC)
Neary, John "Jack" ¹⁷⁶	20-33* (1861-1873)	330yds One Mile	4:29¾ (Sept 14, 1867, Royal Oak, Manchester)	George Martin Jack Rooke (pugilist) Mr Dobson	Unknown	Yes (in England & Australia)
Richards, William ¹⁷⁷ (Welshman)	18-27* (1858-1867)	Half Mile- Ten Miles	4:17¾ (Aug 19, 1865, Royal Oak, Manchester)	Seaton Hately Bill Price George Martin William Lang Thomas Hayes Edward Mills	Yes (Black Horse, Miles Platting; Royal Oak, Oldham Road, Manchester; White Horse, Tollawain, Wales)	Yes (Mills; Robinson - wrestler)
Sanderson, James ¹⁷⁸ (Treacle)	18-38* (1856-1876)	Two Miles (9:12 ½) Six Miles (31:22)	4:26 ¾ (Jul 11, 1863, CG)	Billy Fish Geo. Parkinson Himself	Yes	Unknown
Stapleton, Patrick ¹⁷⁹	21^~ (1858-1865)	One Mile	4:26 (Sept 27, 1862, CG)	Joe Scofield of Nancy's, Mossley	Yes (Commercial Inn, Netherton)	Yes (Switch of Mossley)
* No official retirement - last report of a competitive event ^ Competition in Ireland prior to England unfounded but expected. Date reflects first British competition						

¹⁷³ Data collected from Roe, *Front Runners*, 185-186, and Janssen, 'Progressive 1-Mile All Time List'.¹⁷⁴ *Bell's Life*, December 5, 1858, 7; December 30, 1860, 7; July 23, 1870, 7; *Morning Chronicle*, October 22, 1861; *Census Returns*, Charles Mower 1861 (RG9/2923).¹⁷⁵ *Bell's Life*, April 22, 1871, 5; March 1, 1873, 9; November 24, 1883 2; August 26, 1865, 9; *Census Returns*, Siah Albison and James Nuttall 1871 (RG10/4057).¹⁷⁶ *Era*, December 6, 1863, 4; *Argus*, September 27, 1871, 8; February 10, 1872, 8; *Bell's Life*, August 8, 1852, 7; December 3, 1864, 7; August 11, 1866, 7; January 6, 1872, 7; *Australasian*, September 23, 1871, 12; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, March 29, 1873, 27.¹⁷⁷ *Bell's Life*, March 29, 1859, 7; May 1, 1859, 7; December 3, 1864, 7; March 18, 1865, 7; January 20, 1866, 7; August 11, 1866, 7; October 20, 1866, 7; April 20, 1867, 7; September 21, 1867, 2; December 14, 1867, 8; February 22, 1868, 7.¹⁷⁸ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; Roe, *Front Runners*, 119.¹⁷⁹ *Bell's Life*, May 2, 1858, 7; July 29, 1865, 7; August 26, 1865, 9; August 17, 1872, 8.

Preparing, Promoting and Performing

Training

Professional runners competed in a multitude of distances in order to gain recognition and reward, ranging from Nuttall and Neary's 330-yard sprints to the ten-mile competitions of Mills, Richards and Lang. Although specialist distances were identified for some, this did not limit athletic performance and all ten men competed and set times that were deemed 'exceptional' over most distances. Although there were various rewards for competitive pedestrianism, the title of 'champion' was reserved to only a handful of distances, namely sprinting, the half-mile, and whole mile distances from one- to ten-miles. Whilst multiple championship contests were promoted in each discipline, athletes would compete over a varied range of events in order to gain the maximum recognition and rewards.¹⁸⁰ In December 1863, Lang competed in a five- mile, four-mile and ten-mile championship during the course of two weeks before resting from competition at his home in Manchester.¹⁸¹ Training for one- to ten-mile competitions would involve the same principles, as would sprinting and quarter- to half-mile running, but not all pedestrians could perform them to the same level, and they were usually proficient in one or two events only.¹⁸² Both Neary and Nuttall, specialist sprinters, were novice mile racers when appearing on the 1865 Royal Oak Mile billing, being included as pacemakers rather than serious competition.¹⁸³ However, their active training provided a foundation for success, and, while they were never champions over the distance, they were among the handful of foremost runners who achieved a sub four-minute thirty-second mile.¹⁸⁴ Of the sample, three athletes, Lang, Mills and Richards, were adept in many events and 'champions' of several distances. Lang became the outright holder of two one-mile cups, the twelve-mile cup and both the Hackney Wick five-mile belt and ten-mile champion cup between 1863 and 1868, while Mills retained the six-mile belt and a one-mile silver cup, and was champion of various other distances from 1861. However, while Sanderson was one of the most decorated pedestrians, being the four-mile, one-mile and a half, and one-mile and a quarter champion at various stages, he won each title by default and never completed an event in any exceptional time. Nonetheless, the athletic ability of these mile runners

¹⁸⁰ Roe, *Front Runners*, 180-188.

¹⁸¹ *Bell's Life*, December 5, 1863, 7; December 12, 1863, 7.

¹⁸² Charles Westhall, *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, & Boxing. Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing, and Advice to Trainers* (London: S.O. Beeton, 1863), 27, 36; Ed James, *Practice Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, Wrestling, Boxing, Jumping, and All Kinds of Athletic Feats; Together with Tables of Proportional Measurements for Height and Weight of Men in and Out of Conditions; Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing and Advice to Trainers; Also, Banting's System of Reducing Corpulency, and Record of Fast Athletic Performances* (New York, NY: Ed James, 1877), 18.

¹⁸³ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9.

¹⁸⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, August 21, 1865, 4; Roe, *Front Runners*, 185.

was widely acknowledged with only a small group of professional pedestrians achieving similar acclaim.¹⁸⁵

Westhall believed that the spinners of the 1850s and 1860s applied new forms of training that moved beyond the traditions of physicking and sweating and enabled the records for all major professional distances to be challenged ‘with ease and comfort’. More emphasis was put on “scientific” principles and theories, with nutrition, ‘rubbing’ (massage), periodization and over-training, and the psychological aspects of competition being addressed with some success.¹⁸⁶ James argued that stride pattern was the most important aspect of sprint training, suggesting that the trainer and athlete must devote ‘all his energies...to practising starts and getting quickly into stride’, whereas pacing and weight training would be beneficial to the middle-distance runner.¹⁸⁷ In 1890, *The Pedestrian Record* provided detailed insight into mile racing, stating that training required a careful balance between sprinting and long-distances techniques, enabling the miler to endure the distance at a sprinter pace without distress, stipulating prolonged track sprinting with long walks and “canters” as the finest training for the distance.¹⁸⁸ Generally, peak performances were achieved by athletes during their mid-twenties with professional sporting apprenticeships starting whilst individuals were in their late-teens. The pedestrian ‘in-training’ resided with their appointed trainer and a larger ‘stable’ of athletes, usually being prepared in tandem for different head-to-head competitions.¹⁸⁹ Trainers would present their novice runners alongside seasoned athletes, which provided a platform for exposure and the experience of competition; George Martin prepared twenty-four year old Neary with fellow competitors Mower and Richards at the Royal Oak Park ahead of the 1865 mile competition.¹⁹⁰ Aware that Neary would be unable to win, his inclusion was planned by Martin as an exhibition of conditioning, speed and skill, catering therefore to the betting men who financed sporting entertainments. Although never completing the mile race, Neary’s talent as a sprinter was identified by this event and the pedestrian subsequently returned to his preferred disciplines with added financial support from a Manchester ‘sporting man’.¹⁹¹ Despite pedestrianism’s increasing lack of credibility and decline in respectability,¹⁹² the miler events were well patronised with members of the sporting “fancy”, boxing fraternity, Manchester subscription

¹⁸⁵ *Bell’s Life*, December 28, 1862, 7; August 30, 1863, 7; December 5, 1863, 7; December 12, 1863, 7; June 28, 1864, 7; August 31, 1865, 7; March 21, 1868, 7, 10; Roe, *Front Runners*, 178-188.

¹⁸⁶ Westhall, *The Modern Method of Training*, 23-24, 27-34; *Scotsman*, February 15, 1868, 7.

¹⁸⁷ James, *Practice Training*, 16-18.

¹⁸⁸ Lupton and Lupton, *The Pedestrian’s Record*, 80-82.

¹⁸⁹ Dave Day, ed., ‘Jerry Jim’s Training Stable in Early Victorian Preston’, in *Pedestrianism* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport, Leisure and History Group, 2014), 63-64.

¹⁹⁰ *Bell’s Life*, August 26, 1865, 9.

¹⁹¹ *Bell’s Life*, October 7, 1865, 7; October 28, 1865, 8; November 4, 1865, 7.

¹⁹² John A. Lucas, ‘Pedestrianism and the Struggle for the Sir John Astley Belt, 1878-1879’, *Research Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (1968): 588; Osler and Dodd, ‘Six-Day Pedestrian Races’: 856; Park, ‘Contesting the Norm’: 735.

rooms and 'learned professions' present within the enclosure, and competitors benefitting from their betting, backing and sporting connections.¹⁹³

Competitive Careers

Each miler had a relatively long and successful career, spanning approximately fifteen years and continuing into the 1870s by which time pedestrianism had become a marginal activity.¹⁹⁴ However, as indicated in Table 7, only a few men were granted retirement announcements with others fading into obscurity, making the mapping of each athlete's career difficult to assess. Considering his acclaim as an athlete, it was surprisingly difficult to find records of Richards post-1869 after his return from America as his name was only sporadically discussed in the sporting press, normally as a side-note associated with the dead-heat mile or Deerfoot events.¹⁹⁵ By contrast, Lang's profile was prominent within *Bell's Life* and his competitions and endeavours were covered at great length. His narrative was very similar to that of Richards; a success in Britain due to his multiple records and champion status, followed by moving to America for competition before returning home disappointed due to a lack of opposition and interest in early 1869. However, whereas Richards disappeared from the public imagination, Lang continued to be recognised, being provided with a benefit at the City Grounds, Manchester, where 'the most celebrated pedestrians and pugilists offered their services', and the well-patronised sports provided Lang with a substantial subsidy.¹⁹⁶ His sporting establishment, the Navigation Inn, was a popular sporting location and when he turned to the training of athletes, he received numerous requests for his engagement.¹⁹⁷ Nationally, the transition from athlete to sporting celebrity was reserved for only a small number of professionals, although many were praised locally within their home communities,¹⁹⁸ perhaps explaining the lack of press acknowledgement in their later years. Nonetheless, by exploiting this status, however limited, many of the milers capitalised on their success and continued to have a presence in the sporting world.

¹⁹³ *Bell's Life*, August 26, 1865, 9; Dave Day, 'Developing "Science" and "Wind": Eighteenth Century Sports Training' (paper presented at the Sport in the Early Modern Culture conference, German Historical Institute, London, November 17-19, 2011), 1; Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire': 385.

¹⁹⁴ Harvey Taylor, 'Pay Up, But Don't Play the Game: English Amateur Athletic Elitism, 1863-1910', *The Sports Historian* 22, no. 2 (2002): 80, 82.

¹⁹⁵ *Bell's Life*, December 24, 1870, 4; April 8, 1871, 10; July 10, 1875, 12; February 12, 1876, 12; February 9, 1878, 6; September 29, 1885, 4; *Sporting Gazette*, March 10, 1877, 232.

¹⁹⁶ *Bell's Life*, March 10, 1869, 7.

¹⁹⁷ *Bell's Life*, December 21, 1870, 4.

¹⁹⁸ Neil Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 33; Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 211; Barry Smart, *The Sport Star: Modern Sport and the Cultural Economy of Sporting Celebrity* (London: Sage, 2005), 1, 44, 66; See Peter M. Briggs, 'Daniel Mendoza and Sporting Celebrity: a Case Study', in *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture, 1750-1850*, ed. Tom Mole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 103-120.

Athletic careers generally ended whilst athletes were in their early-thirties, with the press being rather sceptical of those who continued to race after this age.¹⁹⁹ While researchers acknowledge variance between the historical and modern professionals, this age barrier is still evident at elite level with many sportspersons constructing new career opportunities prior to retirement. In the technological age, many ex-sports performers find continuity through television punditry while others enter coaching, sport science support or managerial positions, extending their sporting careers by acquiring jobs associated with the activity.²⁰⁰ In nineteenth-century society, the role of publican was a popular endeavour for many sporting men who took up the occupation as an alternative to their competitive lifestyle. Initially a simple occupation where financial stability was achieved by serving patrons and providing hospitality, the basic publican was soon eclipsed by the more entrepreneurial ventures that emerged during the 1850s and 1860s as publicans aligned themselves with specific contests and venues, and their establishments became “museums” where memorabilia and sporting artefacts were displayed.²⁰¹ Seven of the Manchester milers combined their role as pedestrian with that of sporting proprietor, acquiring a public house to provide a base in which competitive activities, promotional abilities and sporting knowledge could be acknowledged and received.²⁰² It is important to note that all athletes took their licenses between 1863 and 1869, most entering the trade during their penultimate pedestrian years and opening up their establishments to their sporting acquaintances, offering racing tips, specialist spirits and ‘events of future importance’ in exchange for their custom.²⁰³ As the number of Manchester sporting houses continued to rise, each proprietor had to offer new novelties to gain patronage, and each man drew on the status gained through their sporting endeavours and championship titles.²⁰⁴ This may help to explain why individuals became licensed victuallers in later life, drawing on the capital and connections accumulated through sport to convert their businesses into valued sporting institutions. Additionally, careful selection of location would increase the chances of success; six of the men had pubs in and around Manchester’s city centre, utilising the increased profile of the city to form prosperous businesses. Both of Albison’s public houses, the Britannia Tavern and the Three Crowns,

¹⁹⁹ *Sporting Gazette*, January 18, 1868, 49.

²⁰⁰ Paul Wylleman, Dorothee Alfermann and David Lavalley, ‘Career Transition in Sport: European Perspectives’, *Psychology of Sport and Exercise* 5 (2004): 9-11.

²⁰¹ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 30-31; Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: a Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 14; Paul S. Marshall, *King of the Peds* (Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2008), 236; Dave Day, ed. ‘Entrepreneurial Pugilists of the Eighteenth Century’, in *Sporting Lives* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 167-179.

²⁰² *Bell’s Life*, January 6, 1861, 6; March 5, 1864, 2; February 22, 1868, 7; June 12, 1869, 7; July 22, 1882, 7; April 28, 1883, 7.

²⁰³ *Bell’s Life*, November 7, 1863, 7; November 21, 1863, 7; June 17, 1865, 7; July 29, 1865, 7; February 24, 1869, 7; Lang first took licence in 1863, with Stapleton and Richards both following suit in 1865. Mill’s returned to London and entered the trade in 1866 whilst McKinstry and Albison both gained establishments in 1868.

²⁰⁴ Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul*, 39.

were located along the Oldham Road and at the centre of Manchester's sporting network, nestled between the Royal Oak and Copenhagen Grounds, where Albison was a regular official.²⁰⁵ Lang's Ancoat-based establishment became known as the 'great sporting house of Manchester' where trophies, belts, sporting publications and pictures were displayed, and betting men often present to arrange matches in all professional activities, including coursing, billiards and pugilism.²⁰⁶ However, the increased attention which these men were forced to give towards running their businesses meant that many of the athletes became unconditioned, leading to complaints that Lang, Richards and Albison were no longer able to compete against the emerging talent, and causing the *Sporting Gazette* to observe that the 'publican's life in Cottonopolis [was] not the best for a runner's existence'.²⁰⁷

The small number of individuals who did not continue in sports-related occupations returned to previously apprenticed trades. Nuttall (clogger), Neary (thread cutter) and Mower (bricklayer) combined their working lives with that of sport, benefitting significantly from the independent nature of their trades to travel, train and compete.²⁰⁸ Apprenticing in skilled occupations not only offered a higher weekly wage but also provided individuals with social mobility, prestige and respectability within the local community.²⁰⁹ Masters were knowledgeable of the customs, procedures, methods and techniques that surrounded their craft, and their expertise was utilised to apprentice the next generation of artisans in the proper values of the trade, with Mower providing training to younger bricklayers and Neary educating his son-in-law in his craft.²¹⁰ Other pedestrians, albeit engaged in sporting occupations, continued to utilise their apprenticed trades and successfully progress through the ranks to Master status. Lang, Richards and Sanderson assumed the dual roles of publican and Master blacksmith,²¹¹ with the skilled occupational background displayed by the majority of the milers being a consistent characteristic and a major defining feature of the group. Although seemingly different, both the sporting and craft careers in which the pedestrians engaged were extensions of the nineteenth-century traditions and values that were at the heart of working-class society. The artisan frequented the public house as part of everyday life, and the publican provided service and entertainment, both forming part of the leisure culture that embraced

²⁰⁵ *Bell's Life*, November 9, 1867, 7; June 6, 1868, 7; September 19, 1868, 7; December 17, 1870, 5; April 22, 1871, 5; March 7, 1874, 9.

²⁰⁶ *Bell's Life*, November 7, 1863, 7; November 21, 1863, 7; December 12, 1863, 7; January 13, 1866, 6.

²⁰⁷ *Sporting Gazette*, January 18, 1868, 49.

²⁰⁸ Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 46, 53.

²⁰⁹ Iorwerth Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times* (London: Routledge, 1979), 329; Michael Herzfeld, *The Body Impolitic: Artisans and Artifice in the Global Hierarchy of Value* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 66.

²¹⁰ Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London*, 5; *Census Returns* Charles Mower 1881 (RG11/1952); John Neary 1901 (RG13/3700); 1911 (RG14/23868).

²¹¹ *Census Returns* William Lang 1861 (RG9/3029); 1891 (RG12/3062); William Richards 1861 (RG9/164); James Sanderson 1881 (RG11/4124); 1891 (RG12/3344).

preindustrial sporting customs.²¹² The training and interactions between the Master and apprentice in the workplace mirrored that of the sporting domain, and the regimented and regulated aspects of sport were paralleled in each individual craft.²¹³ Each athlete had already experienced the apprenticeship-Master relationship through their occupational education and this was reflected in their sporting experiences. Apprenticeships occurred in youth and lasted many years with Masters slowly increasing responsibilities before displaying the apprentice to the guild authorities where freeman status was awarded after a demonstration of superior skills. Apprenticeships were subsidised by external financiers, provided income based on accomplishments and required the apprentice to lodge in the Master's household. The relationship was one of both secrecy and honesty between the Master and apprentice, with some willing to impart knowledge whilst others were more resistant to releasing their methods and techniques.²¹⁴ Likewise, in sport, the novice lived with the trainer as a youth, regularly returning for further preparation before demonstrating their superiority through competition and the receipt of prizes, accolades and financial backing, subsequently achieving 'champion' status and then imparting their knowledge of the profession to new athletic apprentices.

Training Careers

The transition into athletic training was effortless with the working-class sporting artisan in possession of the right character and necessary aptitude to impart knowledge efficiently and effectively as a result of his own experiences and knowledge accumulation through his pedestrian communities of practice. Training offered a further connection to sport with individuals either combining the role of athlete with that of trainer or occupying the role in the early years of competitive retirement.²¹⁵ Many of the Manchester athletes actively engaged in training young contemporaries, taking care of these 'assets' individually or under the guidance of their peers, as well as providing further support to established runners who formed part of their individual coaching communities. Pedestrians were able to draw on experience and knowledge gained through their own time as competitors as well as the practices and ideas passed down through the generations. Many were privy to the 'stable secrets' of their allied trainers, which had been acquired through their apprenticeships, and then modified and applied to their own group of athletes.²¹⁶ Lang, Richards,

²¹² Steven A. Riess, 'From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport', *Journal of Sport History* 21, no. 2 (1994): 154, 168.

²¹³ See Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', *Journal of Economic History* 68, no. 3 (2008): 832-861 and Dave Day, 'Craft Coaching and the "Discerning Eye" of the Coach', *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching* 6, no. 1 (2011): 179-196.

²¹⁴ Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England': 834-835.

²¹⁵ Dave Day, 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: the "Beckwith Frogs"', *History Workshop Journal* 71 (2011): 195, 214.

²¹⁶ *Bell's Life*, November 4, 1860, 6; Dave Day, 'London Swimming Professors: Victorian Craftsmen and Aquatic Entrepreneurs', *Sport in History*, 30, no. 1 (2010): 33-34.

Neary and Mills all had spells as trainer to each other, even though they were major rivals, and Albison helped to develop Nuttall and McKinstry during the late 1860s, contributing to their success in the Sheffield sprinting circuit.²¹⁷

As training became more specialised, many athletes utilised their newfound techniques in developing their own 'community of practice', sharing these principles amongst an already knowledgeable group in order to improve performances and gain full exposure in the sporting press.²¹⁸ Essentially, the milers formed their own athletic clubs, with two very clear circles emerging through the data; Lang, Mills, Richards, Mower, Neary and Sanderson remained part of a much wider camp associated with noted trainer, Billy Fish, and backer, Bill Price, whereas Albison, Nuttall and McKinstry formed a clique linked to trainer John Booth of Newton Heath.²¹⁹ The practices of these trainers were initially localised, but, as pedestrianism spread and travel became simpler, athletes would move around Britain to obtain the finest professional training. As a result, the trainer's knowledge became widespread with professionals utilising these principles in their hometowns and established neighbourhoods, providing education to a new stable of athletes who would then further distribute the techniques to new competitors. Royton-based Billy Fish, of the Hare and Hounds public house, Oldham, formed an extensive training school that provided a reputable education to many acclaimed nineteenth-century pedestrians. Fish trained John "Regent Street Pet" Smith and his brother Ned Smith, who then subsequently trained each other and hurdler, George Martin, during the 1840s with the backing of Price.²²⁰ Martin later trained several of the milers and promoted them to full effect, utilising the practices associated with Fish and the approach taken by Price, and developing a much larger network of athletes as a result. Similarly, Booth's reach was as widespread, with his own "trade" studied whilst a performer under the care of Failsworth trainer Joseph Etchells.²²¹ Manchester natives, Booth and Etchells, both lived within the city centre where they promoted races, officiated and helped to develop the pedestrian scene outside of the metropolis.²²² Although spatially close, many of the Manchester trainers adhered to their own training principles with little obvious cross over formally identifiable between the two communities, although Booth was a lodger at Fish's establishment in 1861.²²³

²¹⁷ *Bell's Life*, June 8, 1867, 7; May 30, 1868, 6; July 21, 1869, 4.

²¹⁸ Day, 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: the "Beckwith Frogs"': 197.

²¹⁹ See Table 7. Manchester Milers 1864-1865 – Career Information.

²²⁰ *Census Returns*, William Fish 1861 (RG9/3029); William Price 1861 (RG9/164); *Bell's Life*, January 4, 1846, 7; January 11, 1846, 6; February 8, 1846, 6-7; March 15, 1846, 7; November 1, 1846, 7; November 15, 1846, 7.

²²¹ *Bell's Life*, September 4, 1859, 7.

²²² *Bell's Life*, March 22, 1857, 7; June 18, 1864, 7; October 26, 1867, 7.

²²³ *Census Returns*, Sandy Lane "Hare & Hounds", Royton, Oldham 1861 (RG9/3029/107); William Fish, 52, 'Inn Keeper'; Charles Howith, 22, 'Cotton Weaver'; John Booth, 25, 'Publican'; John White, 22, 'Iron Fitter'; William Lung (Lang), 22, 'Blacksmith's Labourer'.

Within this miler sample, eight men were regularly appointed as trainers and they developed their own 'champion' runners outside of the miling circuit.²²⁴ Importantly, many similar trainers were ex-professionals, as noted in the texts of the period. Walsh observed that 'the trainer should be a good walker himself, and should draw out the powers of his pupil by walking against him, taking care not to dishearten him, even if he has the power', suggesting a preference for those who could, and had, competed at professional level.²²⁵ However, Lupton and Lupton argued that the professional trainers lacked education and were unable to recognise the physiological needs of the "athletic man" due to their personal practical experiences,²²⁶ reflecting the increasing rejection of professional trainers by the emerging amateur athletic establishment. Nonetheless, manuals maintained that professional care was required, even as amateur competition became established, concluding that 'great experience and aptness...enable him [the trainer] to bring his man out in the best condition'.²²⁷ In addition to training professionals for competition, two of the milers also supported amateur runners, training athletes for notable amateur contests. Lang conditioned AAC member, James Edgar, and Albison, described as an 'authority' on training, prepared amateur one- and two-mile runner, James Warburton, for the Lurgan and Isle of Man competitions in 1874.²²⁸ Professional training regimes, although superior, were difficult for amateurs to follow, with the socially strained relationship between the working-class "Master" and the middle-class "apprentice" a particular cultural challenge. Amateurs would reject professional recommendations in favour of their own 'educated' opinions, altering the power dynamics between the coach and athlete and marginalising the trainer in the process.²²⁹ It is understandable why such a limited number of milers accepted these amateur opportunities with class structures reinforcing the social differences between both groups. Middle-class amateurs saw themselves as socially superior to the working-class professionals, and would often employ a trainer merely to improve their physical condition rather than to educate them in the technicalities of performance.²³⁰ The difference in occupational background between the working-class formalised training and the middle-class education system may also help to explain why the Master-apprentice relationship, to which professionals adhered, would have been difficult to apply.

²²⁴ *Bell's Life*, April 20, 1867, 7; June 1, 1867, 7; June 8, 1867, 7; December 14, 1867, 8; February 22, 1868, 7; March 1, 1873, 9; February 14, 1874, 9; February 21, 1874, 9; January 30, 1875, 9; February 9, 1878, 9.

²²⁵ Walsh, *Manual of British Rural Sports* 1861, 450.

²²⁶ Lupton and Lupton, *The Pedestrian's Record*, 22-23.

²²⁷ Unknown Author, *The Young Pedestrian: Containing Clear Instructions how to Train and Prepare for Long Walks, Coupled to which is a Record of all the Great Pedestrian Contests up to Date* (New York, NY: Champion, 1882), 13, 22.

²²⁸ *Sporting Gazette*, October 3, 1874, 925.

²²⁹ Peter Mewett, 'Sports Training, Science and Class Among British Amateur Athletes in the Mid to Late Nineteenth Century' (paper presented at the Australian Sociological Association annual conference, University of Western Australia and Murdoch University, December 4-7, 2006), 5.

²³⁰ John Lyle, *Sports Coaching Concepts: a Framework for Coaches' Behaviour* (London: Routledge, 2002), 5.

As a result, alternative training regimes were required to appropriately prepare the amateur body while conforming to the attitudes of those undertaking amateur athletic competition.²³¹

Struna notes that the leisure patterns of the working classes were closely tied to the public houses where distinctive sporting practices developed and remained dominant, being resistant to middle-class influence and reinterpretations that supposedly controlled late-nineteenth century culture.²³² Within Manchester, several sporting activities gained an increased profile, especially wrestling, coursing and pigeon shooting, reflecting the influence of working-class pastimes and traditions.²³³ Diversifying their talents, entrepreneurs often moved outside of their own sport and provided expertise in additional activities. While some were simply engaged as officials, taking on the role of stakeholder, marker, referee, starter and/or timekeeper in a range of sports, others were employed in a more instrumental capacity, becoming trainers of athletes in different sports where their expertise in conditioning the body could be applied.²³⁴ Neary trained Australian native Mahoney to success over the mile as well as advertising his coaching sessions on 'ball gathering', in which many men participated,²³⁵ Mills prepared pugilist Tom King for his championship fight in 1863, and Richards instructed Lancashire wrestler, F. Robinson, in competition.²³⁶ Towards the end of his career, Nuttall was engaged at Burnden Park where Bolton Wanderers football club had 'gone into strict training under the charge of the whilom pedestrian'. As Bolton Wanderers advanced through multiple stages of the Football Association English Cup, they were highly praised for their physical conditioning by the local press.²³⁷ Football training applied many of the methods prevalent in pedestrianism, with Manchester City's early regime encouraging early morning short strolls, 'in order to fill the lungs with fresh air', followed by a six-mile 'sharp' walk, skipping, bathing and 'brisk rubbing and massaging', with ball play limited to 'shooting in at goal' on Wednesday morning.²³⁸ Similarly, Sunderland football club provided each player with their 'rules for training' in 1897, which included four separate exercise sessions interspersed with food, drink and bathing, repeated every day and

²³¹ Mewett, 'Sports Training, Science and Class Among British Amateur Athletes in the Mid to Late Nineteenth Century', 6.

²³² Nancy L. Struna, 'Social History and Sport', in *Handbook of Sports Studies*, eds. Jay J. Coakley and Eric Dunning (London: Sage, 2000) 192-193.

²³³ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 33.

²³⁴ *Bell's Life*, January 6, 1861, 6; Swimming professor James Poulton sponsored angling, shooting and pedestrian activities at this Manchester based public house, the Griffin Inn, from 1865 to 1870 (*Bell's Life*, August 19, 1865, 7; December 30, 1865, 8; June 19, 1869, 7; June 23, 1869, 7); James "Leggy" Greaves was a regular attendee at pedestrian, pugilist and coursing events, taking on multiple roles including trainer, starter, seconder, breeder and promoter although his background was as a pugilist fighter (*Bell's Life*, January 30, 1848, 6; November 5, 1848, 7; October 6, 1850, 7; June 12, 1853, 7; May 11, 1862, 6; March 19, 1870, 7; *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, October 5, 1855, 5); Day, 'Craft Coaching and the "Discerning Eye" of the Coach': 184.

²³⁵ *Argus*, February 10, 1872, 8; *Australasian*, March 9, 1872, 12.

²³⁶ *Bell's Life*, December 1, 1863, 2; December 12, 1863, 6.

²³⁷ *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, January 12, 1884, 11; *Liverpool Mercury*, January 21, 1884; *Blackburn Standard*, January 26, 1884, 3.

²³⁸ John Harding, *Football Wizard* (Derby: Breedon, 1985), 73.

players being closely monitored throughout the process.²³⁹ Training principles focused on general exercises for strength, fitness and endurance, which could be applied to numerous disciplines and activities, and the perceived transferable nature of these methods enabled athletes to construct alternative careers outside of athletics.²⁴⁰

Profiling Manchester Pedestrianism

Several conclusions can be drawn from this data, most importantly some interpretations as to why Manchester became a sporting capital in its own right. A community for pedestrianism clearly formed within Manchester amid the numerous sporting inns that emerged from 1850 where publicans were often established (ex-)professional athletes from a diverse range of sports. Pedestrians entered into the sporting business, acquiring a public house or lodgings near to established running venues, such as Newton Heath's Royal Oak and Copenhagen Grounds, marketing their establishments as a location for competitive endorsement, patronage and sporting knowledge, which proved an attractive and successful strategy.²⁴¹ Manchester thus conformed to the conventional sporting model that had originated in London, tied to the entrepreneurial proprietors who organised and structured sport within the city. However, Manchester, as new competitions and opportunities emerged in the South, responded by differentiating itself by providing alternative activities, regulation and infrastructure.²⁴² Highly popular, new and improved venues drew positive recognition from the sporting press and subsequent reports commented that Manchester had surpassed London in sporting style, status and support.²⁴³ The mile competitions overshadowed the London entertainments, encouraging an influx of pedestrians within the city and surrounding neighbourhoods, many of whom then settled in and around Lancashire which, in turn, then attracted further athletes and supporters.²⁴⁴ No longer needing any impetus from the London scene, Manchester's athletic network continued to expand in size and expertise as the Northern pedestrians formed their own clusters of officials, instructors and performers, competent in all areas of sporting regulation and discrete from Southern influences.²⁴⁵ Similarly, training practices were also replicated and reproduced in these pedestrian communities, often expanding in their scope as the individual

²³⁹ *Sunderland Football Club Training Card*, January 18, 1897.

²⁴⁰ *Scotsman*, February 15, 1868, 7; Lyle, *Sports Coaching Concepts*, 5.

²⁴¹ Dion Georgiou and Benjamin Litherland, 'Introduction: Sport's Relationship with Other Leisure Industries – Sites of Interactions', *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 189-190; Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire'; Harvey, *Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Cultures in Britain*, 156-157; Collins and Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol*; Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport*.

²⁴² Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 80.

²⁴³ *Sporting Gazette*, January 18, 1868, 49.

²⁴⁴ *Bell's Life*, August 19, 1865, 8; August 26, 1865, 2; August 26, 1865, 8; August 26, 1865, 9.

²⁴⁵ *Sporting Gazette*, October 3, 1874, 925.

athletes and trainers migrated throughout Britain and abroad and/or reassigned themselves into a diverse range of sports. Continuous reports of matches for the mile between different combinations of the competitors highlighted their involvement with each other as backers, trainers and promoters, further reinforcing knowledge transfer between “expert” professionals.

As the organisation of amateur sport by the professional middle-classes led to a general decline in pedestrian activities in the South, Manchester continued to host numerous professional competitions within the city until the 1870s and 1880s, after which amateur pressure and alternative entertainments led to a decline in attendance.²⁴⁶ Many scholars have focused on the sporting infrastructure that emerged during this period, rather than the individuals who embraced sport and turned it into a lucrative business venture. While Holt’s *Sport and the British* has detailed the leisure practices of the working-classes and Lowerson’s *Sport and the English Middle Classes* provided insight into the activities enjoyed by the upper-middle and lower-middle classes, there is limited research into the “grey” area relating to the working-class artisans and publicans, and their influence within professional sport in Britain. Without the support of the entrepreneurial classes, the development of pedestrianism, and, to some extent, athletics, especially within the city, would not have been possible. According to Russell, publicans were arguably the ‘key figures...central to the development of athletic track events or “pedestrianism” in mid-century’.²⁴⁷

In addition, there has previously been an emphasis on London, with little attention being given to the impact of athletics in England’s auxiliary cities and towns where pedestrianism was popular. Here, the principles surrounding the successful London running grounds were replicated, helped by the relocation of several entrepreneurial sportsmen, and then later re-applied by the amateur organisations that dominated the athletic environment during the late-nineteenth century.²⁴⁸ The type of competition presented during these miler events shows a clear connection between pedestrianism and athletics. As pedestrianism started to suffer from a decline in attendance and concerns over the publican’s role in the authenticity of the events ignited discussions on match fixing, the legitimacy of head-to-head and handicap matches became questionable.²⁴⁹ Whilst some pedestrians intentionally lost matches to for financial reward, others adopted false identities, competing for accolades illegally as professional ‘ringers’ in amateur events or applying for competitions under pseudonyms to avoid detection and improve their gambling odds.²⁵⁰ Examples of such practices were ever-present in the Manchester community with athletes told not to win by too

²⁴⁶ Peter Mewett, ‘History in the Making and the Making of History: Stories and the Social Construction of a Sport’, *Sporting Traditions* 17, no. 1 (2000): 2-3; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*.

²⁴⁷ Russell, ‘Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present’: 4.

²⁴⁸ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 108.

²⁴⁹ *Bell’s Life*, May 7, 1864, 7; *Otago Witness*, December 7, 1904, 58.

²⁵⁰ Taylor, ‘Pay Up, But Don’t Play the Game’, 81; See Peter Mewett, ‘Discourses of Deception: Cheating in Professional Running’, *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (2002): 292-308.

much, so as to avoid being handicapped, and Stapleton and Lang were specifically asked to create a highly competitive mile race in which both athletes were to stay within 300-yards of each other before Stapleton sprints to the finish.²⁵¹ The movement towards group challenges, with prizes rather than wagers being the main reward, mirrors that of middle-class amateur athletics competitions that gained popularity during the late-nineteenth century, in an attempt to reorganise sport in order to abolish gambling, seen as the major problem during this period.²⁵² Amateur athletic competitions imitated the popular recreations of the 1850s pedestrian circuit,²⁵³ but with stricter rules and regulations to control the competitors and audiences, in order to avoid the stigma that tainted pedestrian contests.²⁵⁴ It is quite possible that pedestrianism continued to have a following because of the strategic organisation of such events as the Royal Oak Mile, which meant that match fixing became more difficult to arrange, false starts were less likely to occur and articles of agreement were no longer needed for competitions to take place. From 1870 onwards, there was a noticeable decline in distance events in favour of much shorter sprinting competitions where, again, the outcomes were often more genuine and less affected by promoters.²⁵⁵ This signified a change in previous practices, being designed to respond to public concerns and guarantee authenticity to paying spectators, thereby contributing to a new trend in pedestrianism during the 1860s and 1870s.

By recognising the motives and experiences of this group of Manchester pedestrians, a greater understanding of the public perception of the sport can be achieved, helping to map when the activity developed, flourished, and declined within the city. Essentially, the milers were one of the last cohorts of professionals who continued to be recognised for their prowess before a shift in athletic organisation affected the status of pedestrianism and amateurism established its place at the heart of modern sporting institutions. By undertaking this prosopographical study, meaning has been given to Manchester's sporting establishments and their clientele by way of their narrative existence, and analysing further this relatively undiscovered community and its demographics that would benefit from further investigation.²⁵⁶ In particular, while the current study has answered some important questions, further analysis of this group should consider additional criteria, such as the types of activities in which these individuals and their family were engaged, their individual training practices, and their legacy, in order to provide a deeper insight into the role of the professional

²⁵¹ *Otago Witness*, December 7, 1904, 58.

²⁵² *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury*, November 23, 1895, 3; Neil L. Tranter, 'The Patronage of Organised Sport in Central Scotland, 1820-1900', *Journal of Sport History* 16, no. 3 (1989): 229-230.

²⁵³ Shearman, *Athletics and Football*, 40-41.

²⁵⁴ Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association*, 8, 13, 29-33; Amateur Athletic Association, *Fifty Years of Progress 1880-1930: the Jubilee Souvenir of the Amateur Athletic Association* (London: AAA, 1930), 64-65.

²⁵⁵ *Otago Witness*, November 14, 1885, 22; Sears, *Running Through the Ages*, 55, 81.

²⁵⁶ Stephen Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians', *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 1 (1986): 23; Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, 178.

athlete during this period. Exploration of some key characters through individual and/or collective biographies would present additional details that could be drawn upon to interrogate the role of the pedestrian in the Victorian city. The use of prosopography as a tool for analysing sporting communities is one that is, as yet, relatively undiscovered, and as sport historians look toward the future, the prosopographical method should be more readily employed, theorising the discipline and furthering the development of the constructionist approach within sport.²⁵⁷

Epilogue: The Demise of Pedestrianism

The 'reshaping of popular leisure was largely a phenomenon of the period after 1850',²⁵⁸ and, during the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries, sport was transformed into its current form.²⁵⁹ Pedestrianism increased in popularity during the 1840s and 1850s but was under pressure by 1860, coinciding with the increased enclosure of running grounds by commercial entrepreneurs, whose practices sometimes raised concerns about the continued fairness of pedestrian competitions.²⁶⁰ Questions regarding the legitimacy of matches had arisen as early as 1843 with the *Era* stating, 'it appears to be a very difficult matter now to bring pedestrian matches to a fair and satisfactory conclusion', although the popularity of the sport continued due to the gambling nature of such events.²⁶¹ The sporting publican attracted audiences and competitions with financial rewards, and the athletes 'merely tools in the hands of publicans and others, who made use of them for a mercenary object'.²⁶² Events often involved cheating, trickery, match-fixing and impersonation, which eventually tarnished the reputation of professional foot-racing, and this, together with excessive alcohol consumption, exposed the sport to fighting, noise pollution and general behaviours disliked by middle-class reformists.²⁶³ By 1864, *Bell's Life* was reporting that 'pedestrianism has fallen

²⁵⁷ Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, 'Narrative, Biography, Prosopography and the Sport Historian: Historical Method and its Implications', in *Sporting Lives*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2012), 35-60; Dave Day, 'Historical Perspectives on Coaching', in *Routledge Handbook of Sports Coaching*, ed. Paul Potrac, Wade Gilbert and Jim Denison (London: Routledge, 2013), 11-12.

²⁵⁸ Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 171.

²⁵⁹ Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present': 5.

²⁶⁰ Shearman, *Athletics and Football*, 39-40.

²⁶¹ *Era*, January 8, 1843, 11.

²⁶² *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, September 28, 1850, 8; Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter*, 16; Peter Mewett and John Perry, 'A Sporting Chance? The "Dark Horse Strategy" and Winning in Professional Running', *Sociology of Sport Journal* 14, no. 2 (1997): 121-142; Peter Mewett, 'Games within Games: Gambling and Trickery in Professional Running' in *TASA 2004 Conference Proceedings*, ed. Katy Richmond (Australia: TASA, 2004), 1-11; Swain, 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire': 382-404.

²⁶³ Don Watson, 'Popular Athletics on Victorian Tyneside', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 3 (1994): 485-494; Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University

so low that no respectable man dare been seen at a foot race',²⁶⁴ and, although there were still highly successful professional running grounds, crowds declined as amateur athletics increased its profile in the sporting news, marginalising pedestrian entertainments.²⁶⁵ Scepticism surrounding the enclosures and the promoters, especially when linked to amateur competition, provided ammunition for amateur organisations to sustain pressure and influence their legacies. Fenham Park Running Ground, Newcastle, was under constant police supervision as "concerned neighbours" complained of illegal gambling and immoral behaviour, leading to the proprietor's prosecution and the subsequent closure of the venue in 1875. Similar amateur resistance was recorded elsewhere as middle-class athletes increasingly criticised professionals and their competitions while entrepreneurs and promoters were prosecuted over their handling of events.²⁶⁶ Even with the support of high-profile athletes and ongoing attempts at staging pedestrian competitions, professional activities eventually declined, and, by 1875, 'big gates at pedestrian events [were]...somewhat unfrequent (sic) occurrence in Lancashire' with crowds of 2,500 being deemed a relative success. Manchester's Albison and Lang both attempted to reinvigorate the sport during the 1880s, with Albison's efforts being praised in the sporting press and he attracted numerous professionals to his sprinting and middle-distance contests. However, these competitions were unable to sustain momentum due to poor patronage and they, therefore, became too costly to manage.²⁶⁷ In some cases, professional athletics could still draw large crowds but this was highly dependent on the programme of activities and the athletes who entered. Fred Bacon, the three-time Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) one-mile record holder and Ashton-under-Lyne Harrier, turned professional in 1896 after his disqualification from amateur competitions due to his acceptance of expenses. To the disgust of the AAA officials, Bacon, along with several other disqualified amateur-turned-professional runners, had revived pedestrianism within the North, earning over £800 in one year and receiving requests for competition from a series of noted amateur and professional athletes in both Britain and America. Although the ideology of amateurism had been enshrined by 1870, many competitors voluntarily turned professional for the opportunity of cash prizes and numerous successful professional 'world championships' continued to be endorsed and well-attended into the twentieth century.²⁶⁸

Press, 2001); Lile, 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century': 100; Mewett, 'History in the Making and the Making of History': 3-4.

²⁶⁴ *Bell's Life*, May 7, 1864, 7.

²⁶⁵ Reports of crowds being 'extremely small' and only a couple of hundred spectators present were common place from 1860 (*Bell's Life*, March 11, 1860, 7); December 8, 1861, 6); Dave Day, 'Jerry Jim's Training Stable in Early Victorian Preston' (paper presented at Manchester Metropolitan University pedestrianism and athletics symposium, MMU Cheshire, Crewe, March 23, 2012), 1-2.

²⁶⁶ Taylor, 'Pay Up, But Don't Play the Game': 80-81.

²⁶⁷ *Bell's Life*, January 30, 1875, 9; July 22, 1882; April 28, 1883; *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, February 14, 1882, 7.

²⁶⁸ Crowds of over 10,000 were reported at Burnden Park, Bolton to witness a pedestrian race where ex-amateurs E.C. Bredin and A.R. Downer broke the professional 400-yards record (*Daily Mail*, February 1,

However, the sustained force from amateur officials made it difficult to establish a career in sport, and the 'mechanics clause', which restricted labourers and artisans from racing due to the 'advantages in strength and endurance' that these manual jobs provided, created further barriers for competitors, especially in the northern industrial cities where a large proportion of sporting men were engaged in working-class trades.²⁶⁹ Resistance to amateurism was significant in the North, as amateur unions failed to agree on the future of individual sport, causing a divide in the development of athletic entertainment in England.²⁷⁰ In order to survive, professionals moved into other working-class activities, conformed to amateur regulations or developed expertise that these organisations required. Walter George, whose fondness for gambling, womanising, alcohol and shady running practices was well-known, still became the first AAA middle-distance title holder, innovative trainer and author of the widely read *Training* (1902) and *100-Up Exercises* (1913).²⁷¹ Harry Andrews' professional career was also overlooked when he became trainer to successful amateur athletes at Woolwich Military Academy, London Athletic Club, the Oxbridge elite and, later, the Olympic team.²⁷² Both John "Gateshead Clipper" White and John "Regent Street Pet" Smith, proprietors of popular professional running grounds, ended their careers by supporting amateur athletic competitions. Smith was at the Star Grounds, Fulham, and White at the AAC's chosen home, the Lille Bridge Grounds, before becoming trainer to the London Athletic Club, and the Cambridge University Athletic Club from the mid-1870s.²⁷³

1897, 6; February 8, 1897, 6) and further pedestrian competitions reported regular crowds of over 2,000 observers (*Daily Mail*, January 6, 1897, 6; January 25, 1897, 6; March 22, 1897, 6; April 17, 1897, 6; May 21, 1896, 6; June 14, 1897, 6; December 6, 1897, 6; October 6, 1908, 7), including some 3,000 spectators who witnessed Tommy Burn's fatal bridge jump in 1897 (*Daily Mail*, July 7, 1897, 5); Bacon's competitions against the American Tom Conneff were widely reported in the press, usually competed on the football grounds of Britain where professional athletics continued to survive (*Daily Mail*, October 5, 1896, 6; October 17, 1896, 6); Powderhall was one of a few purpose-built professional running tracks that continued to retain licence into the twentieth century (*Daily Mail*, December 21, 1896, 6; January 2, 1897, 6; January 4, 1897, 6; January 2, 1909, 7; December 25, 1909, 7; December 24, 1910, 7; January 6, 1911, 7; January 3, 1913, 7; January 4, 1928, 9; January 3, 1934, 12); Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul*, 52-54; Taylor, 'Pay Up, But Don't Play the Game': 76.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 46; Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game*, 8, 303; Alan Marzilli, *Amateur Athletics* (New York, NY: Chelsea House, 2004), 14-15.

²⁷⁰ E. Illingworth, *A Short History of the Northern Counties Athletic Association 1879-1979* (Leeds: Fourkolor, 1979), 7, 12-13; Jeremy Crump, 'Athletics', in *Sport in Britain: a Social History*, ed. Tony Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 51; Norman Baker, 'Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society', *Sport in History* 24, no. 1 (2004): 12; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 181-182.

²⁷¹ Rob Hadgraft, *Beer and Brine: the Making of Walter George: Athletics' First Superstar* (London: Desert Island Books, 2006).

²⁷² Dave Day, ed., "'Old Harry Andrews": Surviving the Professional Pedestrianism to Amateur Athletics Transition', in *Sport and Coaching: Pasts and Futures* (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2012), 61-84.

²⁷³ Roe, *Front Runners*, 33, 148.

In football, teams appointing both professional players and coaches from the 1870s, so entry into the sport was routine for pedestrians.²⁷⁴ Sam Mountford competed as a novice in the Sheffield handicaps before being engaged as trainer to Walsall, Bedminster, Bristol and Tottenham football clubs, while Powderhall champion, Paddy Cannon, forged a footballing career at Hibernian and Celtic football clubs.²⁷⁵ In Lancashire, Bolton pedestrian and champion jumper, Ben Hart, regularly entertained the crowds whilst playing for Tottington and Darwen football teams.²⁷⁶ Manchester resident Jimmy Broad transitioned from pedestrianism to football with his appointment as trainer to Manchester City in 1894 and his children continued this legacy by becoming football players, trainers and managers in both England and abroad.²⁷⁷ Relocation became a popular option, causing an exodus of British professionals to Europe and America towards the end of the nineteenth century where amateurism had a different meaning for the sporting population. Lancashire runner James “Choppy” Warburton travelled to the United States, where he competed in the professional racing circuits of the 1880s, before settling in Paris, France, where he managed the Gladiator cycling team and Welsh cyclists Jimmy Michael, Tommy and Arthur Linton.²⁷⁸ Opportunities outside of Britain were lucrative and enabled working-class men to fulfil their potential in both a playing and coaching capacity, especially in America where the line between professionalism and amateurism was blurred and the ‘win at all costs’ mentality was part of the nation’s sporting culture. The collegiate system provided the perfect location for many professionals to find a refuge outside of the formal class and sport identities that were prevalent in Britain, and enabled a number of sporting men to emerge as athletics entered a new era.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ Detailed examples of pedestrians-turned-footballers are available in Peter Swain, ‘Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire’, *Sport in History* 28, no. 4 (2008): 571-573.

²⁷⁵ C.E. Hughes, ‘The “Spurs in Mufti”, in *C.B. Fry’s Magazine*, November 1904, 177-178; Alex Wilson, ‘The Career of Paddy Canon: Farm-Worker, Record-Breaking Professional Runner, Successful Football Trainer’, *Track Stats* 48, no. 2 (2010).

²⁷⁶ Swain, ‘Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire’: 568-569.

²⁷⁷ Gary James, ‘The Sporting Broads: a Family’s Journey from Pedestrianism to Football’ (working paper, Department of Exercise and Sport Science, Manchester Metropolitan University, Crewe, 2013).

²⁷⁸ Duncan R. Jamieson, review of *The Little Black Bottle: Choppy Warburton, the Questions of Doping, and the Deaths of his Bicycle Riders* by Gerry Moore, *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 1 (2013): 183-185.

²⁷⁹ See Steven W. Pope, ‘Amateurism and American Sports Culture: the Invention of an Athletic Tradition in the United States, 1870-1900’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996): 290-309.

Chapter 5. Athletics, Amateurism and America: A Biographical Study¹

The professional sport of pedestrianism declined towards the end of the nineteenth century due to the increased influence of the middle-class amateurs who imposed new rules and regulations as a means of controlling the working-class pastime. The AAA, established in 1880, no longer welcomed professional pedestrian competitions, banning both the athletes and trainers of the sport in their new athletic constitution. The working-class patrons of pedestrianism found new entertainments but the athletes who were reliant on the professional activities for economic gain struggled to recover. However, due to the perceived transferrable nature of athletic training, some professionals obtained employment in soccer whilst others migrated abroad where coaching was viewed more pragmatically, with many making the transatlantic journey to America. This chapter de-constructs the biography of Manchester native, James Robinson, exploring the structures that shaped his sporting career from working-class pedestrian to influential athletic trainer, and providing insight into the changing nature of the athletic environment during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

British Attitudes and Pedestrianism: Professionalism vs. Amateurism

Before the formation of National Governing Bodies (NGBs) in the latter stages of the century, amateur contests took on many of the characteristics of professional events, including competing for prizes and for wagers.² However, despite its popularity with the working classes, and the fact that many of their own numbers were prepared to compete within the existing framework, the educated classes became increasingly critical of professional athletics, partly because pedestrian matches were often accompanied by crowd disorders, gambling and drinking. Amateurs raced for money and, therefore, ‘transgressed the laws’ of the amateur associations but did not face the same punishments as professionals. Legislation focused on purifying pedestrianism, not penalising the gentlemen runners, who were promoted as esteemed amateurs and possessed the “right” character

¹ Content from this chapter has appeared in the following publications: Dave Day and Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘Delineating Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England’, *Sport in History* 34 (2015, forthcoming); Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘James Robinson, from Mancunian Butcher to American College Trainer’ (awarded first prize at the Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research Postgraduate Poster Conference, Crewe, September 14, 2012).

² *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, June 2, 1850, 7.

due to their social and economic background.³ During the 1860s, although pedestrianism was still a successful commercial activity in some parts of Britain, there was an increased pressure from the educated classes to reform the sport and adopt the principles of amateurism, which was entrenched in the public-school ideology. Organisations had begun to develop athletics as a sport rooted in middle-class amateur ideologies rather than its previous incarnation dominated by the working-class professional, and these men began to form separate organisations to direct and control their athletic activity, often drawing on their university experiences. Oxford University sports were introduced at the end of 1860 with college meetings occurring at Cambridge by 1863, when Cambridge first formed a University Athletic Association, as did Oxford in 1866, two years after the first meeting between the universities in March 1864.⁴ Wilkinson, writing in 1868, attributed the West London Rowing Club as having been the first to hold amateur athletic sports in London in the winter of 1861-2, while the Mincing Lane Club, later to become the London Athletic Club (London AC) in 1866 after an influx of university and civil service athletes, was formed in June 1863 by 'several gentlemen connected with the colonial trade'.⁵

In 1864, *Bell's Life* reported that 'pedestrianism has fallen so low that no respectable man dare be seen at a foot race', and questions about the character of the professional pedestrian, and the promoters, had begun to surface.⁶ The subject of 'amateur pedestrianism' was considered, with one commentator stating that pedestrianism could continue as a respected activity if the 'amateur character' was retained by 'races being open only to the army and navy, the universities, and the principle public schools', and ground proprietors were to limit their interference with these organisations. Although the entrepreneurs were required for their grounds and land, their promotional and profit-making attributes were not, suggesting that the athletic clubs should impose their own systems to 'keep out the "rowdy" elements' that attended professional entertainments. In response, John Roberts, proprietor of the West London Cricket Grounds, argued that as an 'ardent admirer and supporter of pedestrianism for more than twenty years', and having spent money to convert his grounds into 'the best in London', he was a 'proper person'. He had 'at least a slight claim as a practical man to be allowed to establish a club' that conformed to the tenets of amateurism without being questioned about his, and the club members', integrity and background.⁷ Nonetheless, when the AAC was created by former Oxbridge athletes in late 1865 it was primarily so they could

³ James I. Lupton and James M.K. Lupton, *The Pedestrian's Record: to which is Added a Description of the External Human Form Illustrated with Anatomical Plates* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1890), 11; Neil Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 95.

⁴ Henry Fazakerley Wilkinson, *Modern Athletics* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1868), 12-14, 91.

⁵ *Ibid*, 7-8, 13, 100.

⁶ *Bell's Life*, May 7, 1864, 7.

⁷ *Bell's Life*, November 14, 1863, 7.

compete, 'without being compelled to mix with professional runners' and their first championship event was held the day before the University Boat Race in 1866, at which point the names of amateur champions began to be recorded.⁸ The subsequent formation of the AAA in 1880 centralised the organisation of athletics and excluded professionals, which led to the eventual demise of pedestrianism.

Although there has been lengthy discussion surrounding amateurism and its origins, there is a general acceptance on what constituted its principles and ideals, with Baker summarising this ideology as:

The game was played for the game's sake, for personal satisfaction not material gain. The amateur played the game vigorously and intensely but never took the outcome too seriously...did not engage in unduly elaborate preparation...[and] never flashy or ostentatious...[with] a particular admiration for the all-rounder, the non-specialist either within a single sport or in the playing of several. There was an emphasis on team play...and on being a gracious winner and a good loser...[and] should be played within the laws that should never be manipulated or taken advantage of.⁹

Pedestrianism reflected the opposite attitude and remained unruly, unregulated and uncontrolled, with little legitimacy present within its practices, a general lack of standardisation and the commercial imperative the most important aspect of competition, according to amateur observers.¹⁰ The amateur ethos, therefore, provided a framework for regulation, the removal of undesirable practices, and a more constructive and organised leisure activity that, essentially, subsumed the previous pedestrian events and shaped and presented them as a respectable middle-class package.¹¹ The club model was yet another way of limiting access to these activities whilst maintaining the middle-class amateur ethos, but club memberships expanded as the sport became more accessible, contributing to the increased number of amateur organisations, clubs and competitions that developed and subsequently sought to change the nature of athletics during the late-nineteenth

⁸ *Sporting Gazette*, December 23, 1865, 936; *Bell's Life*, February 3, 1866, 6; *Morning Post*, March 12, 1866, 6; March 24, 1866, 6; *Bradford Observer*, March 29, 1866, 4; Montague Shearman, *Athletics and Football* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887), 52-53; See also Graham Scambler, *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), 38; Wilkinson, *Modern Athletics*, 95.

⁹ Norman Baker, 'Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society', *Sport in History* 24, no. 1 (2004): 1-2.

¹⁰ Joseph M. Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 10.

¹¹ Baker, 'Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society': 2.

century.¹² According to Shearman, 'the athletic movement...like other movements and fashions, good or bad, spread downwards, to the masses', and geographically spread upwards throughout England and Scotland more rapidly during the 1870s and 1880s.¹³

Although most of these early initiatives were in London, where many of the university and public school men settled, athleticism had begun to penetrate the industrial cities outside of the capital with the formation of the Southport Athletic Society in early 1860, the Liverpool Athletic Club in 1862, and the Birmingham Athletic Club in 1866.¹⁴ The 'Olympic Festivals' organised by the Liverpool Athletic Club founders, Charles Melly and John Hulley, embodied the amateur values and promoted healthy Christian morals, with displays of physical and mental prowess at the Mount Vernon Parade Ground, Liverpool, in June 1862. Medals were awarded for 120- and 300-yard sprinting, 1110-yards steeplechase, half-mile running, one and a half- and four-mile walking, fencing, vaulting, boxing, throwing the disc and a cricket ball, leaping, dumb-bell exercises and other novelties, as well as a gold medal and ten guineas for the 'best essay on Physical Education'. The festival was a success and when the club hosted their second instalment, now entitled the 'International' Olympic Festival, the committee ensured a great attendance, with thousands of athletes and spectators interested in the athletic sports and prizes, and members of the landed gentry wishing to emulate these competitions in Worcester and other locations.¹⁵ Manchester Athletic and Gymnastic Clubs held their own 'Athletic Festivals' at Old Trafford on August 27, 1864, which followed the same format as the Liverpool competitions, and other Lancashire and Cheshire organisations followed suit.¹⁶ However, the London clubs were concerned about the Northern organisations and their perceived challenge to the London-centric activities and, in a bid to demonstrate control, the AAC continued to redefine and enforce rules, such as the mechanics clause, to limit these activities to the university and resolutely middle-class men.¹⁷ These new "laws" emphasised the middle-class attitude towards sport and provided a clear distinction between the amateur and professional pedestrian activities, which were still relatively successfully in the North, and ensured that the professional pedestrian would be

¹² Jeremy Crump, 'Athletics', in *Sport in Britain: a Social History*, ed. Tony Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 44, 50-51.

¹³ Shearman, *Athletics and Football*, 226-227.

¹⁴ Edward L. Levy, *History of the Birmingham Athletic Club 1866-1898* (Birmingham: J.G. Hammond, 1898); Crump, 'Athletics', 44; Southport Athletic Club. 'A Brief History of the Southport Waterloo AC' (working paper, Southport Athletic Club, 2004), 3.

¹⁵ Ray Hulley, 'John Hulley – an Olympic Innovator', in *Sporting Lives*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011), 129-131.

¹⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, July 2, 1864, 1; Bob Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul: Bill Roberts and Manchester's Sporting Heritage* (Manchester: Parr's Wood, 2002), 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

rejected from the 'pure' amateur competitions and structures, maintaining exclusivity and class distinctions within the athletic environment.¹⁸

The Northern athlete was a different breed to that promoted in the South, and the clubs and other organisational structures only reinforced this difference. The educated classes, who were eager to define themselves and establish a common identity within the British class system, presented themselves as a prestigious class, born into good families and educated in the gentlemanly honours, rights and morals, delineating themselves as the "gentleman amateurs" of the sporting world.¹⁹ According to Huggins, the idea of the "gentleman amateur", which was at the heart of the AAC administration, was a fallacy, being limited to London competition where stricter rules and regulations were imposed as a means of excluding all other men who did not fit the educated "gentleman" mould.²⁰ The NGBs across a range of sports were, again, controlled by London men who were gatekeepers to these activities and, therefore, could manipulate the rules to protect themselves and develop each sport in their own likeness. Essentially, these amateur organisations established a "closed-shop" approach whereby only individuals of the "right" breed, which suited the institution's ideals, would be allowed entry. Those who did not possess the suitable traits would not be accepted and were frozen out from these activities.²¹ Few of the Northern men who subscribed to the numerous athletic clubs were "gentlemen amateurs", instead being working-class men who enjoyed the entertainment of sport, and, although some embodied the middle-class attitudes, many just adhered to the amateur ruling in order to compete. As a result, there was concern over the character and probity of these individuals who had previously been associated with the professional practices that were no longer accepted within the new athletic constitutions. This was supported by the deception and corruption displayed by a number of 'shamateurs' or 'promateurs', professionals who were competing illegally in amateur events for the financial rewards, many of whom came from the working classes.²² In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* in September 1874, a concerned amateur noted that the 'quasi professionals', individuals who were competing for prizes for their

¹⁸ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885* (London: Redwood Burn, 1978), 131-132, 135; Peter Mewett, 'Discourses of Deception: Cheating in Professional Running', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (2002): 294.

¹⁹ Christiane Eisenberg, 'The Middle Class and Competition: Some Considerations of the Beginning of Modern Sport in England and Germany', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7, no. 2 (1990): 268.

²⁰ Mike Huggins, 'Complex, Contested and Contradictory: Aspects of "Amateur" Sports in Northern England in the Late 19th Century' *Ethos* (paper presented at the BSSH symposium on Sport and the Working-Class Amateur, Leeds Metropolitan University, July 4, 2014).

²¹ Carol Osborne, '"Just the Man for the Job": Sam Turner, the Early Mount Everest Expeditions and the Amateur Ethos' (paper presented at the BSSH symposium on Sport and the Working-Class Amateur, Leeds Metropolitan University, July 4, 2014).

²² Martin Polley, *The History of Sport in Britain, 1880-1914: Sport and Money, Volume 4* (London: Routledge, 2004), 160; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 135.

extrinsic value and accruing money through betting, and who lacked honour in their practices, were of a lower class and held a 'different character' to the 'gentlemen' who usually competed. Being visibly disappointed when they lost, actively engaged in training and entering amateur competitions under assumed names, these 'shamateurs' were causing the socially-exclusive amateurs to abandon these competition altogether,²³ and the 'guilt by association' culture meant that many genuine athletes were assumed unreliable by unknowingly competing against these individuals.²⁴ Once working-class amateurs began to be successful, the amateur organisations would question their achievements, their background and the officials at the event. There was a general dislike for individual success as this was not the philosophy of amateur competition and, generally, reflected a more professional attitude.

The perception of the amateur relied on trust and the acquisition of the various forms of capital that were deemed important within the sporting environment. Bale argues that, in order to be seen as an amateur, the athletes had to portray themselves in a particular way to gain enough capital to legitimise themselves within the sport, with economic, cultural, symbolic, bodily and social capital necessary, or seemingly required, to establish this persona. Essentially, the athlete was amateur if they were of the correct social and educational position (economic, cultural and symbolic capital), or had acquired the appropriate competitive knowledge, connections and sporting attributes, such as speed, strength and stamina (bodily and social capital). This could then be converted into other forms of capital that were accepted by other members of the sporting group and administration.²⁵ Simply clothing the body differently to that of the professional, with the professional dress of full body suit and coloured drawers replaced by the 'university costume', consisting of white jerseys and knickerbockers, which became a marker of a different sort of athlete with different moral and ethical considerations, the athlete would display their cultural and symbolic capital and, as a result, gain further cultural and additional social capital in exchange.²⁶ By affiliating to the Northern clubs, capital was more difficult to acquire, which resulted in less opportunities to compete, increased criticism over results, success and prizes/payments, and a lack of authority in the organisation of the sport within the wider sporting network.

In the 1870s, with no regional boards to control the activities, the AAC found it difficult to govern the number of athletic clubs and the programme of activities that had developed throughout England, with the London-based organisations criticising all amateur events that were competed for outside of

²³ *Manchester Guardian*, September 28, 1874, 7.

²⁴ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 95.

²⁵ See John Bale, 'Amateurism, Capital and Roger Bannister', *Sport in History* 26, no. 3 (2006): 484-501.

²⁶ See Day and Oldfield, 'Delineating the Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England'.

the capital or of their exclusive control. According to Platt, writing in 1874, the London press and amateur commentators, who did not attend the Northern competitions, were making assumptions about the conduct of these matches, the officiating and the athletes themselves. In doing so, they were forming an incomplete picture of the Northern amateur and this illustrated the ongoing strained relationship between the North and the South. The North refused to adhere to the terms of the South and vice-versa, creating a tension that continued to fuel not only athletics, but also other amateur sports.²⁷ With the formation of more localised committees, specifically the Midland Counties Athletic Association (MCAA) and the Northern Counties Athletic Association (NCAA), the AAC was further concerned as the power balance seemingly shifted toward these new organisations who were now hosting national and international competitions without consulting the NGB. Unable to maintain its authority and, in order to more stringently monitor and regulate athletics, the AAC invited members of the MCAA and NCAA to the inaugural meeting of the AAA at Oxford in April 24, 1880, where the annual athletic programme was agreed and the national coordination of the sport was established, albeit under fraught conditions.²⁸

Northern Resistance

The development of amateur clubs in Northern Britain coincided with the decline in pedestrianism, with the major cities of Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds and Newcastle all forming their own amateur organisations in order to continue to practice athletic activities. Whilst the initial competitions were localised, as the athletic programme increased in size and scope the festival style entertainments attracted participants from throughout the northern regions, with a number of clubs hosting their own activities, which were open to members of other established amateur organisations. Although the AAC hosted the sport's main annual amateur championship from 1868, at the Lille Bridge Grounds, Fulham, this attracted limited attention outside of the South and the tradesmen, mechanics and labourer's clause, still part of the athletic constitution, meant that many talented athletes could not be part of these competitions. Aware of the growing popularity of the sport amongst the classes, the 'gentleman amateur' definition was challenged and class barriers addressed to enable a more representative athletic championship to be held.²⁹ Access to any amateur, regardless of social status, was championed in the North but the South was still resistant to allowing 'outsiders' into their

²⁷ *Sporting Gazette*, October 3, 1874, 925.

²⁸ Peter Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association* (Enfield: Guinness, 1979).

²⁹ Harvey Taylor, 'Pay Up, But Don't Play the Game: English Amateur Athletic Elitism, 1863-1910', *The Sports Historian* 22, no. 2 (2002): 82; Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul*, 45; E. Illingworth, *A Short History of the Northern Counties Athletic Association 1879-1979* (Leeds: Fourkolor, 1979), 5.

organisation. In 1879, the London AC, the largest southern club with nearly 700 members, host of ninety regular competitions and outright holder of seven challenge cups, boycotted the AAC championships and designed their own meeting, which attracted over 1000 starters and challenged the control of athletics, especially in the South.³⁰ In response, thirteen northern clubs,³¹ concerned about their lack of input and their omission from southern competition, met on June 14, 1879, where they established the NCAA and immediately addressed the social barriers prevalent within the sport by withdrawing the mechanics clause and designing a programme of northern meetings that were open to all amateur competitors. Professionals were left alone and the amateur working-class men, who were part of these clubs and adhered to the new rulings of the NCAA, were welcomed rather than criticised. When the second meeting of the NCAA took place at the Fountain Inn, Manchester, which became a regular venue for further committee consultations, the new amateur definition was agreed and the date for the first annual championship was set for August 14, 1880.³² Disenchanted by the London organisations, the committee stated that, clearly, 'they could very well do without the South and hoped that the Northern members will treat the Southerners with silent contempt'.³³ The Midland-based clubs followed suit and formed their own committee, the MCAA, on March 1, 1880, where they also relaxed the regulations surrounding amateurism.³⁴ When members of the MCAA and NCAA were asked to attend a meeting with the London AC to form a new NGB for athletics, the breakaway committees were forceful in their stance and refused to accept the AAC ruling. The southern clubs were eager to retain their elitist position and negotiation was required in order to keep the provincial committees on side. Montague Shearman, secretary of the London AC, was aware that the newly formed AAA could only function if the NCAA and MCAA were involved, so three key decisions were voted on to provide a clearer structure to the regulation of amateur athletics. The rotation of the annual athletic championship between the Southern, Midland and Northern cities was agreed, although the ruling to remove monetary prizes and to ban athletes who pawned their trophies and cups for cash was rejected. Most importantly, the AAA re-defined the amateur as an individual who 'has never competed in any open competition or for public money or for admission money or with professionals for a prize and who has never taught or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercise as a means of livelihood'. This almost mirrored the NCAA and MCAA ruling, and this

³⁰ Charles Dickens Jr. *Dicken's Dictionary of London: an Unconventional Handbook* (London: Dickens and Evans, 1879); Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 187.

³¹ Representatives from the following clubs were present: Widnes, Sutton, Stoke Victoria, Southport, St Helens, Preston, Leeds, Ilkley, Huddersfield, East Lancashire, Crewe Alexandra, Bradford and Bingley, and Halifax were inaugurated at the second meeting on November 18, 1879.

³² Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game*, 188; Illingworth, *A Short History of the Northern Counties Athletic Association 1879-1979*, 5-6.

³³ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 98; Taylor, 'Pay Up, But Don't Play the Game': 82.

³⁴ Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association*.

definition was then later accepted across a range of sports.³⁵ *Bell's Life* praised the AAA for this new definition, which eliminated the previous clauses on labouring men and, supposedly, eradicated the class distinctions that had previously plagued the sport.³⁶ *The Times*, however, stated that this should not be seen as an opportunity for the 'artisans, mechanics and suchlike troublesome persons...to thrust themselves in here', with rulings in place to ensure that the new NGB could act accordingly to eliminate misbehaviour.³⁷ This essentially created more problems that further strained the relationship between the Northern and the Southern committees,³⁸ and, because of the overlap in membership between amateur sporting bodies, this debate spilled over into the meetings of other NGBs.

The Swimming Association of Great Britain (SAGB) came under pressure from the southern clubs who disagreed over its lax implementation of the amateur regulations, which caused an acrimonious split within the sport and resulted in the formation of the Amateur Swimming Union (ASU) in 1884. Nonetheless, by 1886 the SAGB and the ASU had settled their differences and amalgamated into the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) with members subsequently concentrating their efforts on organising and regulating competition, encouraging participation, and developing a revised set of rules that kept all parties happy. Representatives became preoccupied with establishing a prescriptive definition of an amateur and the class relations that existed within the organisation provided further conflict in enforcing the amateur code. The gifting of prizes, especially cash incentives, came under scrutiny, which led to an open revolt by some Manchester swimmers and a call for northern clubs to taken control of the sport in 1889. Considerable negotiation was required to prevent a rival Northern Association being created and the formation of the Northern Counties ASA was a compromise, designed to give jurisdiction to northern clubs and settle the divisions that were apparent within the sport. Later that year, three ASA divisions were created, the Northern Counties, the Midland Counties and the Southern Counties but this was not the end of the ASA's difficulties and, in 1897, another potentially serious split between the NGB and the Southern Counties was considered, although this resolved itself during 1898.³⁹

³⁵ *The Times*, May 17, 1880, 10; Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 95; Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul*, 46.

³⁶ *Bell's Life*, April 24, 1880, 4.

³⁷ *The Times*, April 26, 1880, 12.

³⁸ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 95.

³⁹ Archibald Sinclair and William Henry, *Swimming* (London: Longmans and Green, 1893), 349-351; Cecil Colwin, *Breakthrough Swimming* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2002), 193-194; Dave Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England' (PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2008), 149-150.

The Football Association (FA), established in 1863, although never stating the status of the individuals who could be part of its activities, found it difficult to control the growth of football, especially within the Northern and Midland counties, and professionalism started to filter into the sport as working-class men became directly involved in the activity. Rewarding players for their skill and time through the payment of expenses was commonplace within the Lancashire clubs, although the London-based FA tried to curb these practices by enforcing the amateur regulations. In October 1884, the Lancashire clubs congregated to discuss the formation of a breakaway organisation, 'the British Football Association', the purpose being to incorporate professionalism within the sport. The FA, wishing to maintain control and aware of the growing support for football in the North, responded by relaxing its rules surrounding payments and accepted the professional footballer within its constitution in July 1885.⁴⁰ Elsewhere, the Northern Cross Country Association (1882) adopted a semi-professional attitude and the National Cyclist's Union adhered to different rulings in the North where there was a strong professional connection, especially in Manchester.⁴¹ The Rugby Football Union (RFU) Split in 1895 saw the Northern Union develop its own version of the sport in which some professional practices were accepted and working-class players could be provided with 'broken-time' payments. This decision was the Northern Union's response to the hypocrisy and conceit that the RFU had subjected its members to,⁴² and was indicative of the attitudes within the various sporting institutions that deemed the northern committees as socially inferior organisations.

Most of these disputes surrounded the payment of expenses, and/or monetary prizes, which were in direct contrast to the amateur ruling. When the Metropolitan Rowing Association (1878) stated no person could be considered amateur if they had rowed for 'stake, money or entrance fee', this practice was agreed across a number of sports.⁴³ Yet, championship competitions continued to provide some financial rewards for its competitors. The FA agreed to pay expenses for individual players and teams who were participating in the semi-finals of the FA Challenge Cup competitions and the northern clubs regularly raised subscriptions to support their predominately working-class members who had to travel to matches throughout England. As the number of these competitions increased, so did the request for expenses and some players also received additional 'support' from clubs and spectators.⁴⁴ During the 1880s, the Lancashire based Harrier clubs were only interested in competing in events where the prizes were 'grand' and many clubs would not attend meetings if

⁴⁰ James Walvin, *The People's Game: a Social History of British Football* (London: Penguin, 1975), 78-79; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 140.

⁴¹ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 98.

⁴² Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 120, 124.

⁴³ Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game*, 186.

⁴⁴ Walvin, *The People's Game*, 76; Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 141.

these prizes were not sufficient.⁴⁵ The NCAA wished to provide ‘spectacular’ prizes at their annual championships, much more valuable than the silver medals awarded in the southern meetings, and Walter Platt, secretary of the NCAA, recognised that by combining resources and funds to produce ‘valuable prizes’ the Northern championships would attract the ‘best men from all parts’. Track and field winners were awarded gold medals, and prizes to the value of £5 and £3 were awarded for second and third place in the field events, whilst all other sports had £10 and £5 prizes for second and third place respectively.⁴⁶ Huggins suggests that amateur players were always looking for valuable prizes, and the possibility of cash reward was an attractive incentive to lure athletes to different competitive fixtures. Additionally, outside of prize giving, the emphasis on training also pushed the boundaries of amateurism, with rugby and football clubs employing professionals within the role and even the “gentleman amateur” army athletes engaged in additional training prior to their team and individual competitions.⁴⁷ The Olympic Games, a strictly amateur event, further fuelled these practices in the early twentieth century as the NGB and various athletic clubs, including the London AC and ‘a member of the Southern committee’, paid for equipment and training expenses in the lead up to competition.⁴⁸

Forty years earlier, the sport had been struggling to distinguish itself from its professional counterparts as prizes and money continued to fuel amateur competitions, and the public perception of these events mirrored that of the exhibition matches, ‘a la Deerfoot’, which had been popular in the 1860s.⁴⁹ Even with the amateur restrictions, the profitability of athletics meant that many clubs, venues and individuals were benefitting from the gate receipts or additional side betting that was still present in these competitions. In 1876, the Lille Bridge University Sports banked gate money of over £1100 and subsequent AAC meetings also saw large sums of money go directly into the club funds. Although prizes were mostly physical, these could be easily converted into cash, and, to gain additional income, athletes could be persuaded to lose matches and take bribes from the bookmakers who were in attendance at most of the athletic contests.⁵⁰ Several amateurs were forced to turn professional when they were challenged by AAA authorities,⁵¹ whilst others willingly chose to enter into professional sport where the financial benefits outweighed the social capital

⁴⁵ Derek Martin, ‘Harriers Cubs in Leeds, 1875-1914’ (paper presented at the BSSH symposium on Sport and the Working-Class Amateur, Leeds Metropolitan University, July 4, 2014).

⁴⁶ Illingworth, *A Short History of the Northern Counties Athletic Association 1879-1979*, 6.

⁴⁷ Huggins, ‘Complex, Contested and Contradictory: Aspects of “Amateur” Sports in Northern England in the Late 19th Century’ *Ethos*; For more detailed examples see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

⁴⁸ *Athletic News*, April 8, 1912, 6.

⁴⁹ *Sporting Gazette*, October 17, 1874, 976.

⁵⁰ Harold A. Harris, *Sport in Britain: its Origins and Development* (London: Stanley Paul, 1975), 141.

⁵¹ Edward S. Sears, *George Seward: America’s First Great Runner* (Plymouth: Scarecrow, 2008), 190.

benefits of remaining an amateur.⁵² It was the working-class men, mostly in the northern regions, who required financial support to engage in competitive sport, and they had to make the careful decision to continue to compete within the amateur regulations or to diverge into professional activities where sporting careers could be established. This chapter takes an traditional biographical approach, constructing a detailed empirical narrative that provides an interpretation of the individual life course, to examine one of Manchester's athletic residents who successfully made the transition from amateur athlete to professional trainer during this period of athletic tension. In particular, the text considers the pressures experienced and measures required to establish a career in sport during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. This biography takes a chronological approach, describing the 'turning-point moments' of the subject,⁵³ James Robinson, through a sequential narrative that incorporates both primary and secondary sources, anecdotes and personal triumphs, and attempts to position the story within the wider historical and social context of amateur/professional sport.

James Robinson and Manchester's Athletic Scene

James Robinson was born in 1847 in Failsworth, Manchester, to Martha Worsick and William Robinson, a working-class butcher from Glossop.⁵⁴ Robinson and his siblings trained in the family business by apprenticing as butchers, and, in 1871, Robinson worked in the family shop with his father, mother and sister, Sarah, whilst brothers, John and William Henry Robinson, became clerks for local businesses and younger sister, Ruth, continued in education.⁵⁵ Nineteenth-century butchers required some formal training; a good understanding of anatomy was necessary to correctly slaughter and identify the different cuts of meat, with the Master-apprentice relationship providing

⁵² See Rob Hadgraft, *Beer and Brine: the Making of Walter George: Athletics' First Superstar* (London: Desert Island Books, 2006).

⁵³ Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (London: Sage, 1989), 7.

⁵⁴ *England, Births and Christenings, 1538-1975*, James Robinson, baptised 05 Sep 1847 at Manchester Cathedral, Lancashire (C07354-2); *Census Returns*, William Robinson household 1851 (HO 107/2232/497/31-32); William Robinson household 1861 (RG 9/2973/36/18); William Robinson household 1871 (RG 10/4065/48/41).

⁵⁵ *Census Returns*, 1861 (RG 9/297/36/18), Failsworth, Manchester, Dob Lane, William Robinson, 45, Butcher; John Robinson, 16, Butcher; 1871 (RG 10/4065/48/41), Failsworth, South Lancashire, Dob Lane, Wm Robinson, 55, Butcher; Martha Robinson, 55, Butcher; Sarah Robinson, 28, Butcher; John Robinson, 26, Shipping Clerk; James Robinson, 23, Butcher Lab; Wm H. Robinson, 19, Estate Agent Clerk; Ruth Robinson, 16, Pupil Teacher; 1881 (RG 11/3912/88/40), Rusholme, S.E. Lancashire, 11 St John's St., Martha Robinson, Widower, 65, Retired Butchers Wife; W. Whellan & Co., *A New General Directory of Manchester and Salford, Together with the Principle Villages and Hamlets in the District* (Manchester: Booth and Milthorp, 1852), 272; Isaac Slater, *Slater's Directory of Manchester* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1855), 753; Isaac Slater, *Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1863), 24.

the basis for observation, practical experience, and the transfer of knowledge, all within the confines of the butcher's shop, which protected this specialised artisan craft.⁵⁶ Each village would usually have only one butcher shop and, like other provision dealers, the butcher themselves would have been prominent individuals at the heart of the community. Not only did the butcher slaughter animals for their nutritional benefit but they would also have stock in the local farming industry and could prepare hides for shoemakers, hatters and tailors to fashion into various clothing products.⁵⁷ The industry also relied on entrepreneurial skills to sell and distribute these products in the shops, markets and streets of Victorian Britain.⁵⁸ The family business was located on Dob Lane, Failsworth, on one of the auxiliary Oldham Road streets and in close proximity to both the Royal Oak and Copenhagen sporting grounds where athletic and other popular working-class entertainments were provided throughout much of the nineteenth century.

According to Russell, during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, as modern sporting cultures emerged, facilities within Manchester were transformed. Municipal swimming baths were constructed from 1880, the Manchester racecourse re-located from New Barns (1867) back to its original site at Castle Irwell, Salford (1902), and the development of arenas tied to association football such as Manchester United's North Road, Newton Heath (1878), and Manchester City's Hyde Road, Gorton (1887), provided alternative entertainment to pedestrianism.⁵⁹ However, many of the northern cities were engaged in both amateur and professional competitions, and, within Manchester, these were still under the control of the public house running enclosures, which caused concern and came under pressure from amateur organisations. In 1875, *Bell's Life* stated that the 'tone of amateur athletics in the Manchester district is becoming deplorably low' and the numerous societies, associations and clubs that promoted amateur contests lacked 'gentlemanly' qualities and were mediocre in format and competitive talent. Their association with the professional running venues added yet another area of discontent as the promoters were organising 'gate-money speculations' rather than activities that reflected the amateur values.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, athletics continued to grow and the formation of dedicated athletic and cycling venues, such as Belle Vue

⁵⁶ John C. Brown and Gerhard Neumeier, 'Working Class Careers: on-the-Job Experience and Career Formation in Munich, 1895-1910', in *Origins of the Modern Career: Career Paths and Job Stability in Europe and North America, 1850-1950*, eds. David Mitch, John Brown and Marco H.D. Van Leeuwen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 269.

⁵⁷ Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1989), 18.

⁵⁸ Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Street, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000) 98.

⁵⁹ Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present: an Introduction', *Manchester Region History Review* 20 (2009): 5.

⁶⁰ *Bell's Life*, September 11, 1875, 5.

(1887), Fallowfield (1892) and White City (1907),⁶¹ helped to improve the city's sporting provision, although this did not prevent clubs from forming around public houses and professional arenas. Salford Harriers and Athletic Club, established at the Bluebell Pub, Moston Lane, in 1884,⁶² and the Manchester Athletic Club (Manchester AC) had its headquarters at the Crown Hotel, Booth Street. The Manchester AC originally competed at the professional track at Moston Park before moving to the newly constructed Fallowfield arena after the club had expanded and, by 1902, it had become home to over 400 amateur athletes.⁶³ Towards Manchester's easterly parishes of Newton Heath, Moston, Gorton, Abbey Hey and Ashton, athletic clubs were established and maintained by the working-class clientele associated with the previous professional pedestrian hubs. Unsurprisingly, during his employment, Robinson competed in local amateur competitions for Failsworth, Mottram, Stalybridge and Manchester Athletic Clubs, specialising in the one- and two- mile walking events that were endorsed by local sporting promoters and organised clubs.

In August 1871, aged 24, six-foot tall and 168-pound Robinson won his first competition at the Stoke Victoria Athletic Club annual meeting, Stoke-on-Trent, taking home a gold medal and a large silver cup for his performance in the club's principle events, the one- and two-mile walking handicaps.⁶⁴ Reporters were unimpressed with the judging as Robinson was continually cautioned for his walking style, which was suggested to not conform to the fair heel-to-toe amateur ruling, with little consequence, turning the event into 'the greatest burlesque on that branch of athletics we ever saw'.⁶⁵ Robinson's walking caused much controversy in the press, with many believing his style to be 'unfair' and his defiance 'unfathomable', whilst others found his competitions well contested and that his style was generally acceptable.⁶⁶ After the St Helen's Athletic Club meeting in January 1872, reports continued to criticise Robinson and his 'style of progression' when, after being disqualified for unfair heel-to-toe, he continued to race and successfully appealed the decision to take first prize in the mile handicap. Spectators were outraged with the decision, with *Bell's Life* concluding that 'those disgraceful scenes which, we regret to say, are getting daily more familiar at athletic meetings, where prizes are given for this branch of sport...might be avoided by getting competent persons to judge the walking'.⁶⁷ The AAA soon appointed official starters and handicappers for their competitions, paying individuals to hold these positions within the organisation and insisting their

⁶¹ Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present': 5.

⁶² *Bell's Life*, March 26, 1884, 1.

⁶³ *Manchester Guardian*, January 7, 1902, 7.

⁶⁴ *Birmingham Daily Post*, August 10, 1871, 5; August 11, 1871, 6; *Detroit Free Press*, October 4, 1896, 7; Private Collection – Robinson Family Papers.

⁶⁵ *Bell's Life*, August 12, 1871, 8.

⁶⁶ *Bell's Life and Sporting Chronicle*, August 10, 1872, 5; August 12, 1871, 4; June 29, 1872, 8; *Birmingham Daily Post*, August 14, 1871, 5.

⁶⁷ *Bell's Life*, January 27, 1872, 5.

use in all amateur competitions. Concern arose as the number of officials was very limited, making their use impossible for all events. Nevertheless, Robinson continued to race, winning the northern meetings at Cloughfold, Penistone, Paticroft, and Haslingden,⁶⁸ but his dominance in the sport faded as Henry Ware Steib, one of Preston Gymnastic Club's most prominent athletes, emerged.⁶⁹

Steib, of Anglo-Germanic heritage, was five years Robinson's junior, born in 1852 in Preston, Lancashire, and instructed by the relatively unknown trainer, Walter Platt, in endurance pursuits, before gaining fame in walking events ranging from the half- to seven-miles.⁷⁰ At the Huddersfield Athletic Festival in June 1872, Robinson competed against Steib in a two-mile open walking race where Steib led from the start, displaying the upmost grace and style, and completing the distance in sixteen minutes and forty-four seconds, twenty-four seconds in front of Robinson, who obtained second place and a silver medal.⁷¹ At the St Helen's meeting in July 1872, even with a handicap of twenty-yards, Robinson still failed to overcome Steib, again finishing second in another two-mile walking competition.⁷² Although achieving success at the smaller athletic competitions, such as the Paticroft mile-walking handicap and Penistone Cricket Club sports,⁷³ further disappointments added to Robinson's frustration. His disqualification from several high profile races, including the Stoke Victoria mile handicap and the Newton Heath meeting, held in his own neighbourhood at the Royal Oak Park, Oldham Road,⁷⁴ and his general decreased level of performance enabled George Duxfield of Southport Athletic Society, to capitalise and relegate Robinson to third place in several northern competitions.⁷⁵ On August 31, 1872, Steib and Robinson competed against twelve other competitors at the Isle of Man Athletic Festival, in preparation for a major Irish athletic competition at Lurgan, entering the four-mile walking handicap where prizes valued at £10 10s were awarded for first place, £2 10s for second and £1 5s for third. Rules were strictly enforced and spectators attended to witness 'the first great walking match in this Island', and to see English athletes dominate by taking all three prizes. Robinson, however, did not finish within the top six competitors and, after a battle with Cooper (Liverpool), Steib and Whittaker (Huddersfield), who completed the top three respectively, he fell behind the remaining pack and could not last the distance.⁷⁶ As previously noted, prizes for amateur competitions caused many debates and although cash prizes were uncommon,

⁶⁸ *Bell's Life*, June 22, 1872, 5; July 6, 1872, 12; July 27, 1872, 5; August 3, 1872, 5.

⁶⁹ *Bell's Life*, December 28, 1872, 3.

⁷⁰ *Sporting Gazette*, October 17, 1874, 976.

⁷¹ *Bell's Life*, June 29, 1872, 8; *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, June 29, 1872, 6; *Sporting Gazette*, June 29, 1872, 459.

⁷² *Bell's Life*, July 20, 1872, 5.

⁷³ *Bell's Life*, July 6, 1872, 12; July 27, 1872, 5.

⁷⁴ *Bell's Life*, August 3, 1872, 5; August 10, 1872, 5.

⁷⁵ *Bell's Life*, August 24, 1872, 5; September 7, 1872, 11.

⁷⁶ *Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*, August 31, 1872, 3.

the practice of gift giving, and the stipulation of the value of each prize, provided yet another version of income for the athletes that penetrated into even the most prestigious of amateur events. The Athens Olympic Games Committee provided the strictly amateur athletes with a generous prize funds in 1896, including free board at local restaurants for twelve months and regular parcels containing sporting equipment, with amateurs employing professional attitudes in order to receive remittance.⁷⁷ The prize funds for open competitions were usually substantial and this attracted a number of professional fraudsters who attempted to compete as amateurs, which contributed to the large number of athletic-related cases that appeared before the magistrates. In 1883, the NCAA charged several athletes for fraud and impersonation of an amateur athlete, sentencing prisoners to one month's hard labour at the Chester Quarter Sessions, and those who pleaded guilty in Hull were let off with an apology and £100 fine. In 1888, further cases of fraud were exposed in Northampton where the offenders were sentenced to four and six month's imprisonment with hard labour.⁷⁸ The AAA later revised the rules surrounding prizes and expenses, but the financial benefits of competing remained part of the athletic ideology much into the twentieth century.

Robinson sailed to Ireland in September 1872 where he competed at Belfast and Dublin athletic meetings in the two- and three-mile walking handicaps, receiving second prize in both competitions.⁷⁹ With renewed confidence, Robinson entered Lord Lurgan's 'athletic celebration' at Brownlow House, Ireland, where he competed in the two-mile open walking race and faced rival, Steib, who had already claimed prizes in the five-mile handicap, winning with 'absurd ease'.⁸⁰ The Lurgan meeting was designed to attract all competitors from within Britain but, although a number of men entered, there was a very clear Irish and northern presence only, with competitors from the southern clubs noticeably missing from the events. *Bell's Life* appealed for the southern counties to be represented at Lurgan, hoping to prove the supremacy of the London athletes in all aspects of athletic sport in a battle of the regions.⁸¹ With no southern men in attendance, the northern counties dominated their Irish counterparts and an entertaining spectacle was provided for the large crowds who came to witness the events. Finishing runner-up to Matthews of Lurgan Athletic Club, Robinson overcame Steib for the first, and last, time before falling into relative obscurity in the athletic world.⁸² Robinson's sporting record indicated that he was one of the top one- and two-mile walkers within the North, and his success in the major sporting competitions only reinforced his position.

⁷⁷ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 45.

⁷⁸ Amateur Athletic Association, *Fifty Years of Progress 1880-1930: the Jubilee Souvenir of the Amateur Athletic Association* (London: AAA, 1930), 64-65.

⁷⁹ *Belfast News-Letter*, September 9, 1872, 4; *Bell's Life*, September 14, 1872, 10.

⁸⁰ *Sporting Gazette*, September 14, 1872, 645.

⁸¹ *Bell's Life*, August 31, 1872, 8.

⁸² *Sporting Gazette*, September 14, 1872, 645.

Nonetheless, Robinson was always overlooked by the northern athletic committee, with Steib and Duxfield chosen to represent the NCAA at the annual North vs South athletic meeting for two consecutive years even though Robinson had broken the record for the mile and gained notoriety as the 'champion walker of England' in 1873 and 1874.⁸³ Perhaps Robinson's omission was due to his previous lack of form, his results or his temperament, although it was more likely due to the influence of the NCAA committee whose honorary secretaries were Southport Athletic Society's walking competitor, Duxfield, and the Preston Athletic Club trainer, Platt. From 1874, there is no record of Robinson's competitive career, but his involvement in sport was continuing to develop through other avenues instead.

At the age of 27, in 1864, Robinson had supposedly relocated to Edinburgh, Scotland, where he attended veterinary school,⁸⁴ although there is no record of his attendance or graduation and this could have been part of the narrative that Robinson constructed in order to establish himself within his social and economic environment. The veterinary profession became a more recognised occupation associated with the educated classes after the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, established by Royal Charter in 1844, better controlled the entry of its 'experts' and provided a more structured and exclusive pathway for veterinary qualification. By 1881, the title of 'veterinary surgeon' was reserved for those who had completed the four years of schooling at one of the few colleges dedicated to animal medicine. Previously, unqualified men had assumed this title as a means of advancing their careers, or as an alternative to smith and farrier, and many employers did not ask to see qualifications, preferring men who could demonstrate their skills and usually offering jobs by word-of-mouth recommendations.⁸⁵ Robinson's background as both a butcher and athlete may have provided the opportune education to pursue a career in animal care, with general knowledge about the anatomy of the different animals acquired through his trade, an understanding of the principles of good animal health and care learnt through his connections to local farmers and breeders, and the principles of human health also applicable through his athletic schooling. Although there is some debate about the origins of the principles of athletic training,⁸⁶ Mewett has argued that humans and animals, specifically horses, were both trained and cared for in the same manner and with a similar philosophy identified in achieving athletic performance. Body culture was important in both

⁸³ *Bell's Life*, June 14, 1873, 9; *Boston Daily Globe*, July 24, 1905, 14.

⁸⁴ *Boston Daily Globe*, July 24, 1905, 14; *New York Times*, March 20, 1906; Private Collection – Robinson Family Papers.

⁸⁵ Abigail Woods and Stephen Matthews, "'Little, if at all, Removed from the Illiterate Farriers or Cow-Leech': the English Veterinary Surgeon, c.1860-1885, and the Campaign for Veterinary Reform", *Medical History* 54 (2010): 30.

⁸⁶ See Dave Day, "'Science", "Wind" and "Bottom": Eighteenth-Century Boxing Manuals', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 10 (2012): 1446-1465.

disciplines and the 'balancing of the humours' a generally accepted practice in both horseracing and pugilism in the eighteenth century. Similar physical features, such as a shiny coat, or clear skin, bright eyes and muscular definition (through reduction of weight and by sweating), were used as measures of health, and this knowledge could be transferred and shared between human and animal sports, making it a smooth transition from one activity to another.⁸⁷ In 1878, Robinson's father died and his mother and younger siblings relocated to 11 St John's Street, Longsight, Manchester, where brother, William Henry, now a successful partner at Chadderton and Robinson Estate Agents, housed the family.⁸⁸ James Robinson accepted a job with Judge Henry Hilton, sailing to America and establishing himself as a horse trainer at the renowned Saratoga Stables in New York. Robinson's migration to America indicated the start of his progression from amateur athletics to the professional sporting environment, in the course of which Robinson developed from his humble Lancashire origins into an influential athletic trainer.

Athletics and the College System: Robinson in America

During the mid-nineteenth century, when Britain adopted the 'free trade' ruling, the relationship between America and Britain was strengthened and both countries grew in tandem in economic and cultural wealth. The import and export of goods and provision between the two countries was an important feature of this relationship and, thus, the migration of Americans to Britain and Britons to America became just another product that was traded between the countries.⁸⁹ Although America was already an ethnically diverse country, with transoceanic migration from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa long established, after 1830 the majority of immigrants that came into the country were Europeans who saw America as an intriguing society but whose Western values were similar to those on the Continent.⁹⁰ Between 1815 and 1865, over five million Europeans, including a high proportion of the British, had settled in America where agricultural and industrial work was available. The re-development of the North-East American states, such as New York, the preferred destination for many, into metropolitan industrial provinces had been supported by the number of immigrants, who

⁸⁷ See Peter Mewett, 'From Horses to Humans: Species Crossover in the Origins of Modern Sports Training', *Sport History Review* 33, no. 2 (2002): 1087-1659.

⁸⁸ *Manchester Times*, February 9, 1878, 8; *Death Registry*, William Robinson, Chorlton, March 1873, 8c, 454; Isaac Slater, *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford with their Vicinities* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1876), 441; *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford with their Vicinities* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1879), 325; *Census Return*, Martha Robinson and family 1881 (RG 11/3912/88/40).

⁸⁹ William E. van Vugt, *Britain to America: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Immigrants to the United States* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 3.

⁹⁰ Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'European Americans: from Immigrants to Ethnics', *International Migration Review* 6, no. 4 (1972): 403.

had previously experienced this large-scale industrialisation in their home countries, and who could provide expertise in mechanical, textile and labour-intensive work as well as occupying important positions in the factory, mining and manufacturing establishments. America benefitted from the influx of men, and women, who had travelled from Europe to seek work, although Ernst argues that the majority of these migrants were actually skilled artisan workers, not labourers, who had been previously displaced in the small industries in Britain and Europe, and had travelled to find independent craftwork, not the industrial jobs that these cities provided. Textile artisans, such as spinners, weavers and loomers, had emigrated from England, miners came from the North of England and Wales, and the more prosperous Scotchmen travelled to America for agricultural and manufacturing jobs.⁹¹ Migration into the cities, such as Boston, New York and Philadelphia, added to not only their economic growth but also their cosmopolitan nature, with distinct communities forming around the different migrant populations who brought with them their own cultural practices, leisure activities and sporting entertainments. Their inclusion was (mostly) welcomed and this contributed to the 'melting pot' society that diversified America during the late-nineteenth century.⁹²

Although reports suggest that Robinson migrated to Philadelphia in 1876,⁹³ and Robinson himself declared his immigration year as 1865,⁹⁴ there has been little evidence to support these claims, with his travel records and various obituaries supporting family statements of an 1879 voyage.⁹⁵ Nonetheless, sources indicate that when Robinson arrived in America he settled in Saratoga, New York, where Hilton, a millionaire judge and an admirer of all sporting entertainments, was in the process of re-developing the area into the summer destination for many of New York's elite. Hilton had regularly travelled to England in the 1870s with his Irish business partner, dry goods entrepreneur and philanthropist Alexander T. Stewart, attending many sporting events in and around Britain. In 1876, Stewart died and Hilton became executor of his estate, which included numerous businesses and humanitarian projects, including the Saratoga development.⁹⁶ Unsympathetic to

⁹¹ Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City 1825-1863* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 2-3, 123.

⁹² Benjamin G. Rader, 'The Quest for Subcommunities and the Rise of American Sport', *American Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1977): 355-369; Thomas Muller, *Immigrants and the American City* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1993), 84; Michael Barone, *The New Americans: How the Melting Pot Can Work Again* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2001), 30.

⁹³ *Boston Daily Globe*, July 24, 1905, 14.

⁹⁴ *Census Returns*, James Robinson 1900 (1159/12B/133/1241159).

⁹⁵ Private Collection – Robinson Family Papers; *Washington Times*, March 20, 1906, 10; *San Francisco Call*, March 20, 1906, 4; *New York Times*, March 20, 1906.

⁹⁶ Stephen N. Elias, *Alexander T. Stewart: the Forgotten Merchant Prince* (London: Praeger, 1992), 35-36, 159; *Bradford Observer*, December 26, 1873, 4; July 27, 1874, 2; *Morning Post*, September 7, 1874, 7; *Daily News*, September 7, 1874; *Glasgow Herald*, May 3, 1876, 4; November 30, 1882, 2; *Graphic*, May 27, 1876, 6; *Belfast News-Letter*, June 21, 1876, 3.

Stewart's vision, Hilton gained a reputation as an intolerable bigot who quickly closed Stewart's posthumous developments for women and refused lodging to Jews due to their 'low origin' and vulgar personalities.⁹⁷ The Saratoga Springs area became a playground for New York's white, upper-middle classes, with spas, shopping and horseracing the main features of this small holiday community, and it was here that Robinson gained employment as a veterinary surgeon and trainer at the stables under Judge Hilton's care.⁹⁸ After travelling to America on the SS Erin from Liverpool to New York on March 18, 1879,⁹⁹ Robinson lived in Saratoga whilst fulfilling his new position at the Saratoga Race Course, although his athletic interests continued to fuel his career development.

Robinson was appointed trainer to the long-distance athletes at the Harlem Athletic Club, established in 1876 as an inclusive amateur club for the downtown business men striving for athletic excellence, demonstrated running and walking contests at the New York Athletic Club (NYAC), and was a regular spectator at the agricultural hall 'wobbles' in the New York districts.¹⁰⁰ In October 1879, once the Saratoga Springs racing calendar had been fulfilled, Robinson became manager at the Park Garden pedestrian arena, Boston, where he had re-developed the arena to incorporate an athletic and cycling track to the highest specification. The course was small, being only eight-feet wide and measuring fourteen laps to the mile, but the track itself was admired, being constructed from sawdust and foam, which gave a soft bounce under foot, and was noted as superior to all other courses in the city. The course re-opened with a three-hour 'go-as-you-please' where over 1,000 spectators witnessed twenty-five competitors race, whilst music played and the crowds cheered, for a share of the \$40 prize money.¹⁰¹ These competitions mirrored the professional activities that had previously been popular in Britain prior to amateur control, and they were still regularly competed for in America. Although never achieving the same acclaim as across the Atlantic, pedestrianism was enjoyed by Americans as part of the localised working-class cultures in the individual neighbourhoods, with competitions in the smaller rural districts emulating the enterprises of the British entrepreneurs. The commercial imperative in both countries was the same, and the pedestrian programme was complimented with other novelties to draw in the crowds.¹⁰² The long-

⁹⁷ *Standard*, July 5, 1877, 3; June 13, 1878, 3; *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, July 14, 1877, 7; *Women's Union Journal: The Organ of the Women's Protective and Provident League*, June 1, 1878, 36; *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 5, 1878, 1; *Lyon's Weekly Mirror*, June 8, 1878, 2; *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, June 14, 1878, 2; *Englishwoman's Review*, July 15, 1878, 292; *Preston Guardian*, August 9, 1879, 4.

⁹⁸ *New York Times*, March 20, 1906; David Stradling, *Making Mountains: New York City and the Catskills* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2007): 104.

⁹⁹ *New York Passenger Lists 1820-1957*, SS Erin, March 18, 1879 (M237_416).

¹⁰⁰ *New York Times*, April 28, 1876, 10; Pamela Cooper, *The American Marathon* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 13; Paul S. Marshall, *King of the Peds* (Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2010), 170.

¹⁰¹ *Boston Daily Globe*, October 10, 1879, 1.

¹⁰² Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field*, 10-11.

distance events gained significant prominence as they were promoted and hosted in the major North-Eastern state cities rather than being hidden in the sub-districts. The six-day go-as-you-please matches were competed for at Madison Square Gardens, New York, during the 1870s and 1880s, which caused a surge in interest in pedestrianism in New York and the neighbouring states before its decline c.1891.¹⁰³

The connections between American and British sport are well acknowledged, with English influences present across a range of American sports. The regulations in American horseracing had been developed from the Newmarket rules, British visitors brought with them traditional pastimes, such as pugilism and cricket, and the organisation of track and field athletics drew upon the pedestrian activities that were popular in mid-nineteenth century England. The sporting landscape of Britain was emulated across the Atlantic but, with English sport having preceded that of sport in America, the organisation of these activities had been established by, and maintained the ethos of, the British amateur.¹⁰⁴ Whereas Britain had always been a society based around class and status, America did not regard these social divisions in the same way, and, therefore, sport reflected their own values. The American attitude towards sport reflected its democratic and meritocratic society, where there was a belief that sport should be available for everyone equally, regardless of class, and those who were engaged in sport should be able to condition themselves and compete to the best of their ability.¹⁰⁵ Essentially, America had a different interpretation to Britain on what constituted the amateur status and they shaped athletics to reflect their business-like, professional and pragmatic 'Yankee values', which became the accepted ideals and took precedence over British influences.¹⁰⁶ Professional practices, including the acceptance of monetary prizes, the engagement of professional trainers and further commercial aspects of the sport, remained unchallenged within the American amateur organisations,¹⁰⁷ whereas the British believed these to be inappropriate practices that 'stretched the boundaries of the amateur code'.¹⁰⁸ One of the major differences between the two systems surrounded the training of athletes, with the American amateur's acceptance of rationalised and systematic training techniques a direct contrast to the British attitude, a dichotomy that caused a

¹⁰³ Thomas J. Osler and Edward L. Dodd, 'Six-Day Pedestrian Races', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 301 (1977): 853-857.

¹⁰⁴ John R. Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1974), 19-20.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Wettan and Joe Willis, 'Social Stratification in the New York Athletic Club: a Preliminary Analysis of the Impact of the Club on Amateur Sport in Late Nineteenth Century America', *Sport History Review* 7, no. 1 (1976): 41-42.

¹⁰⁶ Roberta J. Park, 'Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 2, no. 1 (1985): 12; Dave Day, 'America's "Mysterious Training Tables": British Reaction and Amateur Hypocrisy', *Sport in History* 34, no. 1 (2014): 91.

¹⁰⁷ Frank Zarnowski, *All-Around Men: Heroes of a Forgotten Sport* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2005), 11-12.

¹⁰⁸ Day, 'America's "Mysterious Training Tables"': 91.

conflict between the two countries from 1870 onwards.¹⁰⁹ According to Quercetani, America's contribution to the development of modern athletics was invaluable and their specialist, dynamic and dedicated approaches toward the training of athletes, and their general investment in coaching, equipment and facilities, had made them the dominant force within the sport by the early twentieth century.¹¹⁰

Whereas the English amateur athletic clubs had underpinned the organisation of athletics in Britain, in contrast, the American college system provided the catalyst for the regulation of track and field athletics. Those who were involved in university athletic sports were less likely to drop-out, with the development of the athletic programme one of mutual benefit for both the athletes and college administration alike.¹¹¹ Scholarships were readily available from some of America's elite universities for sporting prowess and the competition to scout the best athletic talent became increasingly important within these institutions. Many schools would provide attractive packages to lure students based on athletic ability alone, and college educations were sacrificed in exchange for athletic success.¹¹² A college sporting programme was accepted as it provided the basis for developing a society of accomplished individuals who had tested themselves, had found their inner strength, were versatile and 'able and ready to do work of all kinds', and were prepared to be leaders in their life, their work and within the community. The college athlete became a symbol of American greatness that was admired by all, with their sporting endeavours a 'cultural performance' whereby physical and mental status, and the values of American society, were metaphorically presented.¹¹³ Intercollegiate competition had been organised since the 1850s and as athletic and other national sporting competitions gained momentum, the need for a clear code for these activities was required.¹¹⁴ The league structure and seasonal competitive element, whereby each sport had its own specifically designated season, reflected the amateur ethos of developing the all-round athlete, although within these activities a more specialised athletic body was being crafted. The concentrated nature of these leagues, usually limited to a six-week period, meant that students could engage in multiple sporting events without affecting their studies. The football season finished in November, by which time the basketball season was just beginning, and the athletic competitions were scheduled between February and May before the baseball games closed the school year. New leagues

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Robert L. Quercetani, *A World History of Track and Field Athletics 1864-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), xviii-xix.

¹¹¹ Princeton University Archives, AC #109/122/7 – Reports and Notes c.1879-1939.

¹¹² Albert B. Hart, 'The Evils of Organized Athletics in American Colleges', *Current History* 31, no. 3 (1929): 559.

¹¹³ Roberta J. Park, 'Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a "Man of Character": 1830-1900', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 1 (2007): 1546-1547.

¹¹⁴ Roberta J. Park, 'Physicians, Scientists, Exercise and Athletics in Britain and America from the 1867 Boat Race to the Four-Minute Mile', *Sport in History* 31, no. 1 (2011): 4.

continued to appear and universities used sport as a way of establishing their own identity and generating publicity, with the organisation of these activities through the formation of specialist national committees providing the foundations for many of Americas NGBs.¹¹⁵ The Intercollegiate Associations of Amateur Athletics of America (IC4A) laid the groundwork for the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) in 1888 and the Intercollegiate Lacrosse Association later became a branch of the National Lacrosse Association, with these college activities being instrumental in the organisation of American sport during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.¹¹⁶

Athletics grew more rapidly in America during the post-Civil War era, especially in the North-Eastern states where ethnic and diverse populations had migrated and settled, and improvements in transport stimulated an increased acceptance of athletic enterprise and participation in these entertainments.¹¹⁷ The rise of the athletic club was a direct response to the changing urban environment where the desire for structured and instrumental activities for the college men who had now settled in the industrial centres eclipsed the sporadic and unregulated pedestrian entertainments.¹¹⁸ Here, the general attitudes that had been part of the American college experience were reflected with talented athletes recruited to join these clubs, including some “amateurs” who would have been marginalised by the strict amateur organisations in Britain. Similarly, the appointment of a professional trainer, an ‘in vogue’ practice in many American colleges and universities, was also another significant feature, with college trainers, professional athletes and trainers of various professional sports teams regularly employed in this position within these athletic clubs.¹¹⁹ The opportunity for a career in sport was much more obvious abroad and many athletic trainers, therefore, migrated to America where their expertise was viewed more pragmatically. The English trainer was especially welcomed, with their skills in conditioning athletes, developed through their association with the professional sporting practices in Britain, being valued and their impact on the American sporting environment was apparent from the late-nineteenth century onwards.

Robinson’s success at the Harlem AC contributed to his appointment at Harvard University in 1881, where he was responsible for the training of the Mott Haven athletic team, after which he was congratulated for his ‘careful and faithful work’ in preparing the athletes who retained the university

¹¹⁵ Carl Abbott, ‘Notes and Comment: College Athletic Conferences and American Regions’, *Journal of American Studies* 24, no. 2 (1990): 211.

¹¹⁶ Betts, *America’s Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950*, 102, 105.

¹¹⁷ Zarnowski, *All-Around Men: Heroes of a Forgotten Sport*, 14; John R. Betts, ‘The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900’, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1953): 234.

¹¹⁸ Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics 1820-70* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 9.

¹¹⁹ Roberta J. Park, ‘Athletes and their Training in Britain and America, 1800-1914’, in *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, eds. Jack W. Berryman and Roberta J. Park (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 83.

challenge cup.¹²⁰ His successes were celebrated at the Harvard-Princeton dinner, arranged by the athletes to toast Mr. Robinson, Dr. Sargeant, Harvard's physical educator, and George Goldie, 'the Father of Athletic Games in America' and Princeton's long-serving gymnastic manager.¹²¹ Whilst living in Boston, the home of Harvard's sporting competitions, Robinson continued to be involved in local athletics, refereeing at the Lynn, Massachusetts, twelve hour go-as-you-please, timekeeping at school meetings and measuring at university athletic contests, whilst still competing in running and rowing events.¹²² In April 1882, after actively training nearly forty men, Harvard agreed to extend Robinson's contract for a further two years,¹²³ but new rulings by the Harvard faculty soon saw his position become less secure.¹²⁴

Harvard had always taken a strong stance on the position of athletic sport in the education system, looking to the Oxbridge universities in England as their guide and adopting their amateur attitude. In 1873, the Harvard president was concerned that sport was becoming too commercialised; spectator admission fees were abolished and athletes who were in receipt of payments were banned from competition. There was a belief that students were placing too much emphasis on these athletic competitions rather than their studies and the college attempted to dissuade students from engaging in competitive sport as a means of separating them from the professional counterparts. The 'evils' of sport, payments, training and the winning at all costs mentality, had penetrated college sport, encouraging students to treat it as a full-time occupation rather than an 'incidental pleasure of their college life'. By limiting sport to Saturday afternoons, the Harvard committee hoped to eliminate these behaviours and restore respectability to its athletic practices.¹²⁵ In 1882, a committee on the 'regulation of athletic sports' was formed, consisting of three faculty members, including the director of the gymnasium, appointed by Harvard president, Charles W. Eliot, and new rules were enforced to reform the college's sporting activities. Following the amateur ethos, the rules stated that no college club could compete with professionals and, more significantly, the employment of trainers and coaches was forbidden without proper authority from the committee.¹²⁶ The strict amateur regulations meant that anyone who was deemed professional by the committee was to have their employment terminated unless permission was granted. The faculty favoured the British system of

¹²⁰ *Harvard Crimson*, June 3, 1881.

¹²¹ *Daily Princetonian*, June 10, 1881, 36.

¹²² *Syracuse Herald*, December 16, 1883, 2; *Boston Daily Globe*, July 18, 1886, 6; October 26, 1886, 4; *Daily Princetonian*, June 8, 1887, 1; *Sporting Life*, May 25, 1887, 11.

¹²³ *Harvard Crimson*, February 10, 1882; February 18, 1882; April 24, 1882; *Boston Daily Globe*, April 30, 1882, 8.

¹²⁴ *Harvard Crimson*, November 3, 1882.

¹²⁵ D. A. Sargent, 'History of the Administration of Inter-Collegiate Athletics in the United States', *American Physical Education Review* 15 (1910): 252.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*: 253.

athletics and encouraged other American colleges to follow suit, with Sargent taking their rules to university faculties, including Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Williams and Amherst in 1883. Although consensus was found between the athletic faculties, the student population had very different views and other universities did not enforce the 'no professionals' ruling as a means of keeping the peace with their student body. Generally, many of the college athletic committees had taken a laissez-faire approach to the student-controlled sports, and, as these sports had gained considerable interest and were widely reported in the press, these performances became a measure of both athletic and academic success, and the committees wanted to provide the best possible opportunities to exhibit their sporting dominance.¹²⁷ Nonetheless, Harvard continued with their reform by terminating the contract of William Bancroft, the highly successful rowing coach, Robinson, the athletic trainer, and the baseball professionals, which started a war of words between the faculty and the students. The *Harvard Crimson*, the student paper, was used as a platform to challenge the faculty's decisions, but they soon faced pressure from the committee to withhold negative articles relating to their ruling on athletics.¹²⁸ The students reported their dismay concerning the treatment of Robinson and questioned the timing of his dismissal as Robinson had 'received several offers' to be appointed at other athletic clubs and colleges but had remained loyal to the college that had promised him a position within the new athletic framework.¹²⁹

This view of the faculty's control over student activities upset many of the Harvard undergraduates and the cancellation of all intercollegiate football games in 1882, specifically the Yale-Harvard Thanksgiving match, deemed unsporting and ungentlemanly by the athletic committee, further fuelled press commentary on the future direction for university sports.¹³⁰ Harvard's previous domination in athletic sports was faltering and their closest rivals, Yale and Princeton, were capitalising on their decline. As the university started preparations for the expulsion of football at the college, the students and alumni challenged the faculty and, in 1886, it was agreed that a change in the composition of the committee was necessary to reflect the interest of both students and faculty alike, with the appointment of two students and one alumni member.¹³¹ The power struggle between Harvard and other athletic institutions was not over and Harvard sought to encourage the use of their system in all colleges. When the formation of a NGB for college sport, whose purpose was to eradicate professionalism from within the athletic ranks, was proposed by Harvard in 1883,

¹²⁷ Ronald A. Smith, 'Preludes to the NCAA: Early Failures of Faculty Intercollegiate Athletic Control', in *Sport in America: from Wicked Amusement to National Obsession*, ed. David K. Wiggins (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995), 152.

¹²⁸ *Harvard Crimson*, November 2, 1882; November 3, 1882.

¹²⁹ *Harvard Crimson*, November 27, 1883.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ John W. White, 'The Committee on Athletics', *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine* 1 (1893): 212.

Yale declined to accept and only a few 'lesser' colleges agreed to a meeting. In February 1883, the student-controlled Intercollegiate Amateur Athletic Association of America met with members of the different college committees where they opposed the faculty procedures, and, without centralised ruling or agreement, the colleges went back to their own individual regulations and organisation. This system remained in place until 1905 when the National Collegiate Athletic Association eventually governed university sport within America.¹³²

Whilst this debate was ongoing, Robinson found himself without work and he returned to England, where he engaged in the profitable business of cattle shipping and rearing whilst also being in discussions with Princeton University about their athletic trainer role.¹³³ When Robinson returned to Boston in January 1883, rumours about where he would be stationed for the upcoming athletic season were discussed within the press and it was announced that he would initially train amateurs at local New York clubs.¹³⁴ According to Cooper, the American amateur athletic establishments, such as NYAC and Manhattan Athletic Club (MAC), who had previously limited membership to those of high economic and educational status, recruited successful athletes to improve their competitive reputation,¹³⁵ and in April 1883, the NYAC announced the arrival of Jim Robinson as their new long-distance athlete.¹³⁶ Robinson acquired the new position of trainer to Columbia College athletes through his connections at the NYAC, which he continued to fulfil even after his employment as head trainer at Princeton University in May 1883 was secured.¹³⁷ Whilst engaged at Princeton, Robinson continued to support the Harvard students by attending athletic meetings and football games where he 'stood by and directed his boys', to the Harvard faithful's enjoyment.¹³⁸ According to the *Harvard Crimson*, the need for a professional trainer was obvious when inferior teams started to dominate, and the students argued that as other institutions were not conforming to the regulation neither should they. Soon the faculty could not withstand the pressure from the students and alumni, and wanting to re-establish themselves as a dominant force within collegiate sport, the faculty re-appointed Bancroft and engaged a baseball professional to look after the team. Harvard realised that they could not uphold all of the principles of amateurism, stating that the traditions of many American sports had yet to be created, unlike the deep-rooted ideology present in British activities, and, although fair-play, respect for umpires, opponents and officials, and crowd control were

¹³² Smith, 'Preludes to the NCAA: Early Failures of Faculty Intercollegiate Athletic Control', 154-156.

¹³³ *Harvard Crimson*, October 11, 1882; November 25, 1882; January 23, 1883; *Boston Daily Globe*, January 21, 1883, 8; Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City 1825-1863*, 3.

¹³⁴ *Harvard Crimson*, January 23, 1883.

¹³⁵ Cooper, *The American Marathon*.

¹³⁶ *Boston Daily Globe*, April 8, 1883, 16.

¹³⁷ *Harvard Crimson*, May 7, 1883.

¹³⁸ *Trenton Times*, October 25, 1883, 1; *New York Times*, December 20, 1888, 2.

demonstrated at collegiate events, the committee should remember that ‘they cannot be built up in a day with us’ and a more relaxed approach to monitoring these activities should be accepted.¹³⁹

Robinson relocated to Princeton, New Jersey, in May 1883 where, after training men for the inter-collegiate games, he was appointed to condition the football team and review other college sports.¹⁴⁰ In May 1885, Robinson was available to give training advice to all athletes who were interested in competing in the Princeton Class Championships, where members of the Princeton athletic team would recruit athletes for the upcoming athletic season. Prizes of a gold and silver medal were presented for a range of track and field events, including sprinting, running, jumping, vaulting and throwing, and Robinson ensured that the ‘Varsity Grounds’ were up to specification and assisted in the officiating of the sporting events.¹⁴¹ Intramural competitions and benefits were a valued part of the sporting calendar, and, from c.1870, teams would present their own programme of activities for student enjoyment. The annual spring athletic games had been part of the academic calendar since 1873, the baseball team in 1871 held a gymnastic benefit to raise funds for their organisation, and handicap games were open to all amateur competitors. The objective of these competitions was to ‘teach sportsmanship, fair play, self-reliance, and respect...through practice to develop a fondness for a sport’.¹⁴² After the athletic season had commenced, his two-year residency was completed and Robinson awaited news of his re-appointment for the new academic year. In October 1885, Robinson was paid a handsome salary of \$750, split between the Princeton undergrads and alumni alike, to secure his services, a price fitting of his status as ‘the most successful trainer in his speciality in the United States’.¹⁴³ Student clubs paid ‘according to their respective financial abilities’,¹⁴⁴ with the baseball team supplying \$97.90, the football club, \$180.00, and the athletic club paying the remaining sum.¹⁴⁵ Traditionally, as all university athletic teams had their own committees and finances, several different trainers would usually have been appointed to attend to each individual club needs. However, Robinson fulfilled this role across a wide range of Princeton’s sporting clubs variously between 1883 and 1906, having being appointed to prepare one or two teams per academic semester.

¹³⁹ Francis A. Walker, ‘College Athletics’, *The Harvard Graduates’ Magazine* 2 (1894): 14.

¹⁴⁰ *Harvard Crimson*, October 8, 1883.

¹⁴¹ *New York Times*, May 10, 1885, 14.

¹⁴² Princeton University Archives, AC #109/123/4 – Princeton Athletic Club Announcements; AC #109/ 123/5 – Rules of Selected Intramural Sports; AC #109/123/7 – Baseball, 1871; AC #109/123/11 – Handicap Games, 1878-1899.

¹⁴³ *Sporting Life*, October 28, 1885, 6; *Daily Princetonian*, June 23, 1886, 3; December 17, 1886, 2; *Harvard Crimson*, December 21, 1886.

¹⁴⁴ *Daily Princetonian*, October 7, 1885, 1.

¹⁴⁵ *Daily Princetonian*, December 11, 1885, 1; April 29, 1887, 1.

The role of trainer, where strict engagement was only required for approximately six weeks at a time, was flexible, and this enabled Robinson to pursue other sporting opportunities in the athletic “off season”. For example, in 1883 Robinson took additional employment at the Voorhees family stock farm and stables, the Voorhees being one of Princeton’s most influential families and members of the university academic and athletic alumni. Here, he returned to the work he had previously engaged in at the Saratoga stables, attending to the needs of the numerous animals in the Voorhees estate. Whilst employed at the farm, thirty-seven year old Robinson met seventeen year old Mary Rockerfellow Voorhees, daughter of William, the Voorhees’ family patriarch. In April 1884, the couple used the Voorhees’ connections to acquire, for the price of \$3115, a farm and an extensive plot of land within Mercer County where, once married, Robinson intended raising and breeding cattle and horses. However, the mortgage was defaulted due to a lack of payment and, after his marriage on August 28, 1884, Robinson and his new wife lived, instead, in university campus housing.¹⁴⁶ The family expanded with birth of sons, William (July 23, 1886) and James (June 1892), and daughters, Ruth (January 1889), Grace Martha (December 1891) and Olivia (August 1902).¹⁴⁷ His family became part of the Princeton experience when, in 1904, ‘Little Jim Robinson Jr.’ became mascot to the football team and led the team onto the field each match day, ‘hugging the ball tightly under his arm...a spectacular entrance, and took with the crowd at once’.¹⁴⁸ Both sons were educated at the university and competed on the athletic teams, and his daughter, Ruth, gained employment as a bookkeeper at the university’s administration building.¹⁴⁹

Robinson used his status to promote the track and field season by announcing his athletic entertainments for the Princeton Varsity, offering, ‘at his own expense’, to lay a track dedicated to exhibitions of running, vaulting and leaping similar to the travelling pedestrian fairs popular in mid-nineteenth-century England.¹⁵⁰ Robinson’s athletic connections meant the event was filled with American and English sporting celebrities, including Harry Fredericks, the mile champion, Carter, the English cross-country champion, Malcom W. Ford, the celebrated all-round athlete and champion, Frank Murray, the champion walker, Page, the champion jumper, Lawrence E. Myers, Walter George’s American rival, and Jack “The Gateshead Clipper” White, Oxford University trainer and sprinting veteran, with the exhibition being the most popular spectacle of the athletic calendar.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ *New Jersey Marriages* James Robinson and Mary R Voorhees, August 28, 1884 (M02513-4/495700); Historical Society of Princeton Archives, MS823/2 – Voorhees Family Papers.

¹⁴⁷ *New Jersey Births and Christenings 1660-1980* William Robinson, July 23, 1886 (494205/v23/p290); Ruth Robinson, January 20, 1889 (494214/v32/p307); Grace Martha Robinson, December 14, 1891 (494220/v38/p322); *New Jersey State Census*, 1905 (228/11/9/1699616).

¹⁴⁸ *New York Times*, November 13, 1904, 1.

¹⁴⁹ *Census Returns*, Robinson Family 1910 (T624_896/1B/0042/1374909).

¹⁵⁰ *Daily Princetonian*, February 15, 1886, 2; See Chapter 3 for specific examples.

¹⁵¹ *Daily Princetonian*, February 24, 1886, 4; March 1, 1886, 3.

Local facilities capitalised on Robinson's success by providing competitions that attracted the student population, with the management of 'the Rink', a small ice skating venue, hosting several go-as-you-please races, albeit not under Robinson's direction.¹⁵² Through extensive networking, Robinson acquired further celebrated athletes to showcase their skills for the Winter Games of the Athletic Association in February 1889, a now annual fixture of the Princeton calendar, with champion New York amateur gymnasts providing exhibitions in 'rope climbing, club swinging, and on the horizontal bar and flying rings' to the acclaim of the Princeton audience.¹⁵³ His careful attention in stimulating athletic interest saw more men attend training and the *Daily Princetonian* credited Robinson with the improvement of their track and field programme, which was now achieving new record times and distances, and hosting several athletic championships.¹⁵⁴ The Robinson-endorsed 'medal and cup' for the Princeton Hare and Hounds Club again provided an opportunity to scout further talent, and his judging at the annual 'cane spree' between the freshman and sophomore classes made him a familiar and approachable presence on the Princeton campus.¹⁵⁵ Robinson's name was used in a nationwide campaign to endorse Allcock's Porous Plasters 'for cuts, bruises, strains, rheumatism and colds',¹⁵⁶ and his new column in the *World* provided an additional platform to display his methods and discuss his views on athletics, contributing in his increasing status as a pioneering trainer.¹⁵⁷

Robinson's Training Style

In May 1888, with an increased salary and additional bonuses,¹⁵⁸ Robinson took on the additional responsibility of preparing the Princeton Preparatory School athletic competitions, where he began to identify suitable talent for the university teams for the following academic year,¹⁵⁹ and, in July 1888, he managed the Cape May Athletic Park, New Jersey, where he hosted amateur athletic competitions and attracted the 'most famous amateurs' to the course.¹⁶⁰ Robinson also began to advertise his services to the students for general conditioning, being present on the university grounds every day during the afternoon and early evening where he would work with any student who wished to compete in track, field and cycling events, later dedicating his afternoon sessions to

¹⁵² *Daily Princetonian*, March 19, 1886, 3.

¹⁵³ *Daily Princetonian*, February 15, 1889, 1.

¹⁵⁴ *Daily Princetonian*, March 20, 1889, 1; September 30, 1889, 1.

¹⁵⁵ *Daily Princetonian*, March 20, 1889, 1; April 24, 1889, 1; October 16, 1889, 1.

¹⁵⁶ *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 26, 1886, 4; *Huron Daily Huronite*, December 19, 1890, 4; *Logansport Journal*, July 22, 1893, 3.

¹⁵⁷ *Daily Princetonian*, November 3, 1886, 3.

¹⁵⁸ *Daily Princetonian*, June 6, 1888, 3; December 7, 1888, 3.

¹⁵⁹ *Daily Princetonian*, May 18, 1888.

¹⁶⁰ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 13, 1888, 1.

'give instruction to those expecting to enter the wrestling contests' in the gymnasium.¹⁶¹ Employed as a 'professor of physical culture', Robinson was working within the established physical training departments of the American colleges and universities where the physical and educational principles and benefits of health were taught. These departments were usually run by a physician who would monitor the health of the students through scientific testing and anthropometry, and students who did not meet the criteria of health would be assigned to medical gymnastic classes where 'professors' would re-train the body through diet and exercise.¹⁶² Whilst English universities provided sport and exercise activities, student participation was not compulsory. In contrast, American institutions felt a responsibility for developing the moral and physical health of their students, whose parents had paid for their children to receive a particular standard of living and expected the accommodation, food and drink to reflect their financial investment, and the more regimented activities and programmes of sport that developed within the colleges were designed to establish healthy bodies and healthy minds.¹⁶³

Sports, such as football, developed as a valued university pastime because of the increased investment in physical training, kinesiological study and scientific conditioning, which reflected both the student and faculty's attitudes towards establishing a healthy student population. The training of athletes for such competitions became more rigorous and disciplined, and the coaches and trainers were instrumental in establishing strategic and scientific techniques through which they could engage the students.¹⁶⁴ According to Edwards, a former Princeton footballer who competed under the guidance of Robinson, the trainer was fundamental to the success of the team, looking out for the player's wellbeing and providing sound technical advice and unbiased opinions of each player and the individual coaches.¹⁶⁵ On match day, Robinson would run onto the field with his numerous assistants carrying water buckets and sponges 'to freshen up a tired player' or dress a wound, water bottles and bags 'filled with arnica and plasters' for the match itself. Afterwards he would rub down the men, taking care of aches and pains through traditional massage techniques.¹⁶⁶ Robinson would provide blankets for the men and keep them 'muffled up' and moving between practices to avoid

¹⁶¹ *Daily Princetonian*, September 17, 1888, 1; January 28, 1889, 3.

¹⁶² See Roberta J. Park, 'Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth-Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative', in *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, eds. Jack W. Berryman and Roberta J. Park (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 137-182.

¹⁶³ Gerald R. Gems and Gertrud Pfister, *Understanding American Sports* (London: Routledge, 2009), 126, 128.

¹⁶⁴ Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 88-92.

¹⁶⁵ William H. Edwards, *Football Days* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1916), 306-307.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 245, 253-254, 461; *Daily True American*, October 27, 1902, 6; *Manufacturers and Farmers Journal*, November 16, 1903, 1.

them catching cold.¹⁶⁷ In preparing the team, he would provide practices every day, where two hours was spent conditioning and building team rapport, believing 'there can be no team work nor real football unless the men understand one another and each man knows the style of his neighbor's play'.¹⁶⁸ An active trainer, who in 1890 suffered from vertigo for running too much during his training sessions,¹⁶⁹ his regime included short strolls in the open air, an outdoor stretch,¹⁷⁰ and fast runs several times around the field to close the day's work.¹⁷¹ He advised players not to 'line up' or to be put into practice games before their competitions, instead ordering practices of their signals, punting and handling kicks.¹⁷² In 1887, when Robinson prepared the baseball team at the university gymnasium, dumbbells and pulley weights played 'the most prominent part', and vigorous indoor training was preferred to outdoor cage batting.¹⁷³ In the technical aspects of high jumping, Robinson recalled the best method for optimum height as being to 'run straight at the bar, stopping suddenly when within three feet of it and throw a complete somersault over the bar', although the *San Francisco Chronicle* quipped that an affidavit from Robinson would be required before the AAU could allow anyone to attempt this technique.¹⁷⁴ When appointed to Yale in 1900, the faculty was 'averse to having Robinson engaged, because of the freedom he allows the men while under his care',¹⁷⁵ but his unrestrained and intense conditioning style was successful.¹⁷⁶ Secret practices and progressive tactics meant that his teams would build shape gradually and there were always players ready for their varsity debut.¹⁷⁷ Robinson described his regime as:

My system of training is one not easily described. My first step is always to make myself acquainted with the constitutional peculiarities of the men under my care and, having done this, I vary my treatment to suit each individual.¹⁷⁸

Princeton's "boarding" was a unique and important component of the college experience. All men were members of different 'eating clubs', where food, drink and lodgings would be provided to between ten and one-hundred men within the clubhouse, with elections required to gain entry into these establishments, the most prestigious being the Ivy Hall Eating Club. Each club would be headed by one student who would be responsible for negotiating the best facilities and collecting the annual

¹⁶⁷ *New York Times*, November 16, 1899.

¹⁶⁸ *New York Times*, November 16, 1890.

¹⁶⁹ *Sporting Life*, November 22, 1890, 10.

¹⁷⁰ *New York Times*, November 18, 1899.

¹⁷¹ *New York Times*, November 8, 1900.

¹⁷² *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 21, 1899, 6.

¹⁷³ *New York Herald*, January 15, 1887, 9.

¹⁷⁴ *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 23, 1889, 5.

¹⁷⁵ *New York Times*, December 10, 1899.

¹⁷⁶ *New York Times*, October 30, 1900.

¹⁷⁷ *Washington Post*, September 18, 1904, 35.

¹⁷⁸ *Daily State Register*, December 24, 1889, 2.

subscriptions of its members to barter with the proprietor for the best 'grub'. This was a competitive environment and men regularly defected from their clubs if better facilities could be offered elsewhere.¹⁷⁹ Athletic teams would have their own eating clubs, and whilst 'in training' they would be provided, for a subsidised cost, the best food and drink at the club's 'training table' where the trainer would regulate the meals to provide specialised diets and optimum nutrition for each individual athlete. This was another aspect of the scientific preparation of each athlete and had been an established practice in a few of the elite colleges from the late-nineteenth century, becoming more widespread during the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁸⁰ The Princeton team had their regular training table at the Nassau Hotel, where about thirty students would eat their generously prepared meals of meat, bread, potatoes and vegetables whilst under Robinson's control.¹⁸¹ This was not always a civilised affair, with the scramble for food being a competition in itself; Robinson would assemble the team by shouting 'the flag is down' and the hungry crowds would then fight to sample the 'delicacies of the trainer's menu'. Once settled, the players would listen to Robinson reminisce on his own sporting success to encourage the players to strive for excellence. His stories were both inspirational and amusing according to his athletes, with players humouring Robinson through their salute, whereby they would bash their fists on the table in unison whilst singing, to get him to tell another of his famed tales. Although this became a joke amongst the team, there was an admiration for Robinson and his achievements, and the players were always appreciative of his efforts, with Edwards noting that Robinson was, in the estimation of the players, 'the pulse of the team'.¹⁸² The training table was an important component of Robinson's regime,¹⁸³ being not just a structure to control athletic diet but also a component of the training schedule whereby the team's practices were disseminated, athletic wisdom was engendered and a 'great school for team spirit' fostered.¹⁸⁴

The training sessions themselves also provided an element of community spirit, support and care to the athlete, and Robinson scheduled sessions every evening in order to address the different aspects of conditioning.¹⁸⁵ Robinson's techniques were so successful that the "professor's" style was praised by the students and players alike, accumulating in the Princeton football team finishing both the 1885 and 1889 seasons as champions.¹⁸⁶ Robinson was highly knowledgeable on many of the

¹⁷⁹ *New York Times*, May 10, 1885, 14.

¹⁸⁰ Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910*, 94.

¹⁸¹ *New York Times*, November 16, 1890, 20.

¹⁸² Edwards, *Football Days*, 36-39.

¹⁸³ *New York Times*, September 21, 1890, 21; *Boston Daily Globe*, September 23, 1903, 9.

¹⁸⁴ Edwards, *Football Days*, 36-37; Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910*, 95; Day, 'America's "Mysterious Training Tables"': 96.

¹⁸⁵ *New York Times*, November 16, 1890.

¹⁸⁶ *Daily Princetonian*, February 24, 1886, 1; February 28, 1900, 1; *Sporting Life*, January 5, 1887, 5; *New York Tribune*, December 3, 1889, 2; *New York Times*, April 14, 1890; Princeton University Archives, AC

technical aspects of sport and members of the undergraduate committee would regularly ask for his unbiased opinions about the team and the value of the ‘coachers’ who were selected by the athletic board. Regulations to improve the conditions and the safety of sport was one of Robinson’s priorities, ensuring the fitness of the team and keeping ‘an eye open for any man who is being handled too strenuously’.¹⁸⁷ Robinson would closely monitor his athletes, stopping players from training if injuries or tiredness in the legs was observed and, if he saw fit, he would refuse to sign permits for athletes to play on match days so as to avoid unnecessary strain on the body.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, in 1888, Robinson, having returned to England to spend the Christmas with his Mancunian family, witnessed the Christmas Eve rugby football match between England and Scotland where he took notes on the style and rules to report to the Intercollegiate Football Association.¹⁸⁹ Robinson was quick to present his findings, suggesting that the American game had much to learn from its English counterpart, providing new rules that would avoid the dangers of rib and leg injuries and generally improve the safety of the game.¹⁹⁰ Robinson’s rules were considered and the fifteen-man version of the game was introduced to the American colleges, albeit not particularly successfully. Nonetheless, this provided yet another dimension to Robinson’s narrative, being that of an influential authority in the development of collegiate sport, and this helped to consolidate his reputation as one of the most influential trainers in America.

Consolidating the Reputation

External organisations sought after Robinson’s athletic expertise and from 1888 to 1890 it was announced that he would take charge of the athletics and baseball at Cape May, New Jersey, each summer, with many of Princeton’s students featuring heavily in his teams.¹⁹¹ The *Philadelphia Enquirer* reported that the best amateurs in America attended these competitions, with the programme of sport and the management of the venue under the control of Robinson,¹⁹² and, due to Robinson’s increasing work with amateur clubs, the 1890 football season was his last in charge of the

#109/144/5 – Sports: Football 1889-1899; Richard M. Hurd, *A History of Yale Athletics 1840-1888* (New Haven, CT: R.M. Hurd, 1888), 79.

¹⁸⁷ Edwards, *Football Days*, 306-308.

¹⁸⁸ *New York Times*, October 4, 1901.

¹⁸⁹ *Daily Princetonian*, December 7, 1888, 3.

¹⁹⁰ *Daily Princetonian*, January 7, 1889, 3; *Sporting Life*, January 17, 1889, 8; *Boston Daily Globe*, January 21, 1889, 6.

¹⁹¹ *Daily Princetonian*, September 14, 1888, 3; June 3, 1889, 1; January 22, 1890, 3; April 23, 1890, 1; *Harvard Crimson*, January 25, 1890

¹⁹² *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 13, 1888, 1.

Princeton team.¹⁹³ Employed until Thanksgiving 1890, Robinson conditioned the team before being replaced in January 1891 by his British counterpart, John “Jack” McMasters, Scotsman and Brooklyn National League instructor.¹⁹⁴ McMasters’ narrative reads very similar to that of Robinson. Having migrated from Britain to New York in 1881, he was employed by the Williamsburgh Athletic Club, Brooklyn where he became well known within the sprinting circuits and he developed popular programmes of sporting entertainment for both amateur and professional runners.¹⁹⁵ He also had an interest in animal sports, specifically greyhound racing, and he bred, owned and trained greyhounds on the athletic club premises. His dogs were some of the fastest in America with his prize possession, Tommy, holding the 125-yard champion title.¹⁹⁶ McMasters, or “Scottie” as he was more affectionately known, was assigned as trainer to the Brooklyn Greys Baseball team and he trained champion lightweight boxers, including ‘champion of the world’ Jimmy Nelson, showing the diverse nature of his training expertise.¹⁹⁷ When appointed as trainer to Princeton in 1890, McMasters was regarded as an expert in training, and his hard work and disciplined ways were well respected by the student and faculty observers.¹⁹⁸ Although highly recommended by Robinson, the rivalry between the two Brits was apparent, as Bill Reid, Harvard’s football coach, recalls ‘the great jealousy between McMasters and Robinson, and the latter’s absolute unwillingness to place himself at a disadvantage to McMaster’. Other trainers would avoid the subject of McMasters in Robinson’s presence,¹⁹⁹ and as McMasters’ records started to eclipse those of Robinson, as detailed in Table 8, this further fuelled their competition. McMaster was an advocate for safety, he developed and pioneered new sporting equipment, such as the football tackling machine, and his care and attention to the athletes meant he ‘never asked a man to work for him any harder that he would work himself’.²⁰⁰

¹⁹³ Frank Presbrey and James H. Moffatt, *Athletics at Princeton – a History* (New York: Frank Presbury Co., 1901), 331, 337, 417-418, 442.

¹⁹⁴ *Daily Princetonian*, September 26, 1890, 1; October 17, 1890, 1; *New York Times*, October 14, 1890.

¹⁹⁵ *Brooklyn Eagle*, September 5, 1881, 3.

¹⁹⁶ *New York Sun*, September 23, 1885, 1.

¹⁹⁷ *New York Sun*, December 13, 1887, 5; *Evening World*, February 23, 1888, 2; March 3, 1890.

¹⁹⁸ *New York Tribune*, May 17, 1891, 20.

¹⁹⁹ Ronald A. Smith, ed., *Big-Time Football at Harvard, 1905: the Diary of Coach Bill Reid* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 49-50.

²⁰⁰ *Daily Princetonian*, March 26, 1896; November 13, 1902, 3; Edwards, *Football Days*, 308.

Table 8. Princeton Athletic Records 1882-1892²⁰¹

	1882	1890	1892
	George Goldie	James Robinson	Jack McMasters
100 yard dash	10.75s	10s	10s
220 yard dash	24.50s	22.25s	22s
Quarter mile run	56.25s	51s	51s
Half mile run	2m 11.75s	1m 59.40s	1m 59.40s
Mile run	4m 59.25s	4m 45s	4m 41.80s
120 yard hurdles	20.20s	18s	17.50s
Mile walk	7m 54s	7m 17.50s	6m 54.50s
Two mile bicycle	7m 15.25s	6m 54s	5m 32s
Running high jump	5ft 4in	5ft 10.25in	5ft 10.25in
Running broad jump	18ft 4in	21ft 4in	21ft 4in
Pole vault	9ft	10ft 6in	10ft 6in
Putting the shot	33ft 4in	37ft 5in	39ft 5in
Throwing the hammer	69ft 8in	90ft 1in	99ft 10.50in

Robinson's resignation, and subsequent replacement, was 'universally regretted' at Princeton and was not due to the performance of the teams.²⁰² The MAC, an organisation with which Robinson was already familiar, having prepared the team for the American championships in October 1890,²⁰³ offered him the position of head trainer and director to advise amateur members and oversee the development of the MAC's athletic future at their newly constructed clubhouse in New York City.²⁰⁴ The club, established in 1877, became one of the leading amateur organisations in America alongside the NYAC, attracting some of the most famed athletes such as Thomas F. Conneff, holder of the amateur mile record of 4:15½ from 1895 to 1911, and "Lon" Myers, amateur-turned-professional sprinter and middle-distance runner, and secretary of the MAC.²⁰⁵ With nearly \$500,000 invested in its facilities on forty-fifth street and Madison, the club house and grounds included a quarter mile cinder track, baseball field, fourteen lawn tennis courts, 10,000 square foot gymnasium, 'skirted by a

²⁰¹ *Daily Princetonian*, April 23, 1890, 1; November 10, 1892, 1.

²⁰² *New York Times*, May 4, 1890, 11.

²⁰³ *New York Times*, September 21, 1890; *Sporting Life*, September 27, 1890, 12.

²⁰⁴ George A. White, 'The Manhattan Athletic Club: America's Place in Athletic History', *Outing* 16, no. 3 (1890): 165; 'History of the Manhattan Athletic Club', *Outing* 16, no. 4 (1890): 311.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 307-311; *St Louis Post*, September 22, 1890, 10; New York Public Library Archives, Programmes of the Manhattan Athletic Club 1884-1885.

running track fourteen laps to the mile' and containing the latest equipment and technology. There were fencing and boxing rooms, eight regulation bowling alleys, a billiard room containing twelve billiard and pool tables, Turkish and swimming baths, as well as a theatre-concert hall, a roof garden, numerous smoking, dressing and dining rooms, and luxurious accommodation for its patrons and esteemed guests.²⁰⁶ Offering a salary 'three times as large' as that of Princeton, the job was one he could not refuse, making him, at that point, the highest paid trainer in athletic history.²⁰⁷ His 'systematic' style of training and 'skillful' preparation in conditioning athletes was admired, with Robinson's 'valuable' skills acknowledged by the MAC in their valuation of his services.²⁰⁸ Robinson's first task as MAC trainer was to organise a team 'composed of the best American athletes' to compete in the English Championships in Manchester and, accompanied by Captain Cornell, previously Robinson's athlete at Princeton, he sailed for England in June 1891 with his handpicked squad fully funded by the profits from the MAC indoor games.²⁰⁹ An accomplished all-round trainer, his expertise was used to train champion sprinters Luther Carey and Walter C. Dohm, both Princeton alumni,²¹⁰ and Alfred B. George, brother of professional runner Walter G. George, 'mile champion of America' and later manager to the British Olympic team.²¹¹ He regularly visited England to scout for new talent and offer them incentives to join the MAC, encouraging prominent working-class northern athletes Fred Bacon and George Bradley, who were struggling to maintain their amateur status under the British system, to default to America in 1893.²¹² Additionally, Robinson was requested by the backers of bare-knuckle pugilist, John L. Sullivan, to help prepare him for his championship fight in 1892, having taken on this role in the 1880s and being one of only a handful of men able to control the boxer.²¹³ He also trained English boxers Tommy Callaghan and Joe Fielden, and American Jack Burke, in New Orleans during the MAC's winter closure.²¹⁴ Robinson's ties to Princeton remained close when, in 1891, he campaigned for his MAC facilities to host the Princeton-Yale Thanksgiving football game, where he prepared the field, touted tickets and provided an

²⁰⁶ Ibid; Manhattan Athletic Club, *Manhattan Athletic Club – Constitution, By Laws, etc.* (New York, NY: Manhattan Athletic Club, 1891); *New York Tribune*, May 15, 1892, 14.

²⁰⁷ *Daily Princetonian*, February 28, 1900, 1.

²⁰⁸ *New York Tribune*, June 27, 1890, 7.

²⁰⁹ *Harvard Crimson*, February 26, 1891; *New Mexican*, December 7, 1892, 4.

²¹⁰ *New York Times*, April 14, 1890; *National Police Gazette*, October 10, 1891, 11; *Boston Daily Globe*, September 30, 1892, 2.

²¹¹ *Boston Daily Globe*, December 16, 1892, 15; *Manchester Evening News*, March 30, 1893, 3; Hadgraft, *Beer and Brine: The Making of Walter George, Athletics' First Superstar*, 94.

²¹² *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 23, 1893, 1; *St Louis Post*, January 29, 1893, 23.

²¹³ *Boston Daily Globe*, August 3, 1892, 12; *New York Times*, August 5, 1892, 2; *Trenton Times*, October 24, 1905, 9.

²¹⁴ *St Louis Post*, January 28, 1892, 8; *Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1892, 4; *Detroit Free Press*, January 28, 1892, 2; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 6, 1893, 3; January 30, 1893, 12.

‘elegant speech, diving exhaustively into football history’ for his previous employer.²¹⁵ The press continued to interview him about the Princeton team’s results and his comments were published, along with his criticisms and personal views of their training, within their sporting pages.²¹⁶ His position at the MAC ended in 1893 when, in a bid to economise owing to the growing level of debt, his services were deemed ‘more expensive than necessary’,²¹⁷ and the organisation, unable to sustain membership, was dissolved later that year.²¹⁸ The Princeton students were keen to re-engage the valued trainer but as news of Judge Henry Hilton’s illness and imminent death circulated, Robinson returned to Saratoga Springs to help the Hilton family run their 500-acre pleasure ground, Woodlawn Park.²¹⁹

Taking the position of superintendent to Woodlawn Park Kennels and Stock Farm, situated on Saratoga Lake, as well as assuming the director role at the Saratoga Athletic Club, Robinson became responsible for the numerous animals, events and athletic entertainments within the resort.²²⁰ Relocating his family to 231 Nelson Avenue,²²¹ and later 160 Spring Street,²²² Robinson was perfectly located between Woodlawn Park and Saratoga Lake, undertaking his role as groom and breeder of horses, cattle, sheep, poultry and thoroughbred dogs whilst liaising with Colonel Albert B. Hilton, son of Henry Hilton, in promoting summer sports at the newly constructed Woodlawn Park Oval.²²³ Opened on July 4, 1893, Woodlawn Oval provided the Saratoga Athletic Club with superior facilities financed by Judge Hilton himself, including:

²¹⁵ *New York Tribune*, October 13, 1891, 7; November 17, 1891, 3; *New York World*, November 26, 1891, 6.

²¹⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 20, 1892, 7.

²¹⁷ *Detroit Free Press*, February 3, 1893, 8.

²¹⁸ *New York Times*, January 29, 1893; January 17, 1895; *Daily Princetonian*, February 28, 1900, 1.

²¹⁹ Charles Newhall Taintor, *Saratoga Illustrated: the Visitors Guide to Saratoga Springs* (New York: Taintor Bros., Merrill & Co., 1884), 86.

²²⁰ *New York Times*, July 29, 1894; The Saratogian Company, *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake* (Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian Co., 1895), 274; The Saratogian, *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake* (Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1896), 314.

²²¹ The Saratogian, *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake* (Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1897), 269; *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake* (Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1898), 273.

²²² *Census Returns*, James Robinson 1900 (1159/12B/133/1241159); The Saratogian, *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake* (Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1900), 311.

²²³ *New York Times*, June 11, 1893.

A 15-foot half mile trotting track, a 15-foot quarter mile cinder path, a straight-away 220 yards cinder path, a baseball diamond, tennis courts, croquet grounds, circles for throwing the hammer, cinder-shoots for jumping, football fields, and all perfectly equipped with all the appliances necessary to the fullest exercise in all these sports.²²⁴

The clubhouse contained a parlour and library, sitting rooms, toilets, showering facilities and plunge pools, with separate wings for its male and female residents.²²⁵ Situated next to Hilton's Woodlawn Park, the clientele of the facilities was in keeping with that of the traditional Saratoga visitor - white, upper-middle class. Immediately it attracted the attention of amateur organisations, with the National Lawn Tennis Association and the Pony Racing Association both holding their annual tournaments at the grounds and the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen competed for the 'Woodlawn Park Cup' at the Saratoga regatta from 1893.²²⁶ The Metropolitan Kennel Club also hosted dog shows in Woodlawn's gardens where the prize-winning Woodlawn Kennel canines, under Robinson's strict care, were displayed, including British bulldog King Orry, the Yale University mascot, English setter Roby's Girl, and British collies, Hatfield Don and Ormskirk Suzy.²²⁷ Robinson became starter, judge and timekeeper to the multiple events being held at the arena,²²⁸ as well as facilitator of rowing and promoter of horseracing and open-air horse shows,²²⁹ and his innovative techniques displayed a similarity to the approaches taken by the mid-nineteenth century professional English sporting entrepreneurs.²³⁰ Robinson's attention to detail was applauded with his energy in planning, according the *New York Times*, 'more than any previous local committee to make the races a success'.²³¹ His status was again elevated when the Metropolitan Association and University Athletic Association (UAA) chose Saratoga to host their championship meetings, inviting Robinson to join the UAA committee to oversee all future plans regarding the event.²³²

Although secure in his position at Woodlawn Oval, Robinson's services were still sought after by various athletics organisations. In November 1893, Hilton loaned Robinson to the UAA for ten days so that he could prepare the MAC field for the Harvard-Yale Thanksgiving football game with his usual

²²⁴ *The News*, July 3, 1893, 1.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ *New York Times*, May 23, 1893; August 5, 1894, 12; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 22, 1894, 11; *Boston Daily Globe*, September 7, 1894, 5.

²²⁷ *New York Times*, February 21, 1895; February 23, 1895, 6; February 21, 1896, 6; September 23, 1896, 8.

²²⁸ *The News*, July 3, 1893, 1; *New York Times*, September 10, 1893, 3.

²²⁹ *New York Times*, August 5, 1894, 3; July 13, 1895; July 21, 1895; June 20, 1897; *New York Tribune*, August 8, 1897, A2.

²³⁰ *New York Times*, July 13, 1895, 3.

²³¹ *New York Times*, July 29, 1894.

²³² *New York Times*, July 13, 1894.

level of expertise whilst generating further interest and profit through his promotional abilities.²³³ In September 1896, he was hired by Michigan University to train the Varsity football eleven at Ann Arbor, establishing himself at the heart of the student activities with 'great popularity', and, under his care, the team lost only one game and narrowly missed out on the championship title.²³⁴ Robinson was then engaged to take charge of the University of Michigan athletic games, scheduled for contest in spring 1897, before returning to his Saratoga position for the start of the summer season.²³⁵ Robinson continued his work in Saratoga until Hilton's death on August 24, 1899,²³⁶ when the Woodlawn estate went into administration, being eventually sold to a syndicate of wealthy New York residents in 1904.²³⁷

The now 52-year-old Robinson sought further work in the locale and was quickly appointed trainer to Yale University at their New Haven, Connecticut, facility. Yale, after an unsuccessful season across many sports, redesigned their athletic system by consolidating the athletic programme and the new athletic director, Walter Camp, with members of a special committee, decided how to restructure their sporting activities.²³⁸ Football was given priority and Robinson's appointment was a direct result of Camp's advocacy of the sport, in the expectation that Robinson would improve the team so it would not be 'manifestly inferior...as she [Yale] was last season'.²³⁹ Imposing a new regime of walking, punting, handling and tactical work, even in snowy conditions, Robinson's authority kept even the Yale "coachers" in check.²⁴⁰ Although an unsuccessful footballing year, the athletic and basketball competitions saw Yale rise to the top, and the undergraduate population were keen to retain Robinson for the 1900 football season.²⁴¹ Nonetheless, as football was the main priority of the college, the decision was made to re-appoint Mike Murphy, previously Yale's successful trainer, with secret contract meetings taking place between the university and trainer, causing tension between the undergraduates and faculty.²⁴² In exchange, Robinson was rumoured to be going to be employed

²³³ *New York Times*, November 24, 1893, 3.

²³⁴ *Boston Daily Globe*, September 24, 1896, 7; *Detroit Free Press*, September 30, 1896, 8; October 4, 1896, 7; November 1, 1896, 7; November 25, 1896, 6; December 16, 1896, 6; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 25, 1896, 8; *Daily Princetonian*, December 18, 1896, 3; January 23, 1897, 3; University of Michigan, *Michiganensian* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1987), 182, 185.

²³⁵ *New York Tribune*, December 1, 1896, 4; *New York Times*, June 20, 1897, 10.

²³⁶ *New York Times*, August 25, 1889.

²³⁷ *New York Times*, August 21, 1904, 10.

²³⁸ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 24, 1899, 8.

²³⁹ Walter Camp, 'A Forecast of the Football Season', *Outing* 35, no. 2 (1899): 177-178.

²⁴⁰ *New York Times*, November 16, 1899; November 18, 1899; November 21, 1899; *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 21, 1899, 6.

²⁴¹ Mark F. Bernstein, *Football: the Ivy League Origins of an American Obsession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 278; *San Francisco Call*, May 6, 1900, 24.

²⁴² *Boston Daily Globe*, November 28, 1899, 2; *New York Times*, December 10, 1899; *Daily Princetonian*, January 15, 1900, 3-4.

at the University of Pennsylvania from where Murphy had resigned.²⁴³ However, with the resignation of Walter Christie, Princeton's track and field specialist and Olympic trainer,²⁴⁴ the Princeton athletic advisory committee were keen to re-engage Robinson,²⁴⁵ who took the position of 'Professor of Physical Culture' and moved back to the campus in August 1900.²⁴⁶ The Yale committee, positive about Robinson's personable character,²⁴⁷ encouraged Robinson to continue his role as trainer to the basketball team over the Christmas period 1900-1901, with Princeton without a squad so, therefore, unaffected by this appointment.²⁴⁸ Nonetheless, following his return in January 1901, Princeton's track team offered Robinson the position of general trainer for 'all branches of athletic sport' with immediate effect as a means of keeping him at the institution.²⁴⁹ A statement from the university stated that Robinson had 'signed a contract to train the football and baseball teams and to act as steward of the Osborn Club House for a period of three years', whilst a decision regarding track management would be discussed at a later date.²⁵⁰ A cross-country team was selected by Robinson to represent the university in intercollegiate competition and a four-man relay team was also picked to run against seasoned amateur club athletes at the Boston Athletic Club and Knickerbocker Club meetings.²⁵¹ By the end of the 1900-1901 athletic season, Princeton, under Robinson's control, had excelled in the majority of sporting competitions.²⁵²

As this chronicle of Robinson's appointments shows, the growth in professional training was widespread and most universities were now openly employing professional men to improve the athletic prospects of the schools, practices which moved away from the amateur ethos and blurred the lines between amateur institutions and colleges.²⁵³ In order to maintain some control, the university athletic committee appointed "coachers" to their teams, comprising of a team of graduate alumni, the team captain and additional varsity members of the club, who were now given the authority to develop university sport as they saw fit. With these structural changes in place, the 1901 football season saw Robinson sidelined as the "coachers" took charge, and Robinson's increasing lack of authority on match days created a tense atmosphere, with Wilbur J. Keeler, the Princeton assistant football trainer, stating:

²⁴³ *Brooklyn Eagle*, December 6, 1899, 15.

²⁴⁴ Presbrey and Moffatt, *Athletics at Princeton – a History*, 443, 447, 453.

²⁴⁵ *New York Times*, February 27, 1900; *Daily Princetonian*, February 28, 1900, 1.

²⁴⁶ The Saratogian, *Directory of Saratoga Springs* (1900), 311; *New Jersey State Census*, 1905 (228/11/9/1699616); Presbrey and Moffatt, *Athletics at Princeton – a History*, 456.

²⁴⁷ *New York Times*, December 10, 1899.

²⁴⁸ *Daily Princetonian*, January 10, 1901, 2.

²⁴⁹ *Trenton Evening Times*, January 12, 1901, 3; *Daily Princetonian*, January 21, 1901, 1; February 12, 1901, 1.

²⁵⁰ *Daily Princetonian*, November 14, 1900, 1.

²⁵¹ *New York Tribune*, January 24, 1901, 5; *New York Times*, February 16, 1901, 8; November 23, 1901, 7.

²⁵² Presbrey and Moffatt, *Athletics at Princeton – a History*, 459.

²⁵³ *New York Tribune*, March 10, 1902, 9.

The coachers took charge...they changed the entire style of play...ordered Trainer Robinson and myself to sit on the sidelines and not to go out on the field. They sent out a young doctor who had never been on a field before. The Princeton players were not given a drop of water during the game. When they grew so faint that they could hardly stand they were given whisky...Jim Robinson wanted to stop this handing out of the whiskey, but he was overruled. I have had charge of the cripples on the Princeton squad all fall and I knew every black and blue spot...yet the charge of the injured men...was put in the hands of coachers and of a doctor who never saw the players before.²⁵⁴

Robinson, in response, explained that he would have 'nothing to do with coaching', leaving this to the newly appointed "coachers", under Captain Pell's instruction, but his preparations for the football and baseball teams began immediately with food inspections and general conditioning.²⁵⁵ Although frustrated by the new system, Robinson continued in his role by developing one of the 'finest' track teams the college had ever seen whilst also undertaking the preparation of the new athletic, hockey and basketball programmes, and reviving the standard of rowing at the university.²⁵⁶ In 1903, he was rewarded with a new twelve-month contract where his managerial skills were utilised to full effect as the Princeton athletic faculty was extended.²⁵⁷ With track and field athletics Robinson's priority, Arthur "Doc" Hillebrand, professional baseball pitcher, celebrated Princeton athletic alumni and valued coach, was engaged to support Robinson with both the football eleven and baseball nine. Their partnership was highly successful, contributing to the numerous championship titles achieved by the Princeton athletic clubs.²⁵⁸ In 1904, Robinson and Hillebrand were both offered a three-year contract by members of the Princeton athletic advisory committee, who believed their partnership to be important. Both accepted and an aging Robinson was now able to reduce his training schedule as Hillebrand took on further responsibilities as part of his new coaching position.²⁵⁹ Robinson's 'eagle eye' was always open and he ensured the grounds were always in pristine condition, with the football building renovated and re-painted prior to the new athletic season.²⁶⁰ After an extended break in England, Robinson returned to track and field where he started the new training table and began the preparation of over sixty men for the spring competitions.²⁶¹ Several of his Princeton athletes were selected for the 1904 St Louis Olympic

²⁵⁴ *Meridian Daily Journal*, November 22, 1901, 4.

²⁵⁵ *New York Times*, August 5, 1901, 6.

²⁵⁶ *New York Times*, January 11, 1903, 17; *Washington Post*, February 23, 1903, 8; March 8, 1903, 24.

²⁵⁷ *New York Times*, March 5, 1903, 6.

²⁵⁸ *Washington Post*, February 21, 1904, 8; April 3, 1904, 2; August 28, 1904, S3.

²⁵⁹ *Washington Post*, February 21, 1904, 8.

²⁶⁰ *Syracuse Post Standard*, September 13, 1904, 3.

²⁶¹ *New York Tribune*, January 18, 1904, 9; April 3, 1905, 4; December 23, 1905, 8.

Games,²⁶² and Robinson developed an athletic summer school where his services were made available to prospective students in 1905.²⁶³ According to the *Detroit Free Press*, the number of professional trainers who could truly aid young athletes was limited, and Robinson was praised alongside Keene Fitzpatrick, Amos Alonzo Stagg, Ernie Hjertberg and Mike Murphy as being part of the small 'honor list' of trainers in the American college athletic system.²⁶⁴

By 1905, Robinson, suffering from exhaustion and sunstroke was in poor health, and, having being ordered to rest, he went to Old Point Comfort, Virginia, to recuperate whilst the Princeton football team started the season without their regular trainer.²⁶⁵ After reports surfaced about the Princeton eleven's poor conditioning and that they were struggling without proper guidance, Robinson returned unexpectedly to get them in condition for their game against Cornell on November 11, 1905.²⁶⁶ The student body, appreciative of his efforts, provided a benefit for Robinson with over 1,000 students marching onto the football field to celebrate their long-serving trainer.²⁶⁷ Having suffered an acute heart attack and unable to continue in active practice, Robinson was given an advisory position for the university's upcoming sporting season, with the NYAC trainer, Alexander Copeland, assisting in the day-to-day activities of the athletic team and W.B. Cosgrave employed to attend to the baseball squad.²⁶⁸ Although Robinson was poised to retain his training title in the winter, on March 19, 1906, aged six-five, he died at his Princeton home. Only then was the full extent of Robinson's illness reported, his body having been partially paralysed after suffering a stroke in 1905 and, after a second stroke, he was unable to leave his bed, an aneurysm being entered as the official cause of death.²⁶⁹ His death was reported across a number of newspapers and lengthy obituaries recorded his major achievements and personal life story.²⁷⁰ His funeral on March 22, 1906, was well-attended with (ex)students, family members and noted athletic professionals travelling to the Trinity Church, Princeton, to pay their respects. Floral offerings were purchased by the students and faculty members, and the pallbearers consisted of new and old Princeton athletes, many making the trip from out of town to send off 'Dear Old Jim'. Despite his contentious relationship with Mike Murphy, the Pennsylvanian trainer attended and offered 'interesting and touching experiences of

²⁶² *St Louis Dispatch*, June 24, 1904, 15

²⁶³ *Trenton Evening Times*, July 21, 1905, 3.

²⁶⁴ *Detroit Free Press*, November 19, 1905, 19.

²⁶⁵ *New York Times*, October 18, 1905, 12; *Washington Post*, October 19, 1905, 6; October 31, 1905, 26.

²⁶⁶ *Washington Post*, October 25, 1905, 9; *Boston Daily Globe*, October 31, 1905, 7; November 1, 1905, 5; *Trenton Times*, November 20, 1905, 19.

²⁶⁷ *Trenton Times*, November 17, 1905, 15; *Boston Daily Globe*, November 18, 1905, 5.

²⁶⁸ *Trenton Times*, January 11, 1906; January 24, 1906, 11; *Sun*, January 12, 1906, 8; *New York Times*, January 25, 1906, 7.

²⁶⁹ *Washington Post*, March 20, 1906, 8; *New York Tribune*, March 20, 1906, 10.

²⁷⁰ *San Francisco Call*, March 20, 1906, 4; *Syracuse Herald*, March 20, 1906, 12; *New York Times*, March 20, 1906; *Sun*, March 20, 1906, 8; *Princeton Packet*, March 24, 1906; *Kansas City Star*, March 20, 1906, 3.

Jim's career'.²⁷¹ Robinson's character was praised, his athletes reminisced on the fatherly advice and friendship he had bestowed on them and his students discussed the entertaining speeches he used to prepare for the Princeton athletic celebrations.²⁷² His 'bluff personality' was credited as giving him the popularity and loyalty needed to survive in the uncertain world of sport,²⁷³ and the *Boston Daily Globe* reported that Princeton would find it difficult to replace a man whose experience and morals had made his appointment such a good fit within the university athletic department.²⁷⁴ In September 1906, Valentine Flood, former trainer to the University Athletic Club, Crescent Athletic Club of New York and Australian football league coach, was appointed as Robinson's replacement,²⁷⁵ before veteran trainer, Keene Fitzpatrick, developed a new legacy of athletic training from 1910.²⁷⁶

Robinson's Sporting Legacy

The temperament of the trainer was important in instilling team cohesion and ambition, and reports of Robinson's personality were always positive. Known for his jovial nature, with 'pride and pleasure apparent in every line of his face',²⁷⁷ Robinson provided the perfect balance of fun and comfort that encouraged his athletes to perform. Reports continue that 'Robinson was well liked...a hearty, whole souled man and always willing to do favours for his friends...popular because he deserved to be'.²⁷⁸ His Lancashire dialect was part of his attraction, being the talking point around many training tables where footballers would openly mock his abuse of his 'h's', getting him to spell words for their pleasure.²⁷⁹ The trainer was more than just the man who cared for the athletic welfare of the pupil. His drive and determination instilled important values that individuals could transfer into their personal and working life, such as discipline, teamwork and problem solving, and the trainer had a lasting influence on the athlete both morally and physically. As Edwards notes of trainers, 'their personalities count for much on campus', always entertaining and interested in their athletes lives, problems and achievements, even post-college, and, most importantly, the trainer was a friend, adviser and loyal servant to the numerous students that crossed their paths.²⁸⁰ Reid, however, paints a different picture, that of a jealous man who would react under pressure. His need for success saw

²⁷¹ *New York Daily Tribune*, March 23, 1906, 10; *Trenton Evening Times*, March 23, 1906, 11; *New York Times*, March 23, 1906; Edwards, *Football Days*, 310.

²⁷² *Boston Daily Globe*, March 20, 1906, 9; *Trenton Times*, March 20, 1906.

²⁷³ *Baltimore Sun*, March 20, 1906, 8.

²⁷⁴ *Boston Daily Globe*, March 20, 1906, 9.

²⁷⁵ *Baltimore Sun*, May 25, 1906, 8; *Trenton Times*, September 28, 1906, 11.

²⁷⁶ Mark F. Bernstein, *Princeton Football: Images of Sport* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2009), 45.

²⁷⁷ *New York Times*, October 31, 1889, 2; November 17, 1889, 5.

²⁷⁸ *Baltimore Sun*, April 2, 1906, 5.

²⁷⁹ Edwards, *Football Days*, 311.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 306-307.

him break the rules on several occasions, which would have harmed the athletic integrity of his employers should it be discovered,²⁸¹ although the practice of offering incentives to recruit the finest athletes was a widespread secret practice amongst the university sporting trainers. Edwards sums up his character in the following anecdote as one of true fighting spirit but humorous to his core:

Princeton men cannot help feeling that Moffat should have been allowed a goal against Yale in his Post-graduate year of '84, which was called before the full halves had been played and decided a draw. Princeton claimed it but the Referee said he didn't see it, which caused Moffat to exclaim something. An amusing story is told in connection with this decision. Quite a number of years after Jim Robinson who was trainer of the Princeton team in '84, went down to the dock to see his brother off for Europe. Looking up he beheld on the deck above, the man who had refereed the '84 game, and whom he had not seen since, "Smith," he said, "I have a brother on this boat, but I hope she sinks".²⁸²

Always willing to transfer his knowledge, Robinson also trained men in the coaching craft, with his athletes observing his traits, mannerisms and skills, and reproducing them in their own athletic practices. Leggett, Hillebrand and DeWitt were employed as athletic trainers at other institutions and professional clubs, whilst Walter C. Dohm wrote about athletic training and college sport for the *New York Herald*, and they all credited Robinson for their entry into the sporting world.²⁸³ In 1905, it was suggested that schools for athletic trainers were required, where men could be coached in the art of training, as well as the health and medical aspects, the psychological principles, and the scientific skills of the trade, being able to gain invaluable experience from the 'baker's dozen of really fine trainers', including Robinson, that had made the teaching of sport their life's work. Whilst interest in athletics was peaking, the number of professional trainers who were able to adequately support these men had diminished, and there was concern that the activities would fall into disuse if untrained individuals were to assume these important roles, being a direct contrast to the strict amateur standing of American twentieth-century amateur advocates such as Caspar Whitney and John Sullivan. The commercial imperative of college sport made coaching and training an attractive occupation and although there was an outward acceptance of amateurism within the college system, the employment of professionals and other professional attitudes were always present, albeit

²⁸¹ Smith, ed., *Big-Time Football at Harvard, 1905: the Diary of Coach Bill Reid*, 50, 72-73.

²⁸² Edwards, *Football Days*, 187.

²⁸³ *Baltimore Sun*, January 26, 1906, 8; *Trenton Evening Times*, February 5, 1906, 11; Presbrey and Moffatt, *Athletics at Princeton – a History*, 595-596.

hidden, within the American athletic system.²⁸⁴ These schools were considered as a way of legitimising the occupation, the thought process being that as training was provided for many other professions, so it should be available in sport.²⁸⁵

The history of training and coaching in America was similar to that in Britain, with the amateur-professional debate at the heart of the educational and athletic club structure. But, whilst the American practices (the employment of professionals, the win-at-all-cost mentality, and the commercialisation of these activities) were perceived as inappropriate by their British counterparts, the use of professionals in amateur athletics was also practiced in England, and the scouting and providing of incentives for athletes to move from club-to-club was a consistent part of the British sport, just well hidden under the amateur exterior. In 1901, reports stated that America should be more like England in regards to professional training, with American sports needing to 'raise the standards to which the wise and honest can repair'.²⁸⁶ Clubs in England did employ professionals in these positions, with the likes of Jack White, "The Gateshead Clipper" employed by Oxford University, and Robinson's Scottish protégé, John Graham, taking training positions in America before accompanying Olympic teams.²⁸⁷ Warfield noted in 1908 that 'the taint of professionalism continues to be the greatest evil',²⁸⁸ although the Americans were reluctant to adopt a strict amateur policy because, in a reflection on the British performance, 'the efforts of the English novices were ludicrous' and were not to be admired,²⁸⁹ creating uncertainty for the direction for the sport. Clearly, America had adopted many elements of professionalism and had become highly successful as a result, which led to some critics arguing that this approach should be integrated into the British system if they wished to compete at the highest level. However, although there was recognition that this would help British athletes to be successful, this was to be done within the constraints of amateur legislation, contributing further to the amateur-professional debate that continued to fuel athletics until the mid-twentieth century.²⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the role of the professional trainer never completely disappeared from British sport as the master-servant relationship made it acceptable for some trainers to be engaged in these activities without breaking the amateur rules, although these never received the same prominence or acknowledgement as their American colleagues. Robinson's

²⁸⁴ Stephen W. Pope, 'Amateurism and the American Sports Culture: the Invention of an Athletic Tradition in the United States, 1870-1900', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996): 307.

²⁸⁵ *Washington Post*, October 22, 1905, SP4.

²⁸⁶ *Harvard Crimson*, October 1, 1901.

²⁸⁷ *Boston Evening Transcript*, July 20, 1906, 12; Warren Roe, *Jack White "The Gateshead Clipper" 1837-1910: a Life of Athletics* (Hornchurch, Warren Roe, 2007).

²⁸⁸ Ethelbert D. Warfield, *The Place of Athletics in College Life* (Easton, PA: Eschenbach, 1908), 2.

²⁸⁹ Presbrey and Moffatt, *Athletics at Princeton – a History*, 461.

²⁹⁰ See Tegan L. Carpenter, 'Uneasy Bedfellows: Amateurism and Coaching Traditions in Twentieth Century British Sport' (PhD diss., Manchester Metropolitan University, 2012).

biography is one which has been lost in American sporting literature, partially due to his British heritage in an increasingly nationalistic society, and partially due to his untimely death as many sporting biographies of 'great American trainers' surrounded those who post-dated World War I. In presenting Robinson's story and uncovering the complex interconnections and dimensions to his sporting career, this chapter identifies the need for further de-construction of sporting biography, as well as identification of those lost individuals who shaped the sporting landscape of the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods, so that a more comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of the changing nature of British and American sport can be realised.

Conclusion

Athletics and Pedestrianism: An Overview

The dichotomy between the American and British systems of athletics continued to cause friction much into the twentieth century and, although there were many American observers who wished for athletics to follow the British principles, once international competitions began to develop the emphasis on winning became much more significant as both countries were looking to display their superiority within the sport. From 1887, there was an increased interest in athletics in both countries with the number of affiliated clubs and members steadily increasing each year, although, during the late nineteenth-century, the London AC only had around 900 members compared to the NYAC's 2700 and the MAC's 3000 members respectively.¹ The *Spectator* noted that athletics in America was valued more than in Britain where there was a danger of too little engagement in competition outside of the universities, therefore British competition was always going to be much further behind its transatlantic counterparts.² International competitions between the two countries confirmed America's dominance; when the first international track meeting was scheduled in 1895 between the London AC and the NYAC, the Americans won all eleven events.³ The introduction of the Olympic Games in 1896 provided the necessary platform to elevate athletics' status, with the track and field competitions becoming the showpiece of the sporting competition. Again, these were dominated by the United States, who had achieved a total of nine gold, six silver and two bronze medals, compared to Britain's one silver and one bronze, with the athletes and their approach to the Games praised whilst the British technique was criticised in the American press, and the American's superiority caused further concern for British sporting organisations.⁴ The British system of amateurism was not effective in America where a more professional approach to sport was in use. Payments for athletes through grants and other sporting expenses were accepted practices and the AAU regulations permitted the employment of professional coaches to oversee the athletic development of club teams and, later, the Olympic team, from 1888.⁵

Prior to this competition, there was already conflict reported between the two countries, causing the American colleges and clubs to conclude that, although there were some internal disagreements,

¹ Joe Willis and Richard Wettan, 'Social Stratification in the New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915', *Journal of Sport History* 3, no. 1 (1976): 54; Jeremy Crump, 'Athletics', in *Sport in Britain: a Social History*, ed. Tony Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 45; *Harper's Weekly*, September 24, 1887, 694.

² *Spectator*, July 18, 1896, 76.

³ James L. Collier, *The Rise of Selfishness in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 100.

⁴ Mark Dyreson, 'America's Athletic Missionaries: Political Performance, Olympic Spectacle and the Quest for an American National Culture, 1896-1912', *Olympika: the International Journal of Olympic Studies* 1 (1992): 75-76.

⁵ *Harper's Weekly*, December 22, 1894, 1225-1226.

their system 'had not reached so corrupt a state as exists in England' in the practice of athletics.⁶ Further comments continued to fuel this rivalry by suggesting that the British organisation were not as pure as they made themselves out to be by practicing in 'dishonest amateurism', unlike the Americans who were, at the least, transparent in their approach.⁷ The "pure" British amateur values were criticised, even in England, where the AAA was struggling to maintain its control over the practices of their athletes. The AAA was still appealing for athletes to tell officials about any illegal activities and wagering continued to penetrate amateur competitions.⁸ Training, and the employment of professionals within this role, came under scrutiny, with some commentators arguing that 'to make a profession of any sport in degrading', and the employment of such men in the schools and universities was tainting the athletic system.⁹ In contrast, the colleges and universities in America were happy to use the expertise of the professional coach to improve the student's health and physique, and to develop the intercollegiate competition that was now an important aspect of university life. However, as the Americans continued to be more successful than the British athletes, the AAA began to stretch their amateur principles when preparing for international competition. The British 'own sweet will' approach to diet and training was slowly being replaced by the American systematic approach, whereby a trainer would develop and refine talent from a young age, and continue to engage new techniques to further increase the efficiency of their athletes.¹⁰ Amateur commentators were now arguing that the British athletes were not good enough and they needed assistance if they wished to progress and to be successful in challenging the Americans.¹¹ The appointment of trainers to accompany the Olympic team in 1912 demonstrated the growing acceptance of professionals within Britain, but, whereas the American trainer was treated as an equal in the 'coach-centred' system, the British officials reinforced a master-apprenticeship relationship, which continued to limit the trainer's control within the sporting environment.¹² It was not until the Post-World War II era that investment in coaching was given sufficient attention when the AAA, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, launched a national scheme for the training of coaches in athletics from 1946, which enabled the coaching profession to produce over 2,000 qualified individuals.¹³

⁶ *Harper's Weekly*, January 4, 1896, 21.

⁷ *Harper's Weekly*, July 18, 1896, 717.

⁸ *Athletic News*, February 4, 1901, 3; August 7, 1905, 5.

⁹ *Athletic News*, January 21, 4.

¹⁰ *Spectator*, August 3, 1912, 167; Dave Day, 'America's "Mysterious Training Tables": British Reactions and Amateur Hypocrisy', *Sport in History* 34, no. 1 (2014): 18-19.

¹¹ *Athletic News*, July 6, 1908.

¹² See Dave Day, 'Massaging the Amateur Ethos: Professional Coaches at Stockholm in 1912', *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 157-182.

¹³ Crump, 'Athletics', 45.

The sporting business was much more ingrained within the American culture, with a system of commercialisation and profiteering quickly, but smoothly, integrated, which provided a unique evolution of sport that moved beyond the British ideology and style.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the American system still adhered to some aspects of amateurism, albeit packaged and presented in a different format, with the interpretation of amateur status being much broader within the American philosophy as opposed to the strict transatlantic regulation. Individuals, such as Robinson, were therefore competing under the same amateur ruling and, although this professional approach and style was heavily criticised, it remained a feature of amateur sport as the lack of international organisation meant that each country could shape sport to engender their own customs and methods.¹⁵ The opportunities available, specifically the policies surrounding the acceptance of professional trainers, made America a popular destination for individuals who wished to develop a career in sport. Many migrated from Britain in a bid to secure employment, and several trainers successfully transitioned into American society where their skills were utilised in education, the professional leagues and the amateur club structures that emerged during the late-nineteenth century. The appointment of British trainers, who were unable to find secure employment at home, within the various American university faculties and athletic clubs reinforced the differences between the two systems, with the American business-like model a direct contrast to the British laissez-faire approach to sport, which was rooted in class ideology and the “sport for sports sake” attitude rather than the “winning-at-all-costs” mentality across the Atlantic.¹⁶ Robinson’s integration within American athletics was due to his “expert” status, a quality highly valued by the organisations and institutions that were eager to improve national athletic competition, with his previous successes as both an athlete and instructor contributing towards his overall athletic profile as an accomplished, knowledgeable and prized individual within the sporting landscape.

According to Smith, American athletics in the twentieth century applied characteristics that were reminiscent of the nineteenth-century professional pedestrians, whose beliefs were much more about the importance of gaining an advantage rather than fair play.¹⁷ The origins of these professional practices were mostly developed from the British approach to sport, which, during the

¹⁴ Collier, *The Rise of Selfishness in America*, 100.

¹⁵ Roberta J. Park, ‘Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 2, no. 1 (1985): 12; Guy Schultz, ‘Winning Pierre de Coubertin Over: Sigfrid Edström and the Establishment of the International Amateur Athletic Federation’ (paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History annual conference, Penn State University, Pennsylvania, 1999), 63.

¹⁶ D. A. Sargent, ‘History of the Administration of Inter-Collegiate Athletics in the United States’, *American Physical Education Review* 15 (1910): 252; Norman Baker, ‘Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society’, *Sport in History* 24, no. 1 (2004): 1-2.

¹⁷ Ronald A. Smith, ‘History of Amateurism in Men’s Intercollegiate Athletics: the Continuance of a 19th-Century Anachronism in America’, *Quest* 45, no. 4 (1993): 430; Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 242.

early- to mid-nineteenth century, was embodied by the working-class communities that emerged within the industrial cities. The professional pedestrian entertainments were commercialised enterprises, which attracted spectators and athletes due to the gambling and wagering format of competition.¹⁸ As the amount of money readily available for contestants increased, the significance of training was emphasised, the “scientific” principles of diet and exercise were more widely explored, and pedestrian activities amplified in number, range and visibility throughout the United Kingdom. Although reminiscent of eighteenth-century regimes, the approach to training had improved and advanced as new knowledge, technology, and an increased mass of practitioners emerged as the sport gained substantial attention in nineteenth-century culture. Ideas about the periodization of training regimes, the specific techniques for each athletic discipline and event, and attitudes towards psychology and physiology within the sporting context began to be integrated within the training programme,¹⁹ and this was later applied by the travelling professionals who demonstrated their training prowess abroad, where some then settled and trained other athletes.²⁰ The employment of a trainer was a standard practice within the pedestrian trade and many individuals made a successful living in the training of professional athletes, usually combining this role with that of athletic promoter and/or professional athlete, whereby they drew upon their own experiences of pedestrianism to legitimise their practices and construct a reputation within the lucrative sporting environment.²¹

The showmanship of these competitions became a major part of their appeal, with ‘champion’ belts and trophies being developed to draw on the patronage of pedestrian supporters, as well as gaining the attention of the most accomplished runners, jumpers and throwers, who would travel around

¹⁸ Emma Lile, ‘Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century’, *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 2 (2000): 95-99.

¹⁹ Charles Westhall, *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, & Boxing. Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing, and Advice to Trainers* (London: S.O. Beeton, 1863), 27, 36; Ed James, *Practice Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, Wrestling, Boxing, Jumping, and All Kinds of Athletic Feats; Together with Tables of Proportional Measurements for Height and Weight of Men in and Out of Conditions; Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing and Advice to Trainers; Also, Banting’s System of Reducing Corpulency, and Record of Fast Athletic Performances* (New York, NY: Ed James, 1877), 23-24, 27-34; Dave Day, “‘Science’, ‘Wind’ and ‘Bottom’: Eighteenth-Century Boxing Manuals”, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 10 (2012): 1446-1465.

²⁰ Such as James “Choppy” Warburton who settled in both America and France where his training techniques caused much controversy within the press (Duncan R. Jamieson, review of *The Little Black Bottle: Choppy Warburton, the Questions of Doping, and the Deaths of his Bicycle Riders* by Gerry Moore, *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 1 (2013): 183-185).

²¹ Eric Halladay, *Rowing in England: a Social History: the Amateur Debate* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 13-14; James A. Mangan, *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), 75; Dave Day, ‘Kinship and Community in Victorian London: The “Beckwith Frogs”’, *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 213-215.

Britain to demonstrate their superiority within the sport and lay claim to these championship titles.²² The sporting entrepreneurs became gatekeepers to these activities and developed their own programmes of professional competition that were designed to attract large audiences and provide financial reward for their businesses and additional sporting endeavours. These promoters were usually ex-professional athletes who transitioned into the more managerial position of “sporting entrepreneur”, acquiring a public house and/or sporting arena where their establishments became venues for competitive endorsement, patronage and exchange of sporting knowledge, which proved an attractive and successful strategy.²³ Cash prizes were also provided by these proprietors, being aware that handsome trophies and champion titles alone would not attract the best professional athletes, which ensured substantial attendance and competition entry for these specialist events. The provision of prize money, and the athlete’s receipt of additional monies through the sale of their ‘colours’ and side-betting, were accepted practices within this sporting system, with the individual promoters extending their control so as to also maintain and encourage these subsidiary activities.²⁴ Within the large sporting arenas, established in the rural outskirts in many of Britain’s industrial cities,²⁵ the sporting entrepreneur regulated and codified pedestrian activities, with the individual being at the centre of the sport’s development during the nineteenth century. The introduction of ‘articles of agreement’, written contracts whereby the rules, conditions and payments for each athlete were clearly identified, was attributed to these sporting entrepreneurs, with competitions only promoted once both parties had agreed, and signed, the terms of the event. Additionally, these individuals would also act as stakeholders for match fees, as well as performing several officiating duties on race days, including timekeeper, measurer, starter and handicapper.²⁶ The individual and their networks controlled all aspects of pedestrianism where they provided their own official rules

²² Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 130-131, 191.

²³ Ibid; Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: a Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 156-157; Peter Swain, ‘Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire’, *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 382-404; Dion Georgiou and Benjamin Litherland, ‘Introduction: Sport’s Relationship with Other Leisure Industries – Sites of Interactions’, *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 189-190.

²⁴ Warren Roe, *Front Runners: The First Athletic Track Champions* (Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 2002); Dave Day and Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘Delineating Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England’, *Sport in History* 34 (2015, forthcoming).

²⁵ Alan Metcalfe, ‘Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889’, *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 4 (1982): 489-490.

²⁶ Peter Lovesey, *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association* (Enfield: Guinness, 1979), 15; William J. Baker, ‘The State of British Sport History’, *Journal of Sport History* 10, no. 1 (1983): 59; Peter F. Radford and A.J. Ward-Smith, ‘British Running Performances in the Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Sports Sciences* 21, no. 5 (2003): 429-430; Geoffrey T. Vincent, ‘“Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman” Pedestrianism in Canterbury 1860-1885’, *Sporting Traditions* 18, no. 1 (2001): 47; Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain*, 133; Wray Vamplew, ‘Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 7 (2007): 845.

and regulations that enabled national, and international, competitions to be developed, agreed and contested prior to the late-nineteenth century formalised NGBs that were designed to govern these “unorganised” sports.²⁷ Without the support of individuals, such as the sporting entrepreneur, within this environment, the sport of pedestrianism would have struggled to survive within the changing sporting landscape of nineteenth-century Britain, and the athletic competitions and opportunities that followed them would have been much more limited.²⁸ Athletics adopted many of these professional activities within their “new” sporting regulations, although the AAC (1866) presented them as their own middle-class inventions and traditions, and their control of the sport eventually eclipsed that of their professional counterparts.

During the 1860s, pedestrianism was in decline, and the ‘triple role of promoters, layers, and backers...could only have one conclusion, namely, the loss of confidence from the public and the ultimate collapse of the whole series of promotions’.²⁹ Professional activities that continued to survive did so by differentiating themselves from the corrupt pedestrian entertainments, with specific neighbourhoods developing hubs for particular disciplines and events where local sporting promoters could protect these activities within the confines of the city. By becoming the “centre” for an individual event, the sporting entrepreneurs were able to create a niche for pedestrian entertainment and, therefore, extend their control and governance of the sport in the declining athletic market.³⁰ Pedestrianism survived for much longer in the North, where the cities of Manchester and Sheffield became home to the specific pedestrian disciplines of mile racing and sprinting, with the Manchester miler competitions popularised during the 1860s and continually promoted until the 1880s, and the Sheffield sprinting handicaps active until 1899.³¹ It was no surprise that the major pedestrian contests were held in the northern regions where amateurism had lesser control, with the Powderhall sprints still a feature of professional running in Edinburgh today.³² The regionalisation of sport during the late-nineteenth century was apparent and there was a clear divide between how sport was played in the northern regions, comprising mainly of working-class athletes

²⁷ Harold Perkins, ‘Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (1989): 145-155.

²⁸ Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester’, *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 223-248.

²⁹ Charles L. Neil, *Walking: a Practical Guide to Pedestrianism for Athletes and Others* (London: C Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1903), 19; David A. Jamieson, *Powderhall and Pedestrianism: the History of a Famous Sports Enclosure (1870-1943)* (London: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1943), 104.

³⁰ Dennis Brailsford, *British Sport: a Social History* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1997).

³¹ Samantha-Jayne Oldfield, ‘The Manchester Milers 1850-1870’, in *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014), 78-110; Glenn Piper, ‘Preparing for Success in the Sheffield Handicaps 1845-1899’, in *Pedestrianism*, ed. Dave Day (Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014), 133-148.

³² Jamieson, *Powderhall and Pedestrianism*.

who had held on to their traditional pastimes and activities, compared to those in the South. The tensions between the North and South helped to maintain the customary professional practices as the working-class northern competitors resisted the southern middle-class ideology in a number of sports, leading to separate versions and rules for several sports, which were governed by local committees and breakaway organisations.³³ The Rugby Football Union split in 1895 enabled the Northern Union to develop its own adaptation of the sport in which professionalism maintained prominence, and several northern committees advocated professional customs within their constitutions.³⁴ The southern counties struggled to maintain control, and, for many sports, the development of national organisation and regulation would not have been possible without the northern region's input and acceptance of these policies, as it was in these counties that the majority of athletes competed. As demonstrated by the AAA's formation, the North and Midland-based clubs were given far more power by the southern regions, which were forced to relax their strong amateur code in exchange for national organisation.³⁵ Essentially, the further north sport travelled, the lesser the hold of, and the stronger the resistance toward, amateurism.

Manchester's Athletic Development

The professional influence, although gradually eliminated in athletics, moved into other sports, such as association football, which became dominated by the North, and, more specifically, the Lancashire-based teams who were the driving force behind the formation of the Football League in 1888.³⁶ In Manchester, sport retained significance within the working-class communities where commercialisation was an imperative, and the local sporting entrepreneurs continued to develop these entertainments within, and alongside, the public houses and the purpose-built stadia that played host to a variety of sporting competitions. The success of these endeavours relied on several factors; the sporting networks, or communities of practice, in which these individuals operated, the acquisition and transfer of sporting knowledge and skills through the individual's connections and experiences, and the individual's innovative practices, which contributed toward the city's sporting

³³ *Sporting Gazette*, October 3, 1874, 925; *The Times*, May 17, 1880, 10; Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 188; Neil Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 95; Bob Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul: Bill Roberts and Manchester's Sporting Heritage* (Manchester: Parr's Wood, 2002), 46.

³⁴ James Walvin, *The People's Game: a Social History of British Football* (London: Penguin, 1975), 78-79; Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 120, 124; Dave Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England' (PhD diss., De Montfort University, 2008), 149-150.

³⁵ Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, 95; Phillips, *The Iron in his Soul*, 46.

³⁶ Matthew Taylor and John Coyle, 'The Election of Clubs to the Football League 1888-1939', *The Sports Historian* 19, no. 2 (1999): 1.

image. Community was at the core of Manchester's sporting development, and, within pedestrianism, the significance of the individual in the establishment and expansion of athletic entertainment provided the foundations for sport's cultural integration within the city.

Communities of Pedestrianism

The significance of sporting networks within the Manchester study is apparent throughout the text. The Holden family, which formed a strand of Manchester's pedestrian 'community of practice', relied heavily on the interconnections between the core members of this kinship group and its extended "family", whereby individuals with shared ideologies, goals and concerns were able to establish themselves within the pedestrian network. The hierarchical system meant power was gained, and lost, with the balance shifting between the members based on each individual's acquired knowledge, group interactions and their overall contribution to the resources and knowledge imparted within the community of practice, which, therefore, enabled the sport to adapt and expand under the control of the Holden dynasty.³⁷ Whilst some of these practices would be available to organisations and individuals outside of the 'web of interdependences', the majority of the knowledge would be protected, with the rules and practices of the Holden family limited to those who had received acceptance within their closed network.³⁸ As demonstrated by the Oldham Road sporting venues and their miling competitions, the impact of the Holden network was visible in the major pedestrian events within the city centre, with George Martin and Thomas Hayes being powerful figures within the Holden community. The success of these events again relied on the individual proprietors accessing the most up-to-date knowledge and practices from within and outside their network, which proved significant in the construction of the pedestrian identity within the city and enabled the Manchester entrepreneurs to establish control. The Royal Oak Mile, and the previous/subsequent championships, endorsed by members of the Holden network, were competed in by those who were, initially, periphery actors within this pedestrian community, and this enabled a new sub-community to form within Holden's organisation. The milers themselves formed their own community, and their practices, backgrounds and beliefs mirrored each other, which encouraged the further development of mile racing, and pedestrianism, both locally and internationally. Those who lived in close proximity to, or competed at, the Oldham Road venues, formed part of a wider network of sporting associates that continued to contribute to the Holden community's knowledge and they

³⁷ Etienne Wenger, 'Communities of Practice and Social Learning Systems', *Organization* 7, no. 2 (2000): 226-227.

³⁸ Stephen Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects on Search of Historians', *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 1 (1986): 15.

used these connections to advance themselves within the sporting environment. Robinson, although part of an amateur sporting model, was influenced by the Oldham Road community, living within the locale of both the Royal Oak and the Copenhagen Grounds as a young man and developing an understanding of athletics through his engagement in competition at these sporting arenas. Here, he built his sporting network around these new athletic entertainments, although also being privy to the professional practices that were ingrained within the Holden and Oldham Road communities, and drawing upon them both to establish his position in the American athletic and pedestrian world. By recognising the motives of all of these individuals, a greater understanding of the public perception of sport is achieved, helping to map the development and decline of pedestrianism within the city.

Acquisition and Transfer of Knowledge and Skill

Through the acquisition and transfer of knowledge and skills, these communities were able to advance their position within the embryonic sporting landscape, with new practices and customs introduced and old traditions marginalised once they were no longer in vogue. This knowledge would be presented to the group, accepted or rejected by the cohort, and capital either gained or lost, which, again, changed the power-dynamics of the sporting network.³⁹ The Holden family accrued knowledge through their organisation of pedestrianism, whereby the newest techniques in the preparation of the course, knowledge of the popular commercial activities and disciplines, and the latest technology and principles used in officiating and training, were acquired and distributed to other members of the group through word-of-mouth and personal experience. This knowledge transfer would take place between the various members of the Holden network where common ideas and interests could be agreed and amended, and the community strengthened through the identification of a collective goal.⁴⁰ The Manchester mile competitions drew on the latest knowledge concerning pedestrianism that surrounded the popularity of novel distances and the movement away from handicap and head-to-head competition to group challenges. Additional sources were the more general “chatter” surrounding the regionalisation of sporting practices, where personal experience and acquired knowledge in the promotion of sport were adapted to gain significant patronage for these ‘championship’ events. Additionally, as attitudes towards the more detailed aspects of pedestrian competition, such as the introduction of “scientific” coaching techniques, also

³⁹ Carrie Paechter, ‘Masculinities and Femininities as Communities of Practice’, *Women’s Studies International Forum* 26, no. 1 (2003): 75; John Bale, ‘Amateurism, Capital and Roger Bannister’, *Sport in History* 26, no. 3 (2006): 484-501.

⁴⁰ Etienne Wenger, ‘Communities of Practice: a Brief Introduction’ (paper presented at the STEP Leadership Workshop, University of Oregon, October 20, 2011), 1-3.

filtered down, the professional trainers adapted their strategy and approach, and their successful practices were exchanged within the numerous cliques that formed around specific trainers, athletes and entrepreneurs in the mid- to late-nineteenth century athletic environment. For example, the pedestrian 'stable' that surrounded Billy Fish in the 1860s would have drawn upon Fish's experiences as a trainer, as well as the emerging techniques within the activity, which were then passed on to his athletes, including Lang, Richards Mower and Mills, four of the leading nineteenth-century mile runners, who adopted and adapted these to suit their own practices and values. Similarly, Robinson's training experience would have drawn upon his athletic and educational schooling that very much followed the British professional practices still prevalent at the end of the nineteenth century. He continued to shape and craft these techniques before his style was refined, accepted and implemented within the various organisations with which he was affiliated.

Innovative Practices

As knowledge of pedestrianism continued to develop, each individual started to adapt new methods and techniques within the sport that helped to transform how the sport was viewed, competed and discussed in the public sphere. The nineteenth-century travelling displays, whereby athletes would compete on portable tracks within the circus-style facilities, as developed by both Martin and Robinson, were innovative practices that enabled sporting entrepreneurs to capitalise on the increased interest in athletic competition whilst also providing rural communities with access to the sport. The athletes were treated as commodities within this environment where the programme of activities that they provided were designed to display an athletic "show" rather than being a further extension of the regular pedestrian events that were featured in the industrial sporting venues. Elaborate and scripted entertainments were interspersed with other novelties, such as gymnastic displays and live musical entertainment, which were used as a tool to gain patronage. Martin's 'Deerfoot circus' challenged the perception of pedestrianism and, although a financial disaster, these entertainments continued to be emulated in the agricultural hall "wobbles" and the six-day go-as-you-please contests that became popular in both British and American culture. Robinson himself demonstrated similar innovation when, in 1886, he designed his own portable running track where exhibitions in walking, running, vaulting and leaping were promoted around America, with Robinson's sporting connections attracting several high-profile and internationally celebrated athletes who joined the tour and helped these exhibitions to develop into popular athletic fixtures. The individual's adaptation to the changing sporting climate enabled the sporting entrepreneur to transfer his knowledge into other sporting pastimes, with sports such as wrestling, shooting and

pugilism also being under the control of the athletic promoter. Many of the Manchester milers naturally assumed the multiple roles of sporting entrepreneur, official, trainer and performer, where they engaged in the promotion and regulation of other working-class pastimes in a similar fashion to members of the Holden network. Pugilism seemed to be a popular crossover activity, with Holden, Martin, Mills and Robinson all investing their efforts in the training and/or promotion of boxing entertainment. Furthermore, in a bid to expand their sporting control, many of Manchester's pedestrian visionaries travelled abroad where they competed in, trained athletes in, promoted and endorsed professional and amateur sporting competitions, with Martin, Lang, Richards and Mower making several journeys to America in the search for new competition and sporting opportunities. Robinson migrated to the United States where the sporting and coaching profession was viewed more pragmatically. Each group demonstrated its own innovative practices, which, in turn, influenced and contributed towards Manchester's sporting heritage during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴¹

Biographical Methods: Exploring a Sporting Past

The traditional narratives in sport history tend towards empirical and fact-based paradigms whereby primary material is collected and interpreted to construct an "accurate" representation of a sport, period or individual.⁴² Although the modern sport historian has moved beyond just detailing facts and now integrates their narratives within the broader socio-cultural, economic and political context,⁴³ the empirical approach continues to be criticised by postmodern researchers, who argue that these texts are fictional and have little academic value.⁴⁴ The quest for "truth" is at the heart of the empirical-postmodern discourse, with some empirical observers insisting that a "real truth" can be found, whereas postmodern commentators see history as fictional works, being just another story concocted by the historian.⁴⁵ A 'narrative truth' attempts to find a balance between the two

⁴¹ Dave Russell, 'Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present: an Introduction', *Manchester Regional History Review* 20 (2009): 1-24.

⁴² Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow, *The Nature of History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004); Douglas Booth, 'Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 9, no. 4 (2005): 429-483.

⁴³ Jeffrey Hill, *Sport in History: an Introduction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁴⁴ Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006).

⁴⁵ Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (London: Routledge, 2005), 83.

approaches, with historical data utilised to construct a fact-based narrative that is open to a degree of interpretation.⁴⁶

The traditional biographical method generally sits within this epistemological framework, with a “narrative truth” the intended outcome of many biographical studies. This method relies on the use of historical sources to construct detailed and accurate narratives that provide an understanding of the individual within a specific environment, and this is a common method of inquiry in the study of sport. Biography describes the ‘turning-point moments’ of the individual through the construction of a story, which presents a holistic interpretation of the life course.⁴⁷ The method transmits the character and personality of the subject to the reader, with anecdotal accounts and interesting stories an important component of the final narrative.⁴⁸ By interrogating and entwining these biographical dossiers with societal and cultural issues, these narratives can start to contextualise their actors within the broader sporting context, although these narratives cannot be generalised to the population and remain unique and discrete accounts.⁴⁹ However, by combining several of these biographies into a collective biography, a ‘cultural interpretation’ of a specific society can be created, which expands historical understanding and reveals the themes and connections between the individual actors that help to form a more coherent impression of the individual within a given context.⁵⁰ This collective method provides academic rigour to the sport history discipline and requires a much more analytical and interrogative approach to narrative construction, with the final text offering a ‘reality’ of society, rather than a one-dimensional story.⁵¹ Both methods require answers to the same questions, the what, why, where, when and how, with a significant level of detail and data-rich biographical dossiers essential to draw out the collective themes. In contrast, the prosopographical method, whereby biographical characteristics are investigated through a more rigorous and meticulous process, does not need complete biographical narratives and can still be effective with omission in detail.⁵² The prosopographical method, which prefers to use limited data so that individuality is removed, attempts to investigate the features of a group, deemed to have something in common, by asking a set of uniform questions, with the common traits and values

⁴⁶ Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

⁴⁷ Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (London: Sage, 1989), 7.

⁴⁸ Sidney Lee, *Principles of Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 8-9.

⁴⁹ Jonathan Haslam, ‘Biography and its Importance to History’, *Past and Future* 11 (2012): 10-11.

⁵⁰ Jo Burr Margadant, ed., *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France* (London: University of California Press, 2000), 3-25.

⁵¹ Michael E. Salla, ‘There is No Nonviolent Future’, *Social Alternatives* 15, no. 3 (1996): 41.

⁵² Lawrence Stone, ‘Prosopography’, *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 46; Anne L. Poulsen, ‘Female Physical Education Teachers in Copenhagen, 1900-1940: a Collective Biography’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 21, no. 1 (2004): 21; Krista Cowman, ‘Collective Biography’, in *Research Methods for History*, eds. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 83-84.

explored and analysed to contextualise the historical processes in a specific situ.⁵³ Although a biographical method, prosopography moves away from understanding the individual, using their biographical details in order to explain broader cultural and social phenomena, and ideological and cultural change.⁵⁴ How to apply each method is very different with the researcher making this decision by assessing the data available and considering the questions that they wish to answer. This is not a linear process so, therefore, the application and use of each method is discrete.

In exploring the Manchester pedestrian scene, this study has focused on the individual and their impact within this specific sporting environment, and by utilising all three methods, biography, collective biography and prosopography, a more complete picture surrounding the changing nature of sport has been established. Whilst several reoccurring themes have emerged from the within the text, each method has also uncovered its own unique aspects of Manchester's sporting past. The Holden collective biography drew upon the community experiences in the regulation and organisation of pedestrianism, specifically the importance of kinship networks within this environment. Through the identification of several key individual biographies, the Holden family 'community of practice' was uncovered and the operation of this insular network acknowledged. Members of the group had a collective identity and purpose, and shared specific traits and experiences that they reaffirmed and passed on to other actors who had gained entry into their exclusive "club". As knowledge increased and pedestrian practices changed, the group were able to adjust by drawing upon the different areas of expertise within the network, their perceived reputations as respectable and trustworthy figures, and the extended connections that surrounded each individual member, capitalising on their position within this carefully constructed community to ensure their dominance in the continued development of pedestrianism within in the city.

Whilst crossover is identified between some of the members of the Holden family and the Manchester milers discussed in chapter four, this section moved away from detailed biographical narratives, instead taking a prosopographical approach whereby the characteristics of the mid-nineteenth century athlete were explored and contextualised. This systematic method assessed the motives and experiences of a group of ten individuals, who were chosen due to their involvement in the Manchester mile competitions, to examine personal and career-related characteristics to help to profile what the nineteenth-century professional athlete looked like, what opportunities were available, and how the changing nature of the sporting landscape impacted on future activities. The

⁵³ Stone, 'Prosopography': 46; Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Progress or Perversion? Current Issues in Prosopography: an Introduction* (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2003).

⁵⁴ Francesca Tinti, 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England: Facts and Factoids', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, ed. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007): 197-209.

specific characteristics of the professional athlete were compared to normative values and the already established knowledge surrounding nineteenth-century sportsmen. The data collected provided a very clear image of the lifecycle of the pedestrian from a career perspective, with the stereotypical athlete following a very specific path within the sport. The mid-nineteenth century pedestrian came from the skilled working classes, normally artisans who had entered the sporting world during their late-teens where they performed in athletic competitions whilst continuing to follow their craft. Peak performances were usually achieved in the mid-twenties, with the standard athlete active for around fifteen years. Many pedestrians then continued to be involved in the sport, exchanging their craft occupations for that of public house entrepreneur where they would endorse sport and become trainers to their own group of athletes. The professional runner of this period was very much an average skilled working-class man in height, weight and character, which reinforced the literature surrounding the demographics of the city of Manchester and the professional pedestrian community. Further aspects, such as family design and their living arrangements, drew comparisons to the travelling artisans, and their record of sporting achievements demonstrates that many professionals had become specialists in one or two athletic competitions, rather than remaining all-rounders like the university amateur men, which highlights a difference in approach between the two athletic systems.

The traditional biographical method, as utilised in chapter five, provided a far more descriptive approach, with the individual narrative of James Robinson presented as an exemplar of how transatlantic migration provided sporting opportunities for many British athletes and trainers. As the professional sporting environment altered in the late-nineteenth century, Robinson, a Manchester native, was no longer able to work within the British system of athletics and moved to America where he became a pioneer in the college athletic system. The biography highlighted the transfer of practices, such as the entrepreneurial and commercial nature of sport, as well as further details regarding the training techniques and regimes that were employed, in showing how British professional influences were still practiced and valued abroad. The specifics of the American college system and Robinson's integration within this structure further demonstrated how the professional pedestrian attitude was still accepted overseas, where the British definition of amateurism was much more relaxed, which enabled a generation of coaches to develop a career in sport outside of Britain.

All three biographical methods have their own strengths and weaknesses, so researchers should be aware of their needs and requirements before taking one specific approach. The prosopographical study may explain how this group's marital status and family size compared to the population average but it cannot uncover further descriptive details, such as knowledge about the quality of the

marriage, as the data does not provide any further biographical insight beyond the limited qualitative text. By removing all aspects of the individual from within this method, the biographical data collected could distort the reality as omissions in knowledge may cause an incomplete and inaccurate impression of the group to be constructed. Similarly, whilst the individual biography may be rich in detail, the findings are unique to that individual and, therefore, cannot be generalised to the whole population. Robinson's biography is an example of one man's life in sport, which cannot be taken for granted or assumed as the norm.⁵⁵ Although there may be some shared characteristics identified if a group of British trainers were examined in more detail, the researcher must also be aware that some of the individual achievements or actions may be unique and unrepeatable, and, therefore, unrepresentative of the training profession. The biographical method is open to falsification as the researcher may omit text that does not fit with the overall impression that they are trying to portray. By idolising and reaffirming myths a hagiographical narrative could be produced that lacks evidence and trustworthiness, painting an incomplete image of the individual within the sporting context.⁵⁶

The collective biographical method provides an understanding of the key members of the Holden network, their position within that environment and the interconnections that provided each actor access into this specific community, but these findings cannot be applied across a range of sports. Additionally, using incomplete biographical dossiers in the construction of collective biography leads to a lack of integrity, causing the themes that were drawn throughout the narratives to be misinterpreted and inconclusive.⁵⁷ Over-generalisation is a weakness of all three methods, and the researcher needs to be careful in ensuring representative samples are selected when using the collective methods of approach.⁵⁸ The theoretical similarities between the prosopographical and collective biographical approaches mean that researchers may interchange between the two styles and incorrectly apply each method. Whilst both methods look at groups of individuals, the prosopographical method is not interested in the uniqueness of each subject, concerned only with the facts and the use of biographical data for its quantitative analysis. In contrast, collective biography still wishes to house the individual at the centre of the narrative, although drawing conclusions on the connections between the individuals and how that may explain the wider

⁵⁵ Ken Plummer, *Documents of Life: an Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), 14; Phinney, 'Identity Formation Across Cultures: the Interactions of Personal, Societal, and Historical Change', 30.

⁵⁶ Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator* 25 (1994): 95-96.

⁵⁷ Cowman, 'Collective Biography', 97.

⁵⁸ 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. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 211-229.

historical process.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, if each method can be used correctly, the knowledge that is accrued is valuable and unique, which adds to our overall understanding of the development of sport from a local, regional, national and international perspective.

Future Research

As sport history continues to address the more localised patterns of sport, the significance of the individual within this environment requires further examination. The Victorian entrepreneurs were organising and regulating sport prior to NGB control, yet there is little recognition of their achievements, activities and impact on the sporting landscape.⁶⁰ Sport was driven forward by these individuals and their commercial enterprises and practices, especially within the industrial city where many entrepreneurs had relocated. This study clearly identifies the significance of the individual and the communities that formed through the uncovering of the 'hidden lives' of Manchester's pedestrian pioneers. Through the development of a range of biographical techniques, a different perspective of sport can be acquired whereby these individual are not just addressed in separate narratives but their stories are combined to further explore the threads and connectedness of these sporting entrepreneurs within a local setting. Whilst the Manchester sample has drawn together several themes from this study, the story may be very different elsewhere in the country, and there is a need for more regionalised studies, specifically in Birmingham, Sheffield and Liverpool, to analyse the pedestrian circuits in other northern cities. Once a more complete picture is obtained from within the regions, it will then be possible to carry out a prosopographical analysis that may create a new impression of how pedestrianism, and other sports, developed. Whether they tell the same story or there are diverse structures in place, the collective and prosopographical methods are valuable tools in understanding the development of sport with the city.

Whilst the traditional narrative approach is an acceptable practice, the introduction of further biographical methods will only strengthen the sport history field and encourage a new narrative turn within the discipline. Whilst each method is discrete, their outcomes provide different perspectives that can be combined to gain a much broader impression of the sporting environment and can help to further progress knowledge. All of these methods tell different stories but perhaps it is only once we start to use the different methods in conjunction with each other that we really begin to

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ Graham Scambler, *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), 35.

interrogate sport in sufficient detail. A mixed-methods approach to sport, which utilises two or more of these methods within the biographical framework, would help to improve our understanding of the practices, attitudes and organisation of sport, while still exposing individual narratives, albeit rooted in cultural and social historical processes that require further integration. As demonstrated in this thesis, the combination of methods has brought together a substantial amount of material on pedestrianism in Manchester, but, while it may have implications outside of the city centre, this cannot be assumed. Therefore, there is a need for more studies to be conducted elsewhere, addressing the individuals, the similarities, the differences, the kinship groups, the transfer of knowledge, and so on, to see if this is part of a wider trend or merely a localised interpretation, specific to Manchester, that was not replicated in other cities. By broadening the use of biographical methods, a more complete picture of the city is created that helps to draw together the important characteristics of the individual within a complex sporting environment. The more methods that are used, the more complete this picture, and a fuller analysis can be provided of the phenomena of pedestrianism within the city.

Appendix 1. Prosopographical Questionnaire

Adapted from Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier and Jan Dumolyn, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook*, ed. Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan (Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007), 55-56, the prosopographical questionnaire devised for this study addressed a number of elements frequently posed for prosopographical research. The decisions surrounding what questions to apply depended on the sources available and the feasibility of supplying an answer. Detail is given as to why each question was posed as part of the Manchester miler analysis.

Category	Aspect	Justification
<i>Personal Information</i>	Name (and variants)	To map the individuals and their professional career, and to uncover further detailed histories
	Life Dates (birth, marriage and death)	To uncover further detailed historical facts, familial lineage and average lifespan
	Geographical Data (place of birth, residence, death)	To detail migration patterns and settlement
	Close family (parents and siblings)	To uncover further detailed historical facts, familial lineage and occupational apprenticeships
	Marriage and offspring	To explore further aspects of family size, household construction, age of marriage and career development
	Demographics (height and weight)	To analyse population norms, class standardisation and athletic difference
<i>Career Information</i>	Occupation(s) (trades, professional careers, further sporting developments)	To identify the specific preparations for professional life (education) and to identify career patterns of the sample
	Age/Span of Career (apprenticed trades and professional careers)	To explore the average length of professional athletic performance, as well as consider other avenues for career development (athletic training, proprietorship, artisan trades)
	Athletic Prowess (specialist events, distances, records and locations)	To detail individual successes and the value of these achievements. To consider the impact of athletic training, and to map the significant developments in mile running
	Social Mileu and Networks (training memberships and networks)	To uncover connections between the actors, to identify key sporting figures, and to situate the individuals within larger sporting communities. Consideration is given to location so as to explore the significance of locality and athletic development
<i>Additional Findings</i>	Further aspects of family life (education), culture (iconography), and material position (capital, transport, property) were revealed as bi-products of the initial prosopographical questioning, which emerged organically rather than being imposed through the predetermined questionnaire.	

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archives

Bishopsgate Institute Archives, London.

Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock.

Historical Society of Princeton Archives, Princeton, NJ.

London Metropolitan Archives, London.

New York Public Library Archives, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, NY.

Princeton University Archives, Seeley Mudd, Princeton, NJ.

Robinson Family Papers relating to James Robinson.

Census Returns of England and Wales, 1841-1911. Kew, Surrey: The National Archives of the UK: Public Records Office.

Census Returns of Scotland, 1841-1911. Edinburgh, Scotland: General Register Office for Scotland.

General Register Office. England and Wales Civil Registration Indexes. London: General Register Office.

Principle Probate Registry of England and Wales, 1858-1966. London: Crown.

United States Federal Census, 1880-1920. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration.

Accessed variously through:

Free BMD – www.freebmd.org.uk

Ancestry – www.ancestry.co.uk

International Genealogical Index – www.familysearch.org

Parish Registers for Wolverhampton St Peter's, 1538-1875.

Family History Directory – www.familyhistorydirectory.com

New Jersey Births and Christenings, 1660-1980.

New Jersey Marriages, 1678-1985.

International Genealogical Index – www.familysearch.org

New Jersey State Census, 1905.

New Jersey Office of Vital Statistics and Registry, Trenton, NJ.

Parish Register for Frimley, 1590-1914.

Register of Baptisms in the Parish of Tonge cum Alkrington, St Michael, in the County of Lancashire, October 1839-September 1862.

Register of Baptisms in the Parish of Manchester and Chapelry of Newton in the County of Lancaster, 1844-1860.

Register of Baptisms, St Matthew's Manchester, Volume 4, January 1864-June 1876.

Saint Pancras Parish Church, Register of Burials, Including Burials at Kentish Town Chapel.

The National Archives of the United Kingdom – www.nationalarchives.gov.uk

Ancestry – www.ancestry.co.uk

Find My Past – www.findmypast.com

New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957.

Scotland Marriages, 1561-1910.

Ancestry – www.ancestry.co.uk

Historical Directories

Baines, Edward. *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster*. Liverpool: WM. Wales, 1824.

Bullock, Thomas A. *Bradshaw's Illustrated Guide to Manchester*. Manchester: Bradshaw and Blacklock, 1857.

Census Office. *Census of England and Wales 1901: General Report with Appendices*. London: Darling & Son, 1904.

Census Office. *Census of Great Britain 1851: Tables of the Population and Houses in the Divisions, Registration Counties, and Districts of England and Wales; in the Counties, Cities, and Burghs of Scotland; and in the Islands in the British Seas*. London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1851.

Pigot, James, and Slater, Isaac. *Pigot & Slater's Directory of Manchester & Salford, 1841*. Manchester: Pigot & Slater, 1841.

Pigot, James, Dean, R., and Dean, William. *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford, 1821-22*. Manchester: R. & W. Dean and J. Pigot, 1822.

Pigot, James. *Pigot & Co.'s 1834 Directory of Northern Counties*. Manchester: J. Pigot, 1834.

Post Office. *Post Office Directory of the Counties of Derby, Leicester, Rutland and Nottingham*. London: Kelly & Co. 1876.

Slater, Isaac. *Slater's Classified Directory of the Following Important English Towns, Birmingham, Bristol, Derby, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, and West Bromwich*. Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1847.

Slater, Isaac. *Slater's Directory of Manchester*. Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1855.

Slater, Isaac. *Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford*. Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1863.

Slater, Isaac. *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford with their Vicinities*. Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1876.

Slater, Isaac. *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford with their Vicinities*. Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1879.

Slater, Isaac. *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford with their Vicinities, 1876*. Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1876.

Slater, Isaac. *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford, with their Vicinities, 1878*. Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1878.

The Saratogian Company. *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake*. Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian Co., 1895.

The Saratogian. *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake*. Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1896.

The Saratogian. *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake*. Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1897.

The Saratogian. *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake*. Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1898.

The Saratogian. *Directory of Saratoga Springs, Village and Town, Including the Geysers and Saratoga Lake*. Saratoga Springs, NY: The Saratogian, 1900.

Whellan, W. and Co. *A New General Directory of Manchester and Salford, Together with the Principle Villages and Hamlets in the District*. Manchester: Booth and Milthorp, 1852.

Whellan, W., and Co. *A New General Directory of Manchester and Salford, Together with the Principle Villages and Hamlets in the District*. Manchester: Booth and Milthorp, 1852.

Newspaper, Magazines and Periodicals

Age, Albion and Evening Advertiser, Applebee's Original Weekly Journal, Argus, Ashton Reporter, Australasian, Australian Town and Country Journal, Baltimore Sun, Belfast News-Letter, Birmingham Daily Post, Blackburn Standard, Bolton Chronicle, Boston Daily Globe, Boston Evening Transcript, Bradford Observer, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, Brooklyn Eagle, Chicago Daily Tribune, Daily Dispatch, Daily Mail, Daily News, Daily Post, Daily Princetonian, Daily State Register, Daily True American, Derby Mercury, Detroit Free Press, Englishwoman's Review, Era, Essex Standard, Evening Mail, Evening World, Examiner, Flying Post or the Post Master, Free Lance, General Advertiser, General Evening Post, Glasgow Herald, Gorton Historical Reporter, Graphic, Hampshire Advertiser &

Salisbury Guardian, Harper's Weekly, Harvard Crimson, Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser, Hull Packet and East Riding Times, Huron Daily Huronite, Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser, Jackson's Oxford Journal, John Bull, Kansas City Star, Kentish Gazette, Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, Lancaster Gazette, and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland, Yorkshire &c., Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury, Licensed Victuallers' Mirror, Liverpool Mercury, Lloyd's Evening Post, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, Logansport Journal, London Chronicle, London Evening Post, London Gazette, London Gazetteer, Los Angeles Times, Lyon's Weekly Mirror, Manchester Evening News, Manchester Guardian, Manchester Times and Gazette, Manchester Times, Manufacturers and Farmers Journal, Memphis Daily Appeal, Meridian Daily Journal, Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser, Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser, Morning Chronicle, Morning Herald, Morning Post, National Police Gazette, New Mexican, New York Clipper, New York Daily Tribune, New York Herald, New York Sun, New York Times, New York Tribune, New York World, Otago Witness, Oxford Journal, Penny Illustrated Paper, Penny London Post or the Morning Advertiser, Philadelphia Inquirer, Post Standard, Preston Guardian, Princeton Packet, Public Advertiser, Racing Times, Rockford Daily Spectator, Sacramento Daily Union, San Francisco Call, San Francisco Chronicle, Satirist, Scotsman, Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Southland Times, Spectator, St Louis Dispatch, St Louis Post, Standard, Syracuse Herald, Syracuse Post Standard, The News, The Times, Trenton Evening Times, Trenton Times, True Briton, Washington Post, Washington Times, Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, Women's Union Journal: The Organ of the Women's Protective and Provident League, Wrexham Advertiser and North Wales News, York Herald.

Sporting Newspapers and Magazines

Athletic News, Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle, County Gentleman: Sporting Gazette, Agricultural Journal, and "the Man About Town", Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review, Sporting Gazette, Sporting Life, Sports Quarterly Magazine.

Authored Newspaper and Magazine Articles

Hughes, C.E. 'The "Spurs in Mufti'. In *C.B. Fry's Magazine*, November 1904.

Hutton, Ronald. 'History: Fact of Fiction? Ronald Hutton's Early Experience of Discerning Reality: Telling Tales'. *Times Higher Education*, November 12, 2009, 40-41.

Radford, Peter. 'Boney Left Waiting as Barclay Bet the Bank'. In *The Observer*, August 12, 2001.

White, George A. 'The Manhattan Athletic Club: America's Place in Athletic History'. *Outing* 16, no. 3 (1890): 163-169.

White, George A. 'History of the Manhattan Athletic Club'. *Outing* 16, no. 4 (1890):307-311.

Camp, Walter. 'A Forecast of the Football Season'. *Outing* 35, no. 2 (1899): 172-179.

Walker, Francis A. 'College Athletics'. *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine* 2 (1894): 1-18.

Contemporary Texts 1806-1916

Astley, John Dugdale. *Fifty Years of my Life in the World of Sport at Home and Abroad*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1895.

Barclay, William. *Handy-Book for Licenced Victuallers, Brewers, Wine Retailers and Refreshment House Keepers, and Post Masters, Including the Public House Closing Act, 1864, with Instructions for Beginners and an Appendix of Useful Forms*. London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1865.

Booth, Charles. *Life and Labour of the People of London*. London: Macmillan, 1889-1902.

Bowley, Arthur L. *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900.

Chadwick, David. 'On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford, and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839-59'. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 23, no. 1 (1860): 1-36.

Collins, Wilkie. *Man and Wife: a Novel in Three Volumes*. London: F.S. Ellis, 1870.

Couling, Samuel. *History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland; from the Earliest Date to the Present Time*. London: William Tweedie, 1862.

Daly, E.D. 'The Struggle between the State and the Drunkard'. *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland* 10, no. 77 (1897): 268-292.

Dickens Jr., Charles. *Dicken's Dictionary of London: an Unconventional Handbook*. London: Dickens and Evans, 1879.

Dowling, Frank L. *Fights for the Championship; and Celebrated Prize Battles; or Accounts of All the Prize Battles for the Championship from the Days of Figg and Broughton to the Present Time; and Also of Many Other Game and Extraordinary Battles Between First-Rate Pugilists of Ancient and Modern Times. Compiled from "Bell's Life in London", 'Boxiana', and Original Sources, by the Editor of Bell's Life in London*. London: Bell's Life, 1855.

Edwards, William H. *Football Days*. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1916.

Egan, Pierce. *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism, from the Days of the Renowned Broughton and Slack, to the Championship of Cribb: Volume 1*. London: George Virtue, 1830.

Egan, Pierce. *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism: from the Championship of Cribb to the Present Time*. London: Sherwood, Jones and Co., 1824.

Egan, Pierce. *Pierce Egan, Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected; Including Numerous Characteristic Portraits of Persons in Every Walk of Life, who have Acquired Notoriety for Their Achievements on the Turf, at the Table, and in the Diversions of the Field, with Sketches of the Various Animals of the Chase: to which is Added, an Account of Noted Pedestrians, Trotting Matches, Cricketers, &c. the Whole Forming a Complete Delineation of the Sporting World*. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1820.

- Farnol, Jeffery. *The Amateur Gentleman: a Romance*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co., 1913.
- Gaskell, P. *The Manufacturing Population of England: its Moral, Social and Physical Conditions, and the Changes which have Arisen from the use of Steam Machinery*. London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1833.
- Hayes, Louis M. *Reminiscences of Manchester and Some of its Local Surroundings form the Year 1840*. London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1905.
- Hayes, Matthew Horace. *Among Men and Horses*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894.
- House of Commons. *Journal of the Houses of Commons: Volume 85: 6 April 1830*. London: HMSO, 1830.
- House of Lords. *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 62: 23 July 1830*. London: HMSO, 1830.
- Hurd, Richard M. *A History of Yale Athletics 1840-1888*. New Haven, CT: R.M. Hurd, 1888.
- James, Ed. *Practical Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, Wrestling, Boxing, Jumping and All Kinds of Athletic Feats; Together with Tables of Proportional Measurements for Height and Weight of Men in and Out of Conditions; Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing and Advice to Trainers; Also, Banting's System of Reducing Corpulency, and Record of Fast Athletic Performances*. New York, NY: Ed James, 1877.
- Jefferies, Herbert. *The Publicans' Manual*. Birmingham: New & Co, 1894.
- Kay-Shuttleworth, James. *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*. London: Ridgway, 1832.
- Lawson, Joseph. *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey*. Yorkshire: Stanninglen, 1887.
- Lees, Frederic R. *An Argument for the Legislative Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic*. London: William Tweedie, 1857.
- Levy, Edward L. *History of the Birmingham Athletic Club 1866-1898*. Birmingham: J.G. Hammond, 1898.
- Lilwall, John. *The Half-Holiday Question Considered, with Some Thoughts on the Instructive and Healthful Recreations of the Industrial Classes*. London: Kent & Co, 1856.
- Lords Select Committee. *First Report of the Lords Select Committee on Intemperance*. London: HMSO, 1877.
- Lupton, James I., and Lupton, James M.K. *The Pedestrian's Record: to which is Added a Description of the External Human Form Illustrated with Anatomical Plates*. London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1890.
- Manhattan Athletic Club. *Manhattan Athletic Club – Constitution, By Laws, etc..* New York, NY: Manhattan Athletic Club, 1891.

- Mommsen, Theodor. *The History of Rome*. London: Bentley, 1880.
- Neil, Charles L. *Walking: A Practical Guide to Pedestrianism for Athletes and Others*. London: C Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1903.
- Nichols, T.L. *How to Behave: a Manual of Manners and Morals*. London: Longman, Green and Co., 1873.
- Presbrey, Frank, and Moffatt, James H. *Athletics at Princeton – a History*. New York: Frank Presbury Co., 1901.
- Ritchie, J. Ewing. *About London*. London: William Tinsley, 1860.
- Sargent, D. A. 'History of the Administration of Inter-Collegiate Athletics in the United States'. *American Physical Education Review* 15 (1910): 252-261.
- Shearman, Montague. *Athletics and Football*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887.
- Sinclair, Archibald, and Henry, William. *Swimming*. London: Longmans and Green, 1893.
- Sinclair, John. *Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*. London: E. Blackader, 1806.
- Sportsman, *The Training Instructor*. London: Sportsman Offices, 1885.
- Strutt, Joseph. *Glig-Gamena Angel-Deod, or, the Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*. London: J White, 1801.
- Sunderland Football Club. *Sunderland Football Club Training Card*, January 18, 1897.
- Taintor, Charles Newhall. *Saratoga Illustrated: the Visitors Guide to Saratoga Springs*. New York: Taintor Bros., Merrill & Co., 1884.
- Thom, Walter. *Pedestrianism; or, an Account of the Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians During the Last and Present Century: with Full Narrative of Captain Barclay's Public and Private Matches; and an Essay of Training*. Aberdeen: D. Chalmers & Co., 1813.
- University of Michigan. *Michiganensian*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1987.
- Unknown Author, *Pancratia, or a History of Pugilism. Containing a Full Account of Every Battle of Note form the Time of Broughton and Slack, Down to the Present Day. Interspersed with Anecdotes of All the Celebrated Pugilists of the Country; with an Argumentative Proof, that Pugilism, Considered as a Gymnic Exercise, Demands the Admiration, and Patronage of Every Free State, Being Calculated to Inspire Manly Courage, and a Spirit of Independence – Enabling us to Resist Slavery at Home and Enemies from Abroad. Embellished with a Correct and Elegant Engraved Portrait of the Champion, Cribb*. London: W. Oxberry, 1812.

- Unknown Author. *The Young Pedestrian: Containing Clear Instructions how to Train and Prepare for Long Walks, Coupled to which is a Record of all the Great Pedestrian Contests up to Date*. New York, NY: Champion, 1882.
- Walsh, John H. *Manual of British Rural Sports: Comprising Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism, and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain*. London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1861.
- Walsh, John H. *Manual of British Rural Sports; Comprising Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, and Pedestrianism, With All Rural Games and Amusements*. London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1886.
- Warfield, Ethelbert D. *The Place of Athletics in College Life*. Easton, PA: Eschenbach, 1908.
- Warren Library Association. *Warren Centennial: An Account of the Celebration at Warren, Pennsylvania*. Pennsylvania: Warren Library Association, 1897.
- Weber, Adna F. *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: a Study in Statistics*. New York: Macmillan, 1899.
- Westhall, Charles. *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, & Boxing. Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing, and Advice to Trainers*. London: S.O. Beeton, 1863.
- White, John W. 'The Committee on Athletics'. *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine* 1 (1893): 209-231.
- Wilkinson, Henry Fazakerley. *Modern Athletics*. London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1868.

Secondary Sources

Texts

- Adair, Daryl. 'Making Sense of Australian Sport History'. In *Youth Sport in Australia*, edited by Steve Georgakis and Katrina M. Russell, 1-25. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2011.
- Adelman, Melvin L. *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics 1820-70*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Algeo, Matthew. *Pedestrianism: When Watching People Walk was America's Favourite Spectator Sport*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2014.
- Alvermann, Donna E. 'Narrative Approaches'. In *Methods of Literacy Research: the Methodology Chapters from the Handbook of Reading Research Volume III*, edited by Michael L. Kamil, Peter B. Mosenthal, P. David Pearson and Rebecca Barr, 47-64. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2009.
- Amateur Athletic Association, *Fifty Years of Progress 1880-1930: the Jubilee Souvenir of the Amateur Athletic Association*. London: AAA, 1930.

- Anderson, Michael. *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Archdeacon, Thomas J. *Becoming American: an Ethnic History*. New York, NY: The Free Press, 1989.
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885*. London: Redwood Burn, 1978.
- Bale, John, Christensen, Mette, and Pfister, Gertrud, editors. *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies, Life-Histories and Methods*. Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2004.
- Bale, John. 'Ernst Jokl and Layers of Truth'. In *Sporting Lives*, edited by Dave Day, 1-15. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.
- Bale, John. 'The Mysterious Professor Jokl'. In *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies Life-Histories and Methods*, edited by John Bale, Mette K. Christensen and Gertrud Pfister, 25-40. Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2004.
- Bamberg, Michael G. *Narrative – State of the Art*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2007.
- Barber, Sarah, and Peniston-Bird, Corinna M. *History Beyond the Text: a Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Barone, Michael. *The New Americans: How the Melting Pot Can Work Again*. Washington, DC: Regnery, 2001.
- Beaumont, Jen. *Social Trends 41: Households and Families*. London, Office for National Statistics, 2011.
- Beaven, Brad. *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Bennett, Alfred Rosling. *London and Londoners in the Eighteen-Fifties and Sixties*. Gloucestershire: Dodo Press, 2009.
- Bernstein, Mark F. *Football: the Ivy League Origins of an American Obsession*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Bernstein, Mark F. *Princeton Football: Images of Sport*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2009.
- Betts, John R. *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1974.
- Birley, Derek. *A Social History of English Cricket*. London: Aurum, 2000.
- Birley, Derek. *Sport and the Making of Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Black, Eugene C. *Victorian Culture and Society*. London: Macmillan, 1973.
- Boddy, Kasia. *Boxing: a Cultural History*. London: Reaktion, 2008.

- Booth, Alison. *How to Make it as a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2004.
- Booth, Douglas. *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Brailsford, Dennis. *Bareknuckles: a Social History of Prize-Fighting*. Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1988.
- Brailsford, Dennis. *British Sport: a Social History*. Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1997.
- Brailsford, Dennis. *Sport, Time and Society: the British at Play*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *The Reading Lesson: The Treat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth Century British Fiction*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Briggs, Asa. *Victorian Cities* London: Penguin Books, 1963.
- Briggs, Peter M. 'Daniel Mendoza and Sporting Celebrity: a Case Study'. In *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture, 1750-1850*, edited by Tom Mole, 103-120. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Brivati, Brian, Buxton, Julia, and Seldon, Anthony, editors. *The Contemporary History Handbook*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Brown, John C., and Neumeier, Gerhard. 'Working Class Careers: on-the-Job Experience and Career Formation in Munich, 1895-1910'. In *Origins of the Modern Career: Career Paths and Job Stability in Europe and North America, 1850-1950*, edited by David Mitch, John Brown and Marco H.D. Van Leeuwen, 261-280. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Burke, Peter. 'History of Events and the Revival of Narrative'. In *The History and Narrative Reader*, edited by Geoffrey Roberts, 305-317. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Burr, Vivien. *Social Constructionism*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Burton, Antoinette M., editor. *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History*. Durham: Duke UP, 2005.
- Busteed, Mervyn, and Hindle, Paul. 'Angel Meadow: The Irish and Cholera in Manchester'. In *Exploring Greater Manchester*, edited by Paul Hindle, 1-7. Manchester: Manchester Geographical Society, 2007.
- Cambridge County Council. *General Introduction: A History of County Asylums*. Cambridge: Cambridge Council, 2011.
- Carr, Edward H. *What is History?*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Carroll, Noel. 'Interpretation, History and Narrative'. in *The History and Narrative Reader*, edited by Geoffrey Roberts, 246-266. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Carruthers, Tom. *Running for Money: a Decade of Corruption and Violence in Athletics*. Leicestershire: Matador, 2012.

- Chandler Jr, Alfred D. *The Visible Hand: the Managerial Revolution in American Business*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Clapson, Mark. *A Bit of a Flutter: Popular Gambling and English Society 1823-1961*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Clay, Christopher G. A. *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700: People, Lands and Town, Volume 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Cohen, Gidon, Flinn, Andrew, and Morgan, Kevin. 'Towards a Mixed Method Social History: Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in the Study of Prosopography'. In *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, edited by Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, 211-229. Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007.
- Colli, Andrea. *The History of Family Business, 1850-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Collier, James L. *The Rise of Selfishness in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Collins, Tony, and Vamplew, Wray. *Mud, Sweat and Beers: a Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol*. Oxford: Berg, 2002.
- Collins, Tony, Martin, John, and Vamplew, Wray. *Encyclopaedia of Traditional British Rural Sports*. Oxon: Routledge, 2005.
- Collins, Tony. *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*. London: Frank Cass, 1998.
- Colwin, Cecil. *Breakthrough Swimming*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2002.
- Cooper, Pamela. *The American Marathon*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998.
- Corvin, Tim S. *Pioneers of Professional Wrestling 1860-1899*. Bloomington, IN: Archway, 2014.
- Cowman, Krista. 'Collective Biography'. In *Research Methods for History*, edited by Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, 83-101. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.
- Cox, Richard W. *The Internet as a Resource for the Sports Historian*. Frodsham: The British Society of Sports History and Sports History Publishing, 1997.
- Craven, Louise, editor. *What are Archives?: Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: a Reader*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. London: Sage, 2013.
- Crick, Michael. *The Boss: the Many Sides of Alex Ferguson*. London: Simon and Schuster, 2002.

- Croll, Andy. 'Popular Leisure and Sport'. In *A Companion to 19th-Century Britain*, edited by Chris Williams, 396-412. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.
- Crump, Jeremy. 'Athletics'. In *Sport in Britain: a Social History*, edited by Tony Mason, 44-77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- D'Cruze, Shani. 'The Family'. In *A Companion to 19th-Century Britain*, edited by Chris Williams, 253-272. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.
- Daiute, Colette, and Lightfoot, Cynthia G., editors. *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*. London: Sage, 2004.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Hall, Catherine. *Family Fortunes*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Davies, Bronwyn, and Gannon, Susanne. *Doing Collective Biography: Investigating the Production of Subjectivity*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006.
- Day, Dave, editor. "'Old Harry Andrews": Surviving the Professional Pedestrianism to Amateur Athletics Transition'. In *Sports and Coaching: Pasts and Futures*, 61-84. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2012.
- Day, Dave, editor. 'Entrepreneurial Pugilists of the Eighteenth Century'. In *Sporting Lives*, 167-179. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.
- Day, Dave, editor. 'Jerry Jim's Training Stable in Early Victorian Preston'. In *Pedestrianism*, 57-77. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and History Group.
- Day, Dave, editor. *Pedestrianism*. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.
- Day, Dave, editor. *Sporting Lives*. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.
- Day, Dave. 'Historical Perspectives on Coaching'. In *Routledge Handbook of Sports Coaching*, edited by Paul Potrac, Wade Gilbert and Jim Denison, 5-15. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Delamont, Sara. *Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2012.
- Denzin, Norman K. *Interpretive Biography*. London: Sage, 1989.
- Dobson, Miriam, and Ziemann, Benjamin, editors. *Reading Primary Sources: the Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Donnelly, Mark, and Norton, Claire. *Doing History*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Dunning, Eric, and Malcolm, Dominic. *Sport: the Development of Sport*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2003.
- Elias, Stephen N. *Alexander T. Stewart: the Forgotten Merchant Prince*. London: Praeger, 1992.

- Elton, Geoffrey R. *The Practice of History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Engels, Frederick. *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. London: Echo Library, 2009.
- Erben, Michael. *Biography and Education: a Reader*. London: Falmer, 1998.
- Ernst, Robert. *Immigrant Life in New York City 1825-1863*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1994.
- Evans, Richard J. *In Defence of History*. London: Granta, 2000.
- Feyerabend, Paul K. *Problems of Empiricism: Philosophical Papers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Flick, Uwe. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 5th edition. London: Sage, 2014.
- Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon, 1980.
- Fulbrook, Mary. *Historical Theory*. Oxon: Routledge, 2002.
- Garrett, Eilidh, Reid, Alice, Schurer, Kevin, and Szreter, Simon, editors. *Changing Family Size in England and Wales: Place, Class and Demography, 1891-1911*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Gascoigne, Paul, and Davies, Hunter. *Gazza: My Story*. London: Headline, 2004.
- Geiger, Till, Moore, Niamh, and Savage, Mike. *The Archive in Question*. Southampton: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, March 2010.
- Gems, Gerald R., and Pfister, Gertrud. *Understanding American Sports*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Gillis, John R. *For Better, for Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Girouard, Mark. *Victorian Pubs*. London: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Goldthorpe, John H. *On Sociology: Numbers, Narratives, and the Integration of Research and Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Gordon, Eleanor, and Nair, Gwyneth. *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain*. London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Gorn, Elliott J. *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- Graff, Harvey J. *The Literacy Myth: Cultural Integration and Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1991.

- Gray, James T. *Maybole, Carrick's Capital*. Ayr: Alloway, 1972.
- Guttmann, Allen. *Sports Spectators*. Guilford: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Guttmann, Allen. *Sports: the First Five Millennia*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.
- Hadgraft, Rob. *Beer and Brine: the Making of Walter George: Athletics' First Superstar*. London: Desert Island Books, 2006.
- Hadgraft, Rob. *Deerfoot: Athletics' Noble Savage: from Indian Reservation to Champion of the World*. London: Desert Island Books, 2008.
- Hadgraft, Rob. *Plimsoles On Eyeballs Out: the Rise and Horrendous Fall of Marathon Legend Jim Peters*. London: Desert Island Books, 2012.
- Hadgraft, Rob. *Tea with Mr Newton: 100,000 Miles: the Longest Protest March in History*. London: Desert Island Books, 2010.
- Hadgraft, Rob. *The Little Wonder: the Untold Story of Alfred Shrubbs: World Champion Runner*. London: Desert Island Books, 2004.
- Halladay, Eric. *Rowing in England: a Social History: the Amateur Debate*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Harding, John. *Football Wizard*. Derby: Breedon, 1985.
- Hardy, Stephen. *How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation and Community, 1865-1915*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1982.
- Hargreaves, Jennifer. 'The Victorian Cult of the Family and the Early Years of Female Sport'. In *Gender and Sport: A Reader*, edited by Sheila Scratton and Anne Flintoff, 53-66. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Harnett, Penelope. 'Life History and Narrative Research Revisited'. In *Exploring Learning, Identity and Power Through Life History and Narrative Research*, edited by Ann-Marie Bathmaker and Penelope Harnett, 159-170. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Harris, Harold A. *Sport in Britain: its Origins and Development*. London: Stanley Paul, 1975.
- Harris, Neil, Harris, Helen, and Marshall, Paul. *A Man in a Hurry: the Extraordinary Life and Times of Edward Payson Weston, the World's Greatest Walker*. London: DeCoubertin, 2012.
- Harrison, Brian. *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*. London: Faber and Faber, 1971.
- Harvey, Adrian. *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Hatch, J. Amos, and Wisniewski, Richard. *Life History and Narrative*. London: Falmer, 1995.

- Hatton, Ricky, and Hickman, Niall. *The Hitman: My Story*. London: Ebury, 2006.
- Hauser, Thomas. *Muhammad Ali: His Life and Times*. London: Robson, 1991.
- Herman, David. 'Approaches to Narrative Worldmaking'. In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou, 176-197. London: Sage, 2013.
- Herzfeld, Michael. *The Body Impolitic: Artisans and Artifice in the Global Hierarchy of Value*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Hewitt, Martin. *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester, 1832-67*. Aldershot: Scholar, 1996.
- Higgs, Edward. *A Clearer Sense of the Census*. London: HMSO, 1996.
- Higgs, Edward. *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901: a Handbook for Historical Researchers*. London: Institute of Historical Research, 2004.
- Hill, Jeffrey. *Sport in History: an Introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Hillenbrand, Laura. *Seabiscuit: an American Legend*. New York, NY: Random House, 2001.
- Hillyar, Anna, and McDermid, Jane. *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870-1917: a Study in Collective Biography*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Hixson, Walter L. *The Myth of American Diplomacy: National Identity and U.S. Foreign Policy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Holt, Richard, and Mason, Tony. *Sport in Britain, 1945-2000*. London: Blackwell, 2000.
- Holt, Richard. 'Heroes of the North: Sport and the Shaping of Regional Identity'. In *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, edited by Jeff Hill and Jack Williams, 137-164. Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1996.
- Holt, Richard. *Sport and the British: a Modern History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Huggins, Mike. *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790-1914: a Social and Economic History*. London: Frank Cass, 2000.
- Huggins, Mike. *The Victorians and Sport*. London: Hambledon and London, 2004.
- Hugill, Peter J. *World Trade Since 1431: Geography, Technology, and Capitalism*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1993.
- Hulley, Ray. 'John Hulley – an Olympic Innovator'. In *Sporting Lives*, edited by Dave Day, 126-141. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.
- Huvila, Isto. 'Navigators, Debaters or Information Architects? How Library, Museum and Archive Professionals Perceive their Role in the Future Society'. In *Information in E-Motion: Proceedings of*

- the BOBCATSSS 2012 20th International Conference on Information Science. Amsterdam, 23-25 January 2012*, edited by Wolf-Fritz Riekert and Ingeborg Simon, 190-194. Bad Honnef, Germany: Bock and Herchen, 2012.
- Hylton, Stuart. *The Little Book of Manchester*. Gloucestershire: History Press, 2013.
- Illingworth, E. *A Short History of the Northern Counties Athletic Association 1879-1979*. Leeds: Fourkolor, 1979.
- Jamieson, David A. *Powderhall and Pedestrianism: the History of a Famous Sports Enclosure (1870-1943)*. London: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1943.
- Jenkins, Archie. 'Nineteenth Century Foot Racing: the Tyneside Connection'. In *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 149-170. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.
- Jenkins, Keith, and Munslow, Alun. *The Nature of History Reader*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Jenkins, Keith. *Re-Thinking History*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Jenkins, Keith. *The Postmodern History Reader*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Jennings, Paul. 'The 1830 Beer Act and it's Consequences'. In *Unrespectable Recreations*, edited by Martin Hewitt, 1-18. Leeds: Centre for Victorian Studies, 2001.
- Jennings, Paul. *The Local: A History of the English Pub*. Stroud: Tempus, 2007.
- Jennison, George. *The Making and Growth of the Famous Zoological Gardens, Belle Vue, Manchester and the History of its Competitors: a Century of Lancashire Open-Air Amusements 1825-1925*. Berwick Lodge, Disley: George Jennison, 1929.
- Jones, Gareth S. *Outcast London: a Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society*. London: Puffin, 1984.
- Kadish, Alon. *Historians, Economists, and Economic History*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Keats-Rohan, Katharine S.B. *Progress or Perversion? Current Issues in Prosopography: an Introduction*. Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2003.
- Keats-Rohan, Katharine S.B., editor. 'Biography, Identity and Names: Understanding the Pursuit of the Individual in Prosopography'. In *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, 139-183. Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007.
- Keats-Rohan, Katharine S.B., editor. 'Introduction: Chameleon or Chimera? Understanding Prosopography'. In *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, 1-34. Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007.

- Keats-Rohan, Katharine S.B., editor. *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*. Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007.
- Kennett Brothers. *Ride: the Story of Cycling in New Zealand*. Wellington: Kennett Brothers, 2003.
- King, C. Richard. *Native Athletes in Sport and Society: a Reader*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Kipping, Matthias, Wadhwani, R. Daniel, and Bucheli, Marcelo. 'Analyzing and Interpreting Historical Sources: a Basic Methodology'. In *Organizations in Time: History, Theory, Methods*, edited by Marcelo Bucheli and R. Daniel Wadhwani, 305-330. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Kirsch, George B. *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838-72*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Lane, Joan. *A Social History of Medicine Health, Healing and Disease in England, 1750-1950*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Laurie, Bruce. *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1989.
- Lee, Sidney. *Principles of Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911.
- Lewis, Chris P. 'Joining the Dots: a Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book'. In *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, edited by Karen S.B. Keats-Rohan, 69-88. Suffolk: Boydell, 2007.
- Liu, Hong. *The Chinese Overseas, Volume 1*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Lovesey, Peter. *The Kings of Distance: a Study of Five Great Runners*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968.
- Lovesey, Peter. *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association*. Enfield: Guinness, 1979.
- Lovesey, Peter. *Wobble to Death: a Sergeant Cribb Mystery*. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- Lowerson, John. *Sport and the English Middle Classes*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Lucas, John A., editor. 'Pedestrianism and the Struggle for the Sir John Astley Belt, 1878-1879'. In *John Apostol Lucas: Teacher, Sport Historian, and One who Lived his Life Earnestly. A Collection of Articles and Essays with an Autobiographical Sketch*. Lemont, PA: Efrig, 2009.
- Luker, Kristin. *Dubious Conceptions: the Politics of Teenage Pregnancy*. Harvard, CT: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Lyle, John. *Sports Coaching Concepts: a Framework for Coaches' Behaviour*. London: Routledge, 2002.

- Lyons, John S., Cain, Louis P., and Williamson, Samuel H., editors. *Reflections of the Cliometrics Revolution: Conversations with Economic Historians*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- MacRaild, Donald M. *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750-1922*. London: St Martin's Press, 1999.
- Magdalino, Paul. '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*, edited by Averil Cameron, 42-56. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Malcolmson, Robert W. *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Manchester Corporation Transport Department. *A Hundred Years of Road Passenger Transport in Manchester*. Manchester, Manchester Corporation Municipal Government, 1935.
- Mandelbaum, Maurice. 'A Note on History as Narrative'. In *The History and Narrative Reader*, edited by Geoffrey Roberts, 52-58. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Mangan, James A. *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*. London: Frank Cass, 1988.
- Mantoux, Paul. *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: an Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Margadant, Jo Burr, editor. *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France*. London: University of California Press, 2000.
- Marshall, Paul S. *King of the Peds*. Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2008.
- Martindale, John R. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 4th edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Marwick, Arthur. *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Marzilli, Alan. *Amateur Athletics*. New York, NY: Chelsea House, 2004.
- Mason, Tony. *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915*. Brighton: Harvester, 1980.
- Maurer, David. *The Big Con: the Story of the Confidence Man*. New York, NY: Random House, 1940.
- McDowell, William H. *Historical Research: a Guide*. London: Pearson, 2002.
- McNeil, Robina, and Nevell, Michael. *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Greater Manchester*. Telford: Association for Industrial Archaeology, 2000.
- Metcalfe, Alan. 'Sport and Community: a Case Study of the Mining Villages of East Northumberland, 1800-1914'. In *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, edited by Jeff Hill and Jack Williams, 13-40. Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1996.

- Mewett, Peter. 'Games within Games: Gambling and Trickery in Professional Running'. In *TASA 2004 Conference Proceedings*, edited by Katy Richmond. Australia: TASA, 2004.
- Miles, Andrew, and Savage, Mike. *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940*. London, Routledge, 2013.
- Miller, Patricia Cox. 'Strategies of Representation in Collective Biography: Constructing the Subject as Holy'. In *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, edited by Tomas Hagg and Philip Rousseau, 209-254. London: University of California Press, 2000.
- Mills, Dorothy S. *Chasing Baseball: Our Obsession with its History, Numbers, People and Places*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010.
- Monger, George. *Marriage Customs of the World: from Henna to Honeymoons*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004.
- Morris, Robert. Review of *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901: a Handbook for Historical Researchers*, by Edward Higgs. *Reviews in History*, September 2005.
- Mosley, Stephen. *The Chimney of the World: a History of Smoke Pollution in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Mrozek, Donald J. *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.
- Muller, Thomas. *Immigrants and the American City*. New York, NY: New York University Press, 1993.
- Munslow, Alun. *Deconstructing History*, 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Munslow, Alun. *Deconstructing History*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Munting, Roger. *An Economic and Social History of Gambling*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Musgrove, Frank. *The Family, Education and Society*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Myerscough, Keith. 'Joey Nuttall: the "Lightening Merman" of Stalybridge'. In *Sporting Lives*, edited by Dave Day, 112-125. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.
- Nead, Lynda. *Victorian Babylon: People, Street, and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Nelson, Claudia. *Family Ties in Victorian Britain*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007.
- Nicholls, James. *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.

- Nicholls, Robert. *The Belle Vue Story*. Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1992.
- Nilsen, Ann, and Brannen, Julia. 'Contextualising Lives: the History-Biography Dynamic Revisited'. In *C. Wright Mills and the Sociological Imagination: Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by John Scott and Ann Nilsen, 88-104. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2013.
- Nugent, Walter T.K. *Crossings: the Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914*. Indianapolis: Indian University Press, 1995.
- O'Shea, Phil. *Wizards of Wheels: New Zealand Cycling Legends 01*. Wellington: Kennett Brothers, 2005.
- Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'George Martin, "Wizard of Pedestrianism" and Manchester's Sporting Entrepreneur'. In *Sporting Lives*, edited by Dave Day, 142-166. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.
- Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Narrative, Biography, Prosopography and the Sport Historian: Historical Method and its Implications'. In *Sporting Lives*, edited by Dave Day, 35-60. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2012.
- Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'The Manchester Milers 1850-1870'. In *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 78-110. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.
- Owen, David E. *The Manchester Ship Canal*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983.
- Park, Roberta J. 'Athletes and their Training in Britain and America, 1800-1914'. In *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, edited by Jack W. Berryman and Roberta J. Park, 57-108. Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Park, Roberta J. 'Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth-Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative'. In *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, edited by Jack W. Berryman and Roberta J. Park, 137-182. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Patterson, Wendy. 'Narratives of Events: Labovian Narrative Analysis'. In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou, 27-46. London: Sage, 2013.
- Pearce, David. *The Damned United*. London: Faber and Faber, 2006.
- Perkin, Joan. *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Perry, John. *Quick and the Dead: Stawell and its Race Through Time*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002.
- Pfister, Gertrud. 'We Love Them and We Hate Them: on the Emotional Involvement and Other Challenges During Biographical Research'. in *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies Life-Histories and Methods*, edited by John Bale, Mette K. Christensen and Gertrud Pfister, 131-156. Oxford: Aarhus University Press, 2004.

- Phillips, Bob. *The Iron in his Soul: Bill Roberts and Manchester's Sporting Heritage*. Manchester: Parr's Wood, 2002.
- Phillips, Murray G. *Deconstructing Sport History: a Postmodern Analysis*. New York, NY: State University of New York, 2006.
- Piper, Glenn. 'Preparing for Success in the Sheffield Handicaps 1845-1899'. In *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 133-148. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.
- Piper, Glenn. *Athletics in Tameside 1837-1939 Covering the Towns of Ashton, Audenshaw, Denton, Droylsden, Dukinfield, Gee Cross, Haughton Green, Hollingworth, Hyde, Mossley, Mottram, Stalybridge and Tintwistle*. Manchester: Glenn Piper, 2011.
- Piper, Glenn. *Peds of the Past 1837-1920: Famous Athletes and Pedestrians with Particular Reference to Sheffield*. Manchester: Glenn Piper, 2012.
- Pitchford, Deborah. 'Turning Professional: Reggie Walker 1908 Olympic Champion'. In *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 213-231. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and History Group, 2014.
- Plummer, Ken. *Documents of Life: an Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983.
- Polley, Martin. 'History and Sport'. In *Sport and Society: a Student Introduction*, edited by Barrie Houlihan, 56-74. London: Sage, 2008.
- Polley, Martin. *Sports History: a Practical Guide*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Polley, Martin. *The History of Sport in Britain 1880-1914: the Varieties of Sport, Volume 1*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Polley, Martin. *The History of Sport in Britain, 1880-1914: Sport and Money, Volume 4*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Poole, Robert. *Popular Leisure and the Music-Hall in Nineteenth-Century Bolton*. Lancaster: University of Lancaster Press, 1982.
- Poovey, Mary. 'Representing the Manchester Irish'. In *The Victorian Studies Reader*, edited by Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam, 136-148. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Prothero, Iorwerth. *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and his Times*. London: Routledge, 1979.
- Quercetani, Robert L. *A World History of Track and Field Athletics 1864-1964*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

- Radford, Peter. 'Performance Trends of British Male Elite Runners'. In *Pedestrianism*, edited by Dave Day, 1-33. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group, 2014.
- Radford, Peter. *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*. London: Headline, 2001.
- Reach, Angus B. *Manchester and the Textile District in 1849*. Helmshore, Lancashire: Helmshore Local History Society, 1972.
- Ridener, John. *From Polders to Postmodernism: a Concise History of Archival Theory*. Duluth, MN: Litwin, 2008.
- Riess, Steven A. *A Companion to American Sport History*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014.
- Riess, Steven A. *City Games: the Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Riess, Steven A. *Sport in Industrial America 1850-1920*. West Sussex: John Wiley, 1995.
- Riessman, Catherine K. 'Analysis of Personal Narratives'. In *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, edited by Jaber F. Gubrium and James Holstein, 695-710. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002.
- Roberts, Brian. *Biographical Research*. Buckingham, PA: Open University Press, 2002.
- Roberts, Robert. *The Classic Slum*. London: Penguin, 1971.
- Roberts, Ryan. 'Inventing a Way to the Truth: Life and Fiction in Julian Barnes's Flaubert's Parrot'. In *Julian Barnes: Contemporary Critical Perspectives*, edited by Sebastian Groes and Peter Childs, 24-36. London: Continuum, 2011.
- Roe, Warren. *Edward "Teddy" Mills, "Young England" 1841-1894: Champion East-End*. Hornchurch, Warren Roe, no date.
- Roe, Warren. *Front Runners: The First Athletic Track Champions*. Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 2002.
- Roe, Warren. *Jack White "The Gateshead Clipper" 1837-1910: a Life of Athletics*. Hornchurch, Warren Roe, 2007.
- Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Rose, Sonya O. *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Rosenthal, Gabriele. 'Biographical Research'. In *Qualitative Research Practice*, edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman, 48-64. London: Sage, 2004.

- Ruggles, Steven. *Prolonged Connections: the Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth Century England and America*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- Ruhling, Robert O., and Hopkins, John A. 'Race Walking'. In *Physiology of Sports*, edited by Thomas Reilly, Niels Secher, Peter Snell and Clyde Williams, 135-152. London: E & F.N. Spon, 1990.
- Saint-Onge, Hubert, and Wallace, Debra. *Leveraging Communities of Practice for Strategic Advantage*. Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2003.
- Sayers, Thomas. *Tom Sayers, Sometime Champion of England, his Life and Pugilistic Career*. London: S.O. Beeton, 1866.
- Scambler, Graham. *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture*. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005.
- Schofield, Roger S. 'British Population Changes, 1700-1871'. In *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, Volume 1: 1700-1860*, 2nd ed., edited by Roderick Floud and Dierdre McCloskey, 60-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Sears, Edward S. *George Seward: America's First Great Runner*. Plymouth: Scarecrow, 2008.
- Sears, Edward S. *Running Through the Ages*. North Carolina: McFarland, 2001.
- Semenza, Gregory M.C. *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance*. London: Associated University Presses, 2003.
- Shiman, Lillian L. *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Shoup, John R. *A Collective Biography of Twelve World-Class Leaders: a Study of Developing Exemplary Leaders*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005.
- Silverman, David. *Doing Qualitative Research: a Practical Handbook*, 4th edition. London: Sage, 2013.
- Smart, Barry. *The Sport Star: Modern Sport and the Cultural Economy of Sporting Celebrity*. London: Sage, 2005.
- Smelser, Neil J. *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution: an Application of Theory to the British Cotton Industry*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Smith, Maureen. 'Sports Biographies'. In *A Companion to American Sport History*, edited by Steven A. Riess, 634-655. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014.
- Smith, Ronald A. 'Preludes to the NCAA: Early Failures of Faculty Intercollegiate Athletic Control'. In *Sport in America: from Wicked Amusement to National Obsession*, edited by David K. Wiggins, 151-162. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995.
- Smith, Ronald A., editor. *Big-Time Football at Harvard, 1905: the Diary of Coach Bill Reid*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

- Spiller, Brian. *Victorian Public Houses*. London: Arco, 1973.
- Steinbach, Susie L. *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Cultures and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Stewart, Wayne. *Babe Ruth: a Biography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006.
- Stone, Lawrence. *The Past and Present Revisited*. London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1983.
- Stradling, David. *Making Mountains: New York City and the Catskills*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- Strauss, Anselm L., and Glaser, Barney G. *Anguish: a Case History of a Dying Trajectory*. Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1977.
- Struna, Nancy L. 'Social History and Sport'. In *Handbook of Sports Studies*, edited by Jay J. Coakley and Eric Dunning, 187-203. London: Sage, 2000.
- Sugden, John. *Boxing and Society: an International Analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Tholfsen, Trygve R. *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England*. London: Croom Helm, 1976.
- Thompson, Edward P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Pantheon, 1968.
- Tinti, Francesca. 'The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England: Facts and Factoids'. In *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, edited by Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, 197-209. Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Journeys to England and Ireland*. New Jersey: Transaction, 2003.
- Torikai, Kumiko. *Voices of the Invisible Presence: Diplomatic Interpreters in Post-World War II Japan*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009.
- Tranter, Neil. *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Tricard, Louise M. *American Women's Track and Field: a History, 1895 Through 1980, Volume 1*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1996.
- Turrini, Joseph M. *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- Vamplew, Wray. 'The Development of Team Sports Before 1914'. In *Handbook on the Economics of Sport*, edited by Wladimir Andreff and Stefan Szymanski, 435-442. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006.
- Vamplew, Wray. *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

- Vamplew, Wray. *The Turf: a Social and Economic History of Horse Racing*. London: Allen Lane, 1976.
- Vella, Stephen. 'Newspapers'. In *Reading Primary Sources: the Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History*, edited by Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, 192-209. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Verboven, Koenraad, Carlier, Myriam, and Dumolyn, Jan. 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography'. In *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: a Handbook*, edited by Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, 35-68. Linacre College, Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007.
- Vincent, David. *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Vugt, William E. Van. *Britain to America: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Immigrants to the United States*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Wagg, Steven, and Russell, Dave, editors. *Sporting Heroes of the North*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Northumbria Press, 2010.
- Waller, Phillip J. *Town, City, and Nation: England, 1850-1914*. London: Puffin, 1984.
- Walton, John K. *Lancashire: a Social History 1558-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Walton, John K., and Poole, Robert. 'The Lancashire Wakes in the 19th Century'. In *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England*, edited by Robert D. Storch, 100-124. London: Croom Helm, 1982.
- Walvin, James. *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950*. London: Longman Group Ltd, 1978.
- Walvin, James. *The People's Game: a Social History of British Football*. London: Penguin, 1975.
- Wenger, Etienne. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Whannel, Garry. *Media Sports Stars: Masculinities and Moralities*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Whitaker, Wilfred B. *Victorian and Edwardian Shopworkers: the Struggle to Obtain Better Conditions and a Half-Holiday*. London: David & Charles Publishers, 1973.
- White, Hayden V. 'Historical Emplotment and the Problem of Truth'. In *The History and Narrative Reader*, edited by Geoffrey Roberts, 375-389. London: Routledge, 2001.
- White, Hayden V. *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- White, Jerry. *London in the Nineteenth Century: a Human Awful Wonder of God*. London: Vintage, 2008.

- Wiggins, David K., and Miller, Patrick B., editors. *The Unlevel Playing Field: a Documentary History of the African American Experience in Sport*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- Wigglesworth, Neil. *The Evolution of English Sport*. London: Frank Cass, 1996.
- Wigglesworth, Neil. *The Social History of English Rowing*. London: Frank Cass, 1992.
- Wigglesworth, Neil. *The Story of Sport in England*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Wilcox, Ralph. 'Irish Americans in Sports: the Nineteenth Century'. In *Making the Irish America: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, edited by Joseph J. Lee and Marion R. Casey, 443-456. New York, NY: New York University Press, 2006.
- Williams, Jean. 'The Immediate Legacy of Pat Smythe: the Pony-Mad Teenager in 1950s and 1960s Britain'. In *Sporting Lives*, edited by Dave Day, 16-29. Crewe, Cheshire: Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, 2011.
- Williams, Jean. *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Williams, Marilyn T. *Washing "The Great Unwashed": Public Baths in Urban America, 1840-1920*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1991.
- Williamson, Jeffery. 'Coping with City Growth'. In *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, Volume 1: 1700-1860*, 2nd ed., edited by Roderick Floud and Dierdre McCloskey, 332-356. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Wilson, Henry. *The Book of Wonderful Characters, Memoirs and Anecdotes of Remarkable and Eccentric Persons in All Ages and Countries. Chiefly from the Text of Henry Wilson and James Caulfield. Illustrated with Sixty-One Full Page Engravings*. London: John Camden Hotten, 1869.
- Wrigley, E. Anthony, Davies, R.S., Oeppen, James E., and Schofield, Roger S. *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Wrigley, E. Anthony. 'British Population During the "Long" Eighteenth Century'. In *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Volume 1: Industrialisation, 1700-1860*, edited by Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, 57-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Yin, Robert K. 'Case Study Methods'. In *Handbook of Complementary Methods in Education Research*, edited by Judith L. Green, Gregory Camilli and Patricia B. Elmore, 111-122. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006.
- Young, George M. *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*. London: Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Zarnowski, Frank. *All-Around Men: Heroes of a Forgotten Sport*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2005.

Journal Papers and Magazine Articles

- Abbott, Carl. 'Notes and Comment: College Athletic Conferences and American Regions'. *Journal of American Studies* 24, no. 2 (1990): 211-221.
- Anderson, Earl R. 'Footnotes More Pedestrian than Sublime: a Historical Background for the Foot-Races in Evelina and Humphry Clinker'. *American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980): 56-68.
- Anderson, Ian G. 'Are You Being Served? Historians and the Search for Primary Sources'. *Archivaria* 58 (2004): 81-129.
- Anderson, Jack. 'Pugilistic Prosecutions: Prize Fighting and the Courts in Nineteenth Century Britain'. *The Sports Historian* 21, no. 2 (2001): 35-53.
- Arreman, Inger E. 'Research as Power and Knowledge: Struggles Over Research in Teacher Education'. *Journal of Education for Teaching: International Research and Pedagogy* 31, no. 3 (2007): 215-235.
- Baggott, Robert. 'A Modern Approach to an Old Problem? Alcohol and New Labour'. *Policy & Politics* 38, no. 1 (2010): 135-152.
- Baggott, Robert. 'Alcohol, Politics and Social Policy'. *Journal of Social Policy* 15, no. 4 (2009): 467-488.
- Bailey, Peter. 'Parasexuality and Glamour: the Victorian Barmain as Cultural Prototype'. *Gender & History* 2, no. 2 (1990): 148-172.
- Baker, Norman. 'Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society'. *Sport in History* 24, no. 1 (2004): 1-16.
- Baker, William J. 'The State of British Sport History'. *Journal of Sport History* 10, no. 1 (1983): 53-66.
- Bale, John. 'Amateurism, Capital and Roger Bannister'. *Sport in History* 26, no. 3 (2006): 484-501.
- Bale, John. Review of *Professionals, Amateurs and Performance: Sports Coaching in England, 1789-1914*, by Dave Day. *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 358-360.
- Barton, Keith C. 'Primary Sources in History: Breaking Through the Myths'. *The Phi Delta Kappa* 86, no. 10 (2005): 745-753.
- Bauer, Karin. 'Adorno's Wagner: History and Potential of the Artwork'. *Cultural Critique* 60 (2005): 68-91.
- Berghoff, Hartmut. 'Regional Variations in Provincial Business Biography: The Case of Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester, 1870-1914'. *Business History* 37, no. 1 (1995): 64-85.
- Berridge, Virginia. 'History Matters? History's Role in Health Policy Making'. *Medical History* 52, no. 3 (2008): 311-326.

- Betts, John R. 'The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900'. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1953): 231-256.
- Bingham, Adrian. 'The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians'. *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 225-231.
- Blakemore, Ken. 'International Migration in Later Life: Social Care and Policy Implications'. *Aging and Society* 10, no. 6 (1999): 761-774.
- Boddy, Kasia. "'Under Queensbury Rules, So to Speak": Some Versions of a Metaphor'. *Sport in History* 31, no. 4 (2011): 398-422.
- Booth, Douglas. 'Escaping the Past? The Cultural Turn and Language in Sport History'. *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 8, no. 1 (2004): 103-125.
- Booth, Douglas. 'Evidence Revisited: Interpreting Historical Materials in Sport History'. *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 9, no. 4 (2005): 429-483.
- Booth, Douglas. 'Theory: Distorting or Enriching Sport History?'. *Sport History Review* 34, no. 1 (2003): 1-32.
- Bouchier, Nancy B., and Cruikshank, Ken. 'Reflections on Creating Critical Sport History for the Popular Audience: the People and the Bay'. *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 2 (1998): 309-316.
- Boulton, Jeremy. 'Economy of Time? Wedding Days and the Working Week in the Past'. *Local Population Studies* 43 (1989): 28-46.
- Bradley, John, and Short, Harold. 'Texts into Databases: the Evolving Field of New-Style Prosopography'. *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 20 (2005): 3-24.
- Brailsford, Dennis. 'Morals and Maulers: the Ethics of Early Pugilism'. *Journal of Sport History* 12, no. 2 (1985): 126-142.
- Brailsford, Dennis. 'Religion and Sport in Eighteenth Century England: "For the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for the Preventing or Punishing of Vice, Profaneness and Immorality"'. *British Journal of Sports History* 1, no. 2 (1984): 166-183.
- Brailsford, Dennis. 'Sporting Days in Eighteenth Century England'. *Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 3 (1982): 41-54.
- Briggs, Asa. 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities (1830-2)'. *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10, no. 3 (1952): 293-317.
- Bucher Katherine T., and Manning, M. Lee. 'Telling Our Stories, Sharing Our Lives: Collective Biographies of Women'. *ALAN Review* 26, no. 1 (1998): 12-16.
- Burke, Catherine. 'About Looking: Vision, Transformation, and the Education of the Eye in Discourses of School Renewal Past and Present'. *British Educational Research Journal* 36, no. 1 (2010): 65-82.

- Burke, Peter. 'Trades Football in Melbourne 1896-1909: from Middle Class Leisure to Working-Class Sport'. *Sporting Traditions* 19, no. 1 (2002): 1-15.
- Burton, N. 'Leisure in the City: the Entertainment Sector in the Manchester Central Business District, 1770-1930'. *The Manchester Geographer, Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society 1980-1993* (1987): 15-32.
- Busteed, Mervyn, and Hodgson, Roy. 'Irish Migration and Settlement in Early Nineteenth Century Manchester, with Special Reference to the Angel Meadow District in 1851'. *Irish Geography* 27, no. 1 (1994): 1-13.
- Byres, Terence J. 'The Landlord Class, Peasant Differentiation, Class Struggle and the Transition to Capitalism: England, France and Prussia Compared'. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 33-54.
- Cahn, Susan K. 'Sport Talk: Oral History and its Uses, Problems, and Possibilities for Sport History'. *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (1994): 594-609.
- Chandler Jr, Alfred D. 'The Emergence of Managerial Capitalism'. *Business History Review* 58 (1984): 473-503.
- Collins, Tony, and Vamplew, Wray. 'The Pub, the Drinks Trade and the Early Years of Modern Football'. *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 1 (2000): 1-17.
- Collins, Tracy J.R. Review of *The Sporting Life: Victorian Sports and Games, and Cricket, Literature and Culture: Symbolising the Nation, Destabilising Empire*, by Nancy Fix Anderson. *Victorian Studies* 54, no. 1 (2011): 121-123.
- Cook, Terry. 'From Information to Knowledge: an Intellectual Paradigm for Archives'. *Archivaria* 19 (1985): 28-49.
- Crinson, Mark. 'Photography and the Industrial City: Manchester and Salford, Ancient and Modern'. *Word & Image: a Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 18, no. 1 (2002): 295-314.
- Cunningham, Peter. 'Innovators, Networks and Structures: Towards a Prosopography of Progressivism'. *History of Education* 30, no. 5 (2001): 433-451.
- Dalton, Margaret S., and Charnigo, Laurie. 'Historians and their Information Sources'. *College & Research Libraries* 65, no. 5 (2002): 400-425.
- Daniels, Dayna B. 'You Throw Like a Girl: Sport and Misogyny on the Silver Screen'. *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies* 35, no. 1 (2005): 29-38.
- Davies, Andrew. 'The Police and the People: Gambling in Salford, 1900-1939'. *The Historical Journal* 34, no. 1 (1991): 87-115.
- Day, Dave, and Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Delineating Professional and Amateur Athletic Bodies in Victorian England', *Sport in History* 34 (2015, forthcoming).

- Day, Dave. "'Science', 'Wind' and 'Bottom': Eighteenth-Century Boxing Manuals'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 10 (2012): 1446-1465.
- Day, Dave. "'What Girl Will Now Remain Ignorant of Swimming?' Agnes Beckwith, Aquatic Entertainer and Victorian Role Model'. *Women's History Review* 21, no. 3 (2012): 419-446.
- Day, Dave. 'America's "Mysterious Training Tables": British Reaction and Amateur Hypocrisy'. *Sport in History* 34, no. 1 (2014): 90-112.
- Day, Dave. 'Craft Coaching and the "Discerning Eye" of the Coach'. *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching* 6, no. 1 (2011): 179-196.
- Day, Dave. 'Kinship and Community in Victorian London: The "Beckwith Frogs"'. *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 194-218.
- Day, Dave. 'London Swimming Professors: Victorian Craftsmen and Aquatic Entrepreneurs'. *Sport in History*, 30, no. 1 (2010): 32-54.
- Day, Dave. 'Massaging the Amateur Ethos: Professional Coaches at Stockholm in 1912'. *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 157-182.
- Dhunpath, Rubby. 'Life History Methodology: "Narradigm" Regained'. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 13, no. 5 (2000): 543-551.
- Dingle, Anthony E. 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards in Britain, 1870-1914'. *Economic History Review* 25, no. 4 (1972): 608-622.
- Doolittle, Peter E., and Hicks, David. 'Constructivism as a Theoretical Foundation for the Use of Technology in Social Studies'. *Theory & Research in Social Education* 31, no. 1 (2003): 72-104.
- Duff, Wendy M., and Johnson, Catherine A. 'Accidentally Found on Purpose: Information-Seeking Behaviour of Historians in Archives'. *The Library Quarterly* 72, no. 4 (2002): 472-496.
- Dyreson, Mark. 'America's Athletic Missionaries: Political Performance, Olympic Spectacle and the Quest for an American National Culture, 1896-1912'. *Olympika: the International Journal of Olympic Studies* 1 (1992): 70-91.
- Eisenberg, Christiane. 'Artisans' Socialization at Work: Workshop Life in Early Nineteenth-Century England and Germany'. *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 3 (1991): 507-520.
- Eisenberg, Christiane. 'The Middle Class and Competition: Some Considerations of the Beginning of Modern Sport in England and Germany'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7, no. 2 (1990): 265-282.
- Eisenhardt, Kathleen M. 'Building Theories from Case Study Research'. *The Academy of Management Review* 14, no. 4 (1989): 532-550.

- Erard, Carine, and Bancel, Nicolas. 'Prosopographical Analysis of Sports Elites: Overview and Evaluation of a Seminal Study'. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 1 (2007): 67-79.
- Erben, Michael. 'A Preliminary Prosopography of the Victorian Street'. *Auto/Biography* 4, no. 2/3 (1996), 53-68.
- Essers, Caroline. 'Reflections on the Narrative Approach: Dilemmas of Power, Emotion and Social Location While Constructing Life-Stories'. *Organization* 16, no. 2 (2009): 163-181.
- Evans, Tanya. 'Secrets and Lies: the Radical Potential of Family History'. *History Workshop Journal* 71, no. 1 (2011): 49-73.
- Evers, Hans-Dieter, Gerke, Solvay and Menhoff, Thomas. 'Knowledge Clusters and Knowledge Hubs: Designing Epistemic Landscapes for Development'. *Journal of Knowledge Management* 14, no. 5 (2010): 678-689.
- Fleming, Robin. 'Writing Biography at the Edge of History'. *American Historical Association Review* 114, no. 3 (2009): 606-614.
- Forrest, David, and Simmons, Robert. 'Sport and Gambling'. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 19, no. 4 (2003): 598-611.
- Friedlander, Dov. 'Demographic Responses and Population Change'. *Demography* 6, no. 4 (1969): 359-381.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt. 'Networks and the History of Education'. *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 43, no. 2 (2007): 185-197.
- Garnham, Neal. 'Both Praying and Playing: "Muscular Christianity" and the YMCA in North-East County Durham'. *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 2 (2001): 397-407.
- Georgiou, Dion, and Litherland, Benjamin. 'Introduction: Sport's Relationship with Other Leisure Industries – Sites of Interactions'. *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 183-197.
- Gibbert, Michael, and Ruigrok, Winfried. 'The "What" and "How" of Case Study Rigor: Three Strategies Based on Published Work'. *Organizational Research Methods* 13, no. 4 (2010): 710-737.
- Ginsburg, Madeleine. 'The Tailoring and Dressmaking Trades, 1700-1850'. In *Costume, The Journal of the Costume Society* 6, (1972): 64-71.
- Gleaves, John, and Dyreson, Mark. 'The "Black Auxiliaries" in American Memories: Sport, Race and Politics in the Construction of Modern Legacies'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27 (2010): 2893-2924.
- Gmelch, George. 'Return Migration'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 3 (1980): 135-159.

- Goulstone, John. 'The Working-Class Origins of Modern Football'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 17, no. 1 (2000): 135-143.
- Greene, Jennifer C., Caracelli, Valerie J., and Graham, Wendy F. 'Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Design'. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 11, no. 3 (1989): 255-274.
- Gregson, Keith, and Huggins, Mike. 'Northern Songs, Sporting Heroes and Regional Consciousness, c. 1800-c. 1880: "Wor Stars that Shine"'. *Northern History* 44, no. 2 (2007): 141-158.
- Gregson, Keith, and Huggins, Mike. 'Sport, Music-Hall Culture and Popular Song in Nineteenth-Century England'. *Culture, Sport, Society* 2, no. 2 (1999): 82-102.
- Guallar, Javier, and Abadal, Ernest. 'The Digital Press Archives of the Leading Spanish Online Newspapers'. *Information Research* 15, no. 1 (2010): paper 424.
- Guttmann, Allen. 'Review Essay: the Ludic and the Ludicrous'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 1 (2008): 100-112.
- Halladay, Eric. 'Of Pride and Prejudice: the Amateur Question in English Nineteenth-Century Rowing'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 4, no. 1 (1987): 39-55.
- Hardman, Alun, Jones, Carwyn, and Jones, Robyn. 'Sports Coaching, Virtue Ethics and Emulation'. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy* 15, no. 4 (2010): 345-359.
- Hardy, Stephen. 'Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects on Search of Historians'. *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 1 (1986): 14-33.
- Hardy, Stephen. 'Sport in Urbanizing America: a Historical Review'. *Journal of Urban History* 23/6 (1997): 675-709.
- Harris, Jan G. 'Mormons in Victorian Manchester'. *BYU Studies* 27, no. 1 (1987): 47-56.
- Harrison, Brian. 'Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth-Century England'. *Past & Present* 38 (1967): 98-125.
- Hart, Albert B. 'The Evils of Organized Athletics in American Colleges'. *Current History* 31, no. 3 (1929): 558-561.
- Harvey, Adrian. 'The Emergence of Football in Nineteenth-Century England: the Historiographic Debate'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 18 (2013): 2154-2163.
- Haslam, Jonathan. 'Biography and its Importance to History'. *Past and Future* 11 (2012): 10-12.
- Hass, Hein de. 'Migration and Development: a Theoretical Perspective'. *International Migration Review* 44, no. 1 (2010): 227-264.
- Hill, Jeffrey, and Williams, Jean. 'Introduction'. *Sport in History* 29, no. 2 (2009): 127-131.

- Hobsbawm, Eric J. 'The British Standard of Living 1790-1850'. *The Economic History Review* 10, no. 1 (1957): 46-68.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. 'The Tramping Artisan'. *Economic History Society* 3, no. 3 (1951): 229-320.
- Holt, Richard. 'Sport and the British: its Origins, Ideas and Composition'. *Sport in History* 31, no. 2 (2011): 137-148.
- Huberman, Bernardo A., and Hogg, Tad. 'Communities of Practice: Performance and Evolution'. *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory* 1, no. 1 (1995): 73-92.
- Huggins, Mike, and Gregson, Keith. 'Northern Songs, Sporting Heroes and Regional Consciousness, c.1800-c.1880: "Wor Stars that Shine"'. *Northern History* 44, no. 2 (2007): 141-158.
- Huggins, Mike, and Tolson, John. 'The Railways and Sport in Victorian Britain: a Critical Reassessment'. *The Journal of Transport History* 22, no. 2 (2001): 99-115.
- Huggins, Mike. 'Betting Capital of the Provinces: Manchester 1800-1900'. *Manchester Region History Review* 20 (2009): 24-45.
- Huggins, Mike. 'Sport and the British Upper Classes c.1500-2000: a Historiographic Overview'. *Sport in History* 28, no. 3 (2008): 364-388.
- Huggins, Mike. 'The Regular Re-Invention of Sporting Tradition and Identity: Cumberland and Westmorland Wrestling c.1800-2000'. *The Sports Historian* 21, no. 1 (2001): 35-55.
- Huggins, Mike. 'The Sporting Gaze: Towards a Visual Turn in Sports History – Documenting Art and Sport'. *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 2 (2008): 311-329.
- Humphries, Jane. 'The Working Class Family, Women's Liberation, and Class Struggle: the Case of Nineteenth Century British History'. *Review of Radical Political Economics* 9, no. 3 (1977): 25-41.
- Hung, Kam, Xiao, Honggen, and Yang, Xiaotao. 'Why Immigrants Travel to their Home Places: Social Capital and Acculturation Perspective'. *Tourism Management* 36 (2013): 304-313.
- Huvila, Isto. 'Participatory Archive: Towards Decentralised Curation, Radical User Orientation, and Broader Contextualisation of Records Management'. *Archival Science* 8, no. 1 (2008): 15-36.
- Ibsen, Maia-Laura, and Brunsden, Denys. 'The Nature, Use and Problems of Historical Archives for the Temporal Occurrence of Landslides, with Specific Reference to the South Coast of Britain, Ventnor, Isle of Wight'. *Geomorphology* 15, no. 3-4 (1996): 241-258.
- Iggers, Georg G. 'Review Paper: Historiography in the Twentieth Century'. *History and Theory* 44 (2005): 469-476.
- Inwood, Kris, and Reid, Richard. 'Introduction: the Use of Census Manuscript Data for Historical Research'. *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 28, no. 56 (1995): 300-311.

- Jackson, Alex. Review of *Sporting Heroes of the North*, by Stephen Wagg and Dave Russell. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 6 (2012): 947-949.
- James, Gary, and Day, Dave. 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840-1884'. *Sport in History* 34, no. 1 (2014): 49-74.
- Jamieson, Duncan R. Review of *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, by Douglas Booth. *Sport in History* 27, no. 1 (2007): 139-141.
- Jamieson, Duncan R. Review of *The Little Black Bottle: Choppy Warburton, the Questions of Doping, and the Deaths of his Bicycle Riders* by Gerry Moore. *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 1 (2013): 183-185.
- Johnes, Martin, and Taylor, Matthew. 'Boxing in History'. *Sport in History* 31, no. 4 (2011): 357-362.
- Johnes, Martin. 'Putting the History into Sport: on Sport History and Sport Studies in the UK'. *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 2 (2004): 144-160.
- Johnes, Martin. 'Researching the Game's Past: an Introduction to Using Local Newspapers to Research the History of Football'. *Soccer History* 9 (2004): 44-47.
- Jones, Diana K. 'Researching Groups of Lives: a Collective Biographical Perspective on the Protestant Ethic Debate'. *Qualitative Research* 1, no. 3(2001): 325-346.
- Jones, Gareth S. 'Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class'. *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 4 (1974): 460-508.
- Jones, Glen. "'Down on the Floor and Give Me Ten Sit-Ups": British Sports Feature Film'. *Film & History: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Film and Television Studies* 35, no. 2 (2005): 29-40.
- Justman, Moshe, and Gradstein, Mark. 'The Industrial Revolution, Political Transition, and the Subsequent Decline in Inequality in 19th-Century Britain'. *Explorations in Economic History* 36, no. 2 (1999): 109-127.
- Kantor, Jonathan. 'A Psycho-Historical Source: the Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent'. *Journal of Medieval History* 2, no. 4 (1976): 281-303.
- Kay, Joyce. 'Grass Roots: the Development of Tennis in Britain, 1918-1978'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 18 (2012): 2532-2550.
- Kennedy, David. 'The Split: a Social and Political History of Everton & Liverpool Football Clubs, 1878-1914'. *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 4 (2011): 471-567.
- Ketelaar, Eric. 'Ten Years of Archival Science'. *Archival Science* 10, no. 4 (2010): 345-352.
- Kirk, David. 'Educational Reform, Physical Culture and the Crisis of Legitimation in Physical Education'. *Discourses: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 19, no. 1 (1998): 101-112.

- Kneale, James, and French, Shaun. 'Mapping Alcohol: Health, Policy and the Geographies of Problem Drinking in Britain'. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy* 15, no. 3 (2008): 233-249.
- Kneale, James. 'The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914'. *Social and Cultural Geography* 2, no. 1 (2001): 43-59.
- Kupisz, P. 'Reconstructing Biographical Archives'. *Moveable Type* 3 (2010): 103-113.
- Levi, Carlo. In Russell King, 'Return Migration: a Neglected Aspect of Population Geography'. *Area* 10, no. 3 (1978): 175-182.
- Lifshitz, Felice. 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative'. *Viator* 25 (1994): 95-114.
- Lile, Emma. 'Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales During the Nineteenth Century'. *The Sports Historian* 20, no. 2 (2000): 94-105.
- Lockwood, David. 'The "New Working Class"'. *European Journal of Sociology* 1, no. 2 (1960): 248-259.
- Long, Jason. 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain'. *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 1 (2005): 1-35.
- Love, Christopher. 'Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 5 (2007): 603-619.
- Lucas, John A. 'Pedestrianism and the Struggle for the Sir John Astley Belt, 1878-1879'. *Research Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (1968): 587-594.
- Lucas, John. 'Deerfoot in Britain: An Amazing Long Distance Runner, 1861-1863'. *Journal of American Culture* 6, no. 3 (1983): 12-18.
- Lustick, Ian S. 'History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias'. *The American Political Science Review* 90, no. 3 (1996): 605-618.
- MacLeod, Christine, and Nuvolari, Alessandro. 'The Pitfalls of Prosopography: Inventors in the "Dictionary of National Biography"'. *Technology and Culture* 47, no. 4 (2006): 757-776.
- Mandle, W.F. 'Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria in the Late Nineteenth Century'. *Historical Studies* 15, no. 60 (1973): 511-535.
- Mandler, Peter. 'Against "Englishness": English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia, 1850-1940'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, no. 7 (1997): 155-175.
- Martin Johnes, 'Pigeon Racing and Working-Class Culture in Britain, c. 1870-1950'. *Cultural and Social History* 4, no. 3 (2007): 361-383.
- Martin, Jane, and Goodman, Joyce. 'Reforming Lives? Progressivism, Leadership and Educational Change'. *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education* 30, no. 5 (2001): 409-412.

- Metcalfe, Alan. 'Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889'. *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 4 (1982): 469-495.
- Mewett, Peter, and Perry, John. 'A Sporting Chance? The "Dark Horse Strategy" and Winning in Professional Running'. *Sociology of Sport Journal* 14, no. 2 (1997): 121-142.
- Mewett, Peter. 'Discourses of Deception: Cheating in Professional Running'. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (2002): 292-308.
- Mewett, Peter. 'From Horses to Humans: Species Crossover in the Origins of Modern Sports Training'. *Sport History Review* 33, no. 2 (2002): 95-120.
- Mewett, Peter. 'History in the Making and the Making of History: Stories and the Social Construction of Sport'. *Sporting Traditions* 17, no. 1 (2000): 1-17.
- Miller, Andrew C. Review of *Media Sports Stars: Masculinities and Moralities*, by Garry Whannel. *Journal of Sport History* 29, no. 3 (2002): 501-502.
- Mitchell, Linda E. 'Historians Reflecting on History and Historical Writing, Number 1'. *Historical Reflections* 36, no. 1 (2010): 1-3.
- Moltmann, Gunther. 'American-German Return Migration in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries'. *Central European History* 13, no. 4 (1980): 378-392.
- Moran, Gerard. '"A Passage to Britain": Seasonal Migration and Social Change on the West of Ireland, 1870-1890'. *Saothar* 13 (1988): 22-31.
- Moss, George. 'The Long Distance Runners of Ante-Bellum America'. *The Journal of Popular Culture* 8, no. 2 (2004): 370-382.
- Munting, Roger. 'Social Opposition to Gambling in Britain: an Historical Overview'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 10, no. 3 (1993): 295-312.
- Murphy, Michael. 'Long-Term Effects of the Demographic Transition on Family and Kinship Networks in Britain'. *Population and Developmental Review* 37 (2011): 55-80.
- Mutch, Alistair. 'Manchester and Liverpool Public Houses Compared, 1840-1914'. *Manchester Regional History Review* 16 (2003): 22-29.
- Nannestad, Ian. 'Researching the Game's Past: a Short Guide to Resources Available on the Internet'. *Soccer History* 15 (2007): 37-39.
- Nauright, John. 'The End of Sports History? From Sports History to Sports Studies'. *Sporting Traditions* 16, no. 1 (1999): 5-13.
- Nef, John U. 'The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large-Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540-1640'. *The Economic History Review* 5, no. 1 (1934): 3-24.

- Nevell, Michael. 'Living in the Industrial City: Housing Quality, Land Ownership and the Archaeological Evidence from Industrial Manchester, 1740-1850'. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15, no. 4 (2011): 594-606.
- Nicholas, Stephen, and Steckel, Richard H. 'Heights and Living Standards of the English Workers During the Early Years of Industrialisation, 1770-1815'. *The Journal of Economic History* 51, no. 4 (1991): 937-957.
- O'Byrne, Alison. 'The Art of Walking in London: Representing Urban Pedestrianism in the Early Nineteenth Century'. *Romanticism* 14, no. 2 (2008): 94-107.
- Oddy, Derek J. 'Food in Nineteenth Century England: Nutrition in the First Urban Society'. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 29, no. 1 (1970): 150-157.
- Oldfield, Samantha-Jayne. 'Running Pedestrianism in Victorian Manchester'. *Sport in History* 34, no. 2 (2014): 223-248.
- Oren, Laura. 'The Welfare of Women in Laboring Families: England 1860-1950'. *Feminist Studies* 1, no. 3/4 (1973): 107-125.
- Osborne, Carol A., and Skillen, Fiona. 'The State of Play: Women in British Sport History'. *Sport in History* 30, no. 2 (2010): 189-195.
- Osbourne, Carol, and Skillen, Fiona, editors. A special issue on Women and Sport. *Sport in History* 30, no. 2 (2010).
- Osler, Thomas J., and Dodd, Edward L. 'Six-Day Pedestrian Races'. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 301 (1977): 853-857.
- Osmond, Gary. 'Photographs, Materiality and Sport History: Peter Norman and the 1968 Mexico City Black Power Salute'. *Journal of Sport History* 37, no. 1 (2011): 119-137.
- Paechter, Carrie. 'Masculinities and Femininities as Communities of Practice'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 26, no. 1 (2003): 69-77.
- Park, Roberta J. 'Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a "Man of Character": 1830-1900'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 1 (2007): 1543-1569.
- Park, Roberta J. 'Contesting the Norm: Women and Professional Sports in Late Nineteenth-Century America'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 5 (2012): 730-749.
- Park, Roberta J. 'Physicians, Scientists, Exercise and Athletics in Britain and America from the 1867 Boat Race to the Four-Minute Mile'. *Sport in History* 31, no. 1 (2011): 1-31.
- Park, Roberta J. 'Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 2, no. 1 (1985): 5-28.

- Parker, Claire. 'The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878'. *The Sports Historian* 21, no. 2 (2001): 54-67.
- Parry-Jones, William. 'Asylums for the Mentally Ill in Historical Perspective'. *Psychiatric Bulletin* 12 (1988): 407-410.
- Patmore, John A. 'The Railway Network of the Manchester Conurbation'. *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 34 (1964): 159-173.
- Pennings, Mark W., and Pascoe, Robert. 'The Corio Oval Tribe: a Prosopographical Perspective of the Geelong Football Club in the Nineteenth Century'. *Sporting Traditions* 29, no. 1 (2012): 77-94.
- Perkins, Harold. 'Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (1989): 145-155.
- Phillips John A., and Wetherell, Charles. 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and the Political Modernization of England'. *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (1995): 411-436.
- Phillips, Bob. 'The Ancient Art of Mile Pacemaking'. *Official Journal of the British Milers' Club*, 3, no. 16 (2004): 29-31.
- Phillips, Murray G. 'Public History and Sport History: Evaluating Commissioned Histories and Historical Documentaries'. *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 3 (2008): 393-410.
- Phillips, Murray G., O'Neill, Mark E., and Osmond, Gary. 'Broadening Horizons in Sport History: Films, Photographs, and Monuments'. *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 2 (2007): 271-293.
- Phinney, Jean S. 'Identity Formation Across Cultures: the Interactions of Personal, Societal, and Historical Change'. *Human Development* 43 (2000): 27-31.
- Pittman, Gary E. 'WHO is Sir Francis Galton?'. *The Galton Institute Newsletter* 35 (1999).
- Podnieks, Elizabeth. 'Introduction: "New Biography" for a New Millennium'. *Auto/Biography Studies* 24, no. 1 (2009): 1-14.
- Pope, Steven W. 'Amateurism and American Sports Culture: the Invention of an Athletic Tradition in the United States, 1870-1900'. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996): 290-309.
- Pope, Steven W. 'Sport History: Into the 21st Century'. *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 2 (1998): i-x.
- Popp, Andrew. 'From Town to Town: How Commercial Travel Connected Manufacturers and Markets During the Industrial Revolution'. *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 642-667.
- Porritt, Edward. 'Five Centuries of Liquor Legislation in England'. *Political Science Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1985): 615-635.

- Pringle, Richard. 'What Makes Good Sport History?: Reflections on the Crisis of Legitimation and the Politics of Knowledge Construction'. *Sporting Traditions* 27, no. 2 (2010): 71-80.
- Rader, Benjamin G. 'The Quest for Subcommunities and the Rise of American Sport'. *American Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1977): 355-369.
- Radford, Peter F. and Ward-Smith, A.J. 'British Running Performances in the Eighteenth Century'. *Journal of Sports Sciences* 21, no. 5 (2003): 429-48.
- Razzell, Peter, and Spence, Christine. 'The Hazards of Wealth: Adult Mortality in Pre-Twentieth-Century England'. *Social History of Medicine* 19, no. 3 (2006): 381-405.
- Reid, Douglas A. 'Weddings, Weekdays, Work and Leisure in Urban England 1791-1911: the Decline of Saint Monday Revisited'. *Past & Present* 153 (1996): 135-163.
- Riess, Steven A. 'From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport'. *Journal of Sport History* 21, no. 2 (1994): 138-184.
- Riess, Steven A. 'The New Sport History'. *Reviews in American History* 18, no. 3 (1990): 311-325.
- Roberts, Geoffrey. 'History, Theory and Narrative Turn in IR'. *Review of International Studies* 32 (2006): 703-714.
- Rodgers, H. B. 'The Suburban Growth of Victorian Manchester'. *Journal of Manchester Geographical Society* 58 (1962): 1-12.
- Roe, Warren. 'The Athletic Capital of England: the White Lion Hackney Wick 1857-1875'. *BSSH Bulletin* 17 (2003): 39-40.
- Roeder, George H. 'Coming to Our Senses'. *Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (1994): 1112-1122.
- Rollyson, Carl. 'Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory and Life Writing'. *Biography* 36, no. 2 (2013): 392-395.
- Room, Robin, Babor Thomas, and Rehm, Jürgen. 'Alcohol and Public Health'. *The Lancet* 365, no. 9458 (2005): 519-530.
- Roth, Paul A. 'Narrative Explanations: the Case of History'. *History and Theory* 27, no. 1 (1988): 1-13.
- Rowe, David. 'Media and Sport: the Cultural Dynamics of Global Games'. *Sociology Compass* 3, no. 4 (2009): 543-558.
- Rowland, Donald T. 'Historical Trends in Childlessness'. *Journals of Family Issues* 28, no. 10 (2007): 1311-1337.
- Russell, Dave. 'Sporting Manchester, from c1800 to the Present: an Introduction'. *Manchester Region History Review* 20 (2009): 1-24.
- Salla, Michael E. 'There is No Nonviolent Future'. *Social Alternatives* 15, no. 3 (1996): 41-43.

- Schwartz, Robert, Gregory Ian, and Thevenin, Thomas. 'Spatial History: Railways, Uneven Development, and Population Change in France and Great Britain, 1850-1914'. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42, no. 1 (2011): 53-88.
- Secombe, Wally. 'Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Wage Norm in Nineteenth-Century Britain'. *Social History* 11, no. 1 (1986): 53-76.
- Seed, John, and Wolff, Janet. 'Class and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Manchester'. *Theory, Culture and Society* 2, no. 2 (1984): 38-53.
- Shapin, Steven, and Thackray, Arnold. 'Prosopography as a Research Tool in History of Science: The British Scientific Community, 1700-1900'. *History of Science* 12 (1974): 1-28.
- Sharma, Priya, Land, Susan M., Jordan, Robert, Swain, Jeff, and Smith, Brian K. 'Patterns of Interaction and Everyday Knowledge Sharing in Social Network Environments'. *ICLS* 2 (2010): 394-396.
- Simpson, Duncan, and Wrisberg, Craig. 'Fail to Prepare, Prepare to Fail: Professional Boxers' Experiences of Training'. *The Sport Psychologist* 27 (2013): 109-119.
- Smith, Mark M. 'Making Sense of Social History'. *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 1 (2003): 165-186.
- Smith, Michael A. 'Social Usages of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure'. *The British Journal of Sociology* 34, no. 3 (1983): 367-385.
- Smith, Ronald A. 'History of Amateurism in Men's Intercollegiate Athletics: the Continuance of a 19th-Century Anachronism in America'. *Quest* 45, no. 4 (1993): 430-447.
- Southall, Humphrey. 'Towards a Geography of Unionization: the Spatial Organization and Distribution of Early British Trade Unions'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 13, no. 4 (1988): 466-483.
- Stoler, Ann L. 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance'. *Archival Science* 2, no. 1-2 (2002): 87-109.
- Stone, Lawrence. 'Prosopography'. *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 46-71.
- Sturges, Paul. 'Collective Biography in the 1980s'. *Biography* 6, no. 4 (1983): 316-332.
- Swain, Peter. 'Cultural Continuity and Football in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire'. *Sport in History* 28, no. 4 (2008): 566-582.
- Swain, Peter. 'Pedestrianism, the Public House and Gambling in Nineteenth-Century South-East Lancashire'. *Sport in History* 32, no. 2 (2012): 382-404.
- Szreter, Simon. '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?'. *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 4, no. 2 (1999): 146-152.

- Tally, Bill, and Goldenberg, Lauren B. 'Fostering Historical Thinking with Digitized Primary Sources'. *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 38, no. 1 (2005): 1-21.
- Taylor, Harvey. 'Pay Up, But Don't Play the Game: English Amateur Athletic Elitism, 1863-1910'. *The Sports Historian* 22, no. 2 (2002): 75-97.
- Taylor, Hugh A. 'Information Ecology and the Archives of the 1980s'. *Archivaria* 18 (1984): 25-37.
- Taylor, Matthew, and Coyle, John. 'The Election of Clubs to the Football League 1888-1939'. *The Sports Historian* 19, no. 2 (1999): 1-24.
- Taylor, Matthew. 'From Source to Subject: Sport, History and Autobiography'. *Journal of Sport History* 35, no. 3 (2008): 469-491.
- Terret, Thierry. 'Professional Swimming in England Before the Rise of Amateurism, 1837-75'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12, no. 1 (1995): 18-32.
- Tilly, Charles. 'Family History, Social History, and Social Change'. *Journal of Family History* 12 (1987): 319-330.
- Tranter, Neil L. 'The Patronage of Organised Sport in Central Scotland, 1820-1900'. *Journal of Sport History* 16, no. 3 (1989): 227-247.
- Tripp, Mike. 'Cornish Wrestling in Australia'. *Sporting Traditions* 28, no. 1 (2011): 21-37.
- Turner, Michael J. 'Local Politics and the Nature of Chartism: The Case of Manchester'. *Northern History* 45, no. 2 (2008): 323-345.
- Vamplew, Wray. 'Australian Sport History: a Research Agenda'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (1989): 252-255.
- Vamplew, Wray. 'Empiricist Versus Sociological History: Some Comments on the "Civilising Process"'. *Sport in History* 27, no. 2 (2007): 161-171.
- Vamplew, Wray. 'Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 7 (2007): 843-871.
- Vamplew, Wray. 'Sports Crowd Disorder in Britain, 1870-1914: Causes and Controls'. *Journal of Sport History* 7 no. 1 (1980): 5-20.
- Vamplew, Wray. 'Theories and Typologies: a Historical Exploration of the Sports Club in Britain'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 14 (2013): 1569-1585.
- Vecoli, Rudolph J. 'European Americans: from Immigrants to Ethnic'. *International Migration Review* 6, no. 4 (1972): 403-434.
- Velody, Irving. 'The Archive and the Human Sciences: Notes Towards a Theory of the Archive'. *History and Philosophy of Science* 11, no. 4 (1998): 1-16.

- Vincent, Geoffrey T. "'Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman" Pedestrianism in Canterbury 1860-1885', *Sporting Traditions* 18, no. 1 (2001): 43-55.
- Vries, Jan de. 'The Economic Crisis of the Seventeenth Century After Fifty Years'. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2009): 151-194.
- Wallis, Patrick. 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England'. *Journal of Economic History* 68, no. 3 (2008): 832-861.
- Walters, William H. 'Later-Life Migration in the United States: a Review of Recent Research'. *Journal of Planning Literature* 17, no. 1 (2002): 37-66.
- Walton, John K. 'Lunacy in the Industrial Revolution: a Study of Asylum Admissions in Lancashire, 1848-1850'. *Journal of Social History* 13 (1979): 2-22.
- Watson, Don. 'Popular Athletics on Victorian Tyneside'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 3 (1994): 485-494.
- Weinberg, Steve. 'Biography: the Bastard Child of Academe'. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 54 (2008): 1-5.
- Weiner, Gaby. 'Olive Banks and the Collective Biography of British Feminism'. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29, no. 4 (2008): 403-410.
- Wenger, Etienne. 'Communities of Practice and Social Learning Systems'. *Organization* 7, no. 2 (2000): 225-246.
- Wettan, Richard, and Willis, Joe. 'Social Stratification in the New York Athletic Club: a Preliminary Analysis of the Impact of the Club on Amateur Sport in Late Nineteenth Century America'. *Sport History Review* 7, no. 1 (1976): 41-53.
- Whale, John. 'Real Life in the London Magazine: Pugilism and Literature in the 1820s'. *Sport in History* 31, no. 4 (2011): 381-397.
- White, Hayden V. 'Interpretation in History'. *New Literary History* 4, no. 2 (1973): 281-314.
- White, Hayden V. 'The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory'. *History and Theory* 23, no. 1 (1984): 1-33.
- Williams, Jean. 'Frisky and Bitchy: Unlikely British Olympic Heroes?'. *Sport in History* 30, no. 2 (2010): 242-266.
- Williams, Jean. 'Speed: Towards a Collective Biography of Brooklands' Female Motor Racing Drivers', *BSSH Members' Bulletin* (March, 2011): 3-10.
- Willis, Joe, and Wettan, Richard. 'Social Stratification in the New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915'. *Journal of Sport History* 3, no. 1 (1976): 45-63.

- Wilson, Alex. 'The Career of Paddy Canon: Farm-Worker, Record-Breaking Professional Runner, Successful Football Trainer'. *Track Stats* 48, no. 2 (2010).
- Wood, W. Raymond. 'Ethnohistory and Historical Method'. *Archaeological Method and Theory* 2 (1990): 81-109.
- Woods, Abigail, and Matthews, Stephen. "'Little, if at all, Removed from the Illiterate Farriers or Cow-Leech": the English Veterinary Surgeon, c.1860-1885, and the Campaign for Veterinary Reform'. *Medical History* 54 (2010): 29-54.
- Woodward, Kath, and Goldblatt, David. 'Introduction'. *Soccer & Society* 12, no. 1 (2011): 1-8.
- Woolridge, Joyce. 'These Sporting Lives: Football Autobiographies 1945-1980'. *Sport in History* 28, no. 4 (2008): 620-640.
- Wright, David. 'Getting Out of the Asylum: Understanding the Confinement of the Insane in the Nineteenth Century'. *Social History of Medicine* 10 (1997): 137-155.
- Wrigley, E. Anthony. 'Reflections on the History of the Family'. *Daedalus* 106, no. 2 (1977): 71-85.
- Wylleman, Paul, Alfermann, Dorothee, and Lavallee, David. 'Career Transition in Sport: European Perspectives'. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise* 5 (2004): 7-20.
- Yin, Robert K. 'Life Histories of Innovations: How New Practices become Routinized'. *Public Administration Review* 41 (1981): 21-28.
- Yin, Robert K. 'The Case Study Crisis: Some Answers'. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 26, no. 1(1981): 58-65.
- Ying, Kong. 'A Dictionary of Maqiao: Metafiction of Collective Biography'. *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 5, no. 4 (2011): 633-649.
- Yule, G. Udny. 'On the Changes in the Marriage- and Birth-Rates in England and Wales During the Past Half Century: with an Inquiry to their Probable Causes'. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 69, no. 1 (1906): 88-147.

Thesis and Dissertations

- Carpenter, Tegan L. 'Uneasy Bedfellows: Amateurism and Coaching Traditions in Twentieth Century British Sport'. PhD dissertation, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2012.
- Clapson, Mark. 'Popular Gambling and English Culture, c. 1845 to 1961'. PhD dissertation, University of Warwick, 1989.
- Day, Dave. 'Developing "Science" and "Wind": Eighteenth Century Sports Training'. Paper presented at the Sport in the Early Modern Culture conference, German Historical Institute, London, November 17-19, 2011.

- Day, Dave. 'From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England'. PhD dissertation, De Montfort University, 2008.
- Dillon, Jennifer R. 'Modernity, Sanitation and the Public Bath: Berlin, 1896-1933, as Archetype'. PhD dissertation, Duke University, 2007.
- Duinen, Jared P. van. 'The "Junto" and its Antecedents: the Character and Continuity of Dissent Under Charles I from the 1620s to the Grand Remonstrance'. PhD dissertation, University of New South Wales, 2009.
- Gleiss, Barbara. 'Women in Public Houses. A Historical Analysis of the Social and Economic Role of Women Patronising English Public Houses 1880s-1970s'. PhD dissertation, Universitat Wein, 2009.
- Hillyar, Anna. '*Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870-1917: a Prosopographical Study*'. PhD dissertation, University of Southampton, 1999.
- Job, Christiane N. 'Envisioning Basketball: a Socio-Biographical Investigation of Ruth Wilson – One of Western Canada's Sporting Pioneers'. MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2004.
- Kelly, Stephen. 'An Oral History of Footballing Communities at Liverpool and Manchester United Football Clubs'. PhD dissertation, University of Huddersfield, 2009.
- Kennedy, David. '*The Division of Everton Football Club into Hostile Factions: the Development of Professional Football Organisations on Merseyside, 1878-1914*'. PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2003.
- Knowles, Christopher. 'Winning the Peace: the British in Occupied Germany, 1945-1948'. PhD dissertation, King's College, London, 2014.
- Lo, Dominic. 'Football, the World's Game: A Study on Football's Relationship with Society'. PhD dissertation, Claremont McKenna College, 2011.
- O'Neill, Mark. 'The Phar Lap Story: Representations of the Sporting Past'. PhD dissertation, University of Queensland, 2011.
- Paisana, Joanne M.V. 'Tipplers, Drunkards and Backsliders: The Temperance Movement in England 1830-72, Including a Case Study of Lincoln'. PhD dissertation, Universidade do Minho, Portugal, 2002.
- Pattison, Lindsay. '*"The Dynamics of the Disc": Ultimate (Frisbee), Community, & Memory, 1968-2011*'. PhD dissertation. Concordia University, 2011.
- Poole, Robert. 'Wakes Holidays and Pleasure Fairs in the Lancashire Cotton District, c.1790-1890'. PhD dissertation, Lancaster University, 1985.
- Sampson, David. 'Strangers in a Strange Land: the 1868 Aborigines and Other Indigenous Performers in Mid-Victorian Britain'. PhD. dissertation, University of Technology, Sydney, 2000.

Someren, Janine van. 'Women's Sporting Lives: a Biographical Study of Elite Amateur Tennis Players at Wimbledon'. PhD dissertation, University of Southampton, 2010.

Tate, Stephen. 'The Professionalisation of Sports Journalism, c1850 to 1939, with Particular Reference to the Career of James Catton'. PhD dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, 2007.

Tripp, Mike. 'Persistence of Difference: a History of Cornish Wrestling'. PhD dissertation, University of Exeter, 2009.

Conference Proceedings

Day, Dave, and Pitchford, Deborah. "'Play in Again Sam": Mussabini and Wisdom: a Biographical Conundrum'. Paper presented at the British Society for Sport History annual conference, University of Glasgow, Scotland, September 6-7, 2012.

Day, Dave. 'Developing "Science" and "Wind": Eighteenth Century Sports Training'. Paper presented at the Sport in the Early Modern Culture conference, German Historical Institute, London, November 17-19, 2011.

Day, Dave. 'Jerry Jim's Training Stable in Early Victorian Preston'. Paper presented at Manchester Metropolitan University pedestrianism and athletics symposium, MMU Cheshire, Crewe, March 23, 2012.

Day, Dave. 'Victorian Coaching Communities: Exemplars of Traditional Practice'. Paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Institute for Performance Research, in Conjunction with Sports Coaching Review, Conference on Sporting Cultures, Crewe, Cheshire, June 22-23, 2013.

Fowler, Simon. 'History of Pubs'. Paper presented at the Family and Community History Research Society, South-East branch, July 2000.

- Georgiou, Dion. "'The Drab Suburban Streets were Metamorphosed into a Veritable Fairyland": Spectacle, Ritual and Festivity in the Ilford Hospital Carnival, 1905-1914'. Paper presented at the Institute for Historical Research Sport and Leisure History Seminar Series, London, November 5, 2012.
- Huggins, Mike. 'Complex, Contested and Contradictory: Aspects of "Amateur" Sports in Northern England in the Late 19th Century' Ethos'. Paper presented at the BSSH symposium on Sport and the Working-Class Amateur, Leeds Metropolitan University, July 4, 2014.
- James, Gary. 'The Sporting Broads'. Paper presented at the Manchester Metropolitan University Sport and Leisure History Group and British Society for Sport History North West symposium on Pedestrianism and Athletics, MMU Cheshire, Crewe, March 23, 2014.
- Martin, Derek. 'Harriers Cubs in Leeds, 1875-1914'. Paper presented at the BSSH symposium on Sport and the Working-Class Amateur, Leeds Metropolitan University, July 4, 2014.
- Mewett, Peter. 'Sports Training, Science and Class Among British Amateur Athletes in the Mid to Late Nineteenth Century'. Paper presented at the Australian Sociological Association annual conference, University of Western Australia and Murdoch University, December 4-7, 2006.
- Osborne, Carol. "'Just the Man for the Job": Sam Turner, the Early Mount Everest Expeditions and the Amateur Ethos'. Paper presented at the BSSH symposium on Sport and the Working-Class Amateur, Leeds Metropolitan University, July 4, 2014.
- Robinson, Claire. 'Pantomime in Manchester 1880-1903'. Paper presented at the Politics of Pantomime conference, Lancaster, July 7, 2011.
- Schultz, Guy. 'Winning Pierre de Coubertin Over: Sigfrid Edström and the Establishment of the International Amateur Athletic Federation'. Paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History annual conference, Penn State University, Pennsylvania, 1999.
- Sibley, Gay. 'The Craft and Career of Writing'. Paper presented at the University of the Aegean, Rhodes, Greece, July 19, 2006.
- Various Authors. Panels on Coaching Biographies. Papers presented at the British Society for Sport History annual conference, University of Glasgow, Scotland, September 7-8, 2012.
- Wenger, Etienne. 'Communities of Practice: a Brief Introduction'. Paper presented at the STEP Leadership Workshop, University of Oregon, October 20, 2011.
- Williams, Jean. 'Speed: Towards a Collective Biography of Brooklands Women, 1907-1939'. Paper presented at the Institute for Historical Research Sport and Leisure History Seminar Series, Institute for Historical Research, London, November 28, 2011.

Working Papers

Allen, Robert C. 'The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective: how Commerce Created the Industrial Revolution'. Working paper, Department of Economics, Oxford University, Oxford, 2006.

Dale, Jill. 'Irish Migration to England Before, During and After the Great Famine with Emphasis on Immigration from County Mayo and County Roscommon, Ireland'. Working paper, County Mayo Beginnings, 2010.

Day, Dave. 'Professor George Poulton: Natationist and Entrepreneur'. Working paper, Department of Exercise and Sport Science, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, 2014.

Guion, Lisa A., Diehl, David C., and McDonald, Debra. 'Triangulation: Establishing the Validity of Qualitative Studies'. Working paper FCS6014, Department of Family, Youth and Community Sciences, Florida Cooperative Extension Services and the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, University of Florida, Gainesville, 2011.

James, Gary. 'The Sporting Broads: a Family's Journey from Pedestrianism to Football'. Working paper, Department of Exercise and Sport Science, Manchester Metropolitan University, Crewe, 2013.

Johnes, Martin. 'British Sport History: the Present and the Future'. Paper presented at the annual meeting for the British Society for Sport History, University of Stirling, Scotland, September 8, 2007.

Southport Athletic Club. 'A Brief History of the Southport Waterloo AC'. Working paper, Southport Athletic Club, 2004.

Williams, Jean. 'Send her Victorious: a Historiography of British Women Olympians 1896-2012'. Working paper, De Montfort University, August 2010.

Internet Sources

British Library. *The British Newspaper Archive*. <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>>

Burns, Kathryn. 'Whitworth to Recognise Champion Victorian Runner'. The Best of Rossendale. <<http://www.thebestof.co.uk/local/rossendale/community-hub/blog/view/whitworth-to-recognise-champion-victorian-runner>>

Gale, *Gale Digital Collections*. <<http://gdc.gale.com/>>

Janssen, Andreas. 'Progressive 1-Mile All Time List'. <<http://thegreatdistancerunners.de/1Milealltime.html>>

Keats-Rohan, Katharine S.B. 'Biography, Identity and Names: Understanding the Pursuit of the Individual in Prosopography'. Course syllabus, Oxford University (1999). <<http://www.coelweb.co.uk/NamesIdentity.pdf>>

Knowles, Christopher. 'Collective Biography'. How it Really Was Blog. <http://howitreallywas.typepad.com/how_it_really_was/2013/03/collective-biography.html>

Munslow, Alun. 'Deconstructing History E-Seminar, 1997'. <<http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/e-seminars/munslow-paper#1>>

PBW. *Prosopography of the Byzantine World Database*. <<http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/>>

Todd, Selina, and Young, Hillary. *Voices of Postwar England: an Oral History of the Working-Class*. <<http://voicesofpostwarengland.wordpress.com/>>

University of Sussex, *Mass Observation Repository*. <<http://www.massobs.org.uk/>>