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English sport and Canadian culture in Toronto 1867 to 1911.

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ENGLISH SPORT AND CANADIAN CULTURE

IN TORONTO 1867 TO 1911

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study was to add to the understanding of Canadian culture, through an analysis of three dimensions of English sport in Toronto; English sports, English attitudes and values to/for sport, and English leadership in Toronto sport. A decline in Imperial sway from 1867 to 1911 was apparent in the three areas of investigation. By 1911 North American sporting forms dominated the Toronto milieu, to the detriment of traditional English sports, and the rise of "native" sport was coincedent with the apparent opportunity for mass participation with associated attitudes embodied in a quest for success and a desire for immediate gains from athletic endeavour. The popular sporting attitudes expressed by the turn of the century were in contradiction to the future oriented tenets of elitist English athleticism.

The examination of English sport led to the evolution of four criteria of cultural acceptance related to sport. Also, American influence on Canada, apparent in the popularity of baseball by 1911, and the development of organized league competition and its associated ideals, which developed in Canada, the United States and England in essentially the same era, lent support to the belief in the development of cultures not encompassed within political boundaries,

but based upon shared processes associated with urban-industrial development. It was in this light that Canadian culture was deemed to be viewed, and if a readily identifiable national culture was to be uncovered, it was felt that research would have to centre on the era prior to the culmination of the urban-industrial process.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The question of Canadian culture has been debated since the emergence of Canada as an autonomous nation in 1867. The concept of a national identity, or the presence of a distinct Canadian culture, indicated by patterns of behaviour in Canadian society which could differentiate it from other national entities, has been bandied about with little apparent doubt concerning its existence, but scant scholarly concern for a viable definition.[1] This thesis is an attempt to contribute to the understanding of Canadian culture through an analysis of the influence, in Canada, of England's sporting traditions in three areas of investigation. These three dimensions of English sport involve: the English sports played in Canada, English sporting attitudes and values exhibited in the Dominion, and English leaders in Canadian sport. This thesis does not presume to undertake a definition of Canadian culture, but hopes to cast some light on the shadowy conundrum of a distinct Canadian culture.

Culture and Sport

Culture, in this investigation, is defined as,

> the whole way of life that is created, learned, held in common, and passed on from one generation to another by members of a particular society.[2]

One must not be deceived by the apparent simplicity of this definition, as it is the abstract nature of culture dealing with "patterns and abstractions that underlie behaviour itself" that creates its complexity.[3]

In order to analyze culture, opinions must be based upon explanations of observable behaviour. Man's observable behaviour is symbolic in nature, and it is his use of symbols that enables him to communicate within his environment. The ability to symbol may be defined as "the ability to produce in some external medium, from memory, the pattern of a learned concept."[4] This means of self-expression, separates man from animal, and enables culture to exist. It is only in man that "we fine understanding as a process of adjustment carried on by sumbolic means."[5] Man is able to delve beyond mere sense impressions and can grasp and interpret the world with symbols. Thus, man has the ability to "acquire understanding and affect adjustments on a higher level than any other animal."[6] Man can share his understanding with others, a capacity from which culture evolves.

Language is the most important expression of the symbolic nature of culture, but is certainly not the sole expression. Culture is expressed in an extensive

> organization of phenomina--acts (patterns of behaviour), objects (tools; things made with tools), ideas (beliefs, knowledge), and sentiments (attitudes, values)--that is dependent upon symbols.[7]

However, due to its reliance upon language for transmission, "oral history and written accounts (language in a coded form) of behaviour provide materials for an analysis of culture."[8] It is its symbolic nature that enables the whole way of life of a society to be passed from generation to generation in a continuous, cumulative, progressive manner. It is also this nature which makes historical analysis a productive means of examination in order to provide explanations of particular cultures.

In any cultural analysis, the behaviour of a society or segment of society is examined. Society and culture are co-extensive, and one cannot exist without the other.[9] Simply stated, culture refers to what is being analyzed, while society refers to who is being analyzed. Society may be defined as "any group of people having a common body and system of culture."[10]

What cultural traits are exhibited by Canadian society that separate it from the various influences that contributed to its development, primarily French, British, and American? The problem at hand is to ascertain whether patterns of behaviour existed that made Canadian society a distinct entity. If traits are found that are specific to such a society, then a basis for defining a distinct Canadian culture may evolve. However, the possibility exists that Canada may be a nondescript part of a large, multi-societal culture composed of the Western democracies.

The problem of "same" and "different" in terms of a separate, distinct, identifiable unit is often unclear, and cultural bounds "cannot be precisely delineated since there is no exact dividing line

between 'same' and 'different' cultures."[11]

> 'Same' and 'different' are not characteristic of things but of the classification system, the observer, and the purpose at hand, and any two things in the universe can be classified as 'same' and 'different' depending upon the circumstances.[12]

The system of cultural classification used in this thesis is sport. Certainly sport, in some manner or form, is a phenomenon with which the majority of people of Western societies are conversant, although not necessarily directly involved as active participants. Sport is, apparently, a visible artifact of Western culture. Frederickson has stated "...sport is primarily a cultural product and must be understood as such."[13] Luschen says, "Sport is indeed an expression of that socio-cultural system in which it occurs" and "since it implies cultural values, it has the potential to pass these values on to its participants."[14] Metcalfe contends that sport

> is one of the most accurate single indicators of societal and cultural values. Sport through the way it is played, the attitudes it invokes, and the functions it performs, reflects the cultural attitudes, norms, and values of society.[15]

Consequently, an analysis of history of sport in Canada will provide one index with which to evaluate the behaviour pattern of Canadian society, with the possibility of inferring the existence or non-existence of a distinct Canadian culture.

The use of history of sport as an index of culture must be viewed in terms of the all-encompassing nature of culture. Sport, although as valid as any other single cultural artifact as a mirror of society, must be considered within the context of culture as a whole. In order to accurately analyze culture, a multiplicity of indices must be

employed to account for its myriad aspects. Such a multi-faceted investigation would be required in any attempt to define a Canadian national identity. It is in this light that this study is presented, as a small contribution toward the analysis of Canadian culture, and not as an end in itself.

Definitions

Organized Sport - Structured and regulated activities of gross human movement characterized by rules and competition, manifest in physically active games, athletic combat, conquest and transportation contests of an organized team nature.[16]

"English" Sports - Sports that were engaged in, in Canada, during the selected time period, that were popularized in England or considered native to England.

"English" Attitudes and Values - The mental position with regard to the utility or importance of sport held by the English.

"English" Leadership - The positions of command, authority, or influence held by Englishmen in the realm of sport in Toronto from 1867 to 1911 (i.e. members of executives of the administrations of sporting teams, clubs, leagues or associations).

English - The determination of "English" will be based upon birth or education. Birth in England is an obvious "English" determinant. However, individuals educated in English Public Schools, or their Canadian counterparts, will also be considered as English, due to the attitudes and values to/for sport inculcated by such institutions.

Delimitations

Several delimitations have been made, but due to the nature and scope of the study these delimitations are felt to be well within reason. This thesis deals only with an analysis of English sporting contributions. Geographical and temporal limits also frame the study. Finally, the study concerns itself solely with organized sport.

Canada's development has been influenced primarily by three forces, French, American and British, with the British being composed of English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh peoples. The fact that two major languages are spoken in Canada adds to the complexity of Canada's cultural issue. However, there is no doubt that the English, considered separate from fellow British peoples, have contributed greatly to the cultural development of Canada, and not solely in terms of language. Politically, Canada has derived its Parliamentary system of government from England. Canada's legal system is steeped in the traditions of English criminal and civil law. In terms of religion and education, the Church of England and numerous schools patterned after traditional English Public Schools, have influenced the cultural development of the North American Dominion. England's impact on culture in Canada cannot be ignored. However, the degree of English influence has received no scholarly attention in relation to Canadian culture. For this reason this thesis is delimited solely to the aspect of English influence on Canada.

Toronto has been selected as the site of this study due to its importance as the capital city of Ontario, as one of the dominant urban-industrial areas in Canada, as a recognized cultural centre, and also as

a place of residence for many English immigrants. In 1871, 19.6% of Canada's population was of English origin, which for the same year 37.8% of Toronto's population was of English heritage.[17] On the basis of such statistics it was felt that Toronto would be a bastion for the maintenance of English traditions, specifically sporting traditions. This belief is supported by the following quotation.

> In no part of the world where English language is spoken and English traditions of manly sport are preserved are associations for athletic and sporting purpose more in vogue than in Toronto.[18]

Despite this apparent English nature, Clark described the society of Toronto in 1898 as "pretty much...what it is everywhere else except that money is the chief requisite here."[19] Glazebrook in his description of the city at the turn of the century noted that most of the characteristics he attributed to the Queen City "would have applied to other cities and towns in Ontario at the same time, but Toronto was large and powerful and therefore conspicuous."[20] Similarly in 1891 it was stated that the history of Toronto "is pretty much the history of the Province, of which it is now the imposing metropolis."[21] Consequently, for the purposes of this study, Toronto, as an upholder of English traditions and a mirror of a large segment of Canadian society, appears to be the most suitable source from which inferences relating to Canadian culture can be made, at least in terms of urban-industrial development.

Temporal limits, from 1867 to 1911, have been placed on this study. For an historical analysis of Canada, the year 1867 provides a logical starting point as it marks the birth of Canada as a self-governing nation. Within these confines nation-wide census data was collected, and the years

1871, 1891, and 1911 provide focal points for the study. Census material provides a frame of reference for the data collected, relating to English sport and English leaders in sport. The year 1911 marks the close of the investigation, as the last year in which census material was collected prior to World War I, a logical termination point. The cessation of the study also coincides with the dramatic influx of non-British immigrants, and the relative stabilization of British, including English, immigration to Canada.

Sport has been delimited to the area of organized sport or institutionalized games. Difficulty in uncovering historical data referring to recreational pursuits and pastimes created this delimitation. Organized or institutionalized sport is also associated with the geographical limits imposed, and with the English ideal of athleticism.

Methods and Procedures

The examination of the nature of Canadian culture through an analysis of English sporting traditions in Toronto will be undertaken on three planes. The first deals directly with English sports played in Toronto in terms of numbers of teams, active participation, and spectator interest, in relation to the entire Toronto sporting milieu. Such an analysis is attempted to furnish a direct measure of English sporting influence. The second, a more subtle plane, involves the dissemination of English attitudes and values to/for sport in Toronto. This provides for the investigation of sport at a cognitive or psychological level involving all Toronto sports and not solely those contributed by the

Mother country. Finally, the third plane deals with numbers of Englishmen in leadership roles in relation to English born population of Toronto, providing yet another measure of England's influence in Ontario's capital. Each of the three levels of analysis, considered in relation to each other, provides not only information concerning English influence, but also reveals the nature of sport in Toronto from which cultural inferences may be made.

Chapter II will provide an examination of English sport in order to determine whether such activities were common to Toronto from 1867 to 1911. A comparison between English and non-English sport, in terms of numbers of teams, numbers of active participants, and relative popularity will be related to census data concerning the population of the city of Toronto.

Chapter III will scrutinize athleticism, the accepted embodiment of attitudes and values expressed by English institutionalized sport of the time. Toronto sport will then be examined to determine the presence of and/or strength of such ideals, as expressed through newspaper editorials and reports, rules, and game descriptions.

An investigation of English leadership in Toronto sporting teams, clubs, leagues, and associations will be presented in Chapter IV. The sports soccer, cricket, lacrosse, and hockey will be utilized for this purpose to determine such English influence in relation to the census data concerning the numbers of English born in the city.

Chapter V will constitute the conclusion of the study explaining and unifying the preceding chapters in terms of the degree of English influence on the development of sport in Toronto. Sport in Toronto,

as represented in this thesis, will then be used as a basis for making inferences concerning the nature of Canadian culture and the possibility of the presence of a unique, distinct, separately identifiable national culture.

FOOTNOTES

[1]W. Edward Laurendeau, Sport and Canadian Culture in the Border Cities 1867 to 1929 (Unpublished Master of Physical Education thesis, University of Windsor, 1971), p. 1; W. Stewart Wallace, The Growth of Canadian National Feeling (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1927), p. 1.

[2]F. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Western Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), p. 1.

[3]Gunther Luschen, "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture" in The Cross Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. by Gunther Luschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), p. 86.

[4]Alfred Kuhn, The Study of Society, a Unified Approach (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc. and Dorsey Press Inc., 1963), p. 210.

[5]Leslie A. White, The Science of Culture (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1949), p. 397.

[6]Ibid., p. 397.

[7]Leslie A. White, The Evolution of Culture (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1959), p. 139.

[8]Laurendeau, op. cit., p. 1.

[9]Kuhn, op. cit., p. 205.

[10]Ibid., p. 212.

[11]Laurendeau, op. cit., p. 6.

[12]Kuhn, op. cit., p. 212.

[13]Florence Stumpf Frederickson, "Sports and the Cultures of Man", in Science and Medecine of Exercise and Sports, ed. by Warren R. Johnson (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1960), p. 636.

[14]Luschen, op. cit., p. 89.

[15]Alan Metcalfe, "Sport in Nineteenth Century England: An Interpretation". A paper presented at the Second World Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Banff, Alberta, 1971, p. 55.

[16]W. Edward Laurendeau, A Cultural History of the North Shore of the Detroit River from Lake Erie to Lake St. Clair (Unpublished Master of Physical Education thesis proposal, University of Windsor, 1970), p. 2.

[17]Edwin C. Guillet, The Great Migration (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 131.

[18]C. Pelham Mulvany, Toronto Past and Present (Toronto: W. E. Caiger, Publisher, 1884), p. 120.

[19]C. S. Clark, Of Toronto the Good (Montreal: The Toronto Publishing Company, 1898), p. 27.

[20]G. P. DeT. Glazebrook, The Story of Toronto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 169.

[21]G. Mercer Adam, Toronto, Old and New (Toronto: The Mail Printing Company, 1891), p. 42.

CHAPTER II

The Status of English Sport in Toronto, 1867 to 1911.

In an analysis of English sporting influence a logical starting point was an investigation of English sports played in Toronto. The playing of such sports constituted a self-evident example of the influence under consideration, and thus provided a crude gauge of English sway. Three measures were utilized as the basis of the analysis; the number of teams actively participating, numbers of active participants, and spectator interest, all as they were related in the pages of The Globe, a daily Toronto newspaper of wide circulation. The years 1871, 1891, and 1911 marked the intervals at which data was collected, and also provided census information to which the material relating primarily to active participation was compared. All Toronto sport was then subjected to the same system of measurement in order to facilitate the assessment of English sport as an influential force in the Queen City.

English sports were those that were engaged in, in Canada, that were popularized in England, or considered native to that country. The determination of that popularization or nativity was based upon a review of literature, particularly the classic work of Joseph Strutt edited by J. C. Cox in 1903, pertinent to the sporting heritage of the Mother country. Readings of this nature in conjunction with a review of the Globe in the years 1871, 1891, and 1911 revealed that the English sports, falling within the delimitations of this thesis, that were engaged in, in Toronto, were cricket and two variations of football, soccer and rugby.[1]

Cricket in Toronto, in 1871, encompassed at least five clubs. Two of these were associated with Upper Canada College and Trinity College, both prestigeous educational institutions patterned after English Public Schools and which perhaps epitomized English influence in Canada.[2] Consequently, their association with the game of cricket was born of their English heritage and traditions. A third team, the Banks Cricket Club was affiliated with a specific professional clique whose profession was well respected and whose members were held in high esteem within the community.[3] On this basis it appeared that cricket in 1871 was not engaged in by a broad base of the population of the city.

Cricket clubs played matches on a challenge or invitational basis, as did their English counterparts, throughout the summer months, both within the city and the surrounding area. In 1871 Toronto clubs hosted rivals from Hamilton, Collingwood, and the Toronto Cricket Club played contests in London, Chatham, and Brantford during a four day journey.[4] The ability of individuals to forsake their employ,

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The exact beginnings of cricket are difficult to uncover but, "there is no doubt whatsoever that it is a game essentially and exclusively English in its rise and development." A combination of stool-ball and club-ball gave rise to the present game of cricket. The rules of the game were first codified in 1744. The "central parliament" of cricket, the Marylebone Club came into being in 1788. Public schools magnanimously extolled the virtues of playing the game and its greatest days supposedly did not emerge until the 1860's.

The popularity of football in England is recorded by public edicts against its existence, beginning as early as 1394. In 1531 Thomas Elyot commented that football was nothing but "beastly fury and extreme violence" as the game was literally a struggle between towns. The modern concepts of the game had to be created anew, gaining status in the Public Schools. Two variations of football evolved; the kicking game (soccer) from which emerged the Football Association in 1863, and the carrying game (rugby) and its Rugby Union which came into being in 1871.

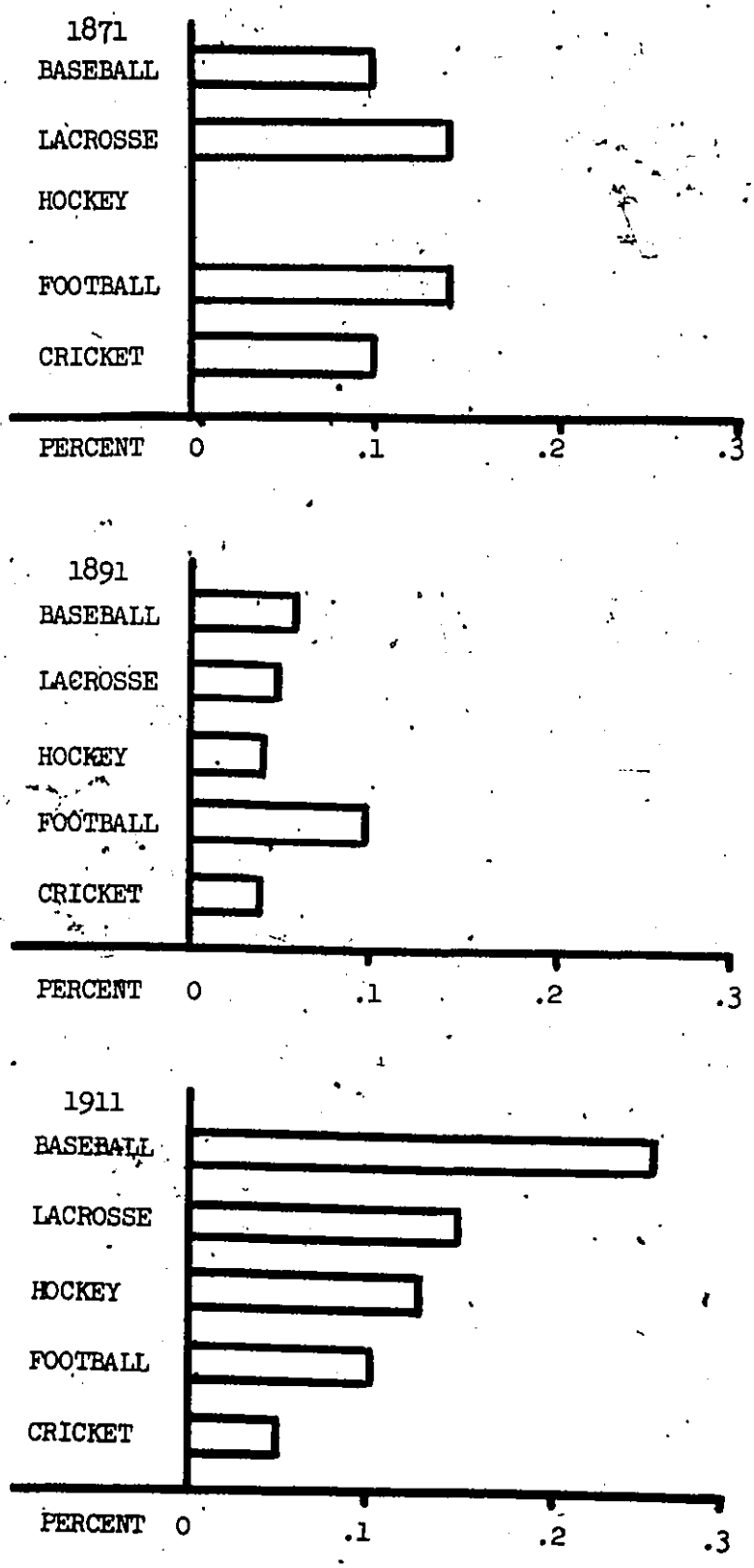

Fig. 1. Active Participation (based on the minimum number of players required in each sport) as a Percent of the Total Toronto Population in Cricket, Football, Hockey, Lacrosse and Baseball 1871, 1891, 1911.

for such an extended period of time, casts some light on their financial and social standing, and hints at the elitist nature of the sport. Negotiations, by the same club, were made with the "cricketers of Philedelphia with the view of getting up an International Match" for the 1871 season, and such plans mirror the English penchant for international matches and international players.[5] During the same year a "cricket week" was staged in Toronto from September 11 to September 16 with a series of matches having been played.[6]

By 1891 the minimum number of cricket clubs increased to six, and play continued on basically the ~~same~~ challenge basis as years earlier. Despite the apparent increase in the number of clubs a decrease in active participation related to the population of Toronto was noted in 1891, compared to 1871 (see Figure 1). A decline in English sporting influence may have been signified by this relative decline, but it must also be noted that sport in general in Toronto in 1891 seemed to have paralleled this trend (see Figure 2). However, by this time the Ontario Cricket Association had been created, but made "no pretense other than the name to being a provincial association" as it was concerned primarily with Toronto and vicinity.[7] Another innovation was the development of the Toronto Colt's Cricket League, a league for apparently less skilled players, as a Colt was defined as "any member of the age thirty-one and under, and any member over twenty-one who has not played on the senior team of his own club."[8] Based on the complete lack of coverage afforded this league in the Globe however, it was apparently not regarded in the same light as senior levels of competition. International play continued to be prominent, as the Ardmoreites a visiting United

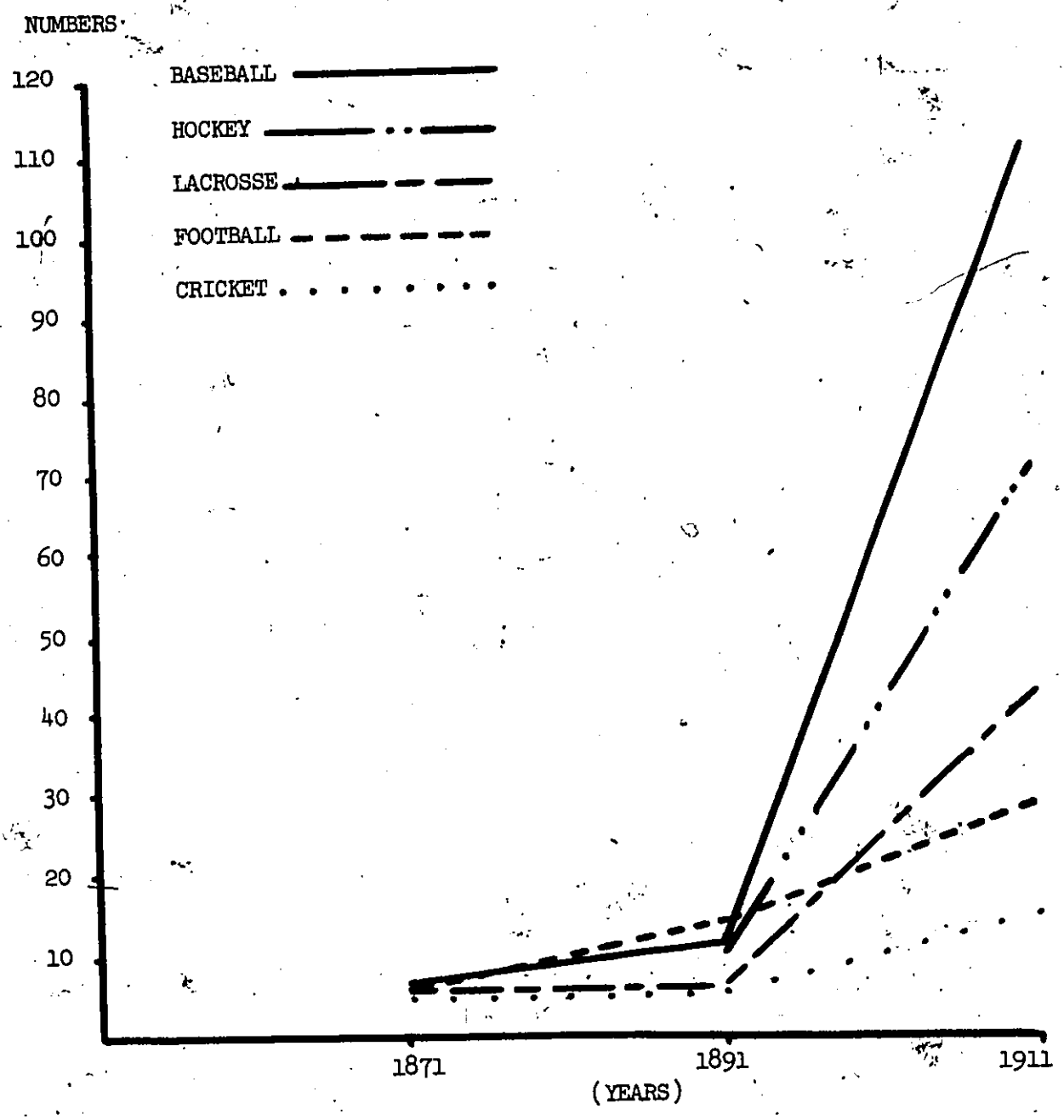

Fig. 2. Number of Baseball, Hockey, Lacrosse, Football, and Cricket Teams in Toronto, 1871, 1891, 1911.

States team were welcomed to Toronto in 1891.[9] Also the caliber of play in Canada created concern, witnessed by the desire of the prominent Toronto Cricket Club to hire another professional to ameliorate the quality of instruction offered within the club.[10]

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Torontonian cricket in 1891 was the advent of league play. Pimlott claimed the "league system ... was based on American precedents", and if such was the case the formation of the Colts League in Toronto may have represented a situation antithetical to English influence.[11]

A minimum of fifteen cricket clubs were extant in Toronto by 1911, but in terms of active participation cricket still involved fewer individuals, relative to the total Toronto population than it did in 1871 (see Figure 1), intimating a decline in the sport as a popular activity among Toronto sportsmen. This apparent decline notwithstanding, the Ontario Cricket Association continued to exist and was joined by the Canadian Cricket Association.[12] Coincedent with such organizations was the operation of the game within a league structure, featuring regularly scheduled matches among senior cricket clubs, as the Church and Mercantile Cricket League whose activity was closely followed by the Globe, attested.[13] League play, as a mode of competition, may be indicative of an "Americanization" of the game as intimated earlier. However, challenges and invitations did continue among clubs not associated with the Church and Mercantile League.

Concern for excellence in cricket play continued in 1911 as exemplified by the donation of the John Ross Robertson Cricket Cup, a challenge trophy, "with the view of improving the class of cricket

played in Canada."[14] Consideration of "Canadian" cricket was also voiced by a correspondent in the Globe concerning the selection of Canada's international team, as he wrote,

> ...this writer has always contended that this match (a 1911 international match) should be open only to Canadians, or, at the outside to Englishmen who had become Canadianized by long residence in Canada.[15]

Apparently the Dominion was being represented in international competition by Englishmen of recent arrival, and this policy disturbed those who may have been interested in improving the quality of "Canadian" cricket, or ensuring that Canada was represented by Canadians. As can be determined by such concern, international matches continued to assume an integral position during the cricket season, and there is record of a Toronto eleven suffering defeat at the hands of a touring American club late in the summer of 1911.[16]

Cricket, by 1911, although having experienced an increase in the number of clubs since 1891, appeared to have maintained the relative level of active participation of two decades previous. The game did not gain increased acceptance over the years, and the year 1871 was apparently the most significant in terms of active participation. Although the English nature of cricket cannot be disputed, the game in Toronto after the turn of the century seemed to have taken on some North American characteristics in terms of league play, the desire for the Canadianization of participants' on international teams, as well as a wish to improve the caliber of Canadian cricket.

Football, England's second contribution to the variety of sports played in Toronto, was engaged in by at least six clubs in 1871. As was the case with cricket several clubs, Osgoode, Trinity, and

University College, were aligned with eminent educational institutions.[17] Two other clubs were seemingly of definite ethnic orientation, assuming the epithets "Erin" and "Shamrock".[18] Such club affiliations lead to a belief that football also, in 1871, was not enjoyed by a wide range of the city's populace. The Association variety of the game was apparently predominant at this time, and a match for the "championship of the province" was contested between the Erin and Shamrock clubs.[19] Competition was carried on by means of the same system of challenges and invitations as employed for cricket matches of the day.

Activity in football progressed to the inclusion of at least fifteen active teams in the sporting life of Toronto by 1891. However the relative number of active participants showed a decline from 1871 (see Figure 1). Once again such a relative decrease in activity may have been reflective of a lessening of English sporting influence, particularly when coupled with a similar trend in cricket, but the same pattern in all Toronto sport may cast some doubt on this view.

The analysis of football as a gauge of English influence was compounded by differing versions of the game. Not only were the two English variations present, but also a Canadian form of rugby was evolving and increasing in popularity. A number of leagues with definite season-long schedules were functioning in Toronto, e.g. Toronto Football League, Western Football Association, Junior Football League, and the problem associated with recognizing the type of football played in a particular match or league was pointed out by Howell and Howell in reprinting a notation from the Globe in 1879, requesting that those who submitted intelligence of specific matches, state the rules by which

these matches were governed.[20] Generally speaking, however, the Globe in 1891 failed to specifically differentiate between variations of the game.

The Association game, the soccer variation of football, exhibited relatively strong ties with England. A meeting of the Western Football Association centred on the discussion of the arrangement and selection of a team to tour England and Scotland.[21] Other apparent Association leagues included the Toronto Football League, the Junior Football League, and the Wholesale Dry Goods Football League.

The Rugby version of football provided the greatest difficulty in analysis due to the lack of differentiation between the English form and the emerging Canadian styles of play. The Canadian rugby game was influenced not solely by its English counterpart, but also by American variations on the same theme. Edward Bayly, the honorary secretary of the Ontario Rugby Football Union in 1891, reported on the United States variation, and advocated the possibility of adopting several minor American rules, but steadfastly refused to accept any principal rules of the foreign game, for fear of ruining the game "which is rapidly becoming popular here."[22] Although English rugby was played in Toronto, there appeared to have been a definite movement toward a distinctly Canadian form, distinct from the English version and definitely identifiable from its American relative.

Two facets of football were of particular significance by 1891; widespread league structure, and the development of the native rugby variation. League play was believed to have evolved from American sources, as pointed out earlier, rather than from England. England's

Football League, formed in 1888, represented the first instance of league play there, while this means of competition was noted in the United States as early as 1858 with the formation of the National Association of Baseball Players, involving twenty-five different teams.[23] Such a time disparity in the introduction of league competition lends credence to the belief in league play as being born in America. Consequently the formulation of such an organized system of play may be considered as a form of "Americanization". The development of a unique form of rugby in Canada, at essentially the same time that modern football was evolving in England, as noted by the formation of the Football Association and the Rugby Union, may also be interpreted as the "Canadianization" of an English sporting form.

Football expanded, in 1911, to at least seven separate leagues playing essentially three variations of the game. Two were definitely the English forms and the third the Canadian modification. Of the seven leagues, four involved Association Football, and three rugby football (i.e. English and Canadian). In 1911 a proposal was made to establish a committee of prominent football officials "to make the rules of the various Canadian unions uniform."[24]

The Association brand of the game was still popular in Toronto, and it is this sport that must be considered the upholder of pure English football traditions. The Boy's Union Football League began operation and provided an opportunity for boys at three age levels (senior, 16 to 17 yr.; intermediate, 14 to 15 yr.; junior, 13 yr. and under) to play soccer in the Queen City.[25] This league along with the Toronto and District Football Association, the Central Football

Association, and the Ontario Association Football Combination, afforded the bulk of soccer competition in Toronto.[26] Ties with England were continued as the touring Corinthians were defeated by the Toronto and District Football Association team, the Torontos, three to one.[27] Upon winning the match, members of the victorious team were presented gold medals befitting the first aggregation to defeat the visitors during their tour.[28] Lt. Gov. Gibson of Ontario reportedly offered the medals in order to provide an impetus to Canadian soccer, by rewarding outstanding achievement. Once again emphasis on the "Canadian" aspect of an English sport was apparent.

Certainly both cricket and football assumed an important role in the sporting life of Toronto from 1867 to 1911. However a trend was seen in terms of active participation in both sports, and certain North American influences also made their presence felt. A decline in active participation involving the two English sports was seen from 1871 to 1891, and 1911. Soccer and cricket were both influenced by league structure and a desire for an improvement in Canadian quality of play. This process may be termed "North Americanization". Finally the evolution of a distinct variation of football reflected a Canadian replacement for, or supplement to the English game, and as such pointed out a weakness in English influence.

The relative importance of cricket and football must be regarded in terms of the total spectrum of Toronto sport. Vying for consideration along with these sports were, primarily, ice-hockey, lacrosse, and baseball. Two of these activities, hockey and lacrosse, may be considered Canadian in origin, and the other, baseball was reflective

of American influence.

Ice-hockey was not in existence in Toronto in 1871, but two decades later a minimum of eleven teams were active in the city. The Ontario Hockey Association was extant by that time, and attracted the affiliation of Toronto teams, involving them in a series of challenges leading to an Ontario Hockey Association champion.[29] At Ottawa, the O. H. A. championship was won by an Ottawa team by virtue of a 6-2 victory over St. George's of Toronto.[30] The Banks of Toronto, in 1891, organized the Banker's Hockey League, which was very active, received extensive coverage in the Globe, and played a league schedule culminating in the crowning of the Dominions as champions.[31] There was also evidence of differing levels of competition as exemplified by the organization of the Granite "Colts" Hockey Club, although there was no further reference in the Globe to their activity.[32] The designation "Colts" appeared to have been borrowed from cricket circles. In comparison to cricket and football (see Figures 1 and 2) in terms of numbers of teams and active participation in 1891, ice-hockey may be considered a peer, which was of some significance when the age of hockey in Toronto was considered.

The development of the sport, by 1911, showed an escalation to at least 72 teams playing in a minimum of eleven identifiable leagues, all involved a regular schedule of matches. The Ontario Hockey Association, the promoter of perhaps the most prestigeous of hockey titles, crowned three champions in 1911, including, at the senior level, the Eatonias from Toronto.[33] The growth of hockey, as evidenced by numerous teams and leagues, was characterized by several

innovations unseen in 1891. Definite levels of competition were recognizable. The O. H. A. carried on competition at senior, intermediate, and junior levels.[34] The Boy's Union League provided competition at two age levels; seventeen years and under, and fourteen years and under.[35] This age-level concept of competition, although not exclusive to hockey, no doubt fostered modern hockey's structured play for children, youths, and adults.

League affiliation, after the turn of the century, was identifiable as leagues fell into several descriptive categories; neutral leagues having no apparent sphere of involvement (e.g. Ontario Hockey Association, Toronto Hockey League), teams affiliated according to occupation (e.g. Mercantile Hockey League, General Finance League, Public Utilities Hockey League), teams affiliated according to religion (e.g. Methodist Young Men's Association, Presbyterian League), and youth leagues (e.g. Boy's Union Hockey League).[36] Such leagues inferred a broad base of involvement in the sport, as men from various walks of life appeared to have the opportunity for participation. In comparison this type of inclusion was not seen in cricket which smacked of elitism with its strong ties with private schools and universities, and the same appeared to be true, but perhaps to a lesser extent, with football. In terms of numbers of teams and active participation hockey easily exceeded both cricket and football by 1911.

In 1871, lacrosse, Canada's national sport, encompassed, in Ontario's capital, at least six teams, playing a season of challenge matches, highlighted by matches against Montreal and native Indian teams. Lacrosse, at this time, was essentially an equal to cricket

and football as exemplified in Figures 1 and 2. However the growth of the game over the following twenty years was apparently minimal and this lack of progress resembled the trend followed by all Toronto Sport (see Figure 1 and 2). In 1891, lacrosse was played essentially under the auspices of the Canadian and Ontario Lacrosse Associations, with the added development of junior lacrosse leagues (e.g. Ontario Junior Lacrosse League, Toronto Amateur Junior Lacrosse League), a process that was common to both hockey and football.[37]

Lacrosse, having taken the same course as its winter counterpart, hockey, expanded to include 43 teams associated with no less than four leagues, by 1911. The organization of play was essentially the same as that for hockey. The Canadian Lacrosse Association was apparently the dominant governing body of the sport, and organized competition at various levels, senior, junior, and juvenile.[38] Major leagues in the city were the Toronto Lacrosse League and the Interassociation League, both of which appeared to draw players from a wide range of occupations.[39] However, competition between the best Toronto and Montreal clubs still highlighted play.

Lacrosse did differ in 1911 from the previous years investigated, with the advent of the City Schools Lacrosse League, consisting of eighteen teams.[40] Although leagues for youngsters were present in Toronto in many sports, and lacrosse was not the sole sport played in the city's schools, no evidence was found of strictly school leagues encompassing cricket, football, hockey, or baseball. If such leagues did exist no mention was made of them in the Globe. However, the mentions made of Canada's national sport in the Globe, imparted the

evidence which showed lacrosse to occupy greater status than cricket or football, in Toronto by 1911, on the basis of numbers of teams and active participation (see Figures 1 and 2).

Baseball, America's contribution, was a dominant force in the sporting life of Toronto. At least seven clubs operated in 1871, and the game was essentially a match for cricket, football, and lacrosse in terms of active teams and participants, indicating that this American influence was a sporting force to be reckoned with. By 1891, the Toronto Amateur Baseball League ran a regular schedule of games, and the Beavers were declared champions.[41] A city championship which attested to the importance some ascribed to this game, was contested between the Beavers and the Nationals, the best of the independent clubs that played a summer slate of challenge matches.[42] The Junior Western League for younger players was noted in the Globe at its initial meeting but its progress was not reported.[43] Baseball in 1891 reflected the apparent dormancy of Toronto sport of that era, as its progress was basically the same as that of cricket, football, and lacrosse (see Figure 1 and 2).

The American game by 1911, however, had reached great proportions encompassing at least 111 teams playing in no less than 27 leagues. Such an increase in popularity was astounding, and pointed out the impact of Canada's neighbour to the south. Baseball was the dominant non-winter sport in Toronto as its gains appeared to be unparalleled except perhaps by ice-hockey. There was considerable similarity between baseball and hockey in terms of league structure. Both appeared to have a following gathered from a wide cross section of Toronto society as

the variety of leagues pointed out. There were baseball leagues which catered to professional groups, religious denominations, manufacturing establishments, highly skilled competitors and youth interests, as the following leagues indicated; Financial League, Baptist Baseball League, Shoe and Leather Manufacturer's League, Toronto Senior Baseball League, and Boy's Union Baseball League.[44] There were also two indoor leagues which operated under the auspices of the Toronto military establishment, the Garrison Indoor League and the Officer's Indoor Baseball League.[45] Toronto also boasted a team in professional Eastern League which functioned primarily in the United States, and whose progress was followed in great detail by the Globe.[46] The dominance of baseball as the major summer sporting pursuit in the Queen City can not be questioned. The game appeared as natural to Torontonians as cricket did to Englishmen.

In terms of spectator interest, analysis was difficult due to the lack of published attendance figures for sporting events. Figures that were published, were often of a general nature and may have been exaggerated by over-zealous proponents of a particular club or sport. Nonetheless, inferences could be made on the basis of available data, despite its general nature, when considered in the light of the absence of such data concerning spectators at various sporting events. The basic premise which supported such an analysis lay in the belief that if a particular match was played before a large crowd such information would be passed on in newspapers. If a game was well attended by Torontonians, prideful mention of it would perhaps have been brought to the attention of the Globe and its readers.

A lacrosse match in Toronto between the Ontario Lacrosse Club and the Onondaga Indians was played in 1871 "in the presence of about 400 spectators."[47] The same year, the Toronto Lacrosse Club hosted the Shamrocks of Montreal "in the presence of over 5000 people."[48] The Banker's Hockey League in 1891 proved popular, and after the first Saturday match, the committee of the league felt the turn out justified scheduling another such Saturday contest.[49] Also at the championship match of the same league, attendance was "large and fashionable and fully demonstrative of the popularity of Toronto's new winter sport."[50] Finally, in 1911, the Globe reported that "7000 lacrosse followers thronged the enclosure at the Island Stadium" to witness the Tecumsehs loss to Montreal, 8 to 2.[51]

Attendance figures relating to cricket, football, and baseball were generally unavailable. Based on the lack of such data, in conjunction with the large crowds reported at major lacrosse matches, it was conceivable that lacrosse was the most popular spectacle witnessed by Toronto's sportsminded public. Such inferences, however, are tenuous at best, but it is interesting to note that information related to public acceptance, as expressed by attendance figures, were found for hockey and lacrosse, Canadian sports.

On the basis of the preceding presentation relating to the status of English sport in Toronto from 1871 to 1911, a decline in status was apparent after 1891. On the basis of numbers of teams, active participation, and possibly spectator interest, baseball, hockey, and lacrosse appeared to be the most influential sports in Ontario's capital by 1911. The English sports, cricket and football, appeared to command

their greatest following in 1871, and this apparent influence remained relatively stable to 1891 as all sports in Toronto failed to grow at the same rate as the population of the city, including the imports from across the Atlantic. However, by 1911 it was American and native Canadian sporting activities that dominated the scene, to the detriment of English cricket particularly, and also football.

It must be stressed that all data referring to numbers of teams and active participants was based on minimum levels, due to the singular source of such information, the Globe. This fact is particularly important in terms of active participation, where the minimum numbers of players required to conduct a match for each sport investigated were multiplied by the number of teams whose names were published in the Globe. Due to the fact that exact numbers of active participants were not published, the calculation utilized was best felt to suit the purpose at hand. The use of the Globe was deemed justifiable due to its position as a prestigeous and widely read national newspaper as the following words from the year 1888 attested.

> The Globe has for many years past been the head of Canadian journals in point of circulation, advertising patronage, and political and social influence. Its circulation is, Daily, 24,000; Weekly, about twice that number. In proportion to the size of the city in which it is published, and taking into account the total population of Canada, The Globe has, by all odds, the longest relative circulation enjoyed by any newspaper in the world.[52]

Glazebrook described the same newspaper as being "Robust and confident" and having "a circulation large in total and wide geographically."[53] However, despite the possibility that the data presented could be altered by more widespread research, the trends uncovered relating to English sporting decline, and the rise of North American sporting forms

by 1911 appear to be too strong to deny.

The dramatic escalation of hockey by 1911 may be explained by climatic conditions found in Canada. The game was indigenous to the country's cold winters. It was inconceivable that an English winter sport, such as football, could have been successfully adapted to such conditions. Thus the evolution of ice-hockey, a Canadian refinement, had essentially no competition, apart from the highly popular sport of curling, as a winter sport. With this consideration of climatic conditions, the growth and development of this sport is not surprising.

Cricket was not oriented to the masses of Canadians in terms of participation as it seemed to be of an elitist nature, whereas lacrosse was a sport Canadians could identify with as being uniquely Canadian. Baseball, also, appeared to be well suited to summers of the country and the temperment of the people. In comparison to cricket both lacrosse and baseball were considered more exciting, while the English game was "rated slow."[54] Certainly the greater interest in lacrosse as a spectacle was borne out by the attendance at matches between Toronto and Montreal clubs. Cricket appeared too tame to Canadians who apparently enjoyed watching and playing lacrosse, but exhibited greatest participation in the game of baseball, perhaps due to its animation in comparison to cricket and its civility compared to lacrosse.

Both football and cricket, despite their English origins, did take on certain North American characteristics. Both became essentially organized on league bases. Both showed concern for a distinctly Canadian caliber of play. However, the emergence of a uniquely

Canadian style of rugby was perhaps the most startling example of Canadian influence on an English mode of sport. If English sporting influence had been dominant in Canada, one would have expected that Association Football and English Rugby would have been the only variations of football extant in this country.

On the basis of numbers of teams actively participating, numbers of active participants, and spectator interest, English sporting influences in the form of cricket and football did not acquire the same status afforded to Canadian and American influences. In terms of English sports played in Toronto from 1871 to 1911, English influence was eclipsed by North American influences as determined by the status of baseball, hockey, and lacrosse by 1911.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The information was taken from: Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England. ed. by J. C. Cox (London: Methuen & Co., 1903), p. 94, 100; P. C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C. A. Watts & Co., Ltd., 1966), p. 63, 80; J. A. R. Pimlott, Recreations (London: Studio Vista Limited, 1968), p. 20, 34.

[2]Geoff Watson, "The Founding and Major Features of the Sport and Games in the Little Big Four Canadian Private Schools", (paper presented to the Little Big Four Schools, 1971), p. 1.

[3]The Globe, July 26, 1871.

[4]Ibid., July 15, 1871; August 15, 1871.

[5]Ibid., July 26, 1871.

[6]Ibid., September 12, 1871.

[7]Ibid., January 30, 1891.

[8]Ibid., March 27, 1891.

[9]Ibid., February 23, 1871.

[10]Ibid., April 1, 1891.

[11]Pimlott, op. cit., p. 49.

[12]The Globe, March 1, 1911.

[13]Ibid., March 31, 1911.

[14]Ibid., April 1, 1911.

[15]Ibid., August 29, 1911.

[16]Ibid., August 28, 1911.

[17]Ibid., November 21, 1871; November 23, 1871.

[18]Ibid., July 11, 1871.

[19]Ibid., July 11, 1871.

[20]Ibid., March 12, 1891; January 17, 1891; February 13, 1891; October 28, 1879.

[21]Ibid., January 17, 1891.

[22]Ibid., September 30, 1891.

[23]Pimlott, op. cit., p. 49; Robert B. Weaver, Amusements and Sports in American Life (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1939), p. 98.

[24]The Globe, December 2, 1911.

[25]Ibid., March 18, 1911.

[26]Ibid., March 4, 1911; April 12, 1911; July 4, 1911.

[27]Ibid., August 9, 1911.

[28]Ibid., August 9, 1911.

[29]Ibid., January 20, 1891.

[30]Ibid., March 9, 1891.

[31]Ibid., February 27, 1891.

[32]Ibid.; November 19, 1891.

[33]Ibid., March 6, 1911.

[34]Ibid., March 6-8, 1911.

[35]Ibid., December 6, 1911.

[36]Ibid., December 9, 1911; November 18, 1911; December 8, 1911; December 18, 1911; December 15, 1911.

[37]Ibid., April 3, 1891; March 24, 1891.

[38]Ibid., April 19, 1911.

[39]Ibid., April 22, 1911; April 27, 1911.

[40]Ibid., April 11, 1911.

[41]Ibid., August 24, 1891.

[42]Ibid., September 14, 1891.

[43]Ibid., April 15, 1891.

[44]Ibid., April 26, 1911; April 11, 1911; April 21, 1911; March 16, 1911; March 22, 1911.

[45]Ibid., January 23, 1911; January 7, 1911.

[46]Ibid., January 6, 1911.

[47]Ibid., August 17, 1871.

[48]Ibid., November 13, 1871.

[49]Ibid., February 10, 1891.

[50]Ibid., February 27, 1891.

[51]Ibid., July 17, 1891.

[52]C. Pelham Mulvany, Toronto Past and Present (Toronto: W. E. Caiger, Publisher, 1884), p. 191.

[53]G. P. deT. Glazebrook, The Story of Toronto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 152.

[54]The Daily Telegraph (Toronto), September 19, 1891.

CHAPTER III

English Attitudes and Values To and For Sport In Toronto, 1871-1911

Sport, in its nature, its manner of play, and its evoked reactions has been reflective of a wide variety of attitudes and values. Certainly, in England distinctive attitudes and values were held concerning the form and function of sport. Coincident with such ideals is the viability of using the degree of their presence in Toronto, as expressed in written opinions and sporting accounts of the day, as a second measure of English sporting influence. Were English sporting traditions, in terms of attitudes to, and values for sport, manifest in Toronto; or, did the writings of the 1871 to 1911 era imply alternate feelings toward sport?

The English philosophy of sport actively promulgated in the nineteenth century was embodied primarily in what became known as "athleticism". This manner of thought which constituted a revolutionary change, appeared first in the Public Schools, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[1] On the initiative of old Public School boys in the latter half of the nineteenth century, "refinements of many sports were introduced and laws for the conduct of sports were codified and accepted throughout the British Isles and beyond."[2] These refinements and codifications of laws, embodied organized sports such as cricket and football, which represented a deviation from the traditional upper class passion for field sports associated with a fervor for "asserting one's personal liberty."[3] In conjunction with the change was the infiltration of the middle classes "by invasion and imitation...into

the educational preserves of the aristocracy."[4] With them came the middle class produced team games.

Initially, headmasters were hostile to the "new" forms of sport and, consequently, the boys organized their games "in defiance of authority."[5] Gradually the hostility gave way to a "policy of active encouragement of games and sports", as the progressive masters of the day realized the utility of such activities, as a means of solidifying the control and moral influence of the headmaster.[6] The most famous of these was Thomas Arnold of Rugby School, whose

> great achievement was to succeed where others had failed, to establish his own power and controlling influence, to infuse a new religious spirit into school life, at the same time to maintain the school as an independent boy society free from espionage by masters.[7]

A direct result of legalising self-government by the boys was the evolution of organized sport.[8] It must be emphasized that this evolution emanated from the spirit of the boys, and gradually the masters clove to the games as the value claims for them came to be professed.

Athleticism embodied a value claim for sport which emphasized character training. It was felt that desirable personality and character traits could be enhanced through participation in team games, and these characteristics would then be borne out in an individual's daily activity.[9] The playing fields came to be considered "a laboratory for inculcation of moral principles and gentlemenly conduct."[10] Sport was thought to be an important consideration in terms of its value in the process of socialization. Leadership, courage, honesty, fair play, endurance, team spirit, and manliness were felt to have been fostered

through sport. Status was gained by individual adherence to group norms intrinsic to the cult.[11]

An overriding concern in the England of the nineteenth century was the maintenance of Empire, and a belief in the creation of the leaders of tomorrow and the development of qualities beneficial to a ruling class came to be aligned with the philosophy that was athleticism. The epitome of such thought was found in the following words of J. G. C. Michin, expressed in 1901.

> If asked what our Muscular Christianity has done, we point to the British Empire. Our Empire would never have been built up by a nation of idealists and logicians.[12]

Muscular Christianity was an outgrowth of athleticism and was expressed primarily by "men of the church teaching in the Public Schools, who believed that vigorous physical activity, particularly in rugby and cricket, could impart principles of Christian behaviour to boys and young men."[13]

For the purpose of analysis athleticism was operationally defined as follows. A situation (game, sport, rule, constitution, editorial, letter, etc.) was considered an exemplar of athleticism if the following criteria were met, singly or in conjunction with one another:

1. If the situation was expressed as being important for the development of the following qualities, embodied in what was termed "manliness"; leadership, courage, fair-play, endurance, team spirit, self-restraint, and not merely the winning or losing of a contest. "Even defeat could bring satisfaction provided that the game was played hard and keenly contested."[14]

2. If the situation was considered important primarily as a nationalizing force, or as an arena for the training of those who would eventually assume leadership roles in military and political circles. If the situation was seen as a means of "developing qualities of value to a ruling class."[15]

In an analysis of the manifestations of attitudes and values concerning sport, regard must be taken for essentially two levels of consideration. One level may be referred to as the cognitive aspect. This refers to professed value claims for sport as exemplified by written rules, editorials, awards, charters, and constitutions. The other level may be referred to as the practical aspect, or the manifestation of attitudes and values expressed through the actual playing of the game, as denoted, in this case, by various accounts of sporting activity involving Toronto teams. The manifestation of attitudes and values on a practical level was derived from accounts of the manner of play of individual games, with particular attention paid to the conformity of those involved to stated or understood rules, adherence to the dictums of referees or other such officials, consideration of the opposition in terms of sportsmanlike conduct, and the reaction of spectators to the course of individual contests.

In, and relating to Toronto, from 1871 to 1911, there appeared to have been numerous situations (individual matches, rules, letters, editorials, etc.) reflective of the spirit of athleticism in its distinctive form as an agent of socialization. These events or writings have been categorized into the following areas; education, cricket and football, hockey and lacrosse, and articles and editorials

of a general nature printed in the Globe.

In terms of education, certainly Upper Canada College and also Trinity College, most reflected the ideals of athleticism, as was to be expected as both conformed to Sidney Smith's early nineteenth century definition of a Public School as,

> an endowed place of education of old standing to which the sons of gentlemen resort in large numbers and where they continue to reside from eight or nine to eighteen years of age.[16]

Since Upper Canada College's inception in 1830, the institution has taken pride in comparing itself, as a Canadian counterpart, to Eton, Harrow and Rugby, in being "the alma mater of many of this country's greatest men", and also the "mother and progenitor here of many of the manly sports."[17] It is not unreasonable to state that the college considered "the greatest men" and "manly sports" to have been concomitant.

Many masters at both Upper Canada and Trinity came by their allegiance to the cult honestly, as a result of their English Public School backgrounds. In 1862 John Martland became second classical Master at Upper Canada, was given charge of the Residence, and "brought with him the traditions of England's manly game (cricket) and love of it which time only served to increase."[18] As late as 1890, the Rev. Edward Lloyd, an honours graduate of Cambridge became a professor of classics at Trinity and "being an apostle of muscular Christianity" was "more than a favourite with the students."[19] Certainly, due to their close association with the traditions of English Public Schools, the promulgation of athleticism by Upper Canada and Trinity Colleges was not surprising. However, it must be noted that such

views as expressed by these institutions, were representative of an elite and not the masses of the city or country.

The fostering of the English philosophy of sport, in an educational sense, did not rest solely with the aforementioned colleges. The Globe, through the reprinting of sundry articles and letters, reflected a positive attitude toward the cult. In 1871 a letter, concerning a meeting of the London Board of Education, stated a position seemingly closely aligned to the philosophy of athleticism,

> If the Board set about the training of a new generation of Englishmen they must begin at the beginning, which was physical training, and to put them into a condition in which their natural spirits and love of play would be called into action, and this would be sure to bear good fruit in the end.[20]

The attitude of the Globe continued in 1891 with a reprint of a speech by the Speaker of the House, in the British Parliament, extolling the virtues of "athletic sports."[21] Also an article from the prestigeous British medical journal, Lancet, concerning the value of athletics was printed.[22] By 1911, despite the waning popularity of English sport in Toronto, that city's major newspaper maintained its commitment to traditional English attitudes and values related to sport. Perhaps the most striking example of this allegiance was the publication of a letter written by an English gentleman, which epitomized the meaning of the philosophy, and the Globe's affiliation with it.

> Sport is a fundamental essential not only of English life but also of human life itself, and the question that confronts us today is this--upon what can we better build up and establish the character and physique of the future builder and maintainer of Empire than upon the foundation of sport in its highest and noblest forms? Of course there are those who would pooh pooh the idea altogether of anything so serious as human character being formed and strengthened and established by the training that forms the life's work

> and object of the accomplished sportsman. Indeed many people maintain that, so far from building up character, it debases and demolishes it. I not only do not agree with such a ridiculous verdict, but I honestly believe that the very reverse is the truth. Of the two modes of building up a man of fine character--sport or literature--I say, without a moment's hesitation, give me the man brought up to be a sportsman. That is the kind of man who in the past conceived the idea of Empire; that is the man who carved it out of the deserts of the earth, and that is the man who has established and who maintains the British Empire as the most marvelous political fact ever known in the long history of humanity and the world.[23]

Also an editorial concerning the athletic program at the University of Chicago was published as a warning to Canadian universities to avoid the evils of the American system and its tendency toward athletic excellence at the expense of academic proficiency.[24] The Globe, the premiere Toronto daily, apparently considered the cult of athleticism to be an ideal that could have been valuably applied to the burgeoning Toronto sport scene, no matter the decline of traditional English sports. Such an opinion, however, did not necessarily represent the feelings of the masses, but the opinions of the educated minority who felt their beliefs were beneficial to all Canadians.

The sports of cricket and football promoted the English sporting spirit, but perhaps not to the extent that one might have expected. Cricket appeared to be the prime exemplar as matches were always keenly contested, but the manner of play gentlemenly and unparalleled in terms of sportsmanship. Matches such as the Bankers vs. Upper Canada, and Upper Canada vs. the Ontario Cricket Club, were portrayed as being strictly governed by the tenets of athleticism.[25]

Football to some degree provided a forum for "manly sport", as

Prof. Gettel the coach at Trinity College stated in 1911.

> The training that comes from playing the game, the discipline, the subordination of the individual, the self-control, the quickness of thinking, all are bound to prove useful after life.[26]

However, as later discussion of abolishing football in the schools indicated, the game did not always prove to be the most propitious proponent of the sporting ideal under discussion.

The Canadian games of hockey and lacrosse, which by 1911 had outdistanced their English counterparts in terms of active participation, did to some degree promulgate the ideals of athleticism. The Banker's Hockey League, composed of a select group of professional men, received plaudits concerning the caliber and deportment of its play. Action between the Dominion and Commerce teams, in 1891, was described as follows;

> ...nothing could be prettier to watch than the way each man played his position passing the puck first to one man and then to the other...Mr. Smeltie's decisions as referee were never once questioned and the game itself was characteristic by a total absence of rough play.[27]

At the conclusion of the schedule, as the Dominions claimed the championship, the Globe reported "the victors were heartily applauded when time was called, and have fully earned the handsome medals presented by the league", and added the following congratulations to the League.[28]

> The Committee of the Bank Hockey League and Hon. Secretary Robertson are entitled to the thanks of lovers of the game for the capital sport the series has presented, and for the business like and consequently successful manner in which the affairs of the league have been conducted.

Much was made of the concept of lacrosse as Canada's national sport. In 1871 a letter expressed this importance of the game in the following

words.

> It is indigenous to the soil; it is as emphatically Canadian as cricket is English. Let 'Young Canada' study and practice lacrosse as his field recreation, and so contribute their mite to nationalizing our people.[29]

In the same vein, a medal for the city champions of Toronto in 1871 bore the inscription, "our country, our game."[30] The Toronto Lacrosse Club at its annual dinner, in the same year, sang a refrain dedicated to its favourite sport, which emphasized the future oriented ideals held for the game.

> Oh 'tis a wonderful game boys.
> 'Tis a health giving, joy giving game boys.
> Then let us unite in singing tonight.
> Success to our national game boys.[31]

In more definitive examples, the sporting spirit was evident in the aftermath of a match between the Ontario and Toronto Lacrosse Clubs marked by the victors giving "three hearty cheers...for their opponents."[32] Similarly, in 1871, an advertisement extolled the true purpose of sport and promoted a match between Montreal Shamrocks and Toronto with the words;

> A match between two such clubs, playing not for money, but for a far greater prize, one of honour...[33]

In the same Toronto-Montreal series which evolved through the years, an expression, by the Toronto captain in the form of a letter, of disappointment in the sporting conduct of the Shamrocks, indicated an attitude to sport parallel to the code of athleticism. The Toronto Club had been defeated by the Shamrocks, but the Montreal club had failed to adhere to the accepted norms for play be refusing to equalize the number of players on the field, after the loss of a Toronto player due to injury. The letter read;

> We simply wish it to be understood that we regard defeat as being preferable to a victory obtained by such questionable means... I know there is no written rule governing such a case but it is a law established by custom.[34]

A victory gained by such dubious means was considered hollow by Toronto players, as no doubt it would have been by any proponent of the English ideal. Examples such as these pale, however, upon the recounting of the brutal Toronto-Montreal rivalry which unfolded as time progressed, and which will be dealt with in this chapter.

The Globe, in the 1871 to 1911 epoch, published reports of a general nature, gathered from various sources which implied a concordance with the tenets of athleticism. The "Chronicle of the Athletic Spirit" expounding the virtues of athletic sports, and "Great Anglo-Saxondom" professing the virtues of England were two such articles.[35] In 1911 editorials appeared, one entitled "For Anglo-Saxon Solidarity" promoting allegiance to things English, and another stressing the undesireability of competition for trophies in lieu of the virtues inherent in the play of the game.[36] Perhaps the year, 1911, that the preceding articles were published was of some significance in light of the apparent decline in the popularity of English sports, and also a decline in the spirit of athleticism as will be seen in the form of numerous sports in Toronto by that time. The editorial position taken by the Globe was undoubtedly representative of the middle strata of society and not necessarily the masses of Toronto or Canada. The paper was the voice of the educated elite who attempted to foist their ideals upon all the people, and this appeared to be true in terms of sporting as well as political thought, which for the Globe meant Liberalism. Athleticism appeared to be central to the sporting philosophy

of those responsible for the publication of Toronto's most widely circulated newspaper.

From the situations related to sport heretofore recounted, insight may be gained into the degree to which the cult of athleticism was adopted in Toronto. Emphasis must also be made of the fact that the great majority of situations reflective of the promulgation of this English philosophy were held at the cognitive level. Many were indicators of how individuals, primarily from a particular strata of society, wished to see sport practiced. Few offered concrete examples of the form of sport, and whether the actual play of particular sports indicated an alliance with the principles of athleticism. Essentially the examples constituted the ideals of a relatively select social group seemingly identified by a high level of literacy as exemplified by the editorial staff of the Globe, professors at "Canadian Public Schools", or educated sportsmen of the caliber of the Bankers. In essence these instances, reflective of the ideals under consideration, constituted a model to which many felt sport should ascribe, and perhaps that was the limit of athleticism in Canada, an ideal to be pursued.

The scope of athleticism cannot be measured solely by listing examples hinting at its influence. It can only be objectively gauged when samples of its influence are considered in comparison to situations deemed antithetical to the ideals that had grown to be associated with this particular philosophy of sport. Situations of this nature were classified in the following areas; cricket and baseball, football, lacrosse, and league competition. Also, it must be pointed out that many of those who expressed an allegiance to this English sporting creed, were often closely associated to those who failed to

live up to its tenets, at a practical level of expression.

Generally cricket appeared to uphold the virtues of English sport throughout the 1871 to 1911 era. However, a ruling by the Toronto "Colts" Cricketers League,

> that any matter of dispute arising in connection with games contested, be referred to a committee of three gentlemen of unprejudiced opinion to settle, and their decision to be binding,[37]

implied the values associated with athleticism, but the necessity of enacting such a ruling coincidentally implied that actions antithetical to such beliefs were problematic. Such was the case with many rules adopted by various sporting associations. In lieu of the fact that no other similar examples were found relating to cricket, the import of the above rule may best be discussed in light of the manner of competition, a league, which will be dealt with in the following pages.

The American sport, baseball, did provide several cases, in 1891, contrary to the English code of sport herein being considered. The Globe recounted an adverse spectator reaction during a game in Tilsonburg.

> Powers the umpire was honestly discharging his duties, (when) D. Macdonald, brother of the mayor of Tilsonburg, rushed up behind him, and struck him a blow on the back of the head with his cane.[38]

Abuse of an official, such as this, indicated greater concern, by the spectator, for the deciding of a winner, than for an appreciation of the skills displayed irrespective of the umpires decisions. A more civil case was embodied in a letter to the Globe by the Secretary of the St. Michael's College Club accusing an umpire of an incorrect judgement and consequently claiming a victory that was otherwise

awarded to the Nationals of Toronto.[39] Emphasis here was obviously placed on the outcome of the match, above all else.

The traditional games of football, soccer and rugby, born in England, and from which evolved Canadian rugby did not always, as intimated earlier, conform to the tenets of the cult. As early as 1871 the Erins played the Shamrocks for fifty dollars a side and the "championship" of the province.[40] Was not one's ability to perform with "manliness", within the bounds of the game reward enough, without the need for championships and monetary rewards? A match between Norwood High School and the Victorias two decades later aroused sentiment against the referee in a most unsporting manner. One of the school supporters stated that the match

> reflects anything but credit on the referee and the winning team. The game during the last twenty minutes was simply a match between the referee and the school boys.[41]

In the same year, the Toronto and District Football Association added the following clause to rule fifteen of the laws of the game;

> The referee's decision in matters of fact shall be final. The referee shall have power, without any appear, to award a free kick for conduct which is dangerous or is likely to prove dangerous...[42]

Also the Toronto Football League met in March 1891 to mull the question of deliberate fouling and ruled that,

> this meeting is of the opinion that legislation is desireable for the following offences: handling the ball and holding or tripping within twelve yards of the goal...[43]

The institution of these rules relating to Association football pointed out the fact that the undesireable situations described were problematic and thus necessitated the imposition of various sanctions to curtail their occurrence. The rules themselves reflected a belief in

the desire for England's "manly sport", but their necessity implied a lack of the same during the actual course of soccer matches.

Further discrepencies with English sporting ideology were apparent in football by 1911. On several occasions suspensions of varying durations were meted out by the Toronto and District Football Association, for acts of rough play.[44] Rough tactics were also the concern of the Interprovincial Amateur Football Union, as the president of the league stated that such play as had characterized many matches during the season had to cease.[45] Similar play threatened the existence of high school football in Toronto.

> It is rumored that important changes in the method of carrying on rugby contests in the High Schools are under contemplation, and it is likely that if the teachers do not combine to put down the roughness that now characterizes the playing, the parents will take a hand and bring pressure to bear upon the Board of Education.[46]

The problem of play, rough to the point of being unsporting, appeared to be of wide concern in Toronto, particularly by 1911. Possibly the development of league play and the apparent opportunity for mass participation at the turn of the century influenced this decline in the practice of the principles of athleticism.

Lacrosse proved in practice, despite stated ideals referred to earlier, to least exemplify English traditions of sporting grace. Matches between Toronto and Montreal clubs brought out the worst in the ethics of both sides. However unsporting conduct was not limited to this traditional rivalry. In 1871 after a member of the Onondaga Indian team asserted the supremacy of the natives, the Ontario boys were "inclined to dispute this idea of his otherwise than by words," implying the use of force to convince the Indians of the superiority of

the whites.[47] Such implied violence was borne out in a match between the second twelves of the Torontos and Ontarios as a

> member of the Toronto club raised his crosse and deliberately struck the other (Ontario player) across the face with it, causing the blood to flow.[48]

To further cast the match into disrepute "the Ontario men refused to be governed" by the referee's decision that each captain admonish the players involved, and consequently, "the match was not concluded."[49]

An 1871 notation regarding a match in the Toronto-Montreal lacrosse series provided a mild introduction to what became the frequent brutality, lack of concern for officials and opposing players, and a desire to win no matter the price, which characterized the rivalry. Returning members of the Toronto team "appeared to have met with some pretty rough usage at the hands of their Montreal opponents", the feared Shamrocks.[50] The year 1875 marked the first time in the series that Toronto defeated Montreal, and the Globe accused the Shamrocks of undue violence.[51] The following year after a defeat in Toronto, Joe Flynn the field captain of the Shamrocks openly criticized the referees as being pro Toronto, claiming that Toronto players fouled continuously but were never penalized.[52] There seemed to be no consideration of the maxim of athleticism; "Play up! Play up! and play the game."[53]

Controversy struck the city rivalry in years 1877 and 1878. In the former year, a Toronto umpire and referee, in Montreal, overruled the Montreal referee who had disallowed a Toronto goal, and consequently the game was ruled in Toronto's favour.[54] The return contest in Toronto was cancelled after the arrival of the Shamrocks, as the Toronto club refused to play against Burke, a Shamrock who had served

time in a penitentiary.[55] The Montreal team then claimed the coveted championship because of the failure of the host team to meet the traditional challenge, and the National Lacrosse Association upheld this claim of the Montrealers.[56] The following year Toronto won the home match 3-2, but inevitably all three Toronto goals were disputed, as they were all awarded on decisions by the Toronto umpire.[57] The contest resulted in the lodging of a protest to the National Lacrosse Association by Morgan O'Connell, the Shamrock captain.

The National Lacrosse Association, no doubt as a consequence of Toronto-Montreal battling both on and off the field, made several rule amendments and additions. In 1878, section ten of the N. L. A. rules read:

> When a match has been agreed upon, and one side is deficient in the number of players, their opponents may either limit their own numbers to equalize the sides, or compel the other side to fill up the complement.[58]

The rule was no doubt made to placate situations such as arose in the Toronto-Montreal rivalry mentioned earlier. Certainly such a rule was aimed at equalizing competition, the essence of sport, yet it was unfortunate that it was deemed necessary to be put in writing due to the bickering of the country's top teams. A parallel situation was inherent in the amendment of Article XIV of the N. L. A. constitution to read:

> ...no club which shall admit, or retain a person a member thereof, who has been censored or punished by this Association for foul play or other reprehensible conduct or who shall be henceforth convicted under the laws of this country of a criminal charge, shall be entitled to continue as a member of this Association.[59]

The N. L. A. also had to clarify its rules concerning the following

unsportsmanlike practices; rough play, threatening to strike, deliberate charging, cross checking, interfering, and foul play.[60] By 1878 such unsporting play as just alluded to had evidently reached the point where it was being catalogued on the basis of its severity.

No noticeable improvement was observed in the sporting quality of lacrosse play by 1891. The Globe reported an incident of a local policeman striking a Barrie player with a club during the course of a match between Barrie and Beaverton.[61] Once again, a match between the Toronto Lacrosse Club and a Montreal team resulted in violence as "fisticuffs" were reported, and the Montreal club was accused of using its "advantage in weight at every occasion, besides using the fists pretty often."[62] The apparent impunity with which fighting was regarded was epitomized in the report of the field captain of the Montreal Lacrosse Club regarding the aforementioned match with Toronto:

> The noticeable feature of the match was the illegal and unwarranted act of the referee in ruling off McNaughton (a Montreal player) during a rest for striking Garvin after a game was finished.[63]

The mayhem that characterized lacrosse continued in 1911. The violence was not limited to Toronto and Montreal, as brawling was reported in matches played in Vancouver and Guelph.[64] Vicious club-swinging occurred in a match in Toronto between the Nationals and Tecumsehs, and once again the Toronto-Montreal series was marred by unsporting conduct in the form of fighting.[65]

Undue emphasis placed on the outcome of matches was an undoubted cause of lacrosse violence. To a proponent of athleticism, victory was not the crucial consideration, but in its stead the manner of play was of greatest importance. The emphasis placed on winning, and the

procuring of the most skilled players available was inherent in the following advertisement placed in the Globe by the Toronto Lacrosse Club.

> For the purpose of reviving interest in Canada's national game, and building up a championship team, hereby invites applications from players who consider themselves qualified for the fastest company...[66]

The mode of competition of athletic teams in Toronto from 1871 to 1911 may have had a bearing on the promulgation of the spirit of athleticism. In the English Public Schools, competition was held primarily within each school among houses, and between schools on a challenge basis.[67] The major Public Schools formed a relatively tight knit group within which the norms of play, reflective of their educational motive, were well understood. It was within this close knit, educational environment that the ideology of athleticism and its practical application thrived. However, in Toronto and Canada sports were played on a competitive basis under the auspices of a wide variety of leagues, particularly after the year 1891. Leagues represented a non-educational, in the institutional sense, milieu for physical activity. Competition between towns was commonplace, and city, provincial, and national championships were often the goals of many teams. There appeared to be a shift in emphasis away from the ideals of "manly" sport. Manly virtues of sport associated with the development of qualities of leadership, self-discipline, and fair play were supplanted by a burning quest for success, for victory regardless of ethics, as epitomized by the Toronto-Montreal lacrosse series. To a strict advocate of England's sporting code, the mere thought of championships was distasteful. League play with regularly scheduled

games and publicized standings pointed to a champion, and champions were measured solely on the basis of victories.

As the examples of circumstances reflective of the cult of athleticism were essentially of a cognitive nature, the situations described as being antithetical to this philosophy were all seen at the practical level of expression, and no intellectual justification was uncovered for these actions. At least as shown in the news media of the day, typified by the Globe, there appeared to be a dichotomy between what was professed to be the desired nature of sport, and the actual reality of the nature of sport as reported in essentially the same sources. From a cognitive, intellectual or affective point of view the philosophy of athleticism appeared to be highly regarded. Yet, from a practical, pragmatic, effective view, the characteristics of sport desired often appeared to be unheard of. Some answers to this dichotomy may be uncovered in terms of the great proliferation of sport seen after the turn of the century, the nature of various sports, particularly lacrosse, and the convenience of expounding the tenets of athleticism as a socio-educational justification for sport.

The majority of cases, with the exception of the game of lacrosse, classified in the preceding pages as being "anti-athleticism", were seen to have occurred in 1911. By that year a tremendous proliferation in sport, as described in Chapter II, had taken place. The beginnings of mass participation or at least the opportunity for it, appeared to have been signified by the great increase in numbers of active teams and participants. But, the cult of athleticism lent itself to relatively small, closely related groups within which norms of

behaviour were universally accepted. In such groups status was gained by conforming to the accepted norms. Sport in Toronto in 1871 may have closely resembled such a group, as its composition was heavily dependant upon educational institutions and private clubs. However, when sport became available to the masses, as seemed apparent in Toronto by 1911, the norms of athleticism, associated with the middle strata of society, were no longer collectively practiced as exemplified by league competition, competition for trophies, monetary rewards, all of which placed great emphasis on the immediate outcomes of contests, rather than on future oriented ideals. The possibility existed that, after the turn of the century, there may have been the development in Canada of a "working class culture...with a difference between middle and working class concepts of sport" similar to the situation described in England.[68] With the development of sport enveloping a broad base of the population, in terms of social standing, the norms inherent in the English ideology were abused as many participants held an alternate view of the value of sports, and sanctions against abuses of English ideals became increasingly difficult to impose due to the proliferation of teams and leagues. Athleticism and its elite nature could not have been expected to survive in such an environment, a view that perhaps its evangelists in Canada did not recognize.

The Canadian sport of lacrosse exhibited traits opposed to the spirit of English "manliness" from the outset of this investigation. The reason for this may have been the very nature of the game. In its aboriginal origins, lacrosse was thought to have been "a form of

combat-training to prepare young men for war."[69] It appeared that it continued as a form of combat throughout its development. Also, the game differed from traditional English sport, as participants were armed with a weapon, a "crosse", and the ideals of fair play and character development appeared to falter in the face of the use of such accoutrements. The use of the crosse as a means of inflicting blows to an opponent was an integral part of the game, but may have served to depersonalize the sport, and relegate it to a battle of weapons rather than competition between sportsmen. No English sport could be found that embodied the use of a weapon in a similar manner. Consequently, it was possible that lacrosse and its associated violence was not a viable form for the transmission of the ideals of athleticism, particularly when considered in conjunction with North American emphasis on winning, and the associated participation in league competition.

The tenets of athleticism were espoused on an effective level in Toronto, even by those who did not actively practice such ideals. The competitors in the strife-ridden Toronto-Montreal lacrosse series claimed they were competing for the greater prize of honour, and not the more worldly rewards of victory. The future benefits of school football were professed; yet, the roughness of play created doubt as to its continuance in Toronto schools. Rules were instituted in various sports seemingly to align the practices on the field with the ideals of English sportsmanship. Such examples may have been reflective of the imposition, on the population of Toronto, of values for sport adhered to by the middle strata of society, as Metcalfe claimed was the case in England.[70] The English cult of "manliness" in sport seemed to be a

socially accepted justification for sport. The ideals of this philosophy provided an intellectual basis for the acceptance of sport, particularly in educational settings. English Public Schools, the University of Toronto, Upper Canada College, and the Toronto School Board were provided with a viable rationale for the inclusion of athletics within their educational milieu, and this espoused value claim for sport has continued to provide a justification for sport in educational institutions.[71] The same standards were essentially utilized by non-institutional sporting organizations (leagues) to provide an intellectual justification for their existence, but such ideals could not be expected to survive in a setting of mass participation and its associated immediate values of sport.

English attitudes and values to sport, embodied in the tenets of athleticism, did influence the sporting life of Toronto in the 1871 to 1911 era. However, the influence was expressed at a cognitive level, as the spirit of athleticism became a socially accepted ideal toward which Toronto sport could have striven. From a practical point of view, particularly after the turn of the century the ideals for sport born in England, were frequently not apparent in competition dominated by league play and emphasis on success, nor could such ideals have reasonably been expected to be manifest due to the mass appeal of sport and the elitist nature of the cult of athleticism.

FOOTNOTES

[1]P. C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C. A. Watts & Co., Ltd., 1971), p. 65.

[2]P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800 (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd., 1968), p. 16.

[3]McIntosh, Sport, p. 64.

[4]Ibid., p. 65.

[5]Ibid., p. 65.

[6]McIntosh, Physical Education, p. 32.

[7]Ibid., p. 32.

[8]Ibid., p. 33.

[9]Alan Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, May, 1974, p. 68.

[10]Ibid., p. 68.

[11]Ibid., p. 68.

[12]McIntosh, Physical Education, p. 70.

[13]Geoff Watson, The Founding and Major Features of the Sport and Games in the Little Big Four Canadian Private Schools. (Paper presented to the Little Big Four Schools, 1971), p. 12.

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[15]Ibid., p. 42.

[16]McIntosh, Sport, p. 65.

[17]T. Dickson and M. Adam, A History of Upper Canada College 1829-1892 (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, Ltd., 1893), p. 1.

[18]Ibid., p. 231.

[19]Dominion Illustrated, September 20, 1890.

[20]The Globe, February 23, 1871.

[21]Ibid., November 18, 1891.

[22]Ibid., November 27, 1891.

[23]Ibid., January 31, 1911.

[24]Ibid., February 15, 1911.

[25]Ibid., June 28, 1871; June 30, 1871.

[26]Ibid., December 8, 1911.

[27]Ibid., February 17, 1891.

[28]Ibid., February 29, 1891.

[29]Ibid., June 5, 1871.

[30]Ibid., June 5, 1871.

[31]Ibid., December 15, 1871.

[32]Ibid., July 14, 1871.

[33]Montreal Star, September 16, 1871.

[34]Ibid., July 7, 1879.

[35]The Globe, January 5, 1911; September 6, 1911.

[36]Ibid., February 11, 1911; February 13, 1911.

[37]Ibid., March 27, 1891.

[38]Ibid., October 1, 1891.

[39]Ibid., October 6, 1891.

[40]Ibid., July 11, 1871.

[41]Ibid., November 3, 1891.

[42]Ibid., January 19, 1891.

[43]Dominion Illustrated, March 21, 1891.

[44]The Globe, May 18, 1911.

[45]Ibid., November 6, 1911.

[46]Ibid., October 28, 1911.

[47]Ibid., August 12, 1871.

[48]Ibid., October 9, 1871.

[49]Ibid., October 9, 1871.

[50]Ibid., September 25, 1871.

[51]Scrapbook: Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1872-1876, p. 132.

[52]Gazette (Montreal), August 2, 1876.

[53]McIntosh, Physical Education, p. 70.

[54]Gazette (Montreal), October 1, 1877.

[55]Ibid., June 11, 1877.

[56]Ibid., August 6, 1877.

[57]Montreal Star, June 24, 1878.

[58]Laws of Lacrosse and Constitution of the National Lacrosse Association (Toronto: Marshall, 1878), p. 16.

[59]Laws of Lacrosse and Constitution of the National Lacrosse Association (Toronto: Marshall, 1879), p. 26.

[60]Laws of Lacrosse and Constitution of the National Lacrosse Association (Toronto: Marshall, 1878), p. 16.

[61]The Globe, August 7, 1891.

[62]Ibid., September 21, 1891.

[63]Minute Book of the Montreal Lacrosse Club, 1886-1893, p. 305.

[64]The Globe, July 4, 1911; June 12, 1911.

[65]Ibid., August 14, 1911; July 10, 1911.

[66]Ibid., August 19, 1911.

[67]McIntosh, Physical Education, p. 58.

[68]Alan Metcalfe, "Working Class Free Time Activities in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and South Northumberland, England, 1780-1880, With Special Reference to Physical Act[illegible] (Unpublished Phd. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. [illegible].

[69]Nancy L. Howell [illegible]well L. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life 1700 to the [illegible]sent (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1969), p. 30.

[70]Metcalfe, Working Class, p. 281.

[71]Metcalfe, Background Influences, p. 69.

CHAPTER IV

English Leadership in Toronto Sport; 1871, 1891, 1911

The final measure of English sway involves an analysis of leadership in sport, in Toronto of 1871, 1891 and 1911. Heretofore, the impact of English sports played and English sporting attitudes, embodied in the cult of athleticism, have been dealt with, and it now remains to examine the background of the men who provided the guidance and authority associated with the development of Torontonian sport. How many of these men were English? Did Englishmen provide the impetus for the rise of sport to 1911?

The determination of English is based on two criteria: birth and education. If an individual was born in England he is naturally considered English. Also, if a leader was educated within the English Public School system or a Canadian facsimile of it, in this case Upper Canada College, he too was deemed English. It is not unreasonable to assume that students of Upper Canada College were educated to the specifications of the best English traditions, and thus, may be considered English for the purpose at hand. The College has taken pride in its associations with, and comparisons to various English Public Schools. Over one quarter of the school's masters were in fact educated in these Public Schools, at Oxford or Cambridge, or were "Old Boys" of the College itself.[1] Certainly the pride and allegiance to England was expressed in the following words;

> From Upper Canada College has gone forth the young life of the country that has found occupation either in the ranks of those who have been engaged in the task of building up our young Canadian nation, or have been privileged to take

> part in the illustrious service of the Motherland, in the wider and greater interests of Empire.[2]

It appeared that students who were unable to directly serve England in the maintenance of Empire, transferred their imperialistic zeal to the development of infant Canada in the precious traditions of the Mother country.

The analysis of sport leaders in Toronto assumes that the executives of sporting bodies, leagues and clubs, provided the primary forces of leadership. The executive members of sport groups assumed essentially the same form, no matter the particular sport involved. Basically each executive was patterned after the following prototype; president, vice-president(s), secretary treasurer, and executive committee. Such executive bodies were found on two sporting levels, the league and the club or team.

The influence of league leadership was seemingly greater than individual club or team direction. League officials, in 1891 and 1911, formulated the bounds within which various clubs operated. Schedules, rules of play, and other necessary accouterments of competition were overseen by such governing bodies. Consequently influence over varying numbers of sporting groups was inherent in their office.

Thus, the analysis of leadership in Toronto sport was undertaken at two levels, league and club, and involved four specific sports; cricket, football, hockey, and lacrosse. Two of these, cricket and football, have been categorized as English, or at least deeply rooted in English traditions. Hockey and lacrosse may be considered Canadian. These sports were selected for analysis due to their positions at opposite ends of the English-Canadian sport spectrum.

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Central to the investigation are figures denoting the numbers of English born in Toronto in the years under consideration. The figures were obtained from the 1871, 1891, and 1911 census data. The English born population of Toronto, expressed numerically and as a percentage of the total city population, were as follows:

1871	11,089	38% of 56,092
1891	22,801	13% of 181,220
1911	56,099	15% of 376,538

These figures are crucial due to the fact that the birthplaces of the vast majority of executives, whose names and positions were published in the Globe, were not traced due to the unavailability of such data. Therefore the census figures referring to English birth provide the expected percentage of English born individuals present in all walks of Toronto life, including sport.

League and club executive members, to the extent that such information was published in the Globe, were investigated to determine the percentage of their total who had attended Upper Canada College, and were therefore considered English. This data is presented in graph form in Figures 3, 4, and 5, and in raw form in Appendices D, E, F, G, H, and I. The determination of attendance at Upper Canada was based on a review of "The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College Toronto, January 1830-June 1914", published in 1917.[3]

Figure 3 points out the relationship of the percentage of the Toronto population born in England to the percentage of executives of cricket, football, hockey and lacrosse leagues, who attended Upper Canada College and thereby provided English leadership. The general

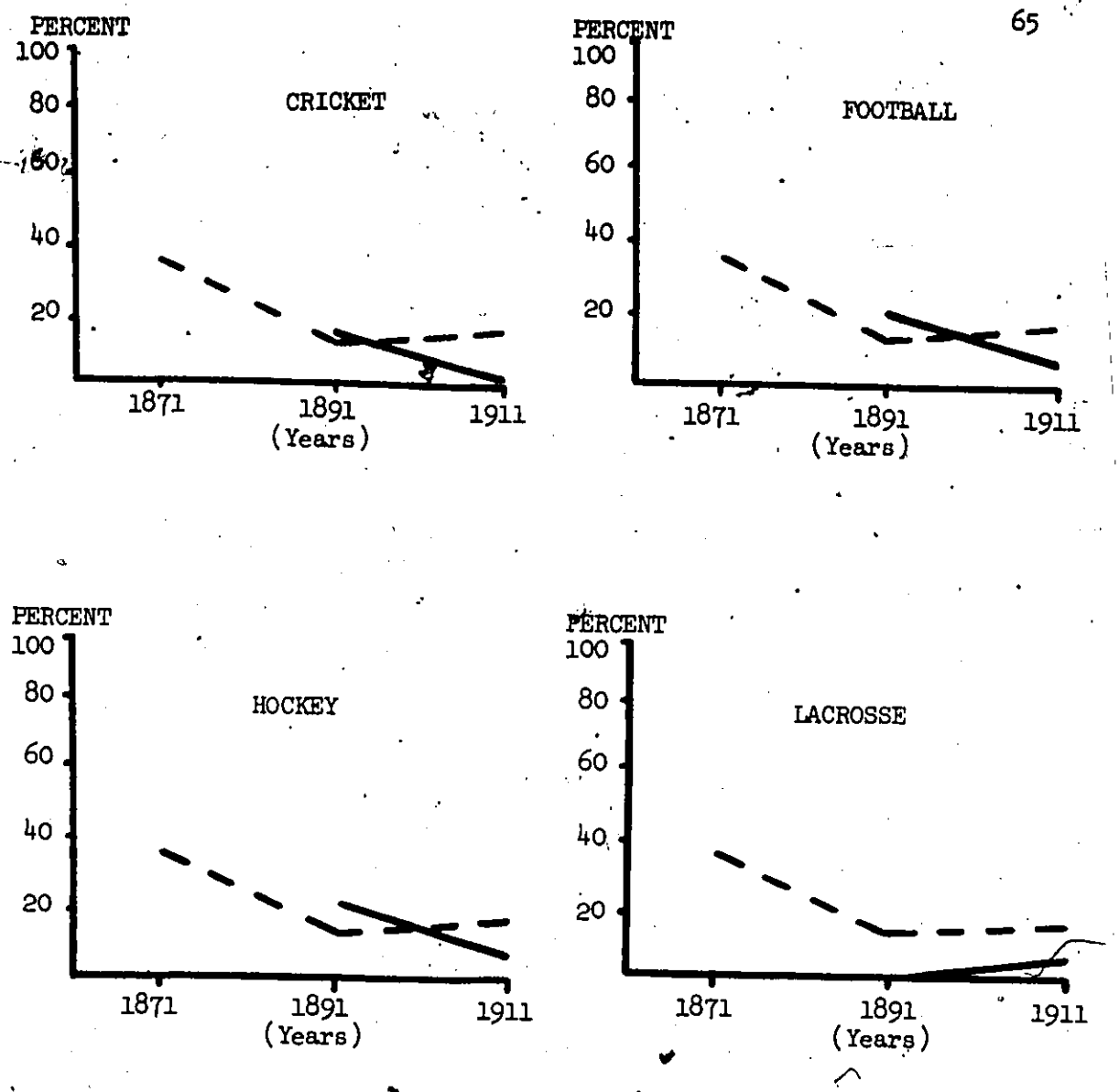
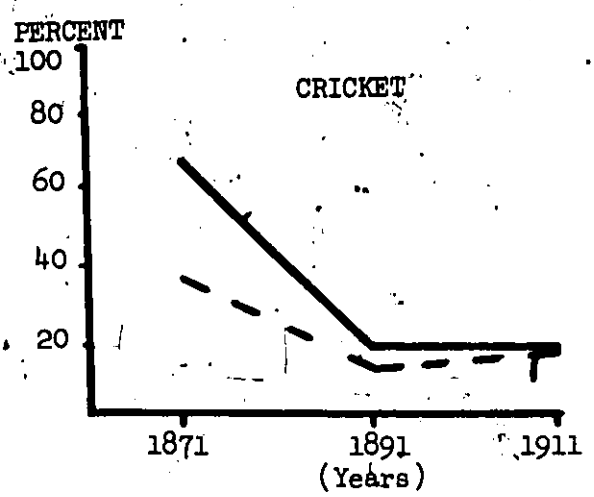
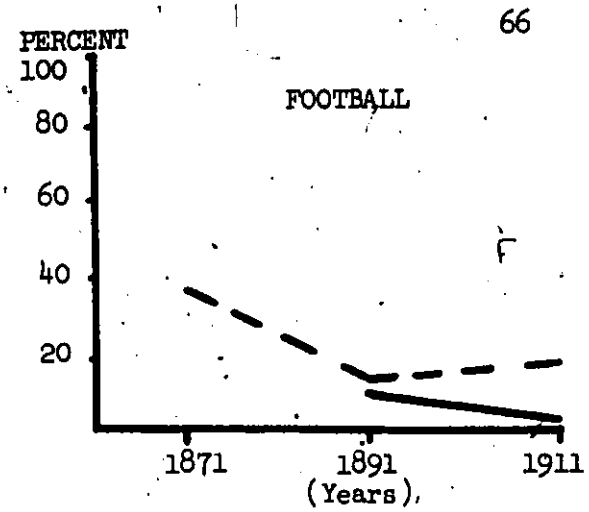
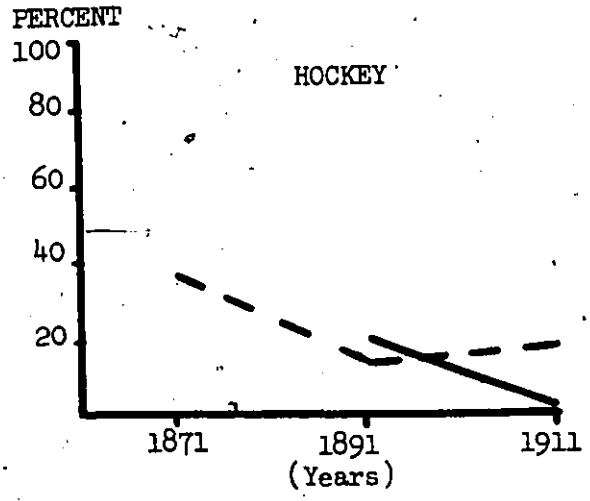
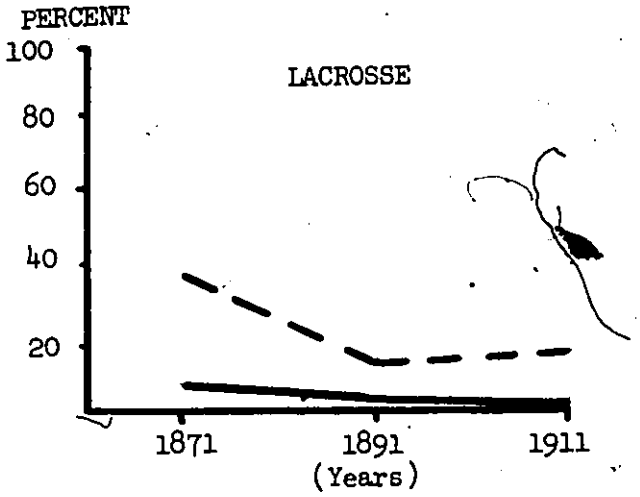


Fig. 3. Percentage of English Executives in Toronto Cricket, Football, Hockey and Lacrosse Leagues, 1871, 1891, 1911.









Percent of Toronto Population Born in England.

Percent of Club Executives Educated at Upper Canada College.

Fig. 4. Percent of "English" Executives in Toronto Cricket, Football, Hockey and Lacrosse Clubs, 1871, 1891, 1911.

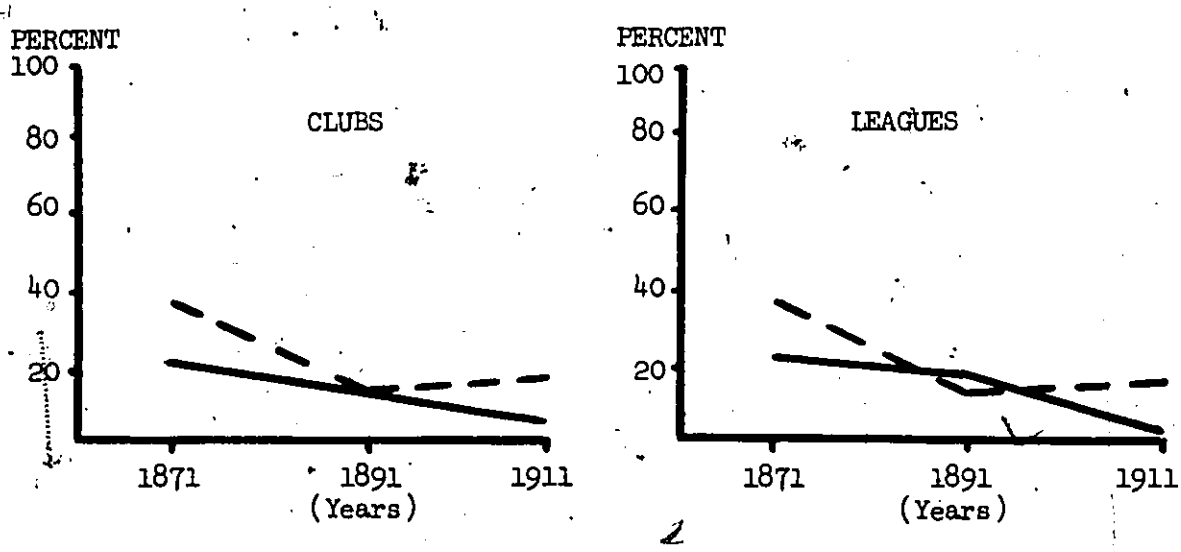


Fig. 5. Percent of "English" Executives of the Total Number of Clubs and Leagues in Toronto, 1871, 1891, 1911.

decline in both English born population and Upper Canada College executives is apparent in cricket, football, and hockey, and is correspondingly low for lacrosse, from 1871 to 1911. It must be emphasized however that the educational criteria analyzed represents only a portion of English influence in terms of leadership. This fact notwithstanding, a decline in English sporting leadership appeared to be in effect.

Figure 4 provides essentially the same information, but relative to individual sporting clubs and teams. A decline in English leaders at the club level is also apparent from 1871 to 1911. It does appear that the English influence was most pronounced in the traditional sport of cricket.

The decline in English leadership is also apparent in Figure 5 which deals with total numbers of executives of leagues and clubs, educated at Upper Canada College, expressed as a percentage of the total number of leaders. The decline however appeared more steady at the club level, than the league level. This may be attributed to the possibility that, in 1891, English leaders were suspected in terms of their attitudes and values to sport, embodied in the tenets of athleticism, which were reflected at the cognitive league leadership level, rather than the active participant level. However, the great proliferation of sport witnessed in 1911 may necessarily have precluded the influence of U. C. C. graduated leaders, solely on the basis of the large numbers by then involved in sport and the relative stability in numbers of the college's graduates.

The decline of English sway is similarly apparent upon examination of the executive members of specific leagues and clubs over the

designated time period (see Appendices D, E, F, G, H, and I). This decline in English leaders, U. C. C. graduates, was seen in the Ontario Cricket Association from 1891 to 1911, and the Ontario Rugby Union. The Toronto Cricket Club exhibited a similar trend through the years 1871, 1891, and 1911, as did the Varsity Football Club and Varsity Hockey Club. There were no examples where the trend, within specific leagues and clubs, increased over the years.

The trend of English decline in terms of numbers of sporting executives is readily apparent. Such a decline may be attributed to several factors. The first being the decline in the percent of English born in Toronto from 1871 to 1911. The fewer English born residents in Toronto, relative to the total city population, the less likelihood for them to assume leadership roles in sport, or in fact any walk of life. Coincident with the decline in English born was the great increase in sport in Toronto. By 1911 the seeds of mass participation had been sown, as indicated by the dramatically increased numbers of teams and leagues over 1891. Thus there were, in 1911, essentially more leadership positions present in the realm of sport, and fewer Englishmen to fill them. The same situation existed regarding Upper Canada College graduates. Their numbers although increasing each year in total numbers of "Old Boys", yet still a very small segment of the Toronto population, could not keep pace with the great proliferation of sport. It appeared inevitable in the burgeoning Toronto sporting scene that the influence of Upper Canada College graduates was in decline, at least on the basis of numbers of executives relative to all sporting executives.

The decrease in English leadership is apparent, but it is difficult to arrive at concrete conclusions on the basis of the evidence presented. The numbers of English born executives are unknown. However, with the use of census data regarding English born in Toronto, abetted by the use of figures relating to Upper Canada College trained executives, which essentially parallel the census data, it appears that the trend involving English leadership is consistent with similar declines from 1871 to 1911, involving English sports actively participated in, and English attitudes and values to sport actively expressed on the playing fields. It is in this light that the material concerning leadership must be taken, in conjunction with preceding information and not considered as a separate entity independent of sports played, and attitudes and values stated and evoked.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A. H. Young, ed., The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College Toronto, January 1830 to June 1916 (Kingston: Hanson, Crozier and Edgar, 1917), p. 12-36.

[2]T. Dickson and M. Adam, A History of Upper Canada College 1829-1892 (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, Ltd., 1898), p. 1.

[3]Young, op. cit., p. 37-432.

CHAPTER V

Conclusions

The complexity of culture presents difficulties of great magnitude for the resolution of any problem dealing with its nature, and undoubtedly has limited the scope of such research. However, heeding the assertion of the exploratory rather than definitive nature of history, it is felt that attempts must be made to analyze the nature of Canadian culture, no matter the inherent risks.[1]

In any consideration of Canadian culture, English influence cannot be denied, and many of these influences, political, legal and linguistic, have seemingly remained relatively constant and undiminished. Sport, on the other hand, as mirrored in Toronto from 1871 to 1911, experienced a decline in English influence. English sports participated in, English attitudes and values to/for sport, and English participation at leadership levels, all indicated a decline in Imperial prestige. When considered independently these measures may initially appear to be of minor consequence, but when contemplated in conjunction with one another, the trend is incontrovertible. The deterioration of English influence in the realm of sport may be attributed to several factors: geographic and associated climatic conditions, the development of uniquely North American sporting forms, the evolution of the opportunity for mass participation, and the decline in the numbers of English born in the population of Toronto.

Due to her northern location the obvious limiting climatic condition in Canada has been the severe winters experienced throughout

the majority of the country. Such conditions were not natural to England, and consequently the English could not reasonably have been expected to provide sporting forms suited to this Canadian environment. Neither cricket nor football befitted the winter season, leaving native Canadian ingenuity or a society whose natural habitation was of similar climate to furnish a viable winter sporting pastime, and consequently the void was filled by the evolution of a North American form. Ice-hockey, which in its modern aspect was distinctly Canadian, had appeared on the Toronto scene by 1891. Its growth in Canada throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century was "nothing short of phenomenal" and this nature of the development of the sport was apparent in Toronto.[2] In 1871 no ice-hockey teams were extant in the city, at least 11 emerged by 1891, and by 1911 Toronto boasted at least 72 teams playing in a wide variety of leagues, many competing under the auspices of the Ontario Hockey Association. Ice-hockey, along with curling, became the predominant winter sport in the Queen City. The snow and cold of Canada also debilitated against the growth of the traditional English winter sport, football, by forcing proponents of the game to forsake the regular pattern of play and adopt in Canada two seasons for participation, spring and fall.

Summers in Toronto also came to be dominated by North American bred sport. Lacrosse, the game of native Indian vintage, spawned 43 teams by 1911, and attracted large numbers of spectators to the championship matches of the day, witnessed by the Toronto-Montreal series. American baseball attracted the largest active following in the city. The 7 teams of 1871 grew to 12 in 1891, and escalated to an

astounding 111 by 1911. Once again indigenous forms dominated the season, despite the presence of cricket as a summer diversion. The popularity of North American sport, exemplified by baseball and lacrosse, over cricket, was apparently due to a psychological aversion to the English game by North Americans. Whitney provided a rationale for American antipathy to the game, which probably mirrored Canadian feelings, in these words:

> In America the national patience seems intolerant of a game that requires three days of play to determine the winner, and it has on that account alone, I have no doubt, failed of popularity, except in a very few sections.[3]

The Montreal Star, in 1889, printed the following comments relating to the popularity of baseball over cricket:

> The game of baseball does not seem to commend itself to the British people...the drawback to cricket however is, that it takes so long to play it...whereas a baseball match can be played in as many hours.[4]

Dulles however, provides the most succinct elucidation of the North American disassociation with cricket.

> Its leisurely pace could not be reconciled with a frontier-nourished love for speed, excitement, action. It was steadily driven to the wall as the far more lively game of baseball, slowly taking its modern form and shape, made a more universal bid for popularity.[5]

Cricket, with its strong ties to English traditions, manifest by its popularity at Upper Canada College, and its domination by elitist institutions such as Osgoode Hall, the University of Toronto and apparently exclusive clubs, was not supported by a broad base of the population. Consequently, the dominant sports in Toronto by 1911 were North American baseball, hockey, and lacrosse, and football, which included the Canadian variation derived from English and American

sources.

Perhaps the most striking factor in the decline of English sporting tradition was the great proliferation of sport apparent in Ontario's capital by 1911. From 1871 to 1891 to 1911, the minimum number of athletic teams extant in the city grew from 24 to 51 to 370. Only in 1911 did this growth in numbers of teams exceed the relative growth of the population of Toronto. The dramatic ascent of sport, noted in Chapter II, strongly suggests the presence of mass participation, or at least the opportunity for such participation, as exemplified by the wide range of social affiliations (religious, occupational, youth, etc.) claimed within the general league structure of Torontonian sport. By 1911 sport appeared to be within the grasp of a broad scope of the populace, and people were enjoying predominantly North American sporting forms.

Closely associated with the rapid development of sport was an apparent "change in the focus of sport from the social participatory to competition."[6] The social participatory concept was undoubtedly linked to the elitist philosophy of athleticism with its emphasis on the use of sport for the development of character. Certainly this feeling seemed to be more in vogue in 1871, when Toronto sport was heavily influenced by educational institutions and private clubs, and play was carried on within an informal milieu of challenges and invitations. With apparent mass involvement by 1911, the competitive element in sport became critical as the importance of victory seemed to dominate, as teams pursued such laurels as city, provincial, and national championships. The masses brought a sense of immediacy to sport

embodied in their sporting ideals. League play, championship matches, cash prizes, and trophies; all characteristic of 1911 Toronto suggests that "for workers (or the masses in Toronto), the reality of the meaning of life was in the present" as Metcalfe stated was the case in England.[7] Perhaps for the mass of Toronto sportsmen "physical activity was not enjoyed for its own benefits but simply as a means to an end---self satisfaction, achievement, and material gain."[8] Since "the content of the culture varies directly with the concepts and motives of the people" and vice versa, it seems that within such an environment, seen in 1911 Toronto, athleticism could not have been expected to survive.[9] Its goals were future oriented and geared to the standards of a middle class elite, or at any rate an elite in which the norms of behaviour were well defined and within which sanctions could be rigidly imposed. At the commencement of the twentieth century, sport in Toronto appeared to have been adhering to the norms of the masses within a framework of league competition and an accompanying sense of immediacy.

The progenitor of mass participation in sport was the urban-industrial progress experienced in Canada in the latter third of the nineteenth century. Prior to this era,

> lack of free time provided a mandatory social excluder from sporting participation for the majority of Canadians.[10]

However, during Canada's "industrial revolution" and in the 1870's "significant segments of the urban population obtained shorter hours", thereby affording varying degrees of free time and releasing individuals for the pursuit of sport.[11] The impact of the industrial revolution on Toronto can be recognized by the decline of "industrial" establishments in the city, coincedent with an increase in industrially

occupied employees (see Figure 6) from 1871 to 1911.

Concurrent with the preceding possibilities responsible for the decline of English influence was the decline in numbers of English born in Toronto. In 1871, 38% of Torontonians were born in England, while only 15% were of the same birthright by 1911. The disintegration of English influence, delineated in Chapters II and III was mirrored by the shrinking numbers of English born. Although the reduction of this ethnic group may not be significant as an independent cause in the decline, it is supportive of the trends described.

On the basis of the preceding postulates, related to the decline of English influence, it is possible to offer some criteria for the determination of the acceptance of a particular sporting form as a bona fide cultural phenomenon. In 1871 cricket appeared to be as integral a part of the Toronto sporting realm as any other form. By 1911, the acceptance of cricket appeared to be minimal. Using such an example, criteria of cultural acceptance, relative to any culture, may be developed. The following criteria are proposed for this purpose:

1. Geographic and Climatic Acceptability - Geographic and associated conditions provide for one of the cultural universals, the principle of "limited possibilities."[12]

> Action and choice always take place within a framework of limited alternatives. Some limitations are set by the physical environment...[13]

Certainly in terms of the acceptance of sporting forms in Canada, winters limited the degree to which non-indigenous forms could be acculturated. English cricket did seem suited to Canadian summers,

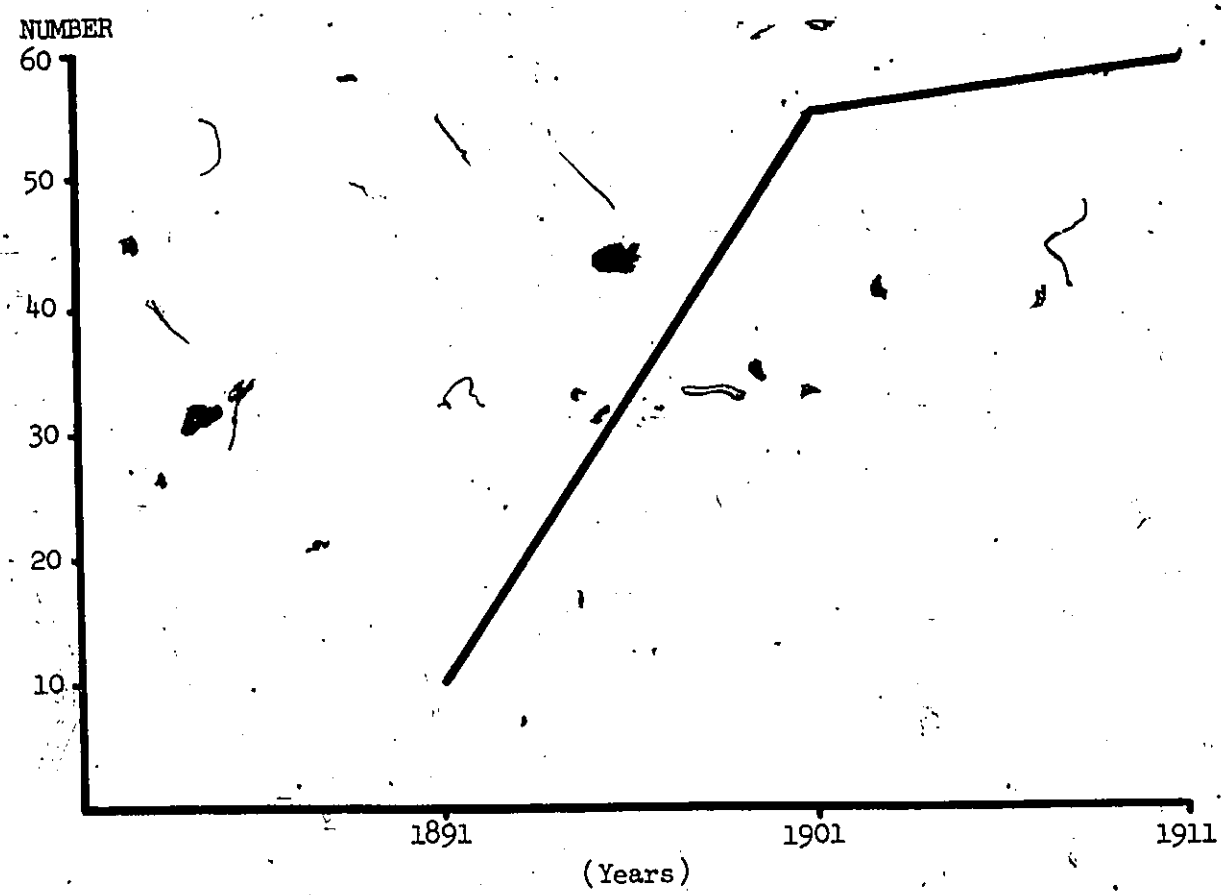


Fig. 6. Number of Employees Per Industrial Establishment in Toronto, 1891, 1901, 1911.

however no English sport was suited to Canadian winters, bearing out the limitations inherent in climatic conditions. In order to become culturally integrated, sports must satisfy the geographic and climatic conditions of a specific environment. It must be noted however that with technological advances such as domed stadia, synthetic turf, and the production of artificial ice as seen in North America, the limited possibilities that accrue to geography or climate are being reduced.

2. Consistency with the Predominantly Held Attitudes and Values to/for Sport - The values held by particular societies provide a means of differentiation between cultures, as a cultural value defined by Broom and Selznick is

> a widely held belief or sentiment that some activities, relationships, feelings, or goals are important to the community's identity or well being.[14]

In Toronto by 1911, to those associated with sport, the value of success, measured in victory, were seen to be of greater importance that the future oriented values of the athleticists. Similarly Reisman and Denney point out differing values for sport inherent in the rule changes associated with the evolution of American football from English rugby, as follows:

> By contrast with Britain, the Americans demonstrated a high degree of interest in winning games and winning one's way to high production goals. The Americans as in so many other matters, were clearly concerned with the competitive spirit new rules might provoke and control.[15]

Luschen also describes the adherence of various cultures to particular values to which sport must adapt, as he says:

> ...health is a high value in American culture, as it seems to be in all young cultures, while death is higher on the hierarchy of values in old cultures like India. On this continuum we may explain why sport as an expression of

health is more important in American than Indian society.[16] Particular sporting practices must adapt to the values of a particular society in order to gain cultural acceptance as pointed out by the evolution of Canadian and American football, and the decline of the spirit of athleticism concomitant with the rise of mass participation in Toronto by 1911.

3. Suitability as a Sporting Form - This criteria is very closely associated with the predominant attitudes and values mentioned above. English rugby, due to differing values held for sport in England, was adapted to the spirits of Canadian and American societies as the evolution of their distinct football took place. Mention has already been made of the unsuitability of the form of cricket as a North American pastime. As football adapted to "a pronounced American taste for action in sports, visible action", it was apparent that no such adaptations were made in the form of cricket, no doubt leading to its relative disavowal in the Toronto sporting life of 1911. Cricket provides an example of the failure of a sport to adapt to a suitable form consistent with societal attitudes and values for sport, and hence is rejected.

4. Level of Participation (active and passive) and Widespread Acclaim - The definition of culture cited in Chapter I refers to "the whole way of life" of a particular society, which in turn embodies a group of people having a common way of life. The co-extensive nature of culture and society is inescapable. Thus in order for a particular mode of behaviour, for example a specific sport, to be considered as culturally accepted it must be common to a society at some level of expression.

society must at least be passively involved with a particular sporting activity before it may be considered part of their culture. In 1871 in Toronto sport, cricket appeared to be an integral part of the milieu, due perhaps to the apparent elitist nature of sport. By 1911, however, such was not the case, as the sport, although seemingly suited to the Canadian climate, was not, as previously stated, directed to mass participation but remained essentially elitist in nature, and consequently lacked widespread participation and acclaim. Perhaps in 1911, due to this limited participatory level and lack of widespread acclaim, cricket cannot be considered an integral element in Canadian culture. This criteria may be applied, in conjunction with the preceding measures, to sporting forms to determine one aspect of their cultural acceptance. Certainly, on this basis, hockey, lacrosse, and baseball appeared to have been accepted components of Canadian culture in 1911, at least as reflected by the Toronto scene.

The examination of Toronto sport to 1911 reveals decreased English influence and an increased acceptance of North American and "Western" influences. American baseball dominated summer sport in the city, and in fact overshadowed all other sport in terms of active participation. The popularity attained by this sport is perhaps an indicator of the inescapable flow of cultural influences from the United States. Canada cannot escape the fact that she "is a single federal political structure superimposed transcontinentally almost in contradiction to north-south geographical forces."[17] Siegfried elucidated this Canadian dilemma when he wrote:

> That there should be a country called Canada distinct from the United States is a mere accident of history, in fact; a politi-

> tical paradox. Nature has not conferred upon Canada any particular personality of her own. There is no geographical difference to separate her from her great neighbour to the south. It is a problem to determine wherein lies Canada's centre of gravity: politically it is in England, and geographically it is in the United States--in either case outside her own boundaries.[18]

Although the Toronto realm of sport of 1911 typified baseball as seemingly being equally at home in Canada as the United States, its presence in Toronto may not have exemplified American domination of sport, but as Laurendeau says "the modern western trend in cultural influence emerging" representing

> a new system of culture developing, based not upon national boundaries but rather upon common and shared processes involved in industrialization, the spread of mass democracy, technology, and materialistic philosophy.[19]

This argument is furthered when the evolution of league play and mass participation are analyzed. Pimlott, as mentioned earlier claimed that league play originated in the United States, and it may have first been noted in that country. Leagues were seen to be an essential form of sport organization in Toronto in 1891, and particularly 1911. Also McIntosh points out that sport was becoming nationally organized in England during this same era, the latter third of the nineteenth century.[20] League play appears to be a concomitant of mass participation, and not a mode of competition that can be justifiably attributed to the ingenuity of a particular nation. Mass participation was seemingly apparent in Toronto sport of 1911. Jobling noted a similar trend in Canada, and also pointed out the bases for the evolution of league competition, when he wrote:

> ...in the latter years of the nineteenth century that local clubs, and town, city, regional, provincial and national leagues and associations began to emerge and govern sport.

> Urban centres fostered and encouraged organized sport through better transportation and communication, a higher standard of living with designated hours for leisure and recreational pursuits, the availability of sporting equipment and facilities, and, perhaps of most importance, the personnel in the form of urban dwellers who were willing and keen to participate in physical activity for their recreation.[21]

Metcalfe's description of the evolution of the working class into the realm of English sport during the latter nineteenth century has been mentioned. Betts pursued the theme of organized sport in the United States with these words:

> ...sport in nineteenth century America was as much a product of industrialization as it was an antidote to it...industrialization and the urban movement were the basic causes of the rise of organized sport. And the urban movement was, of course, greatly enhanced by the revolutionary transformation in communication, transportation, agriculture, and industrialization.[22]

It is apparent that mass participation with its accompanying value structure, embodied in league competition and a quest for success, was a product of urban-industrial development. This process took place in England, the United States, and Canada during the nineteenth century, and lends credence to the belief that:

> The countries of the world and their systems of culture are constantly becoming more and more alike due to similar underlying conditions, and it is within this setting that Canadians must develop their own national culture.[23]

As Vincent Massey stated in 1962: "Science and technology are universal languages and we are all moving in the same direction."[24]

In 1871 English sport appeared to be a significant force in the Toronto sporting realm. However by 1911 a decline in the sporting sway of the Motherland was readily apparent, and was paralleled by an increase in the growth and development of Canadian lacrosse, hockey,

and football, and American baseball, all progressing under the influence of far reaching Westernization associated with the industrial, technological complex. However, England's primary gift to sport in Canada was in the form of an ideology, athleticism, which provided an accepted intellectual rationale for sport. The gift was not limited solely to Canada, but was bestowed upon the Empire and beyond.[25] The cult of athleticism, or at least its influence, thus provides another example of Westernization, and it is apparent that Canadians must consider their culture not in terms of artificial, politically oriented boundaries, but in the context of the far-reaching industrial, technological, democratic complex.

If Canadians are to uncover a culture that can be recognized as distinctly Canadian, it appears that such research must be done in the era prior to domination by the urban-industrial process. After this period Canadian culture must reasonably be viewed within the context of the Western democracies, among whom the United States is both the closest and most influential.

FOOTNOTES

[1]W. Edward Laurendeau, Sport and Canadian Culture in the Border Cities 1867 to 1929 (Unpublished Master of Physical Education thesis, University of Windsor, 1971), p. 87.

[2]Nancy Howell and Maxwell L. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life 1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969), p. 74.

[3]Caspar W. Whitney, A Sporting Pilgrimage (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1895), p. 320.

[4]Montreal Star, April 13, 1889.

[5]Foster Rhea Dulles, A History of Recreation, 2nd. ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), p. 186.

[6]Alan Metcalfe, Sport and Class in Nineteenth Century Canada (a paper presented at the American Historical Association Convention, New York, Dec. 29, 1971), p. 3.

[7]Alan Metcalfe, "Working Class Free Time Activities in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and South Northumberland, England, 1780-1880, With Special Reference to Physical Activity" (Unpublished Phd. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. 281.

[8]Ibid., p. 282.

[9]Alfred Kuhn, The Study of Society, A Unified Approach (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin Inc., and the Dorsey Press Inc., 1963), p. 207.

[10]Metcalfe, Sport and Class, p. 5.

[11]Ibid., p. 6.

[12]Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, Fourth edition (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 69.

[13]Ibid., p. 69.

[14]Ibid., p. 54.

[15]David Riesman and Reuel Denny, "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion" in Sport, Culture, and Society, ed. by John W. Loy, jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1969), p. 315.

[16]Gunther Luschen, "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture" in The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. by Gunther Luschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), p. 88.

APPENDIX B

CRICKET, FOOTBALL, HOCKEY, LACROSSE AND BASEBALL CLUBS AND LEAGUES IN TORONTO, 1891

Cricket

- Rosedale Cricket Club
- Trinity College Cricket Club
- Varsity Cricket Club
- Toronto Cricket Club
- Toronto "Colts" Cricket Club
- Rosedale "Colts" Cricket Club
- Ontario Cricket Association
- Toronto "Colts" Cricket League

Football

- Osgoode Rugby Club
- Parkside Collegiate Institute
- Osgoode Association Football Club
- Canadian Rovers
- Kensingtons
- Thistle Football Club
- Scots
- Norwood High School
- Gore Vale Football Club
- Toronto Scottish
- Varsity Football Club
- Victoria Football Club
- Parkdale Collegiate Institute
- Independent Football Club
- Islington Football Club
- Canadian Football Club
- The Rugby Union
- Ontario Rugby Football Union
- Toronto Football League
- Junior Football League
- Western Football Association

Hockey

- Varsity Hockey Club
- Varsity-Residence Hockey Club
- Granite Hockey Team
- Granite "Colt" Hockey Club
- Granite Hockey Club
- Banker's Hockey League (six teams)
- Ontario Hockey Association

Lacrosse

- Capital Lacrosse Club

[17]Jean - C. Falardeau, Roots and Values in Canadian Lives (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 47.

[18]Andre Siegfried, Canada: An International Power, trans. Doris Hemming, 2nd. ed.; (New York: Duell, Sloan, Peafch, 1947), p. 23.

[19]Laurendeau, op. cit., p. 96.

[20]P. C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C. A. Watts & Co., Ltd., 1968), p. 63.

[21]Ian F. Jobling, "Urbanization and Sport in Canada" A Paper Presented at the First Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. The University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 13-16, 1970, p. 7.

[22]John Rickards Betts, "The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900" in Sport, Culture, and Society, ed. by John W. Loy, jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1969), p. 165.

[23]Laurendeau, op. cit., p. 98.

[24]Vincent Massey, Confederation on the March (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1965), p. 18.

[25]McIntosh, op. cit., p. 88-91.

Jarvis St. Collegiate Institute Lacrosse Club
Young Canadian Lacrosse Club
Toronto "Colts" Lacrosse Club
Toronto Lacrosse Club
Maitland Lacrosse Club
Athletic Lacrosse Club
Toronto Junior Lacrosse League

Baseball

Beavers
Dauntless Baseball Club
Arctics
Diamonds
Active Baseball Club
Western Stars
Nationals
Excelsiors
Standards
Park Nine
Cygnets
St. Michael's Baseball Club
Toronto Amateur Baseball League
Junior Western League

APPENDIX A

CRICKET, FOOTBALL, LACROSSE AND BASEBALL CLUBS IN TORONTO, 1871

Cricket
- Toronto Cricket Club
- Trinity College
- Bankers
- Upper Canada College
- Yorkville Cricket Club

Football
- University College
- Trinity College
- Osgoode Hall
- "Shamrock" Club
- "Erin" Club

Lacrosse
- Ontario Lacrosse Club
- Beaver Lacrosse Club
- Tecumseh Lacrosse Club
- Toronto Lacrosse Club
- Red Stockings
- Chamois

Baseball
- Enterprise Baseball Club
- Crescent Baseball Club
- Achilles Baseball Club (St. Michael's College)
- Independents
- B. A. Commercial College Club
- Dauntless Baseball Club
- Village Baseball Club

sources.

Perhaps the most striking factor in the decline of English sporting tradition was the great proliferation of sport apparent in Ontario's capital by 1911. From 1871 to 1891 to 1911, the minimum number of athletic teams extant in the city grew from 24 to 51 to 370. Only in 1911 did this growth in numbers of teams exceed the relative growth of the population of Toronto. The dramatic ascent of sport, noted in Chapter II, strongly suggests the presence of mass participation, or at least the opportunity for such participation, as exemplified by the wide range of social affiliations (religious, occupational, youth, etc.) claimed within the general league structure of Torontonian sport. By 1911 sport appeared to be within the grasp of a broad scope of the populace, and people were enjoying predominantly North American sporting forms.

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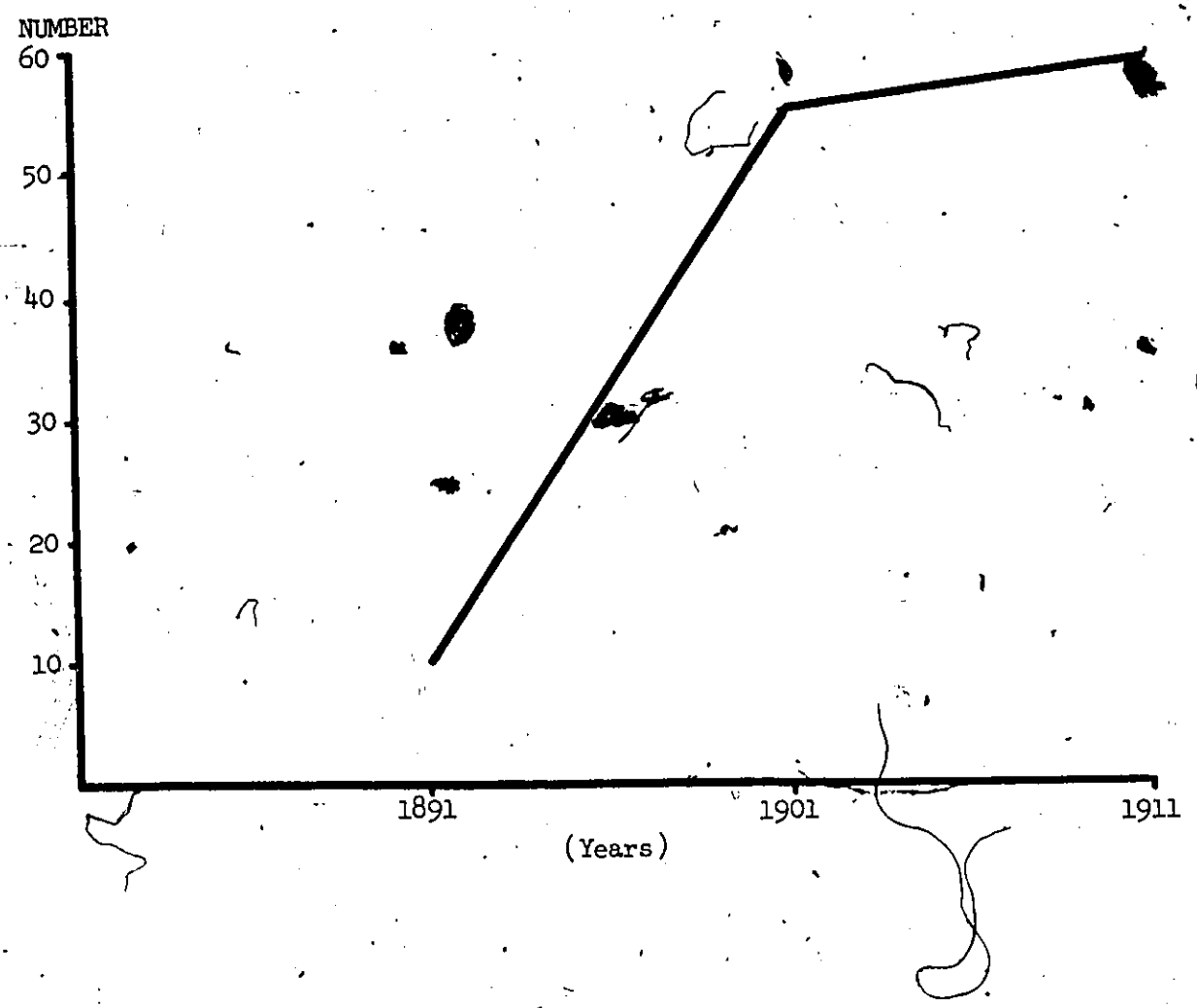

Fig. 6. Number of Employees Per Industrial Establishment in Toronto, 1891, 1901, 1911.

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health is more important in American than Indian society.[16] Particular sporting practices must adapt to the values of a particular society in order to gain cultural acceptance as pointed out by the evolution of Canadian and American football, and the decline of the spirit of athleticism concomitant with the rise of mass participation in Toronto by 1911.

3. Suitability as a Sporting Form - This criteria is very closely associated with the predominant attitudes and values mentioned above. English rugby, due to differing values held for sport in England, was adapted to the spirits of Canadian and American societies as the evolution of their distinct football took place. Mention has already been made of the unsuitability of the form of cricket as a North American pastime. As football adapted to "a pronounced American taste for action in sports, visible action", it was apparent that no such adaptations were made in the form of cricket, no doubt leading to its relative disavowal in the Toronto sporting life of 1911. Cricket provides an example of the failure of a sport to adapt to a suitable form consistent with societal attitudes and values for sport, and hence is rejected.

4. Level of Participation (active and passive) and Widespread Acclaim - The definition of culture cited in Chapter I refers to "the whole way of life" of a particular society, which in turn embodies a group of people having a common way of life. The co-extensive nature of culture and society is inescapable. Thus in order for a particular mode of behaviour, for example a specific sport, to be considered as culturally accepted it must be common to a society at some level of expression.

A society must at least be passively involved with a particular sporting activity before it may be considered part of their culture. In 1871 in Toronto sport, cricket appeared to be an integral part of the milieu, due perhaps to the apparent elitist nature of sport. By 1911, however, such was not the case, as the sport, although seemingly suited to the Canadian climate, was not, as previously stated, directed to mass participation but remained essentially elitist in nature, and consequently lacked widespread participation and acclaim. Perhaps in 1911, due to this limited participatory level and lack of widespread acclaim, cricket cannot be considered an integral element in Canadian culture. This criteria may be applied, in conjunction with the preceding measures, to sporting forms to determine one aspect of their cultural acceptance. Certainly, on this basis, hockey, lacrosse, and baseball appeared to have been accepted components of Canadian culture in 1911, at least as reflected by the Toronto scene.

The examination of Toronto sport to 1911 reveals decreased English influence and an increased acceptance of North American and "Western" influences. American baseball dominated summer sport in the city, and in fact overshadowed all other sport in terms of active participation. The popularity attained by this sport is perhaps an indicator of the inescapable flow of cultural influences from the United States. Canada cannot escape the fact that she "is a single federal political structure superimposed transcontinentally almost in contradiction to north-south geographical forces."[17] Siegfried elucidated this Canadian dilemma when he wrote:

> That there should be a country called Canada distinct from the United States is a mere accident of history, in fact, a politi-

> tical paradox. Nature has not conferred upon Canada any particular personality of her own. There is no geographical difference to separate her from her great neighbour to the south. It is a problem to determine wherein lies Canada's centre of gravity: politically it is in England, and geographically it is in the United States--in either case outside her own boundaries.[18]

Although the Toronto realm of sport of 1911 typified baseball as seemingly being equally at home in Canada as the United States, its presence in Toronto may not have exemplified American domination of sport, but as Laurendeau says "the modern western trend in cultural influence emerging" representing

> a new system of culture developing, based not upon national boundaries but rather upon common and shared processes involved in industrialization, the spread of mass democracy, technology, and materialistic philosophy.[19]

This argument is furthered when the evolution of league play and mass participation are analyzed. Pimlott, as mentioned earlier claimed that league play originated in the United States, and it may have first been noted in that country. Leagues were seen to be an essential form of sport organization in Toronto in 1891, and particularly 1911. Also McIntosh points out that sport was becoming nationally organized in England during this same era, the latter third of the nineteenth century.[20] League play appears to be a concomitant of mass participation, and not a mode of competition that can be justifiably attributed to the ingenuity of a particular nation. Mass participation was seemingly apparent in Toronto sport of 1911. Jobling noted a similar trend in Canada, and also pointed out the bases for the evolution of league competition, when he wrote:

> ...in the latter years of the nineteenth century that local clubs, and town, city, regional, provincial and national leagues and associations began to emerge and govern sport.

> Urban centres fostered and encouraged organized sport through better transportation and communication, a higher standard of living with designated hours for leisure and recreational pursuits, the availability of sporting equipment and facilities, and, perhaps of most importance, the personnel in the form of urban dwellers who were willing and keen to participate in physical activity for their recreation.[21]

Metcalfe's description of the evolution of the working class into the realm of English sport during the latter nineteenth century has been mentioned. Betts pursued the theme of organized sport in the United States with these words:

> ...sport in nineteenth century America was as much a product of industrialization as it was an antidote to it...industrialization and the urban movement were the basic causes of the rise of organized sport. And the urban movement was, of course, greatly enhanced by the revolutionary transformation in communication, transportation, agriculture, and industrialization.[22]

It is apparent that mass participatipn with its accompanying value structure, embodied in league competition and a quest for success, was a product of urban-industrial development. This process took place in England, the United States, and Canada during the nineteenth century, and lends credence to the belief that:

> The countries of the world and their systems of culture are constantly becoming more and more alike due to similar underlying conditions, and it is within this setting that Canadians must develop their own national culture.[23]

As Vincent Massey stated in 1962: "Science and technology are universal languages and we are all moving in the same direction."[24]

In 1871 English sport appeared to be a significant force in the Toronto sporting realm. However by 1911 a decline in the sporting sway of the Motherland was readily apparent, and was paralleled by an increase in the growth and development of Canadian lacrosse, hockey,

and football, and American baseball, all progressing under the influence of far reaching Westernization associated with the industrial, technological complex. However, England's primary gift to sport in Canada was in the form of an ideology, athleticism, which provided an accepted intellectual rationale for sport. The gift was not limited solely to Canada, but was bestowed upon the Empire and beyond.[25] The cult of athleticism, or at least its influence, thus provides another example of Westernization, and it is apparent that Canadians must consider their culture not in terms of artificial, politically oriented boundaries, but in the context of the far-reaching industrial, technological, democratic complex.

If Canadians are to uncover a culture that can be recognized as distinctly Canadian, it appears that such research must be done in the era prior to domination by the urban-industrial process. After this period Canadian culture must reasonably be viewed within the context of the Western democracies, among whom the United States is both the closest and most influential.

FOOTNOTES

[1]W. Edward Laurendeau, Sport and Canadian Culture in the Border Cities 1867 to 1929 (Unpublished Master of Physical Education thesis, University of Windsor, 1971), p. 87.

[2]Nancy Howell and Maxwell L. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life 1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969), p. 74.

[3]Caspar W. Whitney, A Sporting Pilgrimage (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1895), p. 320.

[4]Montreal Star, April 13, 1889.

[5]Foster Rhea Dulles, A History of Recreation, 2nd. ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), p. 186.

[6]Alan Metcalfe, Sport and Class in Nineteenth Century Canada (a paper presented at the American Historical Association Convention, New York, Dec. 29, 1971), p. 3.

[7]Alan Metcalfe, "Working Class Free Time Activities in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne and South Northumberland, England, 1780-1880, With Special Reference to Physical Activity" (Unpublished Phd. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. 281.

[8]Ibid., p. 282.

[9]Alfred Kuhn, The Study of Society, A Unified Approach (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin Inc., and the Dorsey Press Inc., 1963), p. 207.

[10]Metcalfe, Sport and Class, p. 5.

[11]Ibid., p. 6.

[12]Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, Fourth edition (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 69.

[13]Ibid., p. 69.

[14]Ibid., p. 54.

[15]David Riesman and Reuel Denny, "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion" in Sport, Culture, and Society, ed. by John W. Loy, jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1969), p. 315.

[16]Gunther Lusthen, "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture" in The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. by Gunther Luschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), p. 88.

[17]Jean - C. Falardeau, Roots and Values in Canadian Lives (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 47.

[18]Andre Siegfried, Canada: An International Power, trans. Doris Hemming, 2nd. ed.; (New York: Duell, Sloan, Peafch, 1947), p. 23.

[19]Laurendeau, op. cit., p. 96.

[20]P. C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C. A. Watts & Co., Ltd., 1968), p. 63.

[21]Ian F. Jobling, "Urbanization and Sport in Canada" A Paper Presented at the First Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. The University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 13-16, 1970, p. 7.

[22]John Rickards Betts, "The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900" in Sport, Culture, and Society, ed. by John W. Loy, jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1969), p. 165.

[23]Laurendeau, op. cit., p. 98.

[24]Vincent Massey, Confederation on the March (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1965), p. 18.

[25]McIntosh, op. cit., p. 88-91.

APPENDIX A

CRICKET, FOOTBALL, LACROSSE AND BASEBALL CLUBS

IN TORONTO, 1871

Cricket

- Toronto Cricket Club
- Trinity College
- Bankers
- Upper Canada College
- Yorkville Cricket Club

Football

- University College
- Trinity College
- Osgoode Hall
- "Shamrock" Club
- "Erin" Club

Lacrosse

- Ontario Lacrosse Club
- Beaver Lacrosse Club
- Tecumseh Lacrosse Club
- Toronto Lacrosse Club
- Red Stockings
- Chamois

Baseball

- Enterprise Baseball Club
- Crescent Baseball Club
- Achilles Baseball Club (St. Michael's College)
- Independents
- B. A. Commercial College Club
- Dauntless Baseball Club
- Village Baseball Club