Socio-cultural characteristics and the image of the urban Anglo-Canadian athletic hero, 1920-1939.

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by

John W. Key

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the Faculty of Human Kinetics in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of Master of Human Kinetics at The University of Windsor

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ABSTRACT


The purpose of this study was to examine the correlation between the image of the urban Anglo-Canadian athletic hero and the temporal socio-cultural environment and by so doing to shed light on the temporal-societal characteristics within the author's hypothetical model of the athletic hero.

In order to achieve this aim six athletes were selected, three representing urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's (Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey and Paavo Nurmi) and three representing the same environment in the 1930's (Babe Ruth, Joe Louis and Max Schmeling). While the images of these heroes were analyzed via their athletic excellence, charisma and transmission a picture of their respective environment was created in terms of social, economic and political trends and the general attitudes which prevailed. The pooled images of each set of heroes were then compared to the respective environment and the degree of correlation was assessed. The relationships which existed between each set of heroes and their environment was then analyzed with respect to historical continuity and change.
In both eras the correlation between the athletic heroes and the temporal socio-cultural environment was fairly high, though this was more obvious in the 1920's than in the 1930's. Furthermore, many of the historical themes of continuity and change which spanned this period were reflected by the heroes. However, despite many similarities the hero-societal correlations were not perfect and this can largely be explained in terms of individual differences between heroes and their limited sensitivity as cultural measures. Thus, the images of the athletic heroes could be seen as 'pictures' of society which although not exact replicas still portrayed the major themes of their surroundings. In this respect the athletic hero could be seen as a cultural indicator who, through subjective interpretation, was able to uncover new meaning within the respective environment.

Only when this societal relationship had been fully examined could the study return to the general concept of the athletic hero in order to establish the validity and sufficiency of the author's initial hypothetical model.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The author's initial interest in the subject of the athletic hero was first stimulated by the discussions of a graduate seminar group at the University of Windsor and particularly by the research of a fellow student into the concept of the sport hero. What soon became apparent from these discussions was the lack of classification systems or explicit models within this area as well as the scarcity of operational definitions regarding the sport hero. This observation was reinforced by an examination of the available secondary sources, indeed existing literature on the general subject of the hero gave scant recognition to the very existence of the athletic hero. Nevertheless, specific articles on the subject of the athletic hero did exist and although these tended to be devoid of explicit paradigms or operational definitions they did help the author to determine the major characteristics which constituted the athletic hero.

Within these articles the consistent appearance of some of the major characteristics led the author to believe that certain elements of the athletic hero were essential
to his status at any time or in any society. For Deford the 'Impact Champion' was seen to be characterized by talent, notoriety and an impact that could be turned into box office but no means of measurement of these terms was offered. Similarly, Roberts implied the need for athletic prowess and certain personality traits in order for the sports hero to exist while Reising described the existence of characteristics which qualified a sportsman to hero status but in defining them he went no further than listing them as "attributes athletic and otherwise." In the same way O'Connor listed the athletic hero's characteristics as being athletic excellence, charismatic personality and an eponymous symbol but again failed to define these elements. O'Connor also recognized the importance of the media in shaping and diffusing the image of the sports hero but did not describe this as essential. The only explicit attempt to modulate the characteristics of the athletic hero was made by Smith. In his model he listed five categories of sports heroes (the consistently outstanding performer, the man of the hour, the underdog, the charismatic performer and the anti-hero). However, his lack of operational definitions and his failure to relate these categories led to the overlapping of categories as well as a degree of insufficiency. Furthermore, because his model was merely a typology it ignored the
existence of different levels of characteristics such as those of performance and those of personality, those which are essential and those which are not.

Using the material from these and other articles, the author formulated the first level of a model of the athletic hero. This level represented the 'constant prerequisites' for the athletic hero which were seen as: those characteristics which were essential to the creation of the athletic hero and which must all be present at any time or for any society in which the hero exists. The first of these was 'athletic excellence.' This was defined as: a unique form of brilliance within an athlete's field of performance at a specific time and for a specific society and would be indicated by a societal record, a societal number, one ranking or a unique single performance for a given society. The second prerequisite was 'Charisma' which was defined as: a quality of personal magnetism or a capacity to inspire devotion or enthusiasm. This characteristic could be seen to be either real or fabricated or a combination of these two and although not always quantifiable its presence would be indicated by the use of a nickname. The final prerequisite was 'transmission across society' and this was defined as: the imparting of information and ideas, across a given society, concerning an athlete's athletic excellence and
charisma either by word of mouth, radio, newspaper, television or all of these. What this described was the most basic form of athletic hero - the widespread conveyance of an image via a one-way system which could be seen only from the transmission end. Only when a mutual process of interaction and communication is considered, involving both the transmitters (the media) and the receivers (the public) can it be said that one is dealing with the 'popular' athletic hero - a figure whose notoriety is indicative of the taste of the majority.

The second aspect of the athletic hero which was observed in the secondary sources was the relationship between the athletic hero and his society. For Roberts the sport hero was seen as "a facet of a complex society." In this way not only did the hero reflect his society but also, in the case of outstanding personalities, affected society's interest in a sport. Similarly, O'Connor saw the sport hero as necessarily rooted in his society, both defining his age and personifying the spirit of his time. In the same way Smith describes the sport hero as an instrument of and a reflection of a variety of social processes.

These descriptions seemed to indicate a new level of characteristics within the athletic hero. Not only did the athletic hero have to fulfill certain 'constant pre-
requisites' but these prerequisites would also take on
the flavour of the society in which the hero existed.
Thus, the second level of the athletic hero could be seen
under the heading - 'societal characteristics.' These
were defined as: ' - elements of the athletic hero which
although not universally required are nonetheless highly
important (perhaps even essential) for a given society
and are based upon the needs and interests of that society.
In this way the interaction of the individual and his
society was not overlooked so that not only could society
influence the character of the athlete but also the
athletic hero could alter the needs and interests of his
society. Furthermore, in order to simplify the relation-
ship between the hero and society the latter was reduced
to three all-inclusive subcategories. These were firstly,
'spatial society' which was a society fixed in space are
limited by geographical or locational boundaries, for
instance, Canada or America; secondly, 'temporal society'
which was a society fixed in time and bounded by any time
frame from a century down to a split second; thirdly,
'abstract society' which was a society based on concepts
or ideas, such as scientific organizations, religious
organizations and so on. While these subcategories served
to simplify the societal variables it was also realized
that they could overlap so that each of these sub-societies
could occur simultaneously. An example of this would be

Returning to the secondary sources, it was clear that
many other elements of the athletic hero had not been
accounted for. These factors were neither essential to
his creation nor were they reflections of the social milieu
but were characteristics which were seen as purely indivi-
dual to the athletic hero in question. This third level
- the 'individual characteristics' were defined as: those
elements which, although neither essential to the existence
of any athletic hero nor based on the specific needs or
interests of a specific society, are nonetheless intrinsic
constituents of an individual athletic hero. Basically,
these were seen as sub-components of the first level, that
is elements which make up an athlete's 'athletic excellence'
or 'charisma.' Examples of these would be consistency of
performance or the athletic underdog or particular personal-
ity traits.

Thus, the author's initial hypothetical model looked
like this:

Model 1. Components of the Athletic Hero

Level 1. Constant Prerequisites
   a) Athletic Excellence
   b) Charisma
   c) Transmission Across Society
Level 2. Societal Characteristics
   a) Spatial Society
   b) Temporal Society
   c) Abstract Society

Level 3. Individual Characteristics

From this the athletic hero could now be defined as
"a participating or ex-participant athlete who demonstrates athletic excellence and charisma across a given society and for an unspecified time." In this way a Canadian athletic hero would be any athlete whose athletic excellence and charisma were transmitted across Canada and this athlete would only exist as such for as long as this transmission continued.

While this interest in the athletic hero per se was germinating the author also experienced a growing interest in the theoretical aspects of society and culture. Once again this was initially sparked off by involvement in a graduate course at the University of Windsor: 'Historico-Cultural Perspectives of Sport and Physical Activity.' It was through this course that the author was introduced to the Kuhnian concept of society and culture. This described an interrelationship between society and culture in terms of a 'system of action' which was seen as a self-sufficient body of content and a set of relations with the people which could be seen within the environment and transmitted
over time. Thus, for Kuhn society was essentially the actual people while culture represented everything these people thought or did.

With these explanations of society and culture the author was able to use other secondary sources in order to expand and flesh out these concepts. Thus a different perspective on the interrelationship between society and culture was provided by Talcott Parsons. This was seen in terms of a 'cybernetic hierarchy' which ranked the cultural system, the societal system, the personality system and the behavioural organism and allowed for continual interchange across each of their boundaries. What this emphasized was that society, and therefore culture, must be seen in terms of an amalgamation of individuals who simultaneously affect society and are affected by society. Thus, the 'societal mind' is not only reflected by individual personalities but is influenced by them as well.

Similarly Max Weber described the interrelationship between the individual, society, polity and economy. Again Weber saw the correlation between individual and social action as well as demonstrating the relationship between spiritual ideals and economic and political interests. Here we have an explicit division between the individual and society as well as political and economic action. This picture was further illuminated by Marxian theory in which
distributive elements of society (class, ethnicity, religion and so on) interrelate with people's ideas, values and beliefs (general attitudes) and the economy and in this way dictate everything else.\textsuperscript{14}

A final historical perspective on these concepts was provided by Murdock who added a 'process of cultural change' to these somewhat static models of society and culture.\textsuperscript{15} For the author, this temporal process could be broken down into two distinct trends: elements of change and elements of continuity.

With these many concepts in mind the author was able to define the major societal concepts which would be used in the study. Thus society was seen as: an organized aggregate of people who live as an entity, share a common culture and identify themselves as being different from others. At the same time culture was defined as: those elements (products, behaviour, values, beliefs, motives, norms and symbols) which are learned and socially transmitted by a society. Also the socio-cultural environment was defined as: the system of action between the body of culture and the people, seen within the intellectual, economic and physical surroundings. Finally, the temporal socio-cultural environment placed this 'system of action' on a time scale thus adding an historical aspect to a largely sociological area.
Furthermore the author was able to synthesize much of the material from the review of literature into a unified model which could be used to organize data from any socio-cultural environment. This model can best be presented as follows:

Thus, the author's desire to test the hypothetical model of the athletic hero and his interest in society and culture led naturally to the integration of these two themes. More particularly, the question that was raised was: what was the relationship between the image of the athletic hero and the temporal socio-cultural environment? In order to answer this question the image of the athletic hero would have to be viewed via one of the media in which it was transmitted and the medium most suited to this analysis was the newspaper.

Many articles have been written on the viability of newspaper research and the view that newspapers reflect, intensify and even bring about a change in public opinion is a common one. At the same time it is realized that the views of the newspaper should always be related to its readership and the limitations of reporter error and bias, the political and commercial nature of the newspaper and the availability to social strata should also be recognized. Furthermore it should be realized that news and truth are not the same thing — the former being used to signalize events and the latter to provide a picture of reality. Thus, although newspapers have several limitations they, nonetheless, provide the best method of ascertaining the general image of the athletic hero that was being conveyed, particularly in the 1920's and 1930's.
In terms of content analysis of newspapers, much has been written on quantitative analysis, while qualitative analysis is all too often dismissed as being impressionistic or unobjective. However, some researchers believe that quantification is less reliable in investigating "attitudes and interests of population groups and psychological states of persons and groups."\(^{19}\) Also it is thought that the qualitative approach has the potential for the selection and rational organization of categories so as to condense the substantive meanings of the given text with a view to testing pertinent assumptions and hypotheses.\(^{20}\)

It is with this in mind that the author attempted to use qualitative analysis with regard to the image of the athletic hero conveyed by the newspaper and in this way gain an insight into the representation or perceived reputation of the heroes being transmitted.

Thus, the purpose of this study could be viewed as a testing of the temporal aspect of the 'societal characteristics' within the hypothetical model of the athletic hero. More particularly, this could be seen as an examination of the correlation between the image of the athletic hero and his temporal socio-cultural environment. In this sense the 'correlation' could be seen as the synchrony in
arrangement or paralleling of phenomena which could exist with or without the implication of causality. All that remained to be established were the limitations and delimitations which would apply to the study and the exact methods and procedures which would be employed.

The first delimitation placed on the study involved the control of the locational variable. This was held constant by selecting the heroes and then relating them to a single spatial society – Canada. At the same time an attempt was made to control abstract society. This problem was made all the more difficult by the sheer number of abstract societal variables and the degree of overlap between them. Nevertheless it was felt necessary to impose two further delimitations so that firstly, the study should be limited to urban Canada and, secondly, only Anglo-Canada would be represented.

With these restrictions imposed the temporal boundaries could be drawn up. Two time periods were chosen: 1924-5 and 1935-6. In this way athletic heroes from each period could be related to the corresponding socio-cultural environment and this could be seen as a historical process by analyzing the change and continuity in these relationships. The periods selected were thought to be representative of two distinct eras in Canadian history: 'the Roaring Twenties' and 'the Depressed Thirties.'
Furthermore, secondary source material suggested that these periods were far enough apart to allow socio-cultural changes to have occurred. Also each period selected represented one Olympic and one non-Olympic year.

In terms of the athletic heroes, six was thought to be a manageable number with three selected from each time period. Thus, purely individual differences were eliminated by taking common characteristics from the first group and relating them to their era and then doing the same for the second group of athletes.

As well as the above imposed boundaries the study was also restricted by the general nature and availability of the data. The analysis of the image of the athletic heroes via the newspapers was one area with severe limitations and the problems of newspaper research and content analysis have already been alluded to in a previous section of this chapter. For the analysis of the socio-cultural environments secondary sources were used and again the problem of subjectivity arose. However, with the use of several secondary sources it was hoped that a general overview of the socio-cultural environments could be gained which eliminated the less objective views of individual historians. Another limitation which was uncontrollable was the author's relative inability to read French which effectively eliminated the analysis of French-Canada from the
study. Finally, the image of the athletic heroes was examined solely from the point of the transmitter (the newspaper) with little attention being paid to the receivers of this image. In this case the time element and availability of finances served to restrict the necessary correspondence and personal visitations which would have made a study of this nature possible.

After laying the theoretical foundations of the study (detailed above) the next phase of the study involved the selection of athletic heroes. Essentially this was the pilot study phase. For this, two newspapers were selected - The Toronto Globe, which was seen as the closest approximation to a Canadian national paper and The Winnipeg Free Press, which was used as a back-up to eliminate local heroes and was selected based on availability. Every sports page throughout the four years of study (1924-5 and 1935-6) was then analyzed and the totals for athletes appearing in headlines were aggregated. These athletes were then ranked in terms of headline frequency or transmission frequency and then checked for the indicators which would fulfill the two remaining constant prerequisites. These indicators were: the presence of some form of unique brilliance for athletic excellence and the use of a nickname for charisma. The three highest ranked
athletes to fulfill these criteria were then selected as the representative heroes for each time period. For 1924-5 the chosen athletes were Jack Dempsey, Paavo Nurmi and Babe Ruth while for 1935-6 they were Joe Louis, Babe Ruth and Max Schmeling.

Having selected the athletes to be used in the study the next phase was concerned with the analysis of their image as it was transmitted across urban areas of Anglo-Canada via the newspapers. In order to fully represent the transmission across this society, it was felt that one newspaper should be selected from each of the four general areas of Canada - the West, Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. Each newspaper was then selected as representing the most widely circulated English-speaking newspaper from the most populous city within each of these four areas. These four newspapers were as follows: the Vancouver Sun, the Toronto Star, the Montreal Star and the Halifax Herald. ²³

In order to analyze the image of the heroes comprehensively a series of coding units pertaining to personality, performance and transmission were established. ²⁴ At the same time, using data obtained from the pilot study it was possible to make up a list of significant dates which would act as the central focus for the gathering of relevant information on each athlete. ²⁵ The four newspapers
were then analyzed starting with the Toronto Star which represented the most detailed analysis of the heroes, being checked for information on every day. In addition, every Monday sports page within the other three newspapers was analyzed for consistency and for any additional data which may have been presented on the heroes. All of the information was then categorized so that the image of each hero could be drawn up. Some secondary source biographical data was also examined so that the images of the heroes could be placed into context.

The other side of the study concerning Anglo-Canadian urban society of the 1920's and 1930's was examined via secondary source material. Initial examination of these two temporal socio-cultural environments showed that their analysis via abstract cultural indicators (products, behaviour, values, beliefs, motives, symbols and norms) was artificial if not impossible. Therefore, an organizational model was devised which would act as a framework for arranging and comparing data from the two periods in question. This classification system was based on the theoretical framework for the analysis of the temporal socio-cultural environment (see Model 2) and utilized coding units which came out of the initial survey of secondary sources.26

Using this model, information from different sources
was compared and a uniform picture of the socio-cultural characteristics of each period was constructed which eliminated the possible subjectivity of individual historians.

With both sides of the study complete conclusions were then drawn as to the commonalities which existed between each set of athletic heroes and how these correlated with their respective temporal socio-cultural environments and finally the degree of change and continuity in these correlations.

Only when this has been achieved will the study return to the concept of the athletic hero and discuss many of the elements which have been involved. This, in turn, will lead to a final model of the athletic hero which will deal with both its internal composition and its relative position in the general scheme of things.
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12. The clearest analysis of Parsons' works can be found in G. Rocher, Talcott Parsons and American Sociology, Don Mills, Ont.: Nelson and Sons, 1974.


20. Ibid.


22. For a complete breakdown of data from the pilot study see Appendix 1.

23. For full information on urban population, newspaper circulation and readership analyzes see Appendix 2.

24. For a complete list of coding units see Appendix 4.

25. For a complete list of key dates see Appendix 5.

CHAPTER II

THE ROARING TWENTIES

The Socio-Cultural Environment

In 1920 Canada entered a distinct era marked at one end by war and at the other by depression. Perhaps more than any other decade the 1920's can be ascribed with a Janus-like quality which combined a backward looking pre-war nostalgia with a progressive and realistic view of the future. These contrasting aspects of Canada in the 1920's permeated every element of the socio-cultural environment: the economy, politics, society and the general attitudes of the people and in this way provided a dual thrust for the whole era.

For Canada the economy in the 1920's can best be summarized as the 'boom and bust' of the first half decade and the surging prosperity of the second half. A more detailed breakdown would be as follows: a boom to the autumn of 1920, deep depression until 1923, a modest recovery and then major depression during 1924, recovery during 1925 and another boom from 1926 to 1929.¹

The first noticeable trend of the 1920's then was inflation. Money was abundant but the necessities of war had
decimated the supply of goods. With supply outpaced by
demand prices became unprecedentedly high. This rising trend
was paralleled though not matched by rising wages so that
although all seemed to prosper few were really prosperous.

Then in 1920 the tightening of credit and the abolition
of the Wheat Board brought a period of deflation and the
associated problem of unemployment.² It was this aspect of
deflation as we shall see later, which caused the rise of
protest movements across the country for the next three years.

Between 1920 and 1925 the economy fluctuated consider-
ably but with the aid of Wheat Pools and the good harvests
of 1923 and 1924 prices soon began to rise, business revived
and deflation subsided, although some industrial unemploy-
ment still remained. By 1926 the new era of prosperity had
arrived and Canada was able to share in the American boom.
With a record crop in 1928 Canada seemed to be riding the
crest of a wave and yet within a year the collapse of the
New York Stock Exchange was to topple this wave and send
Canada into the deepest economic trough of its history.

Despite some initial periods of deflation, the decade
as a whole was marked by steady economic growth. The most
noticeable example of this was urbanization. This was one
area where the transitional nature of the decade was exem-
plified for it was during this era that the total for urban
population overtook that of the rural population.³ By and
large this increased urbanization came as a result of rapid
industrial development, and examples of this urban-industrial growth were manifested from coast to coast. In the East, Halifax and Saint John gained from national expenditure on their harbour installations, while coal and steel caused urban expansion in Sydney. In Quebec, Montreal became the centre of a huge conurbation while the expanding paper industry caused expansion in Three Rivers and Quebec City. In Ontario urban growth was seen from the bulb area of Toronto and Hamilton to the end of the South-Western peninsula where the automotive industry was concentrated. In the West, Vancouver raced past Winnipeg to become Canada’s third city and Calgary with its oil and natural gas remained ahead of arch rival Edmonton.

As well as marking the change in the direction of population, the 1920’s also saw a change in industrial emphasis. This was typified by a dramatic growth in secondary industries, concerned with manufacturing and processing products from Canadian raw materials. At the same time primary industries were also expanding, especially mining for gold, silver and the other base metals that American industry increasingly sought from Canada.

These new demands of urbanization and industry also led to the expansion and consolidation of the railway system. In 1921 the two existing railway companies were placed under
government ownership and formed into the Canadian National Railways. The man chosen to unify these branches and effect the necessary improvements was Sir Henry Thornton. Between 1925 and 1930 he added over 480 miles of railroad a year as well as reducing operating costs drastically. By the end of the decade the C.N.R. was the longest railroad system in the world and for many became the symbol for Canadian progress and civilization.

Canadian progress was also reflected in science, especially science applied to some material end. Much of the research carried out in this area was sponsored by the National Research Council as was the most notable scientific achievement of the decade—the discovery of insulin by Doctors F. G. Banting and C. H. Best which brought Canada its first Nobel Prize. This growth of science also became the foundation of a new and popular education in Canada which was taking place in a rapidly expanding university and college system. This transitional aspect from romanticism to realism was further highlighted by a decline in the humanities which made little progress in this decade. Philosophy and history remained inhibited and literature and art remained largely romantic and optimistic.

The economic fluctuations of the 1920's and the unequal effect they had on society led to a new and volatile poli-
cal climate. The worst hit section of society was the farming population and the result was the abrupt emergence of a potent if short-lived farmers movement. The organization of farmers was a theme which went back to Confederation but it was not until their very position was threatened that a political course of action was chosen. This 'Progressive Movement' saw its first success in 1919 when the United Farmers won the Ontario election. Their position was further consolidated in the general election of 1921 when Progressive members from British Columbia to Ontario won sixty-five seats. This was their last hurrah. In a decade which was increasingly dominated by urban-industrial mores this agricultural movement was doomed to failure. Furthermore, the inability of the individual farmers movements to unite under one caucus made them an easy prey to the organization of the two-party system.

Thus, by 1924 the Progressive Party was gradually failing and by 1926 was virtually wiped out from federal politics.

This general trend of Progressivism, however, was not limited to rural Canada. Dissatisfaction was also apparent in urban areas where the existing problems of poor housing, schooling and transportation were further worsened by post-war inflation. Once again dissatisfaction was manifested by protest and in 1919 workers' strikes were evident across the country. The most famous of these was the Winnipeg
General Strike which grew out of an attempt by workers to secure the right of collective bargaining. At a time when the red scare was at a height this radical action was seen by many to represent the beginnings of revolution. The result was a total mishandling of the whole affair and much shedding of blood on the side of both strikers and police.

Although this and other strikes failed to effect immediate changes in the area of government control, what they did highlight was the meeting of two opposing forces which were to face each other throughout the 1920's, namely progressivism and conservatism. On the one hand society was looking to the future where human needs would be met by public means and scientific training and on the other hand society was still hanging on to a past where Victorian attitudes of laissez-faire and self-help were central.

Another political battle which came to a head in this decade was the problem of nationalism versus sectionalism. This took many forms - the most obvious being in party politics, where all three of the major parties were amalgams of sectional and occupational interests. This was particularly so in 1921 with the Progressives drawing the majority of their support from the Prairies, the Conservatives mainly from Ontario and the Liberals drawing from the East.
the small majority in the hands of the Liberals under William Mackenzie King and so many sectional interests to compromise the only possible outcome was negativism. This was indeed the result as King struggled to keep himself in power and maintain national unity simultaneously. This was achieved first by leaving matters as they were in Quebec and secondly by attempting to win back Liberal voters in Ontario and in the prairies. In the next four years King was content to avoid controversial issues while the Progressives disintegrated and prosperity returned. However this do-nothing policy was not well received by the electorate and in the election of 1925 the Conservatives won more seats than any other single party (Conservatives, 117, Liberals 101, Progressives 24). During the confusion of the next year King showed the opportunism and tenacity by which he was able to hang on to office. Faced by electoral defeat and the subsequent revelation of a government scandal which alienated Progressive support, King attempted to dissolve Parliament and when refused by the Governor General, Lord Byng, proceeded to resign prematurely. After the Conservatives under Meighen had attempted and failed to form a government a new general election was called and King, appealing to Canadian nationalism, citing the unconstitutional action of Lord Byng, managed to sway the vote so that 129 Liberals and
Liberal Progressives faced 91 Conservatives, 9 Progressives, 11 U.F.A. members and 3 Labour members. For the remainder of the decade King and the Liberals remained safe, wrapped in a blanket of optimism.

Although the domestic scene was dominated by sectionalism, Canadian foreign policy in the 1920's was unreservedly nationalistic. This was most notably manifested in the Imperial Conference of 1926 where the Dominions were declared equal in status to the United Kingdom thus effectively replacing the British Empire with the British Commonwealth of Nations. This policy was further consolidated in the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1927 which ended any necessary reference to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. In the same year Canada set up a legation in Washington and shortly afterwards diplomatic missions were exchanged with France and Japan. Canada was now well and truly set on the road towards national autonomy. With such nationalistic ideas rampant what was needed was a concrete policy in which they could be embodied. Unfortunately, the only trend which Canada displayed abroad was negative isolationism. In 1923 after a British appeal for support at Chanak against insurgent Turkey, King declared that Canada had no obligations to help Britain. Later in 1925 Canada was not represented at the negotiations of the Locarno Treaty and was excused any obligation in the treaty. Even in the 1928 Pact of
Paris, King refused to show total support for collective action without providing wordy loopholes.

Even if the policies were nebulous Canada had at least shown her desire to stand on her own. Furthermore, although federalism was threatened in this period, nationalism, despite being vague and misty, took on new strength. At last the word 'Canadian' was beginning to have some meaning.

In some senses this trend of Canadianization acted to unify Canadian society. However, many anomalies of society which existed in this period continued to sectionalize Canada in many aspects. The most obvious area of section- alism was ethnicity, particularly between French and Anglo-Canadians. Entering the 1920's the schism between French Quebec and the rest of Canada was at the broadest due largely to the question of conscription which had been brought up during World War I. However, the desire for a 'Laurentian' republic among French national idealists was tempered by the need to co-operate with the Anglo-Canadian economic ascendency which existed in Montreal. Unhappily French aspirations in this area were misunderstood in some parts of English Canada as aggression by the Roman Catholic Church. In truth, English and French shared more commonalities than dissimilarities with life being more and more dominated by secular influences of economy and politics.
and less and less by the fragmented dogmas of religion. In fact the Canadian churches, both Catholic and Protestant, "found their foothold in the actual world, narrowing rapidly between the erosion of a blind fundamentalism on the one hand and a popular scientism on the other." 12

Probably more important than ethnic differences, however, were those of social geography. Here the root was economic with resentment from the Maritimes, the prairies and the West coast directed against the powerhouse of central Canada. This discontent now "demanded more than the palliative measures of unsystematic federal subsidies or the draining off of the enterprising from the margins to the centre." 13

Further division was apparent in social stratification where heightened class consciousness led to realization that society was being dominated by an increasingly contented urban middle class. 14 This led, as we have seen, to protest both urban and rural in order to establish new rights for workers.

Another underprivileged section of society which found a new voice was women. Prior to 1920 this was most clearly seen in the drive for the female vote which was granted in 1918. In the 1920's women developed a collective will and a sense of power and mission which was manifested in their increased involvement in every aspect of society from
politics to sport. Before the decade ended Canada had her first female M.P. and one out of every five Canadian women had a job.15

Despite the sectarianism which was manifested among these various social groups, Canadian society as a whole experienced a new form of nationalism during the 1920's. However, this nationalism was not clearly defined and Canadians were not sure if this 'Canadianism' embodied the right to be American or the right not to be American.16 With the dissolution of the Empire and its new independence from Britain, Canada had certainly become more strongly tied to the United States. This was true in economics, where the interdependence of the two countries was becoming more and more apparent.17 and in politics where Canada and America shared a policy of negative isolationism. More significant than these, however, was the social assimilation which took place in the twenties. American fashion, magazines and movies penetrated Canada more than ever before and growing interest in American sport and politics was also visible.

Thus, for many, Canada was becoming "the Kingdom of America"18 while for others this swing from Anglicisation to Americanisation was merely one aspect of what has been called a "conscious striving to invent, discover or identify
Canadianism." This nebulous Canadian identity (at least, Anglo-Canadian identity) was given some substance by a group of Canadian artists known as the Group of Seven who presented a national image of Canada through their landscape pictures. Thus, while Canadians resisted American domination they also discovered that despite inner diversity they were different from the people of Europe and the United States, that is a country 'sui generis'. Now all that was needed was for this concept to be given shape so that this national consciousness could be developed into a solid identity.

For Canada then the 1920's was an age of contrast. This paradoxical nature of the decade was evident within most of its themes. For instance, in this so-called 'golden age' few people realized how thin the veil of prosperity really was and how unevenly it was distributed. The economic boom of the early and particularly the later twenties was largely speculative in nature - both individuals and businesses were spending money they did not have and many segments of the population, particularly the provinces and the maritime's, were completely passed by. Nevertheless for much of English-speaking Canada the decade's ill-regulated prosperity seemed real enough and by and large the general mood was one of secure but shallow optimism.

This perhaps more than any other aspect is the feeling which characterized urban Canada in this decade - a feeling
of materialistic hedonism. To a certain degree this may have been real but once again the feeling of security and the self-indulgence of the time masked much of the corruption and scandal which lay behind the scenes. For many observers the pursuit of wealth and happiness which seemed to symbolize the age was merely a cover for people who were trying in vain to fill the emptiness of their lives.  

Thus in the 1920's the ambiguities behind the feelings of prosperity and hedonistic materialism remained largely hidden. In other areas conflicting ideas highlighted the transitional nature of a decade which held on to the past and looked into the future at the same time. Basically, the nostalgic aspect of the twenties can be described as the traditional side while the forward looking aspect can be described as the modern side. In the 1920's these two elements existed simultaneously within Canadian society so that in some senses Canada remained essentially conservative, looking back to Victorian values and a predominantly rural past while at the same time radical forces ensured the erosion of Victorian values and propelled Canada towards a predominantly urban future.

One area in which this transition was evident was in the balance between science and the humanities. The humanities, especially in the realms of literature and art, adhered to a backward looking romanticism and became over-
shadowed by science which looked forward to an industrialized world of realism. This challenge of science also came as a blow to the Canadian church which attempted to remain faithful to a rural conservatism that was committed to simple living and moral endurance.

The dual thrust of the era was also evident in Canada's attitudes towards Britain and America. The modern Canada looked for a stronger relationship with America – the emerging superpower, while the traditional Anglo-Canada remained loyal to British ways despite the imminent dissolution of the Empire. However, probably the clearest example of the duality of the age was in the area of social values. Here the Victorian beliefs in self-help and a puritanical work ethic which persisted led to the maintenance of very orthodox, even reactionary, government policies. However, the new urban thrust was leading to desires for an organized labour force and the rejection of laissez-faire and these were embodied in the radical movements which arose in this period.

In the same way middle class satisfaction, anti-Bolshevism and the introduction of prohibition were themes which bore witness to Canada's history of conservatism. However, the rise of working class agitation, the development of Progressivism and the failure of prohibition in the same period pointed to the ideals of the future. On the sur-
face the 1920's were symbolized by wealth and frivolity, but in truth this decade marked the metamorphosis of Canadian society from a traditional mode to a progressive mode. More than anything else the story of urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's was one of transition.

The Athletic Heroes

The following three athletes were chosen on the basis of ranked frequency of transmission in the sports pages of the Toronto Globe and Winnipeg Free Press, 1924-5 and upon fulfillment of the prerequisites of athletic excellence and charisma in these two newspapers and four other Canadian papers (Vancouver Sun, Toronto Star, Montreal Star and Halifax Herald). In this way their status as Canadian athletic heroes, as laid down in the introductory chapter, was ensured.

What this section of the study hopes to achieve is a detailed analysis of the newspapers' image of each athlete in terms of their athletic excellence, charisma and transmission. From this, three personality overviews can be formed which, when pooled, can be correlated to the socio-cultural environment in which they were transmitted.
1. George Herman Ruth

Athletic Excellence

When examining Babe Ruth's athletic excellence the presence of 'uniqueness' as its indicator is omnipresent. The most obvious form is in the establishment of records at which Ruth was unparalleled. In 1924 many references are made to the 'Babe' heading the lists of various statistics. Throughout the baseball season he is constantly acclaimed for leading home run and batting figures and by the end of the season is eulogized as the league leader in batting, runs scored, runs batted in; bases on balls and, of course, home runs. His forty-six home runs was the highest for either league with the next highest being only twenty-seven. Also featured strongly is Ruth's existing home run record of fifty-nine home runs and the chances of his breaking it.

Although evidence of a number one ranking is difficult to find in a team sport a reference to Ruth being ranked as the top baseball player for 1922 was found. Furthermore, the description of Ruth involves the constant use of superlatives such as being the greatest drawing card of all time.

Aside from this uniqueness, Ruth's style of performance was also highly distinctive even innovative, in fact Ruth has often been said to have changed the very style of base-
First and foremost in Ruth's style was his hitting ability. He was the slugger par excellence and few stories could describe him without some reference to his prodigious 'swatting' or 'swinging' expertise. In 1924 some stories are carried which refer solely to this batting ability as when he 'cracked' the longest home-run of his career in March 1924. Similarly each paper mapped the progress of Ruth's home-run record with almost religious zeal. The image projected here is one of brute power and strength and it was not long before this new style became popular. Single handed Ruth had changed the personality of baseball from careful tactics to happy-go-lucky slugger.

The other aspects of Ruth's performing side bring forth little comment. He was a highly paid professional in a highly professionalized sport and despite occasional references to his golfing ability (or lack of it) he was a specialist within the realms of sport.

**Charisma**

If the presence of nicknames is the clearest (though not the only) indicator of charisma it can safely be said that Ruth possessed this quality in abundance. How many athletes can equal Ruth in number or permanence of nicknames and how many have received such coverage from the media? Not one article which covered Ruth's exploits in
this period, failed to use the most famous of pseudonyms: "Babe". But that was not all for during this time Ruth is also referred to as: the "Bumping Bambino", the "Battering Bambino", the "Fat Guy", and the "Sultan of Swat/Swing" to name but a few.

Having established that Ruth's charisma is present and well-reported what can be said about its composition? Most of the information on Ruth's personality can be found in the articles from 1925, particularly those pertaining to his mysterious illness which afflicted him from April to June and the disciplinary action against him in August of the same year. The image which is projected here is the outspoken egotist whose headstrong behaviour masks an underlying insecurity and childishness.

This dual image is first shown during his illness and subsequent hospitalization when Ruth is reported to be light-hearted and unworried about his illness and yet a later report would have us believe that Ruth's former heights will never be attained due to the lack of assurance that his illness has caused. The indication here seems to be that a show of external bravado obscures a lack of inner confidence. This theme was repeated during the misconduct incident in which Ruth was placed on a disciplinary change for alleged misconduct off the field and subsequently fined $5,000 and suspended from the League. Again
during the ensuing arguments and recriminations the two faces of Ruth are portrayed. On the one hand Ruth seems adamant about being accused of assuming the role of dictator in the New York Yankees' policy, seeking publicity and thinking he is bigger than baseball itself, while on the other hand he is described as having "the mind of a fifteen year old boy" and pleads to be reinstated in his club.

This split personality seemed to be matched by an ambivalent attitude towards Ruth on the part of the public. On the one hand Ruth is the idol of the crowds for whom hoards of worshippers would stop a ball-game, or the globe-trotting celebrity who toured 8,500 miles and was watched by 125,000 spectators, or even the superstar who instilled such blind adoration in his fans that thousands bet on him to break his home run record in 1925 and lost everything. Paradoxically the same fickle public are described as having no sympathy for him during his misconduct trial and the newspapers are characterizing him as "the Longboat of baseball." Also while Ruth misses the opening of the 1925 baseball season one paper describes the disappointment of "a whole lot of people who only go to the ball-game in New York to see the fat guy strike out."

Here, then, we have the image of Babe Ruth the personality - the man that people loved to follow and loved to hate.
but a man who was esteemed by few.

Transmission

From the pilot study (Appendix 1) it can be seen that Babe Ruth is one of the most exposed athletes in Canadian newspapers during 1924-5. Furthermore, his athletic excellence and charisma as indicated by uniqueness within his performance and the presence of nicknames were-evident across the sample of newspapers used for the study. Once these aspects were examined more deeply the degree of consistency within performance and personality could also be assessed.

For Ruth the critical events (Appendix 5) selected from the pilot study and the Toronto Star were not always reported in the remaining three papers. However, the basic images presented were consistent both in terms of the athletic excellence and charisma described above. Thus, it is hypothesized that this image would also be consistent across urban Anglo-Canada as a whole.

When this transmission is examined more closely what is also apparent is the degree of myth and subjective comment which surrounds Ruth. For instance, when Ruth is hospitalized in April 1925 many reports make no reference to the illness involved. The exception here is the Halifax Herald which reports that the famous slugger has received a concussion from a fall and then claims he has influenza.
As the months pass, various claims concerning the illness are made, including intestinal abscesses. This incident of 'the stomach-ache that was heard around the world' highlighted the media cover-up which was used extensively at this time.

Another example of this playing down of an incident was found in the disciplinary action which was brought against Ruth for alleged misconduct off the field. What this misconduct involved is only hinted at with Ruth's denial of excessive drinking. The other 'escapades' of Ruth are also reported in low-key style. His "appetite for things of the flesh" received only one reference with his denial of an acquaintance with a New York widow and his gastronomic extravagances also received scant recognition. Together these illustrate the creation of an image which played down the Ruthian excesses in the realms of food, drink and womanizing but without totally ignoring them.

During 1924-5 then, examples of taking away from reality are high and the mythical embellishment of fact is low - the only example being the report of the mythical Ruth homer at Tampa Bay, which went into the river and was swallowed by a pelican.

The final aspect of transmission which is displayed in the data is that the image which the newspapers create is flexible and everchanging. This is best exemplified by
the differences found between 1924 and 1925. In the former
Ruth is the invincible slugger and in the latter his brilli-
ant baseball career is seen to be at an end. Only time
could prove this prophesy wrong.

Overview

More than anything else the image of Ruth which is pro-
jected in 1924-5 across urban Anglo-Canada is that of a dual
persona. The anti-hero who loses his money betting on
horses and is known as the 'bad boy of baseball' co-
exists with the 'nice guy' who offers to pay a chauffeur's
fine in court and who cheers on his team-mates from his
hospital bed. For the public this paradox was part of
his magnetism - he was the naughty child, the loud-mouthed
but vulnerable Bambino and yet although his fame cannot be
denied this popularity usually took the form of adulation,
but seldom admiration. Above all he was the ultimate per-
sonification of 'innocence betrayed.'

2. William Harrison Dempsey

Athletic Excellence

To identify a degree of 'uniqueness' within Dempsey's
athletic performance during 1924-5 one has to look no fur-
ther than the fact that he was heavyweight champion of the
world during this time and this is transmitted in each of
the papers in the sample. Further information on examples
of this uniqueness or on aspects of Dempsey's athletic excellence during this period are scant and this is due in no small part to the fact that he does not defend his title during this time.

The information that is given about Dempsey's athletic performance comes from the descriptions of his exhibition bouts of 1924. In one of these Dempsey knocks out three other heavyweights in an evening with "ease, grace and precision" and the ferocity and speed of his attacks are highlighted. The image transmitted here is of Dempsey as a tough and bruising fighter who specialized in a tough professional sport.

**Charisma**

As with 'Babe' Ruth, Dempsey was better known and consistently transmitted under his nickname - 'Jack'. His other famous nickname "the Manassa Mauler" was also transmitted though not across the whole sample. It is this nickname as well as others on the same theme such as "Tiger," "Killer" and "the Tough Guy" that gives us an insight into one side of Dempsey's image - the brutish slugger. Here was the Dempsey who, despite his small stature, had "socked Willard" in 1919 and who dealt out unmerciful beatings to his sparring partners. However, this is not the only image projected. During 1924 and 1925
Dempsey is also portrayed as a rising star in the movie industry whose main focus is the acquisition of culture and gentility.

Another contradictory aspect of Dempsey's character is seen within mixed reports concerning his apparent racism. In some cases, Dempsey is described as "sidestepping" a meeting with the negro challenger Harry Wills and this decision is even backed up by Dempsey's manager Jack Hearns and politicians in New York. In this case, the drawing of the 'colour line' seems clear. At other times, Dempsey is seen as wanting to fight Wills and at one stage, is even reported to have signed for a fight with him. However, this fight never materialized and arguments over Dempsey's possible racism continued.

These contradictory aspects of Dempsey's image are best seen when they are graphically contrasted in the newspapers. Thus, when Dempsey undergoes plastic surgery for a new nose, he is seen to be creating a "new image from his vulgar fighting days to the Barrymore of Pistiana." However, where one report describes the change from a "plebian beak" to "a thing of chaste beauty," another report maintains that Dempsey "looks like a sap" with his new nose and warns that it will probably disintegrate in the ring. Indeed, the theme of Dempsey's unwillingness
to defend his title successfully is a recurring one and this is often associated with his new style of life which is blamed for the loss of his previously "unyielding and vicious state of mind."  

Despite misgivings about his performance the response to Dempsey's new character was generally good. The memories of the war and Dempsey's 'slackerism' were fading and the languid lover of the silver screen was becoming more popular. Like Ruth then, Dempsey epitomizes the image of rags to riches. From the humblest of origins Dempsey has become a glittering hero - confident, modest and unusually wealthy. This image is further heightened by his marriage to the beautiful Hollywood starlet Estelle Taylor. However, these trappings of higher civilization could never disguise Dempsey the mauler. All they did was add another facet to an athlete who was thought to be "one of the most interesting characters in the world."  

Transmission

The pilot study clearly demonstrated that Dempsey was far and away the most frequently transmitted athlete of the 1924-5 period and this in spite of the fact that he did not defend his title once! Furthermore, the indicators for athletic excellence and charisma were shown to exist across the entire sample. However, when these aspects were broken
down the picture of consistency was less clear.

When examining the years of 1924 and 1925 it soon becomes apparent that there is distinct lack of critical dates or incidents regarding Dempsey's activities (Appendix 5). Instead, Dempsey's image rests largely upon unscheduled editorial style comment. With this in mind the above portrayal has taken into account the lower incidence of revealing information which could be gleaned from the Vancouver Sun, the Montreal Star and the Halifax Herald. Even with this limitation the first two of these three newspapers reflect the same image as the Toronto Star, although this is somewhat watered down. The Halifax Herald on the other hand provides very little depth of analysis at all although what it does provide is consistent with the image described.

What we have here is a picture of Jack Dempsey which is consistent as far as it is reported but which varies in depth in relation to the size of the newspaper. In particular the Halifax Herald at this time presents a smaller sports section which is not capable of devoting as much space to a non-competing athlete as the larger papers. Thus it can be seen that urban Anglo-Canada may be a completely homogeneous society in terms of the superstructure of hero images but not necessarily in terms of the depth to which that image is filled out. In truth, the depth
of portrayal of an athletic hero's image will probably decrease in relationship to the decreasing size of the urban community and the paper being examined.

Even with this limitation certain characteristics of transmission are evident. The most obvious of these is the explicit image formation and subjectivity which surrounds Dempsey. This is made apparent even to the point of referring to "the old Dempsey legend which was erected by the sportswriters after the Willard bout." 68 Here, then, is an admission to the deliberate myticism which was incorporated into the image of Dempsey as "boyish and likeable" 69 giant-killer who took the heavyweight title in 1919. By 1924-5 the image has become more complex although still surrounded by a large degree of subjectivity. This is particularly evident in the reiteration of the belief that Dempsey will never fight again. 70 This view was disproved in September 1926 when Dempsey lost his title in his first fight against Gene Tunney.

Further subjectivity is displayed concerning Dempsey's physical stature whereby his role as the underdog is heightened by deliberate underestimates of his size. 71 Similarly though not to the same extent as 'Babe' Ruth, Dempsey's image at this time undergoes a certain degree of tarnishing. He is reported to be an abstainer in the areas of smoking,
drinking, swearing and gambling as well as displaying modesty over his romantic involvements. Dempsey is the refined paragon of virtue rather than the seedy ignorant brawler who destroyed Willard with plaster of Paris encased knuckles and was booed out in the match with Georges Carpenter in 1921.

Remarkably, then, Dempsey is one of the most, if not the most, highly transmitted athletes across urban Anglo-Canada in 1924-5 despite the fact that his only accomplishments during the period are avoiding fights, making movies and receiving cosmetic surgery. This in large part can be explained by the highly organized promotional aspect of his career. More than any other athlete Dempsey was ballyhooed by professional pitch men especially Richard and Kearns and this journalistic attention continued even during these years of inactivity. This is most notably demonstrated by the publication of autobiographies of both himself and Rickard which eulogized Dempsey’s personality and performances almost to the point of sycophancy. In an age of soft-sell Jack Dempsey was probably the most publicised product on the North American market.

Overview

As with 'Babe' Ruth the image of Dempsey between 1924 and 1925 is a dual one. On the one hand Dempsey is charm-
ing, sophisticated and debonair, his fights are few and when he does appear he is "tastefully attired in lavender trunks." During these two years he seems content to enjoy the idle life of a celebrity. At the same time, however, Dempsey is still the 'mauler' and despite his new dashing image he "pulls in crowds in his movies when appearing in his natural role as bruiser not as the languid lover." It seemed that no matter how high Dempsey tried to climb the 'gentleman of the fists' would always be remembered as the saloon brawler. The sow's ear could never truly become the silk purse.

3. Paavo Nurmi

Athletic Excellence

In contrast to the paucity of Dempsey's athletic accomplishments between 1924 and 1925, those of Paavo Nurmi were transmitted with almost monotonous regularity across the entire sample. This was particularly the case during the 1924 Olympics and his North American tour which lasted from January to May of 1925. In these reports there is certainly more than a little evidence of uniqueness. For instance, at the Paris Olympics he won an unprecedented four gold medals to become "the outstanding distance champion of all time." During his North American tour he set numerous world records, which were reported with as
much enthusiasm as Babe Ruth's home runs, and received constant recognition as "the world's greatest runner" and "the greatest runner of all time" and even "the sporting phenomenon of the age."

When this athletic ability is broken down one soon becomes aware of his impeccable running form which is described as lithe and graceful and which is even analyzed in a photographic sequence in the Montreal Star. Besides this, little seems out of the ordinary, particularly in terms of Nurmi's physique which is variously reported as sturdy, slender, and frail.

Athletically, then, Nurmi represents the athletic specialist (although he competes in a wide range of track events from 800 metres to 5,000 metres) competing in a highly individual and ostensibly amateur sport.

Charisma

Although Nurmi's charisma took on a more subdued form than those of Ruth or Dempsey it was undeniably present and uniformly transmitted. The first appearance of a nickname comes in 1925 when Nurmi is referred to as "the Flying Finn" and this along with "the Phantom Finn" is used regularly. Behind these indicators a very clear image of Nurmi's personality is conveyed. This portrays Nurmi in the classic mold of the introverted long-distance runner
- aloof and bashful, ambitious and totally dedicated. Above everything else Nurmi is described as the terse athlete who rarely talks and smiles even less. In fact, so seemingly melancholic was Nurmi at times that he was described as the "Nordic Hamlet" - a man so haunted by his own success that he dreaded the possibility of failing to equal his past records.

Conversely Nurmi is portrayed as proud and confident of his future, predicting he will break every track record from 800 metres to the marathon. Similarly his unemotional character is apparently denied by friends reports of "cyclonic outburst of emotion." However, the biggest discrepancy which appeared in Nurmi's character concerned the issue of amateurism. In early reports Nurmi is described as "the most amateur of amateurs and a credit to his country" - a man whose morals have caused him to ignore all commercial possibilities. However, in late April of 1925 the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States launches an investigation into alleged expenses which were payed to Nurmi for his appearance in the Drake relays. For the next three weeks the controversy continued. All Nurmi's American engagements were cancelled pending an inquiry, and no sooner was he reinstated by the A.A.U. of U.S. than he was suspended by Philadelphia District.
Amateur Athletic Union for excessive expenses at one of
their meets. 100 The problem was finally cleared up when
Nurmi was exonerated by the investigation committee on
violation of amateur rules and was allowed to run his
final races of his tour. 101 Thus Nurmi returned home with
his amateur status intact 102 but with his reputation
severely soiled.

Transmission

Unlike 'Jack' Dempsey, Nurmi's transmission was concen-
trated around his athletic performances and his uniqueness
in this area received continuous publicity. Nevertheless
his charisma was conveyed and the general picture of Nurmi's
personality is constant.

What is much less obvious in the transmission of Nurmi's
image is the idea of explicit mythicism or subjectivity.
Nurmi's records speak for themselves and are dealt with in
a relatively objective fashion. Very little seems to be
deliberately added to Nurmi's personality and nothing seems
to be covered up. Only when he suffers his first (and last)
loss of his tour is this journalistic imagination conveyed
with reference to "the possibility that he had a morbid
desire to hand a shock to his enemies, the newspapermen and
photographers." 103 His loss is probably better explained
by the fatigue of a long tour and the fact that the race
was a half-mile - Nurmi's weakest competitive race.

At the same time, although Nurmi was undoubtedly well publicized at this time (a fact demonstrated by the serialization of his life in the Montreal Star, 104 and the Toronto Star)105 he did not receive the same degree of promotion that Ruth or Dempsey were offered. This can probably be explained by his distrust of the American media and his refusal to involve himself in any form of commercialism. In an age of North American hyperbole and ballyhoo Paavo Nurmi must have felt like a fish out of water.

Overview

Once again, though not as obviously as with 'Babe' Ruth or 'Jack' Dempsey, Paavo Nurmi's image was bilateral. The dominant side of this image portrays Nurmi as the impassive running-machine106 or 'Running Robot',107 and yet we receive hints of an uncontrollable temper from his friends reports108 and a fit of pique which he throws in Chicago over the condition of the track.109 Similarly, Nurmi is repeatedly painted as the paragon of virtue - a dedicated ascetic who does not drink,110 who never had a girl friend114 and who is "the most amateur of amateurs"112 and yet this same athlete becomes involved in the biggest corruption scandal of 1925.
As with Ruth and Dempsey this paradoxical image, when viewed within a vacuum, is an enigma. Only when all three of these are seen within their socio-cultural contexts does this aspect of their identities begin to make sense.

**Conclusions**

Having outlined the themes of urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's and the images of Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey, Paavo Nurmi, it is now possible to make a correlation between this socio-cultural environment and the images of its athletic heroes. At the same time, because it is realized that each hero is a separate individual and has a unique relationship with his environment, this section will briefly analyze these separate relationships before eliminating the individual differences. Only when this has been achieved will the overall correlation between the heroes and their society be established.

On the surface Babe Ruth was pictured as a dynamic hero in a dynamic age—a smashing case for self-indulgence. Above all else Ruth was portrayed as the slugger par excellence (a fact which was reflected by most of his nicknames) and the incurable extravert who was not afraid to say what he felt and do as he pleased. This aspect of his image was reflected by a Canadian era of hedonistic materialism. His
towering home runs were something which could be superficially enjoyed without having to be analyzed and his garrulous nature and general love of life were part and parcel of the 'Roaring Twenties.' Both Ruth and urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's were loud and both shared a desire to spend money they did not have.1

However Ruth's correlation with his society was not that simple, for just as Ruth is projected in a dual image so is Canadian society. When the 'Babe's' outward show of confidence and bravado is undermined by his childishness and intensity we see the reflection of a society in which a veneer of hedonism masked underlying fears and vulnerability. At the same time Ruth, to some extent, reflects the transitional nature of the era. In terms of mythicism the newspapers cover up many of Ruth's less savoury characteristics. Here we have an indication of the backward looking conservatism of the era, which was particularly evident among the newspapers,2 so that the activities of Ruth were 'censored' in order not to offend the sensibilities of the readers. Nevertheless, the fact that some of Ruth's indiscretions are mentioned perhaps indicates that a growing outlook of realism was making Ruth's image less 'romantic' than it might have been. However, a more obvious example of the progressive aspect of Canadian society can be seen in the fact that Ruth
represents an highly professionalized American sport. Here is a reflection of two future trends which were emerging in Canada at this time - professionalization and Americanization.

For Ruth then this code of superficiality made him a towering giant who was adored and worshipped but never admired. As long as he was hitting home runs he would remain the 'Sultan of Swing.'

Jack Dempsey reflected many of the same cultural themes as Babe Ruth. The predominant aspect of his image at this time is that of the debonair movie-star who undergoes plastic surgery and attempts to move from lower to higher civilization. In this way Dempsey, like Ruth, reflects the frivolity of the age. He is more interested in taking a honeymoon in Europe with his actress wife than in fighting and is generally content to lead the hedonistic life of a celebrity. Furthermore, as with Ruth, Dempsey repeatedly reflects the materialism of the twenties as he climbs from poverty to become a "plutocratic pugilist." Thus, in the same way as Ruth, Dempsey is portrayed as a glittering hero who reflects the behaviour and prosperity of Canada in the 1920's.

Yet Dempsey also displays a complex relationship with his environment, for beneath his glamorous exterior lies
another less publicized image - the vulgar brawler. In truth this was the real Dempsey and the image of sophistication that the newspapers portrayed was as superficial as the society that took it in. Dempsey's image also reflects the transitional nature of the decade. On the one hand Dempsey reflects the nostalgic conservatism of the 1920's when he refuses to fight Harry Wills on ethnic grounds while on the other hand he exemplifies the dualism of the decade which was "undergirded by a deep sympathy for the underdog," another facet of Dempsey's image. Furthermore, Dempsey, like Ruth, reflects the growing fascination of Canada with American life and professional sport which were two other aspects of a forward looking urban Canada.

Thus because Dempsey had emerged in an era when heroes were plentiful it was necessary to 'sell' an image that the public would 'buy'. In keeping with the trend of the period Dempsey's 'slackerism' was played down and his asceticism was played up. Thus, in the 1920's, Dempsey could only become a marketable commodity when he appeared as a 'golden' hero and so this image was carefully maintained.

Of the three athletic heroes Paavo Nurmi's image would seem to be the one which correlates with the socio-cultural environment the least. Certainly, there is no hint in his character of the hedonism of urban Anglo-Canada. Nurmi,
though charismatic in his own way, was far from being glamorous. Despite this it is through Nurmi that we see the truest reflection of the transitional nature of Canada at this time. Throughout 1924-5 Nurmi repeatedly reflects the backward-looking conservatism which existed in Canada at this time. He displays a puritanical zeal for running and an asceticism which is almost Victorian while reminding Canada of her European heritage. Above all he symbolizes the health of amateur sport. Yet in 1925 this image is shattered by accusations of Nurmi receiving excessive expense money. In this way Nurmi's image also reflects the rising theme of professionalization of sport which was an element of Canadian progressivism. Furthermore this incident is another example of the materialism which pervaded Canadian society at this time – nothing was more important than the acquisition of wealth.

Thus Nurmi avoided the promotional circus which created a dazzling galaxy of glamour heroes, and was presented along much more objective lines. Nevertheless even he is touched by an element of image-making and when this image is broken it is yet another example of the superficiality which characterized the heroes and their society.
By pooling the information from these three outlines certain conclusions can be drawn regarding the relationship between the heroes as a group and urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's.

The most clearly demonstrated characteristics of urban Anglo-Canada in this decade was one of carefree materialism and this was reflected to varying degrees by each hero. Ruth and Dempsey, in particular, were classic examples of the magic circle of heroes who reflected the splendour and ballyhoo of the 1920's. Even Nurmi's somewhat drab personality is presented in a glossy form which is subject to hyperbole and spectacularism. In this way nearly every move these athletes make is considered newsworthy and their images are 'sold' with the verbosity, cliches and analogies which characterized the twenties. Similarly each hero reflects the obsession with money which was so symbolic of the time. In a period of consumer boom both Ruth and Dempsey show a proclivity for spending money whether this involved betting on horses or buying hotels. Even Nurmi is reported to be receiving exorbitant fees for appearing at running meets. Thus, despite their differences, these athletic heroes can be said to reflect "the hedonistic materialism of an urban Canada caught up in the flapper era." 6

Another less obvious feature of urban Anglo-Canada
in this period which the three heroes reflect is that of cultural superficiality. For each hero the shallow image which is created acts as a mirror for the shallow society which accepts it. In Ruth the naivety and insecurity which occasionally emerge from behind his brash exterior reflect the same insecurities which existed in this period. Similarly Dempsey's rarely seen 'mauler' image is a reflection of the more primitive desires and feelings which lurked behind the glittering twenties. Lastly the corruption of Nurmi is an indication of darker forces which remained largely hidden behind the superficial optimism of Canadian society.

The final aspect of urban Anglo-Canada which is reflected by the athletic heroes is the duality of the era. The reactionary nature of the twenties which hangs over from earlier times is manifested by the cover-up which is used to hide the unsavoury activities of Ruth and (to a lesser extent) Dempsey and in the asceticism which surrounds Nurmi. At the same time, however, the three heroes personified a more progressive Canada which was becoming increasingly Americanised. In a decade when Canada was becoming dominated by American culture it is significant that two out of three of the heroes selected for this study are American. This fact is reinforced by the fact that eight out of the ten most transmitted athletes in the
urban Anglo-Canadian newspaper sample are American. Even Nurmi, the only non-American in the study is transmitted largely in terms of his tour of the United States. Similarly, all three athletes represent the growing professionalization of sport, another forward-looking trend in urban Anglo-Canada. Ruth and Dempsey as professional athletes clearly represent this while Nurmi's acceptance of expense money is an indication of the professionalism which all sports were having to face. This trend is also backed up by the pilot study in which nine out of the ten most transmitted athletes are involved in professional sport. The one theme which the heroes do not reflect at all is the genesis of a Canadian consciousness. Obviously this is still not strong enough to have permeated every aspect of culture.

Thus, due to major individual differences and the complexity of the factors involved the relationship between the pooled images of these three athletic heroes and urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's is not always clear. Certainly the heroes personify some of the major themes of the era - the gloss of hedonistic materialism, the tendency towards superficiality and the transitional aspect of the era. Nevertheless there are some elements which they do not reach such as the growth of Canadian sentiment or the parochialism of many of the sections within the society. Furthermore,
some of the characteristics within the heroes find no parallel in the society. Thus if Ruth, Dempsey and Nurmi reflect this temporal socio-cultural environment it can be said that this reflection is not a true mirror image. Surely no comparison of such complex concepts such as personalities and culture could ever produce this. Instead the heroes can probably best be viewed as a 'painting' of society— an impressionistic representation of a particular environment which although not exact in every way still conveys the major themes and does this in such a way as to produce new insights into the environment, insights that a mirror could never produce. At the same time the style of this 'painting' will be based on the aims and character of the 'artist,' or transmitter of the 'painting' (in this case the newspaper), so that the picture may range anywhere from 'surrealism' to a 'true-life' form.

Thus, for urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's the three athletic heroes represent a 'painting' which reflects most, but not all, of the environmental themes and in so doing creates a new perspective from which this environment can be viewed and critically analyzed.
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3 For statistics on population see Appendix 3.
4 The percentage of the net value of national production in the area of manufacturing rose from thirty-three to fifty-one between 1920 and 1929. For a further breakdown see J. B. Brebner, Canada, p. 425.
5 J. B. Brebner, Canada, p. 428.
7 Ibid., p. 226.
8 J. B. Brebner, Canada, p. 438.
10 J. B. Brebner, Canada, p. 440.
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J. B. Brehner, Canada, p. 438.

The Athletic Heroes

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Ibid., 1 October 1924 and Montreal Star, 1 October, 1924.

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50 Ibid., 12 February, 1929.

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66 This is probably explained by the use of weekly analysis in these three papers as opposed to the daily analysis which was used for the Toronto Star.
67 The Toronto Star, Montreal Star and Vancouver Sun are presenting at least two sports pages at this time compared to the one small page in the Halifax Herald. Furthermore the Herald deals with much more local sports news than the other three. This is only to be expected when one compared Halifax urban area (eleventh ranked in Canada) with those of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (ranked first, second and fourth respectively).
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7 For a full list of these see Appendix 1.
8 For a full breakdown of this material see Appendix 1.
CHAPTER III

THE HUNGRY THIRTIES

The Socio-Cultural Environment

As with the 1920's the decade of the 1930's marked a highly distinct era in both Canadian and world history. In the twenties the era had been bounded by war and the Wall Street crash, in the thirties this was still true but the order was reversed. For a whole decade the main focus of Canada was economic, political and social depression. Other threats existed but they could never penetrate the gloom cast by this all-enveloping shadow.

In October 1929 the world was faced with financial ruin for which it was unprepared. Canada was not spared, in fact, her population of ten million was probably "hit as hard as any comparable group in the world" by the resultant economic chaos. Following the example of New York, stock exchanges in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver witnessed frantic selling in the face of falling stock market prices. It was not long before cash and credit became scarce, and with supply now outstripping demand production had to be throttled down resulting in massive unemployment.
The economic disaster had begun.

Seen as a whole the Canadian economy in the 1930's went through the following pattern: a deep depression from 1929 to 1933, a slight recovery up to 1937, another fall to 1938 and a period of growth up to 1939. For Canada the initial depression was made all the more difficult to accept when seen against the preceding boom of the late 1920's. Furthermore, the picture of deflation and unemployment was made even worse in Canada by a sharp decline in the volume of principal exports. For a country that was overwhelmingly dependent upon the exports of farm produce and raw materials, the results were disastrous.

The plight of Canada was best demonstrated by the performance of its traditional economic symbol - wheat. While the price of wheat fell dramatically with new competition from abroad, the export surplus grew. To make matters worse the prairies were hit by drought which produced record lows in harvest yield. If conditions were poor in Canada as a whole, they were abysmal in the West.

However, the tragedy of the situation was not so much the dire economic situation but rather the government's refusal to do anything constructive to solve it. In 1930 R. B. Bennett had taken over the country's leadership from Mackenzie King with the promise of action. However, under
his leadership the Conservatives adopted a tariff-monetary policy which prevented recovery in those areas of the economy which were dependent upon exports. At the same time Canada found itself involved in a tariff war with the United States which resulted in the further lowering of prices and an increased number of unemployed workers.

Thus Bennett stood resolutely behind his policy of protectionism refusing proposals of inflation or 'unbalancing' the budget. The consequences of this highly orthodox approach were soon to become very apparent. By 1933 both gross national product and net national income had plummeted and unemployment had increased from three percent in 1929 to a massive twenty-three percent. In fact one out of every ten Canadians required public relief in order to secure even the barest necessities of existence.

In this way it can be seen that the effects of the depression ran deeply throughout Canada. Nevertheless some areas were much more severely affected than others. In urban centres the rapid growth of the 1920's was brought to a sudden halt and remained static throughout the thirties. Thus, while many middle-class families experienced increased purchasing power and suffered relatively little, those of the over-stocked urban working class took the full weight of wage reductions and job redundancies. These inequalities were particularly noticeable in industrial
Ontario and Quebec where production slowed drastically leaving thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled workers jobless. However, the situation was even bleaker in the Maritimes and the prairies. The stagnant fisheries and steelworks of the east and the western dust-bowls were to send shock waves throughout the entire national economy and in turn affected areas of transportation, banking, commerce and industry.

In 1935, faced with economic and fiscal chaos, Bennett swung over to a policy of intervention and announced a New Deal for the Canadian people. However, the compact he offered came too late. The economic wounds of the last five years and the unequal incidence of the depression had sharpened class, ethnic, religious and provincial rivalries to the point where they could no longer be contained. In the election of 1935 a disillusioned and highly factious electorate swept Bennett and his reforms aside. Once again the ball was in Mackenzie King's court.

The sectionalism which arose in the first half of the 1930's was most obvious in the political sphere. In nearly every province new political movements emerged which catered for the particular needs of their people and rejected the policies of Bennett's Conservatives. Of these probably the most significant was the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.). Although its founding convention was
held in Regina in 1933 its roots could be found in numerous earlier movements such as the farmers' protest organizations (which had become the Progressive movement), small urban socialist parties and groups of urban intellectuals. Basically the C.C.F. attacked the capitalist system as a whole, calling for a far-reaching program of social democracy. By 1934 this unique brand of Canadian socialism had spread throughout the country and even represented the official opposition in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

Other protest parties also emerged although these were much less widespread than the C.C.F. These included the Social Credit Party which became the dominant political force in Alberta and the Reconstruction Party which developed within the ranks of the federal Conservative Party.

However, not all of the new political movements were on the left. In Ontario, the Liberals, led by Mitchell Hepburn, came to power in 1934 under the banner of liberal radicalism but in the next three years underwent a major swing to the right. By 1937 Hepburn had come to see the growing trade-union movement as a threat and was lashing out at all 'radicals' including the C.C.F., Communists, trade-unionists and even the unemployed. Similarly, in Quebec, the newly formed Union Nationale headed by Maurice Duplessis, waged war against radical re-
formers and introduced the infamous Padlock Law which allowed for the closure of any premises suspected of propagating communism.

This widespread desire for new policies at every level of government led many to believe that Canada was on the verge of revolution. Unfortunately, the weight of these fears fell largely upon the hordes of unemployed workers. Certainly the conditions of life in the relief camps, which were established for single unemployed men, led to incidents of rioting, but these were sporadic and disorganized. Nonetheless many provincial governments advanced the view that any mass meetings of the unemployed were, by their very nature, revolutionary in intent. This attitude was most clearly demonstrated in 1935 when a confrontation between working relief-camp workers and the R.C.M.P. at Regina led to scenes of bloody riot. Other manifestations of this new 'red scare' were found in intensified invigilation of trade unions by 'labour spies' as well as widespread censorship and the arrest of numerous Communists and so-called 'radicals'.

Thus, the 1930's witnessed the emergence of a virtual police-state in Canada. Ostensibly this was established to offset the 'revolutionary' tendencies of the period. In truth, this era was far from being revolutionary. Certainly the hardships of depression had led to extensive
criticism of the Canadian politico-economic system but the demands for relief and reform which were advocated were presented without resorting to violence. Any 'radical' action which did occur can be seen as isolated responses to particular needs rather than a move towards the sudden overthrow of the Canadian establishment. Even the establishment of the C.C.F. can be seen as "a relatively moderate response to the savage impact of the crisis of capitalism." 9

A better indication of the underlying attitudes of the 1930's can be seen in the response to criticism rather than the criticism itself. Here the trend was a continued conservation which carried over from the 1920's. Not even the shattering effects of the depression shook people from their traditional beliefs or fundamentally altered the governmental systems which embodied them.

This undercurrent of conservatism was reflected throughout society both in thought and action. The newspapers in particular maintained their right wing stance of the 1920's despite some acceptance of the legitimacy of dissent. 10 Thus in 1933 most of the press was horrified at the C.C.F.'s Regina Manifesto and denounced the new party as "a dangerous mixture of bolshevism and impractical idealism." 11 Similarly, despite the emergence of many radical protest movements, an overwhelming majority of
politicians adhered to relatively strict orthodoxy. Moreover, the most urbanized provinces, especially Ontario and Quebec can be said to have "experienced conservative, indeed reactionary leadership during much of the 1930's." Even those pockets of radicalism which did emerge were rapidly quashed by more fundamental feelings of conservatism. Membership in the unions dropped from 322,000 in 1930 to 280,000 in 1935 and the few strikes which did occur were ruthlessly stamped out. Associated with this, the R.C.M.P. was reorganized and expanded and became much more ruthless in its dealings with transients and so-called 'aliens' who were often arrested without a warrant for deportation or without trial. This harsh attitude towards aliens was representative of a more general feeling which stemmed from the conservatism of the 1920's - a feeling of xenophobia. Nationally the new wave of immigrants from the 1920's and even before were subjected to various forms of discrimination but this ethnic chauvinism was more obvious provincially, especially in Quebec where depression intensified the existing racial nationalism.

Thus, in the federal election of 1935 a confused and disillusioned electorate faced a plethora of conflicting parties which advocated a whole spectrum of programs for social amelioration. Seizing their opportunity Mackenzie King's Liberals, posing as moderates "in a sea of indi-
vidualism and nationalism," swept Bennett's Conservatives aside and won a decisive victory. Their 117 seats compared to the Tories' 39, Social Credit's 17 and the C.C.P's 7.

With the worst of the depression over King was able to face one of the most important and ongoing problems of Canadian social history - the relationship between the Dominion and the provinces. Therefore, in 1937 King appointed a commission to examine the economic and financial basis of confederation and the distribution of legislative powers. Although the recommendations of the Rowell-Sirois Report came too late to change the parochial attitudes of the 1930's it did provide a blueprint for Canadian political and economic unity and by revealing a fresh understanding of the need for enabling new 'purposes of the Dominion' it stands as "one of the principal expressions of the nationalism of the 1930's." 

This somewhat latent nationalism was even less apparent in Canada's foreign policy. During the first half of the decade Canadian foreign policy was mainly preoccupied with the constitutional question. Unfortunately, despite much talk, the power to amend or repeal the British North America Act was left in London due largely to a general lack of confidence in purely Canadian control of the constitution. Furthermore, although Canada had gained the right to diplomatic self-representation abroad, the policy they adopted
remained as non-committal as ever.

As in the 1920's the main theme of foreign policy was isolationism, an attitude which was marked by a lack of participation both in terms of the League of Nations and in the squabbles between European nations. Thus, between 1935 and 1939 Canada succeeded in maintaining a low profile as the world drifted towards war. Internally, public opinion over the support of Britain remained divided and King endeavored to obscure his policies in order to preserve national unity. To his credit, King managed to achieve this end and on September 10, 1939 Canada entered the war as an undivided country.

As the 1930's came to a close Canada found itself stumbling into war with an unresolved identity crisis. Canadians were no longer willing to follow Britain's lead unquestioningly and yet in the hour of crisis the bond with the mother country proved stronger than the forces of continental isolation. Certainly though, Canada was becoming less Anglicized. At the same time, the ties with the United States had strengthened during the world chaos both politically and economically. More important than this shift of emphasis though was the new national sentiment which Canada experienced during the decade. This was most clearly reflected in the creation of some highly important Canadian
institutions such as the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, the Canadian Radio League and later a national air-transport system – Trans-Canada Airlines. Together these demonstrated that cultural, if not economic growth, was continuing and that a new sense of national purpose which had begun in the 1920's was finally taking root.

While the 1930's was masked by a growing feeling of Canadianism it also saw a decline in federalism. More and more Canadians came to realize that from a socio-economic standpoint their land was too thinly populated and that divisions of race and religion were too large to sustain a strong central authority. Politically, the hesitant federal political leadership of the 1920's continued in the 1930's. Bennett's conversion to social democracy at the federal level came too late and King, the master of expediency, was content to concede just enough to avoid defeat. Thus, the people, searching for immediate solutions to their very real problems, placed their trust in provincial governments with their narrow policies of self-interest.

Another trend of the decade which ran parallel to this general decentralization was the rise of parochial forms of Salvationism. Evangelicalism, fascism, communism, socialism and many other sects flourished and for many the fear of social revolution became very real. In truth,
Despite these isolated pockets of radicalism the orthodoxy and conformism of the 1920's were retained and Canada (particularly urban Canada) remained essentially reactionary. Thus, caution in federal-provincial relations, in governmental intervention in the social economy and in foreign policy "left a lasting impression upon Canadian attitudes and, no doubt also expressed a deep conservatism in Canadian society."  

However, above and beyond all these socio-political attitudes the theme which pervaded the entire decade was depression. Even in 1939 with the Canadian economy gradually recovering, unemployment was nearly five times as high as it had been in 1929. But statistics alone fail to reflect the picture of misery and pessimism that the depression created. In order to really understand the 1930's one has only to imagine "the wasted lives, the long lines of forlorn men waiting at city soup-kitchens or shivering against the wind on the tops of freight-trains as they rode hopelessly around the country in search of non-existent jobs."  

The loss of self-esteem and the lowering of morale which prevailed throughout much of the population were feelings that time would not readily heal. Whether in terms of economy or spirit the predominant characteristic of urban Anglo-Canada in the 1930's was depression. It is not without cause that this decade has been labelled
"the Hungry Thirties."

The Athletic Heroes

Once again the following three athletes fulfilled the prerequisites as Canadian athletic heroes as described in the introductory chapter. As in Chapter II a detailed analysis of each athlete's image in terms of their athletic excellence, charisma and transmission will be conducted and from there the overall correlation to their socio-cultural environment can be assessed.

1. George Herman Ruth

Athletic Excellence

In the period 1935 to 1936 'Babe' Ruth, though past his prime, still stands as a unique performer. Statistically this is manifested by his often mentioned standing record of sixty home runs¹ and the attempts of other sluggers to break it² as well as numerous other records which he holds.³ Descriptively he is also viewed as a unique performer as is demonstrated by the constant use of superlatives to describe him. He is "baseball's most heroic performer,"⁴ "baseball's number one star"⁵ and "the greatest individual star the game has ever known."⁶

However, when Ruth's performance is analyzed more closely it soon becomes obvious that he is no longer at his peak. Indeed Ruth's athletic performance per se re-
ceives little attention and when it is mentioned it is not always seen in the most flattering light. For instance, although Ruth's "swing is still there, his timing is gone." 7 In fact many reports of Ruth's performances focus on his failure to score a hit or a home run, especially when returning to New York, 8 and the Toronto Star even displays a photographic sequence of him striking out. 9 Thus, the athletic image which is conveyed is one of a has-been, a player who is "washed up." 10 The accolades Ruth receives are throwbacks to the past; in this period his determination to play on contains an element of tragedy - it is the final episode of "an athlete who doesn't know when to quit." 11 When his end finally came it was an ignominious one in which he resigned from the Boston Braves after a violent row with the management. 12 He was left to sit out the 1936 season on the sidelines and never returned to baseball.

Charisma

Ruth's performance may have been waning during this period but his charisma was as strong as ever. His pseudonym 'Babe' is still in universal usage and most of his other nicknames remain; for instance: "Bambino," 13 "King of Swat," 14 and "the Sultan of Swine." 15 The only difference is that now many of Ruth's nicknames are prefixed by indications of his age as in: "Old Babe" 16 or "the Ancient Bambino." 17
Underneath these indicators the image of Ruth's personality remains very much the same as it was in the 1924-5 period. He is still the incurable extrovert who craves constant attention, and "clowns around" in practice and on the golf-course. At the same time the old insecurity has not disappeared. Shortly before leaving the Boston Braves a tired and bitterly disappointed Ruth complains that "Boston doesn't love him anymore" and says he is "through with baseball." Similarly, when his resignation comes, Ruth lashes out at everyone around him and accuses President Fuchs of "double-crossing" him. Another recurring trait is Ruth's childishness which is displayed in the resignation incident when Ruth is accused by Fuchs of being "a cry baby." Once again, the image here is of a man whose slap-happy nature and external confidence mask a puerile mind and a total lack of inner security.

However, since 1925 an additional aspect has appeared in Ruth's personality. This is epitomized in the emergence of a new title, "the Forgotten Man" of baseball. This is used as early as January 1935 but becomes more widespread during his exile from baseball in the following year. The picture which is painted here is of a tragic personality, like "a Napoleon at Elba," a sad and forlorn figure who is relegated to sitting on the sidelines and playing golf. Even when he returns to Yankee Stadium Ruth is viewed as an ex-
star who "bawls his eyes out" when the crowd shouts his name. Here is a pathetic Ruth, an ageing, overweight figure who is petulant and moody and yet an irreplaceable character who would remain "immortal in diamond lore." Transmission

In the space of ten years the degree to which Ruth is transmitted is unchanged. In fact, Ruth occupies exactly the same ranked position in transmission frequency in 1935-6 as he did in 1924-5. Furthermore, both his athletic excellence and his charisma are still consistently transmitted across the sample used to represent urban Anglo-Canada.

The most obvious difference in the transmission of Ruth's image in the two periods occurs in the area of mythicism and subjectivity. Subjects which were not readily discussed in the 1920's are reported in this period with a certain degree of comedy such as his ability to "engulf hot dogs" and the prodigious stomach-aches this caused, "the echoes of which could be heard in hotels around the country." Similarly, a story is told of Ruth "blowing $300,000 at race-tracks in Havana." The final mythical aspect which emerges at this time is Ruth's association with Yankee Stadium which became known as "the House that Ruth Built." Here are the first signs of mythicism - images which are seen
over and above the facts and which live to make Ruth immortal in diamond lore. 34

In addition to this Ruth is a much more highly eulogized figure than in the previous decade. At the beginning of 1935 he is closing out a world tour 35 and in February of the same year his life and baseball career are outlined in scenario form. 36 As the end of his career approaches the first of many. "Babe Ruth Days" is played out 37 and it is not long after his final performance that Ruth is presented with a lifetime pass to all National League ball parks 38 and is among the first five players to be inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame. 39

In 1935 Ruth's playing career comes to an end and yet he remains headline material. Even when the reports describe him as "the Forgotten Man" they are keeping his memory alive. Even though his records are challenged or even eclipsed and his personality becomes more subdued, Ruth's image stays alive. Thus as his image becomes more important than the facts and the degree of mythicization increases Ruth approaches another level above that of the athletic hero. With Ruth becoming a "hero of yesterday" 40 perhaps this is the beginning of Ruth the athletic legend. 41

Another significant trend which is associated with the area of images and subjectivity is the 'benchmark' concept. Surely there is no greater accolade to an athletic hero than
he becomes the standard by which other great athletes in different fields are judged. In this period 'Babe' Ruth is used as a benchmark for many other famous athletes. For instance, Jack Hobbs is "the Babe Ruth of English Cricket," and Alex James is "the Babe Ruth of soccer." Similarly Alex James is "the Babe Ruth of soccer." Also young Joe DiMaggio is called "the second Babe Ruth" and a popular Toronto Maple Leaf's hockey player takes the nickname 'Babe Ruth' Handley. When seen within sport this 'benchmark' concept may be seen as nothing more than the exemplary athletic hero. It is only when this concept is taken beyond a person's sphere of performance (sport, for example) that the individual reaches a new level of importance by becoming a cultural hero.

**Overview**

Babe Ruth maintains very much the same image in this period as he had in 1924-5. Many of his records still stand and there is little change in his personality. Ruth is still the quintessential 'prima donna' constantly craving the limelight, prone to extreme moods of joy and sadness and filled with an almost paranoid insecurity. At the same time the 1930's have added a new negative emphasis to Ruth's image which stresses the fact that he is now 'over the hill' both physically and mentally. What Ruth represents is a fading anachronism from an earlier age. His fame is kept alive by his former triumphs and tribulations but as the image of the
athletic hero withers and dies a different image is forming which will take Ruth towards new levels of heroism.

2. Joseph Louis Barrow

**Athletic Excellence**

That Joe Louis excelled in his field of athletic performance there can be no doubt. Thus, although boxers cannot be measured in terms of records and Louis is not heavy-weight champion during the period 1935-6 his athletic uniqueness is indicated by his clear number one world ranking in 1935.\(^{48}\) In fact, Louis is also voted the outstanding athlete of the year by the Associated Press and is the first boxer ever to receive this honour.\(^{49}\) A more qualitative measure of Louis' uniqueness is provided by the many examples of superlatives which are used in describing him. Thus Louis is "the fighter of the generation...and a champion in the making"\(^{50}\) or "the most sensational heavyweight of the decade."\(^{51}\) Later Louis is touted as "the greatest fighting machine ever seen"\(^{52}\) and even "one of those sports phenomena who spring up every quarter century."\(^{53}\)

When the performance element of Louis is broken down one becomes aware of a highly specialized athlete operating within a very competitive professional sport. In 1935, at the age of only 21, Louis is probably the most feared boxer in the ring winning six fights\(^{54}\) and numerous exhibition bouts in devastating style. In 1936 this trend continued
with another five victories, the only loss being an incredible upset against Max Schmeling in June 1936. More specifically Louis is the perfect fighting instrument. He has "the punching power of Dempsey," the "skill and footwork of Tunney," has great speed in the ring and is "as smooth as a cat." More important than all of these though, Louis has the boxer's most prized possession - a killer instinct. Again and again we hear of "the cold cruel cast" and the ruthlessness with which he executes his victims.

It was not without reason that Joe Louis was known as the greatest boxer of his era.

Charisma

Surely no other athlete has ever been transmitted through such a galaxy of nicknames. If these can be used to signalize a degree of charisma then Louis must stand out as the most charismatic athlete of this time. The most common name and the one by which he is still remembered was "the Brown Bomber" but this is only the beginning of a long list of pseudonyms which were used to describe him. These include: the "Brown Dempsey," the "Bronzed Buddha," "Shufflin' Joe," the "Tan Toreador," the "Detroit Dynamiter," the "Cinnamon Sensation," "Deadpan Joe," the "Sepia Socker" the "Mahogany Maimer," the "Dark Destroyer," the "Coffee-colored Assassin," the "Chocolate"
Soldier," the "Ebony Executioner," "King Kong of the Ring" and many others. Even within these nicknames an image of Louis is suggested is suggested by the constant references to his race and his efficacy as a boxer. However, the image of Joe Louis which lay behind these descriptive monikers was much deeper than they indicate. Above everything else Louis is portrayed as being cautious and discreet. Sometimes the image of Louis is almost ascetic—he is reported to be indifferent to women and abstains from drinking and smoking. In fact he even refuses to advertise cigarettes because he objects to them. Certainly Louis is no extrovert—he is bashful, phlegmatic, and generally "does not have a good time in crowds" even after a victory in the ring. However, despite his terse and somewhat anti-social behaviour Louis is portrayed as being a "nice boy who makes friends easily" and a philanthropist who spends much of his money either on family and trainers or on charities. In fact, Louis comes across as a quiet, modest character who does as he is told with the minimum of fuss.

The only contradiction within this unassuming and rather terse image which the media conveys, is found when Louis is in the ring. Here Louis' lack of emotion and general taciturnity are supplemented by a more 'sinister' note. Joe Louis the fighter is "unmerciful with his sparring partners" and in fights he releases his relent-
less fury with "a cold, cruel cast." 90

Thus, despite all the fame which surrounds him, Louis remained stoical both in and out of the ring. This remained true even when he was faced with the racist attitudes which were often directed against him both by the media and many of his opponents. To his credit, whether in victory or defeat, Louis never once took umbrage. For millions of people during the thirties he remained the "Dead-Panned Dusky David from Detroit." 91

Transmission

There can be little doubt that Louis' athletic excellence and charisma were fully transmitted. In terms of the transmission frequency which was measured in the pilot study Louis was far and away the top ranked athlete. 92 Furthermore, the image of Louis which the newspapers conveyed was consistent in terms of both personality and performance.

Within the transmission of this image little evidence of explicit mythicism can be found. This is probably explained by the fact that most reports concerning Louis are centred on his numerous fights - there is enough factual information here to make invention of material unnecessary. Nevertheless the coverage of Louis is not without a certain degree of subjectivity. This is most clearly manifested in the differences in attitude as seen before and after his defeat against Schmeling. Before this fight Louis is
thought to be virtually invincible entering every fight as a firm favourite. For the Schmeling fight itself Louis is predicted as the winner by every 'expert' in boxing - this "outwardly perfect jewel" is thought to have "no flaws." When Louis loses, the boxing world is shocked and subjective opinion swings the other way. Now Louis becomes a "forgotten man" who will "never make a comeback." Once again the pundits will be proved wrong. 

The final example of subjectivity comes with the description of Louis as a man who is "indifferent to women." This so-called indifference is made less credible when Louis is married 2 months later.

Another subjective area in which Louis features is as a standard for comparing other athletes. Like Ruth, Louis is used as a benchmark within sport. In this way Oze Simmons is declared to be "the Joe Louis of the college grid," Sam Langford is described as "the Joe Louis of another age" and two Canadian hockey players - Davidson and Metz are called "the Joe Louises of the Leafs." But as with Ruth this 'benchmark' concept does not stretch outside the realm of sport.

Thus, anything Louis does seems to be good copy for the newspapers and is transmitted across urban Anglo-Canada. During 1935-6, whether in victory or defeat, Joe Louis remained in the limelight.
Overview

Like the Jack Dempsey of 1924-5, the Joe Louis of 1935-6 is the most transmitted athlete across the sample for urban Anglo-Canada. Unlike Dempsey, Louis' notoriety rests largely upon his performances. Any information one gains of Louis is usually presented in a big fight build-up or post-fight commentary. From these we are presented with the image of a vicious fighting-machine in the ring and a sober, generous person out of the ring. Basically Louis is presented as a conservative individual who acts in a discreet fashion and does not wish to challenge the system. He is willing to fight anyone, at any time, and for any money and is more interested in training than making social commentaries or taking part in showmanship. It is for this reason that Louis expresses "an intense dislike for Jack Johnson" who was the outspoken black champion of the pre-war era. This attitude, linked with his quiet acceptance of racism, led to many accusations of his being the first in the long line of 'Uncle Tom' black athletes.

Be this as it may, in 1935-6 Louis stands as the top athlete in terms of transmission, depth of charisma and athletic prowess. Together these make Joe Louis the preeminent athletic hero of this era.
3. Max Schmeling

**Athletic Excellence**

In order to find a degree of athletic uniqueness for Max Schmeling during 1935-6 one has to look hard. Like Louis he is not world champion and holds no records. However, in 1936, due largely to his defeat of Louis, Schmeling is ranked as the number one heavyweight boxer in the world. Apart from this, there is little evidence of superlatives.

During the two years of the study Schmeling is only reported to fight three times and two of these are described as uninspired victories. Only in his victory against Louis is Schmeling lauded: "Yesterday Schmeling stood alone, today he is a great sport hero around the world." When further analyzed, Schmeling's athletic performance has little depth. Once again, like Ruth and Louis, he is a specialist in a highly professional sport. However, prior to the Louis fight Schmeling is described as a "shopworn second rater in his thirties with nothing to hoist him above the common fistic herd." After his dramatic victory in June 1936 the attitudes change and Schmeling is portrayed as a shrewd and courageous boxer who "outthought as well as outfought Louis." However, this praise is fairly isolated and for the rest of 1936 Schmeling moves back into the shadow of Louis.
Charisma

Although the number of nicknames associated with Schmeling is far less than for Louis, their presence does indicate a certain degree of charisma. The most commonly transmitted name is the "Black Uhlàn" 112 although other names include the "Ambling Alp" 113 and the "Towering Teuton." 114 The image conveyed here is the "dark visaged German Slugger," 115 whose sole objective is to regain the heavyweight crown with his "Nazi style" boxing. 116 Indeed the image of Schmeling was highly influenced by his nationality. Thus Schmeling is the proud Aryan who, when asked about a Louis rematch, declares: "Germans do not get afraid . . . and African men do not come back. A European will always beat an African." 117 Here is a man who would "prefer death to the dishonour of losing to a black man." 118 Despite these attitudes Schmeling is seen as a man who "refuses to take life too seriously." 119 He does not worry unduly before his fights and is reported to think about "nothing but Reichsmarks." 120 In fact in the days leading up to the Louis fight Schmeling occupies most of his time "picking frocks for his wife." 121

Thus Schmeling is the arrogant German who defies the odds in an attempt to regain his title. Aside from this little can be said of him. Schmeling's charisma may be indicated but the level to which it is examined is not high.
To the population of urban Anglo-Canada the heroic image of Max Schmeling between 1935 and 1936 must have seemed very nebulous.

Transmission

Despite the shallowness of Schmeling’s athletic excellence and charisma, the fact that they were fully transmitted via their indicators is undeniable. When examining their content no evidence of true mythicism can be found. In fact, the only presence of explicit image making is the creation of Schmeling as the symbol of Aryan supremacy against the racially inferior Louis.

In terms of subjectivity, certain biases of the newspapers are observed. First they claim that Schmeling will be destroyed by Louis122 and when this is disproved they predict that he will regain his heavyweight crown123 - another prophesy which is proved wrong.124 Aside from this, Schmeling receives very little promotion and is never used as a 'benchmark' for other athletes. Thus although Schmeling is one of the most highly transmitted athletes of the 1935-6 period it can also be said that this transmission is very low level with respect to aspects of both personality and performance.
Overview

Of all the athletic heroes in the study, Max Schmeling has the most superficial image in terms of athletic excellence and charisma. During 1935-6 he only achieves one notable performance and his charismatic personality is barely deep enough for analysis. Thus despite a high transmission frequency Schmeling scarcely fulfills the prerequisites for athletic heroism and the image portrayed hardly manages to flesh out these bones at all. If any one aspect of Schmeling's portrayal stands out it is the transparency of the image in which he is conveyed. In this way Schmeling can be seen as little more than a colourless quasi-hero.

Conclusions

Once again the correlation between Babe Ruth, Joe Louis and Max Schmeling and urban Anglo-Canada in the 1930's will first be examined in terms of each individual athlete before the overall correlation between the heroes and their society is analyzed.

Basically the image of 'Babe' Ruth changed very little from the 1920's to the 1930's - a significant fact in light of the fact that culture had undergone a fairly drastic change. Ruth is still the attention craving extrovert with the same insecurities and childish tantrums. These traits seem to have little relationship to this new era of depression. Furthermore, the new aspect of Ruth's image, the re-
ference to his being over the hill would seem to be a purely individual factor with little relevance to the changing environment.

What Ruth does reflect is the continued swing of urban Anglo-Canadian culture towards dependence on the United States. Here is an American athlete who despite being past his prime still manages to dominate the Canadian press. Similarly, he represents the continued trend of Canadian interest in professional rather than amateur sport. In addition, the continued censorship of Ruth's life though this is reduced, indicates a continued underlying conservatism which undergirded Canadian culture at this time.

Thus Ruth does not readily reflect the basic trends of Canada in this era. There is no indication of a strengthened Canadianism or the pervasive feeling of depression. Ruth can best be seen as an anachronism who, to a large extent, still reflects the themes of the previous decade. Perhaps his relationship with his society can best be understood in terms of his changing status to something more than an athletic hero. Ruth has become "a hero of yesterday" and as the mythicism surrounding him increases and the facts are forgotten he begins his climb towards the level of the legend. This is why Ruth reflects little of Canada in the 1930's. His hero status is formed in the 1920's and the image conveyed in the thirties is merely
carried over. Thus as Ruth moves towards a legendary stat-
us he is remembered as a golden hero of the twenties.
This statement holds true as much today as it did in the
thirties. Similarly Ruth's status as a 'benchmark' in
sport has little relevance to the thirties but rather can
be seen as another move towards a different level of hero-
ism - in this case the cultural hero.

A better reflection of the thirties is found when
analyzing Joe Louis. The charisma of Louis is consistently
and repeatedly transmitted across urban Anglo-Canada and
correlates highly with the depression mentality. His image
is highly ascetic in an era when Canada was experiencing a
general trend of temperance and moderation. Furthermore
Louis' image of self-restraint is symbolic of the sobriety
which pervaded urban Anglo-Canada during the Depression.
At the same time in an era that spawned such sadistic forms
of entertainment as marathon dances and six-day cycle races
it is appropriate that Louis is known by such brutal nick-
names as 'Executioner,' 'Destroyer' and 'Assassin.'

Another theme which Louis reflects is the underlying
conservatism of the period. This is seen both in terms of
the attitudes towards his ethnicity and the reaction (or
lack of reaction) which he shows. Faced with the racist
comments of both newspapers and opponents Louis remained
stoical. Here was an individual who by accepting these at-
titudes showed that he was not willing to upset the status-quo of his environment. Finally, as with Ruth, Louis reflects the growing trends of Americanization and professionalization which existed in the thirties.

The analysis of Max Schmeling and his relationship with the temporal socio-cultural environment is not helped by the shallowness of his image. One of the few traits he seems to personify is that of conservatism which is seen in his attitudes of racism towards Louis. Apart from this Schmeling reinforces Ruth and Louis in their reflection of the growing interest in professional sport. Furthermore, despite the fact that he is not American the publicity he gains is brought about almost in every case as a result of predicted or actual fights with American boxers, the most notable of whom was Joe Louis.

Strangely enough probably the most meaningful aspect of Schmeling's image in terms of his relationship with Canada in the depression is its very lack of depth. Despite fulfilling the prerequisites for becoming an athletic hero Schmeling exists at the lowest level within this concept. That his performance has uniqueness and a low level charisma is evident but beyond this his image contains little to lift him above the other athletic champions of the era. Even in his transmission Schmeling is portrayed without the ballyhoo and the rich jargon which characterized the twen-
ties. There is probably no clearer indication of the austerity of the times than the mundane image in which Schmeling is portrayed.

An examination of the separate relationship of each of these three athletic heroes with the temporal socio-cultural environment demonstrates the enormous differences which exist between them. This makes the formation of a joint relationship even more difficult than for the previous decade.

Collectively the three heroes reflect little of urban Anglo-Canada in the 1930's. One of the few themes which is embodied in all three heroes is the conservatism which still permeates Canada in the thirties. This is clearly demonstrated in the racial prejudice which surrounds the Louis-Schmeling fight and particularly the right wing stance of the newspapers in their coverage of this. Similarly, the newspapers continue their policy of 'censorship' thus severely limiting the transmission of the seamier side of Ruth's life. The only other themes which are consistently reflected by all three heroes are Americanization and professionalization. The former is evidenced by the fact that Ruth and Louis are American and Schmeling's publicity is largely the result of his defeat of an American. This trend is corroborated by the transmission frequency rankings of the pilot study which
has seven American in the top ten most transmitted athletes. The professionalism trend is exemplified by all three heroes and is also endorsed by the pilot study where the top nine most transmitted athletes are involved in professional sport. One of the main reasons that the heroes as a group reflect so few societal themes is the inclusion of Babe Ruth in the study. Despite his retirement in 1935 Ruth is still one of the most widely transmitted athletes across urban Anglo-Canada in the 1935-6 period displaying elements of athletic excellence and charismatic personality across the entire newspaper sample. Nevertheless, Ruth's heroic image is an anachronism from the 1920's which by the 1930's is no longer relevant. Basically Ruth is a faded anachronism, a vanishing golden hero who reflects little of the depression of the 1930's.

On the other hand Louis and Schmeling are products of the 1930's and as such reflect the major theme of depression. Louis personifies this motif most clearly through an image of self-denial and humility while Schmeling's image is colourless, almost to the point of transparency. Thus, both symbolize an era which was characteristically Spartan even drab. This correlation is reinforced by the problem of the selection of heroes which was encountered in the pilot study. The procedure here involved the ranking of the ten most frequently transmitted athletes within a sample of
urban Anglo-Canadian newspapers. These athletes were then checked for the prerequisites of athletic hero status. Only four of these displayed both athletic excellence and charisma as indicated by uniqueness of performance and a nickname. Thus in this era the general austerity is reflected not only in the images of the selected heroes but also in the dearth of heroes which they represent.

Thus, of the three athletic heroes, Ruth can be seen as a former 'golden' hero whose image has tarnished with the passing of time while Louis lacks any form of heroic 'lustre' and Schmeling lacks any 'colour' at all. By the 1930's it seemed that stream of gilded heroes had run dry and the only heroes which emerged out of the depression were as austere as the culture which produced them.

Once again as with the 1920's, the relationship between the athletic heroes and the socio-cultural environment was far from clear. While some cultural themes (such as an underlying conservatism and the effects of the depression) were reflected, the reflections themselves were often hazy and distorted by many external factors such as individual differences within the heroes. Also many cultural themes, including the increased Canadian consciousness, were not reflected at all. If it is true then that the images of athletic heroes represent a 'painting' of the environment then the 'painting' that this group of athletes
embody is certainly no mirror-copy. In this era the 'picture' of the heroes is much more 'surrealistic' than in the 1920's with many of the environmental themes being reflected in images which at first glance do not seem congruous with the reality of urban-Anglo-Canada. Nevertheless, despite the problems of interpretation and the interference of many peripheral aspects, this 'picture' which the athletic heroes represent is still able to offer a valid perspective on many of the themes of the temporal socio-cultural environment in question and in so doing provide unique insights into this complex area of study.
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The Socio-Cultural Environment


2. In 1929 the total value of domestic exports was $1,152,416,000. By 1932 this had dropped to $489,883,000 and had climbed back to only $924,926,000 by 1939.

3. In 1937 the average yield of wheat in Saskatchewan was only 2.7 bushels per acre, as compared to the long-term average of 15 bushels per acres. See G.W.L. Nicholson, Three Nations, Canada, McLellan and Stewart, 1962, p. 224.

4. For statistics on the net national income see Appendix 3.

5. For statistics on unemployment see Appendix 3.

6. In Windsor the decline of the automotive industry made one out of every two wage-earners idle. See G.W.L. Nicholson, Three Nations, p. 226.


9. Ibid., p. 251.


The Athletic Heroes


2. Toronto Star, 8 May, 1936 and Halifax Herald, 4 February, 1936.

3. These included a staggering 723 home runs hit in the American League, sixteen with bases loaded, Halifax Herald, 13 April, 1935.


5. Halifax Herald, 15 April, 1936.


8. In the 1935 season Ruth is released by the New York Yankees and plays for the Boston Braves. On his first return to New York he fails to score a home run, Toronto Sun, 24 April, 1935.

9. Ibid., 27 April, 1935.

10. This is a quotation by 'Dizzy' Dean, a famous baseball pitcher in this era, concerning Ruth's future, Toronto Star, 8 May, 1935.

11. Ibid., 28 February, 1935.


17. Ibid., 4 July, 1936.
18. Ruth is aching to get back to New York from a world tour to receive the attention he is used to, Ibid., 19 January, 1935.
20. Ibid., 13 March, 1936.
22. Vancouver Sun, 3 June, 1935.
25. Ibid., 13 March, 1936, Montreal Star, 7 October 1936, Vancouver Sun, 23 September, 1936 and Halifax Herald, 15 April, 1936.
27. Toronto Star, 14 April, 1936 and Halifax Herald, 15 April, 1936.
29. For details see Appendix 1.
30. Toronto Star, 24 April, 1936.
31. Ibid., 27 April, 1935.
32. Ibid., 13 March, 1936.
33. Ibid., 21 September, 1935.
34. Vancouver Sun, 23 September, 1936.
36. Ibid., 27 February, 1935.
37. Ibid., 30 March, 1935.
41. This concept will be discussed in Appendix 6.
46. See Appendix 6.
54. For a list of these see Appendix 5.
55. For a list of these see Appendix 5.


64. Ibid., 26 June, 1935.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., 16 December, 1935.


68. Ibid., 14 May, 1936.

69. Ibid., 23 September, 1936.

70. Ibid., 22 September, 1936.


72. Ibid., 18 June, 1936.

73. Ibid., 11 November, 1935.


75. Ibid., 20 February, 1935.

76. Vancouver Sun, 7 June, 1935.

77. Toronto Star, 3 July, 1935.


80. Ibid., 17 January, 1936.

81. Ibid., 18 June, 1936.

82. Halifax Herald, 14 March, 1936.


84. Louis is reported to have spent $300,000 on family and trainers since turning professional, Toronto Star, 18 June, 1936.
After his fight with Paulino Uzcudun, Louis donated $6,800 of his $38,800 earnings to the Christmas Fund.


Louis is persuaded by his mother to pose for advertising purposes, The Star, 17 September, 1935.


The Star, 24 June, 1935.

Ibid., 26 June, 1935.

Ibid., 27 June, 1935.

See Appendix I.

Louis entered the Schmeling fight as a 15-1 favourite.


The Star, 10 June, 1936.

Ibid., 22 June, 1936.

Ibid., 23 June, 1936.

Louis went on to be world heavyweight champion in 1937.

The Star, 3 July, 1935.

Louis is married only hours before his fight with Max Baer, Ibid., 25 September, 1935.

Ibid., 6 November, 1935.

Ibid., 19 November, 1935.

Ibid., 3 January, 1936.

Ibid., 10 August, 1935.


107. See Appendix 5.


109. Ibid., 10 June, 1936.

110. Ibid., and Montreal Star, 20 June, 1936.


112. This was a reference to Schmeling's former status as a Uhlan which was one of Germany's crack regiments at the time, Toronto Star, 11 March, 1935, Montreal Star, 15 June, 1936, Halifax Herald, 27 May, 1936 and Vancouver Sun, 8 July, 1935.

113. Toronto Star, 16 April, 1936.


115. Vancouver Sun, 8 July, 1935.

116. Ibid.


118. Ibid.

119. Ibid., 12 June, 1936.

120. Ibid., 4 April, 1935.

121. Ibid., 12 June, 1936.

122. Ibid., Montreal Star and Vancouver Sun, 18 June, 1936 and Halifax Herald, June 1936.

123. Toronto Star, 23 June, 1936.

124. In fact Louis took the title away from Jim Braddock in 1937 while in the second Louis-Schmeling fight in 1938, Schmeling was knocked out in the first round.
Conclusions

1 Halifax Herald, 15 April, 1936.
2 See Appendix 1.
3 See Appendix 1.
4 See Appendix 1.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The goal of this study was to determine the correlation between the image of selected urban Anglo-Canadian athletic heroes and their temporal socio-cultural environment. In this way it was hoped that significant light could be shed on the author's initial hypothetical model of the athletic hero particularly with respect to the temporal aspect of the athletic hero's societal characteristics.

In order to achieve this objective six athletes were selected who fulfilled the criteria which were required to indicate their status as urban Anglo-Canadian athletic heroes - three representing urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's and three representing the same socio-cultural environment in the 1930's. A consistent newspaper image of each of these heroes was then analyzed in terms of athletic excellence, charisma and transmission. At the same time a separate examination of the major political, social and economic characteristics and general trends
of urban Anglo-Canada in the 1920's and 1930's was conducted. Only when this was achieved was it possible to correlate the image of each athletic hero and the pooled image of each group with the major characteristics of the corresponding temporal socio-cultural environment.

In the 1920's a fairly high correlation between the heroes and the environment was established. This was manifested in the reflection by the heroes of some of the central themes which were present in urban Anglo-Canada at this time, particularly the spirit of hedonistic materialism, the aura of superficiality and the contrasting elements of a society passing from a traditional to a progressive psyche. In the 1930's the correlation between the heroes and the environment is less apparent. Elements of continued progressive behaviour were reflected by the heroes as was the pervasive conservatism and the socio-psychological effects of the depression but many of the relationships here were insubstantial or lacked a certain degree of consistency.

These were the basic pictures which were presented for each temporal society. With these in mind it is now possible to synthesize this material and in this way gain an insight into the basic themes of historical change and continuity which spanned the two decades.

Between 1920 and 1939 Canada passed through some of
the most dramatic changes in its history. In this sense
the 1920's and the 1930's were probably the most contrast-
ing decades in contemporary history and in most cases
these changes were reflected by similar variations between
the two groups of athletic heroes.

In urban Anglo-Canada this transformation from the
1920's to the 1930's was probably best characterized by the
labels the 'Golden Twenties' and the 'Depressed Thirties.'
For Canada's urban population life in the 1920's must have
seemed rich and full. Travel became popular, leisure time
increased and entertainment of every sort flourished and
as the pace of life quickened people became content to
live for the moment. It was an age of exhibitionism of
crazy fads and fashions where excitement and pleasure
seeking were paramount. In 1929 however, this hedonistic
facade was destroyed. The dominant theme became survival
rather than excitement. Optimism was at a low ebb, unem-
ployment soared and instead of queueing outside the
theatres and ball parks people now lined up outside the
factories and soup kitchens.

These changes in the popular spirit were accurately
reflected by a transformation in the general characteristics
of the athletic heroes. In the twenties Ruth and Dempsey
and to a lesser extent Nurmi were classic 'golden' heroes.
Urban Anglo-Canada was able to revel in the pure excitement of Ruth's thumping home runs, Nurmi's endless records and Dempsey's new dashing image. In this 'glittering' era, Ruth "shone like a star,"¹ Dempsey was the "idol of the silver sheets"² and Nurmi won four Olympic gold medals. By the thirties the three heroes seem almost achromatic in comparison. Ruth is a shadow of his former image and both Louis and Schmeling are portrayed as dull and jaded characters in a drab world.

If urban-Anglo Canada changed spiritually in this time it also went through dramatic material changes. The 'boom' of the twenties became the 'bust' of the thirties and a decade characterized by inflation and prosperity became one of deflation and poverty. This trend was apparent in many areas. In big business many booming corporations of the 1920's became bankrupt in the thirties and in sport the record crowds and gate receipts of the twenties disappeared with the onset of depression.

Again the general trend was reflected by the athletic heroes. In the twenties Ruth squanders his money "on the ponies"³ while Dempsey signs a one million dollar contract to make ten films⁴ and Nurmi receives money to appear at various meets. By the thirties, although Ruth is still betting on the horses,⁵ Schmeling arrives in the United States with only four dollars⁶ and in his fight against
Retzlaff the gate of $100,000 is described as "pretty good in view of the precarious times." Even in the Louis-Schmeling fight a crowd of 60,000 produce a gate of only $547,531 - a dramatic drop from statistics in the 1920's. This decline in materialism is perhaps best exemplified by a change in attitude between Dempsey and Louis. In the twenties Dempsey is reported to be unwilling to fight for less than one million dollars while by the thirties Louis is willing to fight anyone despite the fact that he is being "percentage out of all the purses."

The prosperity and glitter of urban Anglo-Canada in the late 1920's however, masked many of the less dramatic aspects of behaviour and attitude which existed at this time. This superficiality of the twenties was in direct contrast to the harsh realism of the thirties. Thus, in 1930 much of the pretense and humbug of the previous decade was stripped away and replaced by the growth of real values associated with survival within a harsh environment. Once again this element of historical change is reflected by the heroes. In the 1920's, O'Connor maintained that if Ruth and Dempsey had not existed "they would have been invented." In truth they were partly invented. All three heroes in the twenties were promoted as gilded monuments to the golden era. It is only when one sees the flaws - the misdemeanours of Ruth, the brutishness of Dempsey and
the corruption of Nurmi that one becomes aware of how thin this gold layer really is. In the thirties much of this superficiality has been peeled away. The heroes are now presented as little more than mere mortals with the same vulnerabilities as ordinary people. Thus, Ruth becomes a 'forgotten man' while Schmeling is presented in a critical and realistic light. Only Louis really manages to emerge from the common herd and even his prodigious performances are treated in a fairly clinical manner. It is significant that despite eleven crushing victories and only one defeat in two years Louis is still compared unfavourably with Dempsey who fought only seven fights between 1919 and 1926 losing the last of these to Gene Tunney.

As well as the historical changes which occurred in urban Anglo-Canada between the 1920's and 1930's the athletic heroes also mirror some of the major elements of historical continuity which ran through this period. This is particularly apparent in terms of the ongoing trend of conservatism and new elements of progressivism which ran through both decades. In the twenties urban Anglo-Canada still bore the imprint of the Victorian era with its puritanical zeal, romanticism and middle class satisfaction but was also experiencing a new propulsive thrust which was characterized by realism, science and a desire for change. By the thirties it seemed, on the surface,
that the propulsive force had taken the upper hand but in truth the demonstration of radical behaviour, especially in the political sphere, only served to intensify the underlying reactionary attitudes which remained from the previous decade. Thus, the process of transition which was observed in the twenties did not end in 1929. Instead, the imminent collapse of the Canadian system and the effects of the depression led to an intensification of the opposing forces of orthodoxy and progressivism.

This element of continuity is reflected in the images of both sets of athletic heroes. In particular the continuing conservatism which was particularly evident in Canadian newspapers throughout the two decades, is personified in each of the heroes. In the 1920's Ruth's excesses and Dempsey's past offences are kept from the public while Nurmi's image of asceticism is played up. In the 1930's Ruth's image remains virtually as 'clean' and Louis' temperance is played up. At the same time the attitude of racism occurs through the whole period as a leitmotif which is first seen in Dempsey's drawing of the 'colour line' and later in the sentiments which are expressed towards Louis by both the newspapers and by Schmeling. Louis' responses to these comments however are not expressed by the newspapers.

The relationship between the athletic heroes and the
ongoing progressive impulse of these two decades is more tenuous. Perhaps this may be explained in terms of the right-wing stance of the media at this time or indeed by the orthodox role which sport often holds in society. However, two cultural trends which pointed to the future were also embodied in the heroes: Americanization and the professionalization of sport. In relation to the former, four out of six heroes were American and both of the remaining two were transmitted largely as a result of their success in the United States. Concerning the latter, five of the six heroes were involved in professional sport while Nurmi is temporarily suspended by the A.A.U. of America for receiving expense money.

What has been established here is that the athletic heroes mirror elements of socio-cultural change and continuity within urban Anglo-Canada. However the limits of their sensitivity within this mode is demonstrated by some of the basic trends which they do not reflect. In this study two fundamental characteristics of urban Anglo-Canada were not reflected, namely the development of a Canadian consciousness throughout the period and the ongoing problem of regional sectarianism. In contradiction to the former theme it can readily be seen that none of the athletic heroes is Canadian nor has associations with Canada. Even the evidence of the pilot study does not help support the concept of Canadianization for only one
Canadian athlete is found in the ten most frequently transmitted athletes in urban Anglo-Canada in either the 1920's or the 1930's. 12 What is seen here is either a failure of the athletic heroes to reflect this trend or perhaps an indication of how misty this national sentiment was in comparison to the more tangible effects of Americanization. Similarly, the images of the heroes contradict the sectional particularism which divided the country between 1920 and 1939. This is demonstrated by the fact that the image of each athletic hero is consistent in its transmission across the newspaper sample. The only difference which occurs is in depth of analysis and this can be explained in terms of the size of the sports page rather than in geographical variation. The explanation for the failure to reflect this major socio-cultural trend lies in two areas. Firstly, the socio-cultural environment which was selected (urban Anglo-Canada) was so specific as to effectively remove many of the divisions which existed in Canadian society. Secondly, the emergence of the 'Canadian Press' in the mid-1920's and the use of 'wired' stories severely decreased the chances of regional differences being reflected within the images of the athletic heroes.

Despite these limitations it can be seen that these athletic heroes reflect most of the historical themes of
socio-cultural change and continuity within urban Anglo-
Canada. When viewed separately the twenties and the
thirties represent two very distinct eras characterized by
two equally divergent sets of heroes - the 'Roaring Twenties
with its supply of gold-plated superstars and the 'Hungry
Thirties' with its tarnished and lacklustre quasi-heroes.
When seen together these two decades of urban Anglo-Canadian
history, despite their contrasts, can be seen to represent
an evolutionary process. In reflecting the inherent ten-
dencies which run through the whole period the heroes also
mirror this gradual historical development and natural growth.
Thus it can be said that not only is there a strong relation-
ship between these athletic heroes and their socio-cultural
environment but also that the heroes 'reflect the processes
of temporal continuity and change which occurs between them.
In the final analysis then it can be stated that a high cor-
relation exists between the image of the urban Anglo-Canadian
athletic hero and his temporal socio-cultural environment.
The significance of this correlation and the problems which
are involved in this statement will be discussed in the
next section.

Conclusion

At the most fundamental level the study was involved
with two major concerns: the individual and society/culture.
In confessing no adherence to an unequivocally defined
specialization the author's approach to these concerns was seen as interdisciplinary, drawing from the areas of history, sociology, psychology and communications while combining all of these under the heading of sport. This approach was thought to be advantageous so that the strengths of each discipline could be utilized and different perspectives afforded without the limitations of one particular discipline being applied.

With the addition of a temporal factor the study became inextricably bound up with the concept of history — history in the sense of a continuous process linking past, present and future (Geschichte) rather than a narrative account of past events (Historie). Within this the study followed two general lines, firstly that of cultural history which was involved with the study of ideas and the search for the 'societal mind,' and secondly, psycho-history which was involved with the study of personalities rather than just events. At the same time the study also involved the area of communications, particularly in terms of the newspaper which was seen to represent an "essential source for studying the relation between man and society." Thus, it was thought that if history could be regarded as the study of people as well as events, then the study of exceptional people could be seen as essential to the understanding of a culture or an
era. One example of the 'exceptional' person could be seen in the athletic hero.

From this one can begin to see the potential of the athletic hero as a tool for examining society. Only by analyzing his relationship with society could the study hope to test this potential of the athletic hero with regard to his cultural utility. In order to do this the study attempted to relate the combined images of two groups of athletic heroes with their respective temporal socio-cultural environment. In essence, what the analysis of these relationships showed was that a fairly high correlation existed between each group of heroes and their respective temporal socio-cultural environment although this was higher in the first group (Ruth, Dempsey and Nurmi) than in the second (Ruth, Louis and Schmeling). On a basic level this finding clearly demonstrated the athletic hero in his role as a cultural indicator - the 'eponymous symbol' of his society. 15 This supported the view of those who saw the hero not merely as an outstanding personality but also as a product of cultural context 16 who reflected the collective psychology of a society. 17

This reflecting role of the athletic hero was further supported by the temporal correlation of the athletic heroes in the study. Not only did each set of heroes correlate with their respective socio-cultural environment but this
relationship changed as a function of time so that the heroes paralleled the historical continuity and change of the period. Here we have evidence of the athletic hero as "an accurate barometer of the times." \(^{18}\) In this sense not only does the athletic hero personify the spirit of the age but he is also capable of transmitting culture over time thus acting as an indicator of a whole variety of social processes. Surely there is no clearer reflection of man's "changing psychic relation to society" \(^{19}\) than that which is demonstrated by these athletic heroes of urban Anglo-Canada between 1920 and 1939.

At the same time however, the study demonstrated that the correlation which exists is by no means perfect. When Fishwick stated that "heroes are mirrors of the times" \(^{20}\) this was not entirely correct. The heroes may reflect their age but the image is not without defect. These 'distortions' can be seen in two forms. Firstly, there may be elements of the heroes which are not reflected in the society. These can be explained largely in terms of individual differences, that is characteristics which make every person unique and have no relevance to the cultural context. Secondly, there are the socio-cultural elements which are not present in the heroes and these may be explained in terms of lack of sensitivity within the heroes.

In this way the study shows that the athletic hero
is not necessarily a 'mirror' of society. Instead the athletic hero might be thought of as a 'picture' of his society - something which reflects the surroundings by giving an impression of the major aspects but without having to copy them exactly. It is through this allegory that one can more readily understand the complex relationship which exists between hero and society. For instance, a 'picture' must by necessity have an 'artist' or transmitter and in the study this role is fulfilled by the newspaper. Just as the artist creates the picture which reflects his nature and the desires of his public audience so, too, the newspaper creates an 'image' of the athletic hero which represents its own bias and the interests of its public. Given the basic requirements, the newspapers are able to fabricate a hero just as easily as an artist creates a painting; indeed many examples of such image making were seen in the study.

In this study the images of the athletic heroes are indeed 'pictures' of their socio-cultural environments. Through them one sees many of the aspects of urban Anglo-Canada from a very novel perspective and although some elements are not reflected those that are can be viewed in a new light. Thus, the athletic hero is capable of providing new insights into his environment in the same way as an 'impressionistic' painting might do for its own surroundings.
Thus by examining the athletic hero it may be possible to gain new meaning into society and culture. However, as with the insights of the 'painting' the knowledge one gains from the hero is based on subjective interpretations of elements which are essentially immeasurable. This was not seen as a weakness of the study but rather as an unavoidable aspect of historical analysis. For the social historian "ambiguity is inseparable from the study of man"\(^2\) and the goals of research should involve the search for new meaning in a complex world rather than the quest for so-called 'truth.'

With this in mind the basic objective of this study was to discover whether a correlation existed between the image of the urban Anglo-Canadian athletic hero and the 'societal mind' of urban Anglo-Canada between 1920 and 1939 and in this way test the temporal-societal characteristics within the author's hypothetical model of the athletic hero. From a complete analysis of the data it was seen that despite the distorting effect of individual differences and the limited sensitivity of the heroes, the general correlation between these individuals and their temporal socio-cultural environment was significant enough to support the societal aspect of the model. In this respect the athletic hero could be seen as a classic example of the exceptional individual in history who, in his role as cultural indicator
and a 'barometer' of the times presents a 'picture' of the
environment which gives fresh insights into society and
culture and which ultimately leads to new and significant
meanings in this field.

Recommendations

In concluding this study the author would like to re-
commend three possible directions for future research into
this area:
1. An examination of the 'societal characteristics' of
   the author's model of the athletic hero with regard to
different spatial societies or different abstract
   societies.
2. An examination of the discrepancies which exist between
   the image of the athletic hero and the actual hero.
3. An examination of the discrepancies between the trans-
   mitted image of the athletic hero and the popular image
   of the hero.
REFERENCES

1. Toronto Star, 16 June, 1924.
3. Toronto Star, 12 March, 1925.
4. Vancouver Sun, 1 April, 1924.
6. Ibid., 24 April, 1936.
8. In 1926, 120,757 spectators paid in excess of $1 3/4 million to see Jack Dempsey fight Gene Tunney and a year later in the re-match the gate was over $2 1/2 million. B. Radar, Fantasies and Ballyhoo: The Emergence of the Modern Sports Hero. Unpublished chapter of a manuscript, p. 30.
10. Ibid., 27 June 1935.
12. For details see Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{19} L. Lowenthal, \textit{Literature, Popular Culture and Society}, p. xii.


APPENDIX 1

Headline Frequency and Breakdown of the Ten Most Transmitted Athletes Within the Toronto Globe and Winnipeg Free Press, 1924-1925 and 1935-1936 (Pilot Study)

A. 1924-1925

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Headline Frequency (Toronto G.)</th>
<th>Headline Frequency (Winnipeg F.P.)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. Dempsey</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>A. Pirpo</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>Argentinian</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>H. Wills</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. Nurmi</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>Track</td>
<td>Amateur</td>
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<tr>
<td>G. Ruth</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Baseball</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>T. Gibbons</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>130</td>
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<td>Professional</td>
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<tr>
<td>W. Johnson</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>American</td>
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<td>Professional</td>
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<tr>
<td>J. Berlenbach</td>
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<td>92</td>
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<td>Tennis</td>
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### APPENDIX 1 (continued)

#### B. 1935-1936

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Headline Frequency (Toronto G.)</th>
<th>Headline Frequency (Winnipeg F.P.)</th>
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<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<td>288</td>
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<td>Boxing</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<tr>
<td>F. Perry</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>D. Dean</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>121</td>
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<td>Professional</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>101</td>
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<td>Baseball</td>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>Professional</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
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<td>Professional</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Owens</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Track</td>
<td>Amateur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 2

Urban Population, Newspaper Circulation and Analysis in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg

A. HALIFAX

i) Population: 1921 - 58,372; 1931 - 59,275

ii) Halifax Herald - circulation and political affiliation:
    1924 - 32,690* (Conservative)
    1925 - no information
    1935 - 26,814 (Independent-Conservative)
    1936 - 30,428 (Independent-Conservative)

*This figure was a combined aggregate for the Halifax Herald and the Halifax Mail

B. MONTREAL

i) Population: 1921 - 618,506; 1931 - 818,577

ii) Montreal Star - circulation and political affiliation:
    1924 - 107,354 (Independent)
    1925 - 112,708 (Independent)
    1935 - 121,844 (Independent)
    1936 - 123,172 (Independent)

C. TORONTO

i) Population: 1921 - 521,893; 1931 - 631,207

ii) Toronto Globe - circulation and political affiliation:
    1924 - 98,139 (Independent)
    1925 - 88,796 (Independent)
    1935 - 83,192 (Independent)
    1936 - 78,349 (Independent)

iii) Toronto Star - circulation and political affiliation:
    1924 - 129,845 (Independent-Liberal)
    1925 - 133,144 (Independent-Liberal)
    1935 - 229,312
    1936 - 247,114
APPENDIX 2 (continued)

D. VANCOUVER

i) Population: 1921 - 117,217; 1931 - 246,593

ii) Vancouver Sun - circulation and political affiliation:
    1924 - 22,565 (Independent-Liberal)
    1925 - no information
    1935 - 64,380 (Independent-Liberal)
    1936 - 66,005 (Independent-Liberal)

E. WINNIPEG

i) Population: 1921 - 179,087; 1931 - 218,785

ii) Winnipeg Free Press - circulation and political affiliation:
    1924 - 69,651 (Independent)
    1925 - 65,572 (Independent)
    1935 - 39,995 (Independent)
    1936 - 43,069 (Independent)
APPENDIX 3

Canadian Economic Statistics from the 1920's and 1930's

### A. Population (in thousands)

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<th>1926</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1936</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
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<td>9,4515</td>
<td>10,376</td>
<td>10,950</td>
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<td>Urban/Rural</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>5,574/4,803</td>
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<tr>
<td>British/French</td>
<td>4,869/2,453</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,381/2,928</td>
<td>-</td>
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### B. Unemployment (in thousands)

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<th>1921</th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1924</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>110</td>
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<td>108</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>826</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>522</td>
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APPENDIX 4

Coding Units Used in the Analysis of Athletic Heroes and the Socio-Cultural Environment

A. ATHLETIC HEROES

i) Athletic Excellence
   All-rounder/Specialist
   Clumsiness/Grace
   Individual/Sport/team game
   Speed/Sluggishness
   Strength/Skill
   Underdog/Favourite
   Professional/Amateur

ii) Charisma
   Aggressive/Weak-willed
   Comedian/Straight man
   Confident/Insecure
   Conscientious/ Irresponsible
   Debonair/ Un Sophisticated
   Extrovert/Introvert
   Modest/Brash
   Nice-guy/Anti-hero
   Popular/Unpopular
   Rich/Poor
   Radical/Conservative
   Relaxed/Tense
   Sensitive/Insensitive
   Shrewd/Dumb
   Sociable/Anti-Social

B. SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

i) Economy
   Growth and progress
   Urbanism/Ruralism
   Industrialism
   Inflation/Deflation
   Unemployment
   Prosperity/Poverty
APPENDIX 4 (continued)

ii) Politics
    Federalism/Provincialism
    Conservatism/Radicalism
    Foreign Policy

iii) Society
    Class
    Ethnicity
    Religion
    Sex

iv) General Attitudes
    Americanization
    Anglicization
    Canadianization
    Hedonism/Depression
    Materialism/Asceticism
    Optimism/Pessimism
    Conservatism/Radicalism
APPENDIX 5

Chronology of Key Dates for Athletic Heroes 1924-1925 and 1935-1936

1924
March 4  Dempsey: suffers mysterious injury
April 1  Ruth: Hits longest homer
April 7  Ruth: Fans stop game
June 4  Dempsey: exhibition fights
July 10-14  Nurmi: Olympic triumphs
July 26  Ruth: Leads home-run statistics
August 22  Dempsey: Undergoes nose operation
October 1  Ruth: Leads home-run statistics

1925
January 7  Nurmi: First American race
January 22  Nurmi: Tenth world record
February 4  Nurmi: Seventeenth world record
March 18  Nurmi: Forced to retire from race
April 11  Ruth: In hospital with mysterious ailment
April 24  Nurmi: Suspended by A.A.U. of U.S.
April 29  Dempsey: placed on ineligible list by New York Boxing Commission
May 9  Nurmi: Reinstated by A.A.U. of U.S.
June 2  Nurmi: Returns to Finland
June 7  Ruth: Collapses during game
August 4  Dempsey: Threatened with suspension
August 31  Ruth: Faced with disciplinary charge
September 4  Ruth: Fined by New York Yankees
November 5  Dempsey: Breaks a fight contract

1935
January 12  Louis: Fights Hans Birkie
February 27  Ruth: Transfers to Boston
March 11  Schmeling: Fights Steve Hamas
April 13  Louis: Fights Roy Lazer
June 3  Ruth: Resigns from Boston Braves
June 26  Louis: Fights Primo Carnera
June 29  Ruth: Home-run record in jeopardy
July 8  Schmeling: Fights Paulino Uzcudun
August 7  Louis: Fights Kingfish Levinsky
September 6  Ruth: Receives National League Pass
September 25  Louis: Fights Max Baer
November 12-14  Louis: Exhibition fights
December 14  Louis: Fights Paulino Uzcudun
December 16  Louis: Voted outstanding athlete of the year
December 30  Louis: Ranked top heavyweight of the year
APPENDIX 5 (continued)

1936

January 18
February 3
April 14
April 16
June 20
August 18
August 19
September 23
October 10
December 15
December 28

Louis: Fight Ernie Retzlaff
Ruth: Inducted into Hall of Fame
Ruth: Cries at Yankee Stadium
Schmeling: Arrives in New York
Louis-Schmelting fight
Schmeling: Title fight cancelled
Louis: Fights Jack Sharkey
Louis: Fights Al Ettere
Louis: Fights Jorge Brescia
Louis: Fights Eddie Simms
Schmeling: Ranked top heavyweight of the year
APPENDIX 6

The Athletic Hero Reconsidered

In examining the correlation between the athletic hero and his environment the study was essentially an examination of the temporal-societal aspect of the author's hypothetical model of the athletic hero. However, these characteristics could not be seen in total isolation and this examination was to lead to many new ideas concerning the athletic hero in terms of both internal components and the external relation with other concepts.

As has been seen the author's initial review of literature showed that very few explicit models concerning the athletic hero existed and this led the author to formulate one of his own. This consisted of three levels: firstly, 'constant prerequisites,' namely 'athletic excellence,' 'charisma' and 'transmission across society;' secondly, 'societal characteristics' as they applied to spatial, temporal and abstract society; and thirdly, 'individual characteristics.' In essence the study was involved with the analysis of the temporal aspect of the second level and conclusions concerning this area and recommendations for the examination of the spatial and abstract elements of this level have already been presented. At the same time, however, the study also threw new light on the other two levels outlined above.

In assessing the elements of athletic excellence and charisma the original model portrayed these as very static elements which were either present or absent. However, despite the fact that all the heroes by their very definition possessed these, it was noticed in the study that the degree to which these were present varied considerably. Thus, while Nurmi's uniqueness is continually stressed by his records and Louis' by his victories, Dempsey's and Schmeling's athletic excellence are barely transmitted. Similarly, Ruth's and Louis' charisma, as highlighted by their nicknames, are at a far higher level than the charisma of Schmeling or Nurmi. What is implied here is that the athletic hero may be part of a more dynamic framework which is undergirded by the changes in these elements.

New ideas regarding the athletic hero were also manifested within the third constant prerequisite 'transmission across society.' Again when the athletic heroes in the study were examined it was realized that the image of the athlete could be fabricated by promoters and journalists who either accidently or deliberately conveyed elements of
subjectivity and mythicism. The former of these was represented by personal and largely unfounded comments regarding the athletic heroes while the latter was demonstrated by the propagation of stories of unknown origin which, though ostensibly relating to historical fact, were largely fictitious. Upon closer inspection it was once again noticed that the extent to which these elements were manifested changed from athlete to athlete. For Ruth these aspects were particularly prevalent (and increased over time) while for Dempsey and Louis they were less common and for Schmeling and Nurmi they were virtually absent. As with the first two constant prerequisites a continuum effect, which was not present in the initial model, was implied.

Further variation within the athletic heroes was highlighted within the third level of the original model— the individual characteristics. In this way instead of presenting the heroes as a single unified entity the study showed that each hero was, above all, a unique individual in which the personal variable would always outweigh the group commonalities which existed.

The final aspect which indicated another level beyond the athletic hero was the 'benchmark' concept. This element described the use of the athletic hero as a yardstick to which other athletes were compared. This concept was particularly apparent in the image of Louis and the second image of Ruth (in the 1930's). Once again, what this suggested was the existence of different levels within the concept of the athletic hero which were not reflected within the author's initial model.

Basically the study demonstrated that the internal components of the author's model were valid concepts but that the model lacked a dynamic aspect which could point to the relationship with other levels which lay beyond the athletic hero. This dynamic relationship between the athletic hero and other concepts was described by Norwood who placed the sport hero on a continuum between the sport figure and the sport legend. With this in mind the author attempted to synthesize much of the new information in order to place the athletic hero on a similar continuum which would show the dynamic aspects of the hero as well as his place in the general scheme of things. This could be represented as follows:
In this way, the continuum starts with the basic 'athlete' who possesses no extraordinary talent or personality and is unrecognized in his field. When athletic excellence (indicated by uniqueness) is added and this is transmitted across a particular society, this individual becomes something more than a mere athlete. For that society and reaches a level which has been called 'athletic stardom.' Although not always the case, this level would often be characterized by the momentarily successful athlete who lacks any sort of personality (often his name is not remembered) and exists merely through one unique performance. In order to reach the next stage the athletic star must display an additional characteristic, that of charisma (indicated by nicknames), and again this must be fully transmitted across the particular society for him to reach the level of the 'athletic hero.' Thus the constant prerequisites for the athletic hero have remained the same as in the initial model. What is now clear is that these prerequisites are also varying throughout each level as well as representing added and subtracted factors for these levels.

Therefore, although all the athletes in the study are athletic heroes, some do little more than fulfill the basic criteria and their charisma or athletic excellence remain at fairly low levels. This is particularly true of Schmeling whose one victory shot him to prominence with little indication of a charismatic personality.

As the athletic hero reaches the upper limits of the athletic hero level and as his charisma begins to be more highly transmitted than his athletic excellence he may approach the final level — that of the 'athletic legend.' This stage usually occurs as the hero's active performing career wanes and is more likely to occur over a long time. In the study the best example of someone approaching
legendary proportions was Ruth, whose personality by the 1930's has become more important than his performance. However, the ultimate level is only truly reached when the facts of performance cease to be important and are forgotten. Obviously, this would take a very long time and examples of individuals who fulfill these criteria would be such people as Robin Hood, William Tell and possibly some athletes of Ancient Greece. Indeed this concept may no longer be attainable within today's highly documented and quantified society.

Thus the theme which runs through the entire model and can be seen to increase from the 'athlete' through to the 'athletic legend' is the concept of mythicism whereby historical fact is gradually replaced by historical fiction which may either be an accidental or a deliberate process or a combination of these two.

The second model which came out of the study was as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Cultural Hero</th>
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<tr>
<td>Athletic Hero</td>
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This model centres on one aspect of the study - the 'benchmark' concept. Only when an athlete reaches the upper level of his field will he become a yardstick which can be used to measure other athletes. When this is achieved the athletic hero becomes an exemplary individual, but only within his field of performance and this function may be paralleled for individuals within other cultural fields, for instance, the political hero, religious hero and so on. In order for these individuals to reach a new level they must become 'benchmarks' for individuals in other fields of endeavor; when this is achieved they may be termed 'cultural heroes.' Within the study the best example of the first step in this process was Ruth, who by the 1930's was constantly being used as a measure for other outstanding athletes. However, no evidence of the final step to the cultural hero is shown and probably the reason for this is that Ruth is not examined outside of the area of the sports page. The only examples of this final step are found within secondary sources so that Willie Sutton is described as "the Babe Ruth of bank robbers" and Franco Corelli as "the Babe Ruth of operatic tenors." 2 This list could probably be
lengthened with further research into this area. Oddly enough the only example within the study of a cultural hero as someone who transcends the world of sport, is found when Ruth is likened to "Napoleon at Elba." However, the cultural hero here is Napoleon not Ruth! Finally, when Nurmi is awarded a Finnish Knighthood "in recognition of Finnish interest throughout the world," this may also be an indication of his status as a cultural hero, but in this case the culture would be limited to Finland.

Thus, the fact that the study led to new attitudes concerning the athletic hero only serves to demonstrate the transitional and abstract nature of the concepts involved in this area. In the final analysis although these models oversimplify reality they have helped the author to achieve some understanding of the complex ideas involved in this area. The goal of the study was an examination of the author's model of the athletic hero and it is believed that this has been validated and improved upon. It is only hoped that this model will be used as a stepping-stone to further research in this area and in the general quest for new meaning within society.
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