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Sport and hegemony Windsor c. 1895 to c. 1929.

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS RÉCU
SPORT AND HEGEMONY: WINDSOR

C. 1895 TO C. 1929.

by

Catriona Beaton Parratt

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.

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1984
ABSTRACT

SPORT AND HEGEMONY: WINDSOR

c. 1895 TO c. 1929

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Catriona Beaton Parratt

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between sport and hegemony, notably to determine the utility of the concept for the writing of sport history, and to investigate the extent to which sport could be considered as a site for the operation of hegemony.

From about 1895 to 1929 the Windsor area was developing rapidly into an urban, industrial society. It was therefore selected as a case study in which to examine the transformative processes by which dominant and alternative cultural elements interacted in order to facilitate the production and reproduction of the social order. The concept of hegemony presumes that these processes are operative in all areas of life and the assumption underlying the study is, therefore, that sport is implicated in this.

It was possible to distinguish between particular sports on the basis of the attitudes associated with them and also on their position relative to the core societal values. Sports such as baseball, basketball and hockey, imbued with attitudes towards work and discipline, were considered to be legitimate recreational activities
whilst commercial boxing and horseracing were perceived as posing a threat to this value system.

The reinforcement of certain activities and ideas and the rejection or modification of others, highlighted the process by which sport was being shaped to fit an industrial society. The study illustrated, therefore, the relationship between the productive world and the cultural, and provided an insight into the way in which hegemony functions by adaptation and accommodation of disparate ideas and practices.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated, with love, to my parents and Ian.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Salter and Dr. Hedley for the time they have taken, the interest they have shown, and the advice which they have given in the course of this study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, Canada's economic and social structure was transformed. As both her internal and external horizons expanded, she began to move more rapidly along the path which was to lead to a recognizably modern, capitalist society in these, "the formative years of modern Canadian society."¹ For the Border Citâes, signs that this transformation was imminent arrived with the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1892 and the establishment of several manufacturing concerns in the latter years of the nineteenth century.² By the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century, the transition from small, agriculture and timber based economy to mechanized manufacturing centre was well underway and there followed a quarter century of rapid growth and maturation.³

As towns and cities such as Windsor grew rapidly and as the economic structure was transformed, so too were the social and cultural experiences of those living in them.⁴ One of the areas of culture which was thus affected was sport. The impact of the forces of urb-
anization and industrialization upon leisure as a whole has been examined by a number of historians. As a consequence of the inherent changes in the physical and economic environment, the pastimes and spontaneous games of former years became sports, regular and organized competitive physical activities, structured in terms of time, space and behaviour.

If one accepts that there is a close relationship between the social and economic structure and culture, then one must also accept that change in the one will precipitate change in the other. It must be assumed, therefore, that as the structural features of sport underwent a change in this period, the complex of values and attitudes permeating it were similarly transformed. This basic assumption underlies the study and provides the rationale for the central concern; an examination of the relationship between sport and the broader context and also of the link between the structural and attitudinal features of both.

The Economy

Until at least the middle of the nineteenth century the Canadian economy was characteristically small-scale and based upon traditional patterns of organization. The sheer size of the country together with a lack of capital combined to create essentially mercantile businesses built around small, fragmented centres of production and distribution. Throughout the nineteenth-century, in
short, the Canadian business world was one of relatively small-scale firms, usually owner-operated, functioning in competitive markets.  

The expansion of the railroad system of the 1860's and 1870's proved, eventually, to be a pattern for the subsequent industrial development, creating an appetite for fixed capital and a concomitant need to devise accounting and organizational systems to deal with it. Generally, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, there was an increased concentration of capitalist, labour-intensive production which was centred upon the burgeoning urban centres of eastern Canada. The effects of this development were being felt in centres such as Toronto and Hamilton where by the 1860's, the capitalist mode of production, which utilized large amounts of unskilled labour had begun to make significant inroads. From 1890 to 1910, there was a dramatic transformation of the Canadian economy and by 1920, small-scale craft production had been almost completely replaced by industrial concentration and organizational centralization.

A similar pattern emerged in the Windsor area during the latter years of the nineteenth and the first three decades of the twentieth centuries. Until the onset of the depression in 1929, this area was the scene of unprecedented growth in economic and demographic terms. A crucial element in this transition to an industrial urban centre was the auto industry which, by the middle of the second decade, was firmly established and which was also to become synonymous with intensive production methods.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the Border Cities'
economy was characteristically widespread and diversified, reflecting its close relationship to local needs and the bases of agriculture and timber. With the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1892 the area was linked into the economy of the continental mid-west and its position as a focus of five major railways on the Great Lakes water route made it an attractive site for the establishment of several manufacturing concerns.  

Paralleling and fuelling these developments, were important demographic changes. During the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, there was a 97 percent increase in the combined populations of Walkerville, Windsor, and Sandwich. This was one of a series of changes which were launching the Border Cities into an era of new industrialism signalled by the establishment of the Ford Motor Company in 1904. This, "the first step in the Canadian phase of the modern, industrial revolution which was to put the world on wheels," ushered in a period of rapid growth accompanied by the development of methods of rationalized, intensive production.  

Throughout the 1900's, determined efforts were made to encourage the settlement and expansion of manufacturing concerns in the area. In 1907, the city council passed a by-law which provided for the offering of free light and water, and a ten year tax exemption to prospective industries employing at least twenty-five workers. The industrial expansion during this period was both varied and extensive, and the economic progress is illustrated in the statistics for manufactured products. The total value of goods produced in Windsor in 1890 was $953,030; by 1900 the figure stood at $1,260,947, and
in 1910 it was $3,771,706, all of which represented a 285 percent increase over the twenty year period. 19

The first half of the second decade was one of the most fruitful in the history of the area's industrial and commercial development as the number of manufactures increased and the economic prosperity boomed. The local correspondent of the Labour Gazette noted the general trend in July of 1912:

Windsor and vicinity is enjoying the most prosperous year in its history. New factories are coming in, such as the Ideal Mat Company of Chicago, capital $50,000 ... The Ford Motor Company is spending $750,000 on new additions to the present factory. Building trades are particularly busy, the building permits for May being $2,000 greater than those of May 1911.50

The claim of the local press that the city was "growing by leaps and bounds and an era of prosperity holding out" is supported by statistical data.21 There was a dramatic rise in the combined populations of Walkerville, East Windsor, Windsor and Sandwich from 8,235 in 1911, to 32,502 in 1921, a staggering 138.7 percent increase. This was accompanied by an equally dramatic increase in the gross value of products manufactured which escalated in Windsor, for example, from $3,771,700 in 1910, to $28,168,856 in 1920.22 In that same year, it was noted that "as a consequence of the gathering momentum of the post-war boom, the figures for 1920 are in many cases strikingly increased from those of 1919."23 This was certainly the case in the Windsor area as there was a capital investment in excess of $42,000,000 in the 275 manufacturing establishments, and the gross value of goods produced reached over $61,000,000.24
This expansion continued into the third decade when the combined totals for employment, salaries and wages, and gross value of products increased almost threefold. While the increase of population had slowed somewhat, there was still a 75.5 percent increase between 1921 and 1931. More significantly, the tremendous industrial and commercial expansion continued, for in 1929 the combined capital investment for the Windsor area was approximately $118,000,000, while the gross value of products was $155,000,000.

Much of this expansion was related to the meteoric rise of the automobile industry which was, by 1924, one of Canada's most important manufacturers. The production of motor vehicles was not only expanding itself, it was also fuelling the development of a number of associated concerns such as metals, machinery, tool shops, and general foundries. Significantly, too, within this industry, there were developing highly rationalized mass production methods which, although unique to the Ford company in the early years, had become the industrial norm by the end of the third decade.

Throughout this period, then, Windsor was evolving into an urban, industrial centre, an important base of which was the auto industry with its innovative assembly-line methods of production. The effective functioning of the industrial capitalist system depends upon certain conditions, not least of which is a disciplined citizenry with an internalized sense of duty and work. This demands, in a period of economic transition, the adaptation by man to specific conditions of work, customs and habits, all of which must be in tune with the productive system. The process by which Windsor was being
transformed into just such a society must be considered, therefore, in human as well as economic terms.

The active shaping of men to a rational, productive system, necessitated the extension of control into areas of life other than work. The development of industrialism was, in part, an assault upon the irregular, fluid patterns of traditional ways of life which were not appropriate to the new economic system, and the need to impose the work and time discipline of capitalism upon a largely pre-industrial society involved the repression and control of, among other things, popular recreation and sports. One composite part of the process was the subjugating of "natural (i.e., animal and primitive) instincts to new, more complex, rigid norms and habits of order, exactitude and precision." An inevitable and ongoing part of the whole evolution of industrial capitalism, the central concern stimulating this pressure was the preservation, outside the world of work, of the psychological and physiological integrity of the human organism in order that the productive system could be sustained.

At the same time that capitalist industry began to make increased demands upon man's effort and self-discipline, there emerged an ideology of individual striving and success which constituted a shorting up of the whole system. In order that the complexities and mechanisms of this process can be understood, it must be addressed in theoretical terms which will take account of these features. The concept of hegemony provides the kind of framework which will permit just such an analysis.
FOOTNOTES


9 McCallan, "The Relevance of Canadian Business History," 84.

10 Ibid.


12 Ibid., pp. 169-170.


14 Ibid.; p. 179.


17. *Evening Record*, 3 January 1907.


27. Ibid., p. 372.


CHAPTER II

THEORY AND PROBLEM

A number of scholars, dissatisfied with the predominantly functionalist perspective from which theorists have viewed the social context of sport, are turning towards a more critical analysis. This is a development within Marxist cultural theory which involves a rejection of the kind of approach which has laid that school open to the accusation that it is a necessarily reductive and deterministic kind of theory; no cultural activity is allowed to be real and significant in itself, but is always reduced to a direct or indirect expression of some preceding and controlling economic context or of a political context determined by an economic position or situation.

A central element of material determinism, the base and superstructure model, is being challenged; the main consequences of this shift in theoretical orientation are that cultural activities are recognized as playing an active role in the process by which a society is produced, maintained, and changed. Sport as a cultural activity is implicitly involved in this process.

Central to the new orientation is a re-working of the concept of culture and it is within the work of Antonio Gramsci, particularly in his conceptualization of the theory of hegemony, that the idea of 'culture' in the sense of a whole way of life, a general social process unfolds. A further dimension of Gramsci's scheme is the recognition that a man's ability to shape his life is determined to a
great extent by his relative position in the productive system.\footnote{5}

The concept of a determining economic base, and, arising from and secondary to that, a political, intellectual superstructure has been fundamental to certain types of Marxist analysis.\footnote{6} Aligned with this idea is one which is equally important; that "life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life."\footnote{7} The historical development of these two strands of thought has had important implications for the manner in which culture has been perceived and analysed.

The base and superstructure configuration, when taken literally, implies that thoughts, ideas and non-economic institutions are directly determined by "external economic structures."\footnote{8} Placed firmly in the superstructure, sport, culture, politics, and ideology are considered to be mere reflections of the economic structure, and their creative and constitutive role is therefore denied. This leads to an analysis in which man is seen simply as an object upon which economic forces act; man does not have a free choice, his human agency is denied.\footnote{9}

Williams demonstrates that the problem has arisen from a too literal interpretation of the base-superstructure configuration. Stressing that Marx's use of the notion was largely metaphorical, he takes to task those who have projected the terms as if they were precise concepts and descriptive labels for identifiable, separate areas of life. In thinking of the base and superstructure as "separate concrete entities", they "lost sight of the very processes -- not abstract relations but constitutive processes-- which it should have
been the special function of historical materialism to emphasize.10 The initial intention of demonstrating that culture cannot be understood on its own, that it must have a grounding in economic reality, has therefore been distorted, and the theory which was intended to be a refutation of the separation of ideas and reality has, instead, perpetuated that division.11

By turning to the proposition that social being determines consciousness, it becomes apparent that the implication is not that "social being" is to be reduced to simple economic relations, but that the one cannot be fully understood without reference to the other.12 While the relationship between ideas and the material base is affirmed, "this does not mean that there is a universal or unilateral relationship between the 'real foundation' of society -- the relation of production -- and 'legal and political superstructure."13 It is in its recognition of the complex interaction between the material and the intellectual, and in the recognition of patterns of class dominance and subordination within that interaction, that Gramsci's concept of hegemony furnishes that which has been lacking in the deterministic model.14

The precise origins and the definitive meaning of the term hegemony are themselves topics of some debate among Marxist scholars and within Gramsci's own writings the possible interpretation of hegemony and the site of its operation are elusive, shifting with the broader context of the author's discussion.15 Raymond Williams offers one of the clearest outlines of the idea, together with an elucidation of its central components, and in so doing, he traces the
theoretical threads which link the concept to Marx.\textsuperscript{16}

Williams makes a critical distinction between hegemony and the concepts of culture and ideology which are both subsumed within the theory.\textsuperscript{17} In \textit{Culture and Society}, he had emphasized the importance of approaching culture from a broad, comprehensive perspective. By recognizing the interdependence of all kinds of social consciousness and experience, he urged that culture be used "in the sense of a whole way of life, a general social process."\textsuperscript{18}

This view of culture is included within Gramsci's concept of hegemony, but the latter also draws in the recognition that man's ability to make sense of his social reality, and to shape that reality, is always determined to some extent by his relative position in the productive system. This Marxist thrust leads to an analysis of culture which now relates it to inequalities. Within a capitalist society, those inequalities are between classes.\textsuperscript{19}

In a general sense, ideology "provides a necessary set of meanings whereby the individual acts upon the world at the same time as the world acts upon him."\textsuperscript{20} There has been a tendency, however, to abstract particular meanings from their historical and social specificity and present them as the ideology typical of that age. This fits in with two of Marx's basic contentions concerning ideology: firstly, that the social conditions in which individuals live colour their perception of their world and, secondly, that the ruling ideas in a class society are those of the ruling class.\textsuperscript{21} It also means, however, that it is this formal, articulated system of beliefs which becomes equated with consciousness as a whole. Or
rather, as Williams explains, consciousness is reduced to ideology. Furthermore, the consciousness of groups other than the dominant is denied as having any real autonomy or importance. 22

The consequences of this perception of culture and ideology for the study of sport are important. By providing a deterministic and static model of capitalist society, they lead to the perception of sport as an ideological tool of the dominant social groups in which there is no sense of an interchange of ideas and practices. Hargreaves states that as a result of this "there is no real explanation of the conflict surrounding sports, of their differentiated nature, and little sense either of sport and culture as material processes." 23 The reduction of consciousness to ideology does not recognize the part which the former plays in allowing man to change his passive role within the physical and economic environment into an active one; it does not, therefore, recognize the part which sport also plays in this transformation. 24

Hegemony is a process by which a certain social and political order is sustained, a process which is active within the intellectual and cultural realms of life, as well as in the more explicitly economic and political systems. 25 Man's social being determines his consciousness, but the labels 'base' and 'superstructure' do not describe specific, separate areas of life. Because we produce not only in the material sense, but also in the cultural and intellectual sense, we must therefore consider those activities which have been excluded as superstructural, as "real practices, elements of a whole social process, not a realm or a world or a superstructure,}
but many and variable productive practices, with specific conditions and intentions.

Man is ruled, then, by the power of ideas, not simply by force. Suffusing all areas of life, hegemony permits the dominance of one social group over others, that dominance being facilitated by the assimilation of the former's 'world view' by the latter. The ingredients of this hegemony may not be recognized as such by either the dominant or subordinate group, but nonetheless, the ideas, values and practices serve to maintain the position of the dominant group. There is not simply an acceptance of the world view, but rather its internalization; it becomes reality.  

Despite the consensual basis of hegemony, there is a continual and sustained resistance to the dominant hegemony, a resistance which manifests itself in a myriad of different forms of behaviour and sets of belief. As Williams states, "no mode of production and therefore no dominant social order and therefore no dominant culture ever in reality includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy and human intention." The resistance to the dominant is most clearly seen in the creation of counter and alternative hegemonies which represent its antithesis. The distinction between the two is that the counter hegemony whilst not radical, does represent something different; the alternative is developed only in reaction to, and derives its meaning from, the dominant.  

It is this very ferment of different, even oppositional, practices which charges the process with a dynamism which speaks to the reality of social interaction. While certain forms and behav-
behaviour are dominant, they are actively opposed and are thus required to preserve themselves by modifying and adapting to the advances of the alternative ideas. In the creation of alternative beliefs and practices, both dissatisfaction with and criticism of the dominant forms are expressed. If these expressions of human agency against the limits of social structure are not dealt with, then the hegemony is threatened; there is, therefore, a continual advancement and accommodation of the ideas and practices of various groups.

Hegemony provides, then, an analysis of societies which takes account of the interrelationships between the cultural and material, and which also allows for the importance of ideas and practices which lie outside the main, dominant culture. It means, too, that we can reach a fuller understanding of sport, one in which it may be seen to derive from the character of the specific historical context of which it is a part, and which may be understood as a significant totality of the social relationships by which people produce and make sense of their world.

Arising out of this conception of the interrelationship between social, economic, and cultural forms and practices are specific problems pertaining to sport. The first of these concerns the extent to which sport is an element of the hegemonic process; that is, what is its role in the transmission of dominant attitudes and values, and how far does it provide for the expression of alternative practices and ideas. An inherent and related consideration must also be to examine the specific way in which hegemony operates, and particularly within the context of sport.
FOOTNOTES


5 Williams, Marxism and Literature, p. 108.

6 Ibid., p. 75.


10 Williams, Marxism and Literature, p. 81.


14 Williams, Marxism and Literature, pp. 108-109.


16 Williams, Marxism and Literature.

17 Ibid., p. 108.


21 Ibid., p. 42.


26 Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, p. 79.

27 Ibid., p. 94.


30 Ibid., p. 124.


CHAPTER III

SPORT

Blood Sports, Boxing, Horseracing

During the transformative years of the early twentieth century, certain sports with roots reaching back into a more rural, traditional culture were subjected to various kinds of societal pressure. Blood sports, boxing, and horseracing were all, to various degrees, proscribed leisure activities and stood in contrast to 'legitimate' games of skill such as curling and football. Associated with features which were considered to be inappropriate in an industrial society, their attendant values were also antithetical to dominant attitudes. The picture of their development during this period is, consequently, one highlighted by advancement and accommodation of these disparate elements. (See Appendix for research problem, terms, and methodology).

Cockfighting, dog fights, and rat-killing contests were all to be found in the Windsor area around the turn of the twentieth century. By this period, however, they had been placed outside the bounds of acceptable leisure activities and had disappeared by the end of the first decade. Featured by brutal and bloody encounters, attracting large numbers of sometimes unruly spectators, and tainted
by the added sin of gambling, blood sports were placed firmly outside the pale of twentieth-century respectability.¹

The brutal nature of these contests is illustrated in the following account of a dog fight which was held on the outskirts of Detroit in 1901: "The dogs were washed by the seconds before the fight began and were as white as snow... Before they had finished both dogs were colored red and their visages were literally torn to pieces." This fight was attended by 250 spectators, the majority of whom paid one dollar for the privilege of watching "one of the bloodiest canine encounters ever pulled off in the county."²

Detroit was a common venue for the staging of such contests but participants travelled from Windsor, Chatham, Mt. Clemens, Marquette, and as far away as Pittsburgh. The sport had certain features in common with horseracing, with its owners and trainers who prepared their animals thoroughly for a scheduled contest. In an account of a coquing main held in 1901, for example, it was said that "a well-known Windsor handler who dropped $100 to Pittsburgh last year has been building birds ever since. He got back good and plenty this morning... and carried away all kinds of money." A significant amount of time and money were evidently invested in such activities, but the possible monetary rewards were equally great. An estimated $10,000 changed hands in the main referred to above, with each side wagering $500 on the total contest and $50 on the outcome of each of the eight constituent fights.³

It is clear that this kind of sport was proscribed by society in general, for agencies such as the humane society and the police
force were used in an attempt to repress it. In 1896, for example, Andy Cahill, a Windsor labourer, was arrested by a humane officer for having previously held one dog by its hind legs while another "did its best to eat him up." Representatives of the respectable middle classes, the humane society's efforts were somewhat ambivalently supported by the local forces of the law.4

Dog fights and cocking mains were thus occasionally the scene of confrontations between the legal agents of mainstream society and those whose sporting proclivities caused them to stand askant to it. Contests were often held in isolated spots or in the small hours of the morning in an attempt to avoid interference which, even when it materialized, was not always effective. Local law officers were sometimes less than zealous in taking repressive action and the sporting fraternity was not afraid to offer spirited resistance to them. In the dog fight described above, for example, the sheriff's deputies having "been promised trouble by some of the crowd" made a tactical withdrawal and returned later when the fight was over and the participants were departing.5

Effective or not in the short term, such efforts at repression were an indication that society's tolerance of, and taste for such forms of behaviour was changing. Infrequent in the 1890's, these sports had disappeared by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. Their significance lies firstly in the fact that they constituted a form of leisure activity and catered to desires which were considered to be beyond the bounds of the acceptable; and, secondly, that as essentially traditional, rural sports, their time
was evidently passing

During the 1890's, a similarly brutal sport which featured encounters between men was also the object of societal censure and repression. Whereas blood sports involving animals eventually disappeared, pugilism was controlled, modified and eventually shaped to fit the changing society. In its commercial form, however, boxing was a target for accusations of brutality throughout at least the first decade and a half of the twentieth century and had, at best a questionable reputation. The tide of societal pressure reached a high point in Windsor around 1912, however, and following a clearer legal definition of the boundaries between prize-fighting and boxing, public disapproval abated somewhat. Throughout the 1920's, commercial fights attracted large numbers of spectators from both Windsor and Detroit, Michiganders being drawn because of the strictures of legislation enacted across the border which permitted the staging of only "no decision" bouts.

The main concern of those who spoke out against commercial boxing centred around the very features which linked the sport to its still recent, pugilistic past, and also to its brethren blood sports. These features were brutality and gambling. From the latter part of the second decade, when these elements had been subjected to legislative control, there was an abatement in expressions of opposition to commercial boxing. This was accompanied by a shift within the sport itself from an emphasis upon unrestrained, brutal fighting and towards an appreciation of a more technical application of skill. Boxing, together with other professional sports, was also becoming
recognized as an enterprise in which the application of effort and the nurturing of ability would bring fitting rewards.\textsuperscript{7}

Early accounts of prize fights held in the vicinity of Windsor and Detroit are illustrative of the close ties with other blood sports. In 1898, for example, a proposed bout twenty-five round bout held at Grosse Pointe was permitted to continue only on the understanding that the deputy sheriffs would intervene should the encounter assume "a tinge of brutality." That these fights shared common features with encounters between animals is highlighted by the similarity of descriptions of human and canine combatants. The statement that "both boys had their blood up and the fight would have been awarded to Carr had it lasted," echoes the essential nature of a dog fight which "was viciously fought all the way through, both dogs being game and in prime condition." It is apparent that these encounters catered to brutal tastes and they evidently persisted into the twentieth century as the preview of a bout to be held in Windsor in 1912 indicates: "Brown and Sharp will no doubt put up a good scrap as both men are willing to mix things up a little and thin line seems to take well with the patrons of the club."\textsuperscript{8}

In common with cocking mains and dog fights, the prize fights of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were usually scheduled to take place in some isolated spot. Attracting crowds of as many as 150, these affrays were often interrupted by the local forces of the law. The general attitude of those outside the 'sporting fraternity' was one of disapproval and outrage as the
following account of a prize fight in Essex County illustrates:

A disgraceful affair in the form of a prize fight took place at Ruthven on Monday... The charge for admission was twenty-five cents and the attendance was larger than would have been at a church meeting... An attempt was made to stop the fight and the constable at Ruthven was wired to arrest the combatants but was conveniently out of town at the time.

Threats are being made to arrest the whole party as well as the onlookers. 9

The solution to the perceived problem was to stage sparring contests for points in which some measure of control could be exerted. Shorn of the features of brutality and gambling with which prize fighting had become associated, such contests were evidently acceptable. Throughout the winter months of 1907, for example, weekly amateur bouts were staged by Willie Spracklin, a local boy who had himself attained fame through his exploits in the ring.

These exhibitions fell within the bounds of respectability, as did other amateur boxing. Furthermore, the utility of the "manly art" was recognized, for when a social and athletic club was formed in 1898 for the local Essex militia company, a boxing class was part of the athletic programme. With some twenty members and a stated objective of making "out of No.5 a crack company... one that will compare favorably with... other first-class battalions", the club evidently endorsed the amateur form of an otherwise disreputable activity. It is evident that it was commercial boxing, with its inherited taint which was to be repressed. This represented a discriminatory perception of the sport, the irony and injustice of which was not lost upon its advocates. 10
By 1909, the great interest exhibited in Windsor for commercial boxing was being satisfied by the Windsor Athletic Club under the promotion of "Eddie" Glassco. Weekly three card bouts were staged which attracted large crowds, as many as 2,000 squeezing in to watch. Despite the apparent popularity and financial success of this venture, there was a determined and vocal opposition to commercial boxing. This was evidenced by legal action taken against the promoter and shareholders of the Windsor club in January of 1912 when it was closed for six weeks following the conviction of Glassco and his fellows on a charge of conducting a prize fight.11

The subsequent decision to continue staging the fights was an instance of resistance to the repressive efforts of society but also of accommodation to societal pressure. Glassco commented, "we have not definitely decided whether these changes [to the rules governing the bouts] will be made... but it is very likely that we will make some that will prevent the boxing exhibitions that we stage from being classed as prize fights." One of the changes was to equip the police with a bell so that they could stop any fight which they judged to be brutal or contrary to the law. In a similar case in Toronto, a judgement was handed down which provided a precise definition of a prize fight. Ruling that the bout complained of was not a fight, but only a boxing or sparring match because there had been no intention on the part of either contestant to fight until one or the other gave in from exhaustion or injury, the judge stated:
All manly sports are more or less rough, and in boxing ... and even in lacrosse and football, knockouts often happen, but they are accidental, as I am satisfied the knockouts in the present case were. Unscientific or rough exhibitions should not be permitted by the management of any club formed to encourage athletics and contests of skill and endurance. 

The subtleties of the legislative distinction were too vague for the satisfaction of the opponents to commercial boxing, however, and in May of the same year an application made for a charter permitting the staging of exhibitions during the coming year was greeted by the following editorial in the local press:

Prize fighting can hardly be described as a desirable industry for Windsor. We are anxious to attract all the legitimate manufacturing enterprises that can be induced to locate here, but the promoters of the new boxing club are running counter to public opinion in trying to make Windsor famous as a centre for pugilists. The Record is informed on reliable authority that two Detroit gamblers are backing the new organization. If prize fighting is such a worthy institution why is it prohibited in Detroit? Is Windsor to be turned into a dumping ground for this sort of thing? Are the directors of the Windsor Curling Rink Co. to be allowed to bring odium on a law-abiding and respectable Canadian community?

The association of the scheme with "Detroit gamblers" evidently made the scheme all the more odious to a society which barely tolerated professional boxing in its midst.

Even in the face of this censure, promotions such as Glassco's flourished until the latter part of the second decade when the influenza epidemic and stricter immigration laws were instrumental in checking its development. In 1918, the re-opening of the Windsor Athletic Club marked a return to the earlier popularity of the
sport and also the return to the fight scene of local boy "Patsy" Drouillard who had been the Canadian lightweight champion for a number of years. The introduction of stricter legislation in Michigan boosted the fortunes of the sport in Windsor and through the 1920's, crowds filled the four arenas which were in operation in the city.14

Despite the stricter legislative control there were still indications that the sport was regarded in an unfavourable light. In 1927, for example, the Michigan Boxing Commission whilst rescinding the earlier prohibitive legislation, expressed its concern with the persistent problem of gambling associated with the sport. While the more brutal elements were being checked to some extent, the whole aura surrounding the sport was tainted. During the 1920's, it was still being described in terms such as the following which were redolent of its past: "the plague of commercial, unsportsmanlike prize-fighting."15

It is clear that the pugilistic roots of commercial boxing haunted the sport. Subjected to legislative control, scrutiny and repression, and with its associations of gambling and brutality, the sport was condemned by "respectable" society. The paradoxical acceptance of the amateur form is an indication that a discriminatory attitude towards the professional form existed. While amateur boxing fell within the limits of the acceptable, commercial boxing was perceived to be antithetical to mainstream society. One major concern was with gambling, an element of the sport which it shared with the equally popular sport of horseracing.
Commercial horseracing flourished in the Windsor area from the late nineteenth century until the early 1930's. Dependent to a large extent upon American patronage, the sport was the subject of contentious debate and the same kind of repressive action that was evidenced in boxing. The major concern of those who thought that the sport constituted a threat to the moral well-being of society was directed at the associated practice of gambling. This controversy reached a peak in 1914 when the introduction of the parimutuel system of betting satisfied demands for control of this element of the sport. From that point, the impassioned cries of moral outrage abated somewhat.

The very nature of the sport's appeal for many people was one which was seen to pose a threat to the values which were being engendered in amateur sport at this time. There was always the exciting possibility in horseracing that the established form would be upset and this recognition of the importance of sheer chance clearly overturned the 'success-through-work' pattern of amateur team sports. Commercial horseracing represented, therefore, a significant contrast to amateur sport, a contrast which persisted despite the legislative measures that were introduced to control gambling, for the very nature of the sport's appeal remained the same.

At the turn of the century, the Windsor Fairgrounds and Driving Park was attracting large crowds to its summer meetings. Featuring six daily races for an admission price of fifty cents, the sport "furnished loads of excitement" to the patrons. The August meeting of 1898 ran for twenty-two days and was billed as "one of the
grandest meetings ever held in the west." One major attraction of the Windsor track was the open betting ring which, whilst it was considered to be a boon by racing advocates, was one of the features which lay the sport open to societal censure. It was said in 1898, for example, that "an additional lot [of horses] may come from Chicago as the authorities are giving bookmakers there trouble which may break up the meeting". The relative laxity of the Canadian tracks over matters of bookmaking was considered to be a crucial factor favouring the success of race meetings here. In 1900, for example, when the Windsor Driving Park Association announced that the open betting ring would be maintained, it was stated that the track would "have a drawing magnet of unquestionable power... knowledgeable men say it will attract desirable kind of people to the track and will induce the owners to ship good stables to Canadian racecourses." 16

The stricter control of gambling in states such as Michigan evidently affected the fortunes of race meetings held there, but the appeal for the support of Windsorites for the Driving Park Association's efforts to boost horseracing in the city was somewhat ineffective. While it was said that the large number and high class of the horses entered in the 1907 meeting was a tribute to the "enterprise and industry" of the driving association, there was evidently a strong current of opposition to the sport and especially to the unrestricted gambling which was being endorsed. Church groups particularly felt that whilst horseracing and gambling were a source of short-term, monetary gain, they were also activities which "must
result disastrously in the near future to the morality and well-
of the community." Fears such as this were supported by tales of
the havoc wreaked by the gambling habit; in an account of the suicide of a young man in a local hotel, for example, a link was made
between his demise and a visit to the local poolroom. 17

Within this there was evidently a moral lesson to be learned;
gambling was considered to be a threat to the very fabric of society,
one which destroyed domestic and social harmony. Any rewards
gained through wagering were equated with theft because they were not
the just rewards of honest enterprise and endeavour. This is illustr-
ated in the following statement:

This sin works ruin by killing industry. A man used to reaping
scores or hundreds of dollars from the gaming table will never
be content with slow work. . . . You never knew a confirmed gambler
who was industrious. The very idea in gambling is at war with
all the industries of society. 18

In 1908 a ban was instituted on all forms of racetrack bet-
ing in the states of Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. Although
this legislation boosted interest in the Canadian tracks, the concern
with the legality of gambling was being questioned north of the
border, too. In 1907, for example, a Toronto man had been found
guilty of making a book on the Woodbine track and opponents of the
racing game in Windsor hailed the decision with satisfaction. Assum-
ing that all forms of racetrack betting would henceforth be illegal,
it was stated that the sport would "be on a firmer and better basis
with the elimination of the feature which arouses public comment
and opposition." In actual fact, the ruling only made it illegal for a bookmaker to stand on a fixed spot and take money and the president of the Highland Park club which was leasing the Windsor track stated confidently that the summer meeting would go ahead as planned.\footnote{19}

The nature of the "public comment and opposition" was evident in an Evangelical sermon attended by some 600 Windsor citizens in the same year. Stating the case of the moral reformers, the speaker established the dividing line between approved recreation and that which was proscribed. In so doing, he restated the arguments against activities such as horseracing and gambling:

\textit{Under a proper environment and for a reasonable time, games of skill and dexterity are innocent recreations and are as pure and healthful to mind and body as study and business because reaction [sic] is a regular and legitimate department of life. All games of chance should, however, be scored out and discarded.}\footnote{20}

While endorsing a list of sports which included curling, carpet balls, baseball, and football, the speaker denounced those activities which were used largely for gambling purposes. Sports such as baseball and football were perceived to be useful recreations which refuelled and refurbished mind and body and therefore supported endeavours in the world of work. Games of chance were alien to this system precisely because they were thought to draw men away from the prescribed path of honest endeavour.\footnote{21}

This is illustrated by a view from a somewhat different perspective. Quoting a Cincinnati sports' editor, the \textit{Evening Record} furnished its audience with the opinion of those more favourably

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textbullet]...
\end{itemize}
disposed towards the racing game and the betting system. Naturally if a man goes to the racetrack he expects to bet a few dollars on the races. It would be a dull sort of business if a man simply had to go see a bunch of horses run around a track without having a personal interest in the result. Of course you can call it gambling, but I do not regard it as a crime that would either wreck a man's fortune or damn his soul. 22

The major concern with gambling was evidently that it posed a threat to the material and spiritual welfare of individuals and society; for this reason it was doubly damned in the eyes of its opponents.

Throughout the First World War, horseracing continued to be very popular, but its existence was threatened when there was a possibility that all forms of gambling would be made illegal. Over 800 horses were stabled at the Driving Park for the 1912 summer meeting, for example, while on one day in the following year, the same meeting attracted 10,000 spectators. In 1916, two new tracks opened, Devonshire Park and Kenilworth Park, both of which were American owned and which catered largely to American patrons. It was during the war years, too, that the outcry against gambling on race tracks reached such a pitch that the future of the sport was threatened. As a consequence, a stricter form of betting was instituted, the pari-mutuel system, under which the Windsor tracks began operating in 1914. 23

Spearheading the campaign in Windsor was the Reverend F.W. Holinrake, a Methodist minister who denounced the city as a haven for the gambler, whom he termed "a leach, a blood-sucker and a thief in every sense of the word." The charges were focussed upon certain
cigar stores in the city which were suspected of being fronts for
poolrooms in which "a man could go... and play any horse he liked at
any one of the different racetracks in the country." The minister
reiterated the inevitable consequences of indulging in the practice
of gambling, stating that "there were men in their graves today who
would be living and following their regular line of occupation were
it not for these gambling joints." These perceptions of horseracing
and its attendant evil were considered to be representative of the
general view of the public and the local press, in a more moderate
manner, supported the calls for reform by suggesting that a
'wholesome', educational campaign be set up in order to "deal with
the patrons and to teach them the folly of the evil." 24

The "Iron Men" were seen to be the saviours of Canadian
horseracing. In American racing circles, it had been recognized that
the activities of the professional layer of odds are at the bottom
of the crusade that has driven our leading turfmen and our best
horses to foreign countries." There was a similar analysis of the
Canadian situation and it was with some foresight that the Windsor
Driving Park Association installed the pari-mutuel machines in 1912.
With the introduction of this system, the role of the professional
bookmaker was rendered superfluous, and thus the activities of
'undesirable gamblers' were controlled to some extent. By 1920,
amendments had been introduced to the criminal code of Canada in
order to limit gambling on all racetracks to the pari-mutuel system
and also to reduce the percentage of profits which track operators
could take from the money wagered. 25
Speaking in favour of the proposed amendments, the Honorable C.J. Doherty indicated that there were those within Canadian horse-racing circles who were concerned not simply with controlling gambling, but with the whole commercial aspect of the sport. The changes were designed to prevent racing associations from accruing large profits so that operating a track would not become simply a money-making venture. Endorsing a version of nineteenth-century amateur purity, he stated that "it was hoped to interest only the better class of sportsmen who wished to continue horseracing as the means to improving the thoroughbred horse in Canada." There were clearly divides within the sport which seem to have been based upon social exclusivity, and legislation such as this was an attempt by a certain group to shape the sport into what they felt was a fitting image. The image of Windsor horseracing in the 1920's was certainly commercial, but it was also generally respectable. The local press, while still endorsing control of the sport, was now clearly in favour of its continued presence in the community; the material benefits were considered to outweigh any moral dangers. 26

This decade saw the highpoint of commercial horseracing in Windsor. The three tracks, Devonshire, Kenilworth, and the Windsor Jockey Club, brought in receipts of $4,363,733; $4,629,672 and $6,038,468 respectively in the 1923 season. "Bill" Woollatt had taken over the Western Racing Association and the local Devonshire track in 1922 and, under his inspired management, the track had become known as "the Epsom Downs of Canada". Outlawed from the Canadian Jockey Club, Woollatt's organization represented
a commercial yet controlled form of horseracing which was evidently palatable to local tastes and which was now perceived to be an asset to the community.  

In 1921 there had been a decline in the attendance figures of Ontario tracks and a consequent decline in the amount of money wagered. This was thought to be a direct result of the heavy government dues levied on track wagers and it was also seen to be a threat to the existence of Border Cities horseracing. It was now felt that the racetracks provided a valuable boost to the local economy and the concern of previous years over the moral dangers of the sport appeared to be secondary to the material benefits. The local press pleaded a strong case for the continuance of horseracing in Windsor, stating:

Where racing takes place, money is plentiful and is kept in circulation, which is necessary for prosperity, as any economist would admit... If racing is killed in Ontario in general and on the border in particular these communities will be dealt a blow which it will be extremely hard to recover from.  

There was still concern that gambling should be controlled and one of the arguments advanced in favour of reducing the tax on track wagers was that people were returning to the poolroom to place bets, a situation which was much more difficult to police.  

On-track speculation through the government regulated pari-mutuels was considered to be acceptable and the institution of this system had evidently gone some way to turning the tide of public opposition to the sport. There were still pockets of strong condem-
nation but these appear to have been those church groups who were most vociferous in the earlier crusade. A Methodist minister stated the position of his church quite clearly in 1920: "The Methodist church" he said, "will not be content and will not rest until this evil of racetrack gambling is made illegal and put under the ban, just as much as any other form of gambling conducted elsewhere." 31

In an interesting and illuminating shift of attitudes, the local press were, by the middle of the third decade, endorsing the sport which had some twenty years before been seen as a threat to the society. The judgement was now very different: "Who can name a city that thoroughbred racing has killed? We can name many cities resurreceted from depression by a racing plant, efficiently and honestly administrated." There was still some opposition to the sport but this was evidently on the grounds that it drew money out of the pockets of the local people rather than because of any moral objection. Generally, press and public opinion concurred that horseracing was a financial asset to the Border Cities and no longer a moral debit. 32

Each of these activities clearly symbolized a very different set of values to those of 'legitimate' sports. A determining feature of this disparateness was their apparent subversion of the idea of achievement through hard work and discipline. Within leisure activities such as this, then, were to be found elements of resistance to the dominant societal values, elements which were manifested in the alternative meanings which they expressed and the experiences which they offered.
Curling, Lawn bowling, Bowling

The sports of curling, lawn bowling, and bowling were popular at various times throughout the period. While the local curling club had disbanded by 1915, lawn bowling and bowling continued to be popular into the 20's. Within each of these sports there was a recognition of, and an emphasis upon their recreational nature which stood in marked contrast to the ethos surrounding team sports. Curling especially was a sport in which the essentially nineteenth-century British ideals of manliness and amateurism were articulated, ideals which were perpetuated by the largely middle-class group with which the sport was associated. It was in this activity that a relatively formal ideology was evidenced and expressed, one which eventually faded away.\(^3\)\(^3\) Lawn bowling shared common origins with curling and in the first decade or so it, too, was an essentially middle-class, social activity. As the sport developed, taking on a more competitive structure, these elements became less apparent, although they did persist.\(^3\)\(^4\)

Indoor bowling was evidenced at the turn of the century and continued to grow in terms of popularity throughout the first three decades. By the middle of the 20's it was an enormously popular activity attracting large numbers of players. While curling had disappeared by the 20's, both forms of bowling continued to flourish and to provide an activity which, although based upon a league structure, was essentially recreative and 'anti-work'. For this
reason these sports provided a contrast to the major team sports. It is significant that the type of coverage given to these activities was generally a stark publication of results; there were few of the detailed, attitudinal accounts accorded sports such as baseball and football. This is indicative of the degree to which the latter had been drawn in to fit with the core value system of twentieth century Windsor, while the former though deriving their meaning from that system, represented the other side of the coin.\textsuperscript{35}

At the turn of the century the formal organization of curling and lawn bowling in Windsor was marked by the establishment of two respective clubs. Both were founded by a group of enthusiastic and enterprising men drawn from the professional and business strata of Windsor society\textsuperscript{36} This is illustrated by the following account of the curling club's organizational meeting for the 1898-1899 season:

There is probably no other organization in the city that could bring out such a representative gathering of citizens. The businessmen, bankers and professional men were all well represented and at no place outside the lochs of the native home of curling could a more enthusiastic lot of curlers be brought together.\textsuperscript{37}

The Windsor Lawn Bowling club drew its members from the same group of citizens; twenty-two of the thirty-five members playing in the 1898-1899 season were also members of the curling club. By 1912 the sport was still played largely by professional men.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{37} A clearly defined creed was espoused by the curlers in which the echoes of the British muscular Christian code were evident.\textsuperscript{39}
Harking back to the native origins of the game, the mayor of Windsor on the occasion of the opening of the new curling rink at the turn of the century, emphasized this by alluding to games of sport in general and pointing out that the games of any people were an unfailing index to their character. The sturdy Anglo-Saxon race had always been noted for the manly character of their games and curling was one of the noblest of these.40

It was in a similar vein that the lawn bowlers drew back upon the traditional lore and native home of the game as a reference to the sterling qualities with which its adherents became imbued. "President Meade, the toastmaster went back into ancient history and related the story of the British naval officers who insisted on finishing up a game of bowling and licking the Spaniards afterwards." Mott has documented the centrality of the ideal of manliness to these sports, noting that it was an ill-defined quality but one which was approved of and perceived to be developed by them. This concept, together with the themes of good fellowship and equality, provided a central strut for an explicit ideology.41 These elements were entwined to form an attitude to the sport which was clearly articulated by a speaker at the annual banquet of the Windsor Curling club:

I admire curling not only on account of the manly sport, but also on account of the good fellowship, which always exists... Curling is non-professional and I contend that is one of the reasons why it is so popular. All curlers meet upon an equal footing, no matter what their positions may be.42

While curling was evidently considered to be a means of creating and
maintaining harmony and good fellowship, its social exclusiveness is indicative of the fact that this was a veil through which potentially divisive social factors were more happily viewed.

The social and recreative aspect of these sports was evident at the beginning of the period and persisted throughout. The following is typical of accounts of games: "two rinks from this side of the river played a friendly game with Detroit last evening and broke even with their Detroit friends. After the game the Windsorites were entertained at the home of Geo. M. Black, formerly of this city." The pattern established in the nineteenth century of friendly competition was evident throughout the club's history, and the inherently social feature was constantly reiterated.

The curlers cultivated the idea that they were intrinsically motivated and into the second decade of the twentieth century, their perception of themselves as a democratic, egalitarian group persisted. Even in this sport, however, there was an indication that the pursuit of extrinsic rewards was considered to be a universal instinct in man: "Curlers will always tell you that they play for the fun of the thing, but human nature is the same the world over, and when there is a little prize at stake, there is just a little more interest in the game."  

In its association with the Walker family, the elite of Windsor society, the Windsor Lawn Bowling Club had an equally exclusive air. Furthermore, the sport was characterized by the same friendly, recreative style of play as curling. In July of 1898, for
example, one of a number of bowling matches was held:

A bowling party was given by Mr. Robins [secretary to Hiram Walker & Sons] on his beautiful courts at Walkerville on Saturday. A number of ladies graced the lawn with their presence and added much to the enjoyment of the afternoon. These Saturday afternoon bowling parties, inaugurated by Mr. Robins are exceedingly popular and have gone a great way to popularizing the game in this city.\(^\text{45}\)

Throughout the first decade the sport catered to the middle classes and although the club’s affiliation with the Essex County League provided a more explicitly competitive structure than was present in curling, the lawn bowlers nonetheless shared the same attitudes.\(^\text{46}\) A series of profiles of local players in the \textit{Evening Record} provided an insight into the kind of man playing the game, and the attributes with which he was endowed. Alderman C.R. Tuson was described thus:

One of the skips of the Windsor club who has a faculty of making friends and holding them. Incidentally, he is a good bowler, just the same as he is a crackerjack of a curler. Mr. Tuson stepped into the council … and he has been making good there as readily as he does in business, on the ice or on the green. It’s a habit some people get and not a bad one at that.\(^\text{47}\)

In several similar sketches, emphasis was placed largely upon characteristics such as "a man of peace, gentle of manner and kindly of men." The following is illustrative of the relative importance accorded personal and playing attributes: "a gentleman all bowlers love, honor and respect. They love him for his genial qualities,
honor him for his straightforward sportsmanship, respect him for his prowess on the green." 48

The Windsor Lawn Bowling Club was involved in organized competitive play throughout this period, the most prestigious competition being that for the Clarke Trophy. Involvement in competition of this type necessitated the selection of players, "whenever Windsor wants to be sure of winning a game, Henry Clay's name is placed on the rink", but the manner of victory was also important. 49 The subtlety of the balance of aims and attitudes is illustrated by the preparations made for the club's 1907 season:

The Windsor Lawn Bowling club hold their annual meeting in the office of Mayor Wigle tonight. Plans are to be laid for an enjoyable season which will not only include a number of tournaments amongst local players, but also games with outside clubs. 50

Both these sports continued to be popular in the first two decades, but they faded into the background of the local sports' picture, as did the attitudes with which they were associated. 51 This is indicated by the persistence of league and friendly competition, but the decline of detailed accounts of games. The curling club, for example, continued to play in various bonspiels and the Ontario Tankard and there was sufficient interest to ensure the speedy replacement of the old rink in 1915. The opening ceremony on this occasion was not, however, featured by the inspired and inspirational speeches of its nineteenth-century counterpart, although it was noted that the club could congratulate itself on
having provided a facility " in keeping with the nature of the game. in the city."

The previously regular and prominent reporting of the club's games was becoming increasingly dwarfed by the growing volume of other forms of sport, and by the middle of 20's, the thriving and enthusiastic curling group of earlier years remained only in a vestigial form. In 1927 an attempt was made to revive local interest in the sport when it was commented that " the grand old game" was now a "neglected winter pastime." 53

While the lawn bowling club continued to flourish into the 1920's, it too retreated from the frontline of sporting action. Windsor was evidently something of a stronghold for the sport in the county and in 1915 a new clubhouse was built. Boasting first-class facilities, the Windsor club was at the head of a movement in 1924 to reinstitute the, by then, defunct Essex County Bowling League. In common with curling and indoor bowling, however, the game had a characteristically low media profile, and it was only on the occasion of a major event being held that any extensive coverage was given to it. 54

Indoor bowling was popular at the turn of the century when there were ten teams playing in a Peninsular league and some thirty-nine players in a league centred upon Walkerville. Throughout the first two decades it was a sport with a constant but low profile, the publication of results and league standings being the most common type of press coverage given. The most rapid expansion in terms of
participation occurred between the second and third decades. In 1915 where there were ten teams playing in a manufacturers’ league, by 1927 there were eighty-six teams competing in fourteen leagues.\(^5\)

Despite the undoubted popularity of the sport, it was not accorded the same kind of prominence that team sports of the third decade, and even curling and lawn bowling at the turn of the century were.\(^6\) This seems to indicate that society did not perceive the sport to be significant in the way in which team sports were. While a league structure had been evidenced throughout the period, the general attitude towards the sport was truly recreational. In 1915, for example, in a rare comment upon the sport and its participants, the following statement was appended to a list of the league averages “on the whole they are very good considering that the men in the leagues make bowling only a side line.”\(^7\)

That there were within this sport elements which aligned it closely to curling and lawn bowling is suggested by the approbation given to those participants who exhibited “goodly conduct, clean sportsmanship and cheerfulness in defeat.” Perhaps the most significant feature of bowling was the very lack of a clearly identifiable set of attitudes. It is important to note, however, that the few insights offered into the meaning attendant upon the sport link it to curling and lawn bowling, both of which were replete with anti-work attitudes. This recreational feature is illustrated in the following statement: “one has only to scan through the afternoon and nightly playhouses to note what this cold weather pastime means to
the average health-given man or woman who seeks that only relaxation after a day of toil and worry.\textsuperscript{58}

These leisure activities were considered to be acceptable sports which, during the first decade and a half particularly, were attributed with the power of fostering desirable qualities; manliness, good fellowship, and egalitarianism. Curling and lawn bowling were largely middle-class games and had, therefore, an associated social exclusivity. The recreational feature of all three sports was an important element in their make-up and served to define their legitimacy for they provided a physiological and psychological refurbishment which was thought to be supportive of the productive function; in this sense they stood in marked contrast to diversions such as horseracing which were seen to pose a threat to that function, especially in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

**Team Sports**

The team sports of baseball, basketball, football, and hockey generally became the most dominant forms of amateur sport throughout the period. Individually, their development was not consistent, baseball, for example, was important from the late nineteenth century whilst hockey did not come to prominence until the 1920s. However, the most significant change was their eventual dominance and the gradual shift in the ethos surrounding them. The pivotal period for this was between 1907 and 1912 when subtle but distinct trends in
the approach to and perception of these sports were evident. It is
difficult to determine precisely when team sports became imbued with
attitudes which set them apart from activities such as bowling. The
changes were gradual and certain elements had been present in nine-
teenth-century sport.

Generally, however, once a sport had become established with
regular, organized participation and facilities, its consequent
development was featured by the pursuit of success and excellence.
This was most clearly seen when an explicit goal such as a league
title or championship was at stake. By the third decade, certain
attitudes were deemed to be prerequisites for success and improvement;
these included a positive acceptance of work and discipline
and accompanying them was a shift towards the rationalization of
effort. This is illustrated in a number of subtle yet important ways;
the type and degree of preparation for a season's play, an increasing
emphasis on technical ability and skill, and a movement towards more
extrinsic motivation.

Baseball was unique in that it was the most consistently pop-
ular team sport throughout the period. It provides, for that reason,
the most complete picture of the changes which were occurring in the
ethos surrounding team sports. This pattern emerged during the
years between 1907 and 1912, and it seems to have been associ-
ated with the entry of teams into a league structure and therefore
with a clearly defined goal in the form of a league title or champ-
ionship. Once this happened, the whole manner of organizing and prep-
aring for play took on different features and the activity slipped
from a play to a work motif.

For the most part baseball teams at the turn of the century organized only to the extent of meeting together, deciding to play, and issuing challenges to other teams. There were also teams organized for specific games with no permanence beyond the duration of the contest. In August of 1897, for example, the Doctors played the Druggists, their "old rivals" in an "interesting game", while in June 1898, the boarders of the Crawford House picked two teams from amongst friends and played a game which was described as "a warm one though lopsided." 61

Paralleling this spontaneous participation was the development of teams with more permanence. The Windsor and Walkerville clubs for example, had elected officers and played regularly throughout the summer against teams from Michigan. 62 In this we begin to see the development of a different attitude to play, for, with the extension to competition beyond the town itself came the need for some emphasis on quality of performance, the team becoming a representation of the city. This had been evident as early as 1898, for example, when the local press assured the citizens of Windsor that the players procured for the Windsor club were "the very best that can be secured" and that the "ball team is a credit to the town." 63 Although the outcome of the game was of importance, equally so was the manner in which it was attained and the following account illustrates this:
Windsors snatched a great game from D.A.C.'s in the ninth. A lively, closely contested and interesting game with Lennie and Beecroft, Windsor's own product of ball players, in as battery and their work was most creditable to themselves and to the city in which they were reared. D.A.C. play gentlemanly and fast ball all the way.64

This essentially nineteenth-century amateur ethos was important and was actively cultivated. F.J. White, manager of the Walkerville baseball club reviewed his five year association with the club in 1900 by stating that "with the assistance of the players, he had given good, clean sport" and that "the presence of ladies caused all players who had a spark of gentility to cut out fighting, profanity and rowdiness of any kind." In an assessment of the Windsor regimental team of indoor baseball players, the Brantford Expositor commented in 1907, "they are all a gentlemanly lot and though naturally sore over their defeat took it like the good sports they are.65

In this same period were presages of future developments. Signs of an awareness of the increasing importance of the outcome of the game appeared in the preparatory weeks of a club's season. Teams anticipated their success relative to others and recognized that acquiring good players was only the first step towards attaining that goal. In 1907, for example, several teams having organized for the season called upon their players to turn out for regular practices and the relationship between practice and success was made explicit: "The Fusiliers must practice more if they are to keep interest in
the game alive, rugged games demoralize attendance.\textsuperscript{66}

The connection between representative teams and the need for success is further illustrated by the organization of the regimental ball teams for 1908. Intra-regimental teams were selected by drawing lots in order to "allow each team a chance to get the best players." In contrast, "the regimental team will be made up of the best players available... and will be stronger than last year... the team has already put in a few practices and will hold its own with any of the best teams playing the indoor game." Ability rather than the desire to play was becoming a major criterion for membership: "Central club practice tonight... All wishing to make the team are requested to be on hand."\textsuperscript{67}

It was in the more senior ranks of baseball that these attitudes were most clearly articulated. Throughout the pre-season there were accounts of clubs meeting, selecting players, and practising. The objective was clearly stated: "The Independents, a new baseball team, have organized... training stunts will be started immediately... the schedule is to be made up and a successful season will be put in by the team." In 1912, an announcement was made that there would be a re-organization meeting of the Windsor baseball club... plans for a most strenuous campaign by the local boys will be formulated. The veterans of last year's team will be back on the job and there is a wealth of new material to try for the positions. It is expected that a first class schedule will be made... and the boys will go for a record.\textsuperscript{68}
Following this there was a call for the interested support of the citizens of Windsor. The rationale for supporting the team was explicitly stated, a good baseball team "was one of the best advertisements a city could have." Civic pride was vested in the baseball team and the consequences of success or failure were therefore of greater import. It was no longer sufficient for the team to participate in challenge or exhibition games. At the senior level, Windsor played in a six team league involving clubs from Mt. Clemens, Port Huron, Sarnia, Pontiac, and Dearborn, the argument advanced being that playing exhibition games against teams of unknown calibre was not likely to "take well with the baseball-loving public... in order to get crowds out it must be competitive and if the competition is between two border city teams so much the better." 69 A junior city league was also organized and the following description of the 1912 champions illustrates the broader development from sport for its own sake to sport as a symbol:

When the Pirate baseball club rang down the curtain on the 1912 season, they were a credit to any team in the country playing amateur ball. Starting a few years ago as a team of school boys whose only aim was to have a good time on the field they have brought themselves up to be the champion team of the city. 70

The extension and expansion of the league system was closely related to the attitudes toward the sport and the forms of behaviour and participation demanded. The most frequently invoked theme was
work. Commenting on the visiting Berlin team, the *Evening Record* noted that "three hours of good, stiff work," was indulged in before the players retired and "they were a tired lot, too... Not satisfied with the workout in the afternoon, secretary Rhodes gave some of the boys a workout last night." The following week it was stated with relish that "the team worked out smoothly yesterday. During batting practice all the catchers... work as if a real game were progressing. This is the sort of work the manager has made the players indulge in."

By the third decade of the twentieth century, league competition had almost completely replaced challenge games. In 1923, for example, there were thirteen teams playing in an industrial league in the city, ten in the Border Cities Intermediate League, and nine in the Border Cities Senior League. Clubs such as the Independents who participated in exhibition games only had faded into the background. The entrance of teams into the provincial league structure was an indication that this type of play had become established and that the pursuit of success had become an important form of motivation. The path towards that success lay through the selection of players and an invocation of hard work from those players. In 1927, for example, the Walkerville Chicks opened their "trophy hunt" by ordering all players out for an initial practice at the beginning of April when they were warned that "regardless of past performances" they must "fight for a berth."

This approach to the game was not restricted to the elite
teams, it was also to be found within teams such as the Ford Orioles of the city intermediate league: "Some twenty men have announced their intention of playing this season. Naturally, some of them will fail to make the grade, but the manager states they will be given a fair trial before he applies the axe to the squad." Baseball was becoming imbued with attitudes of regular work and practice and the ultimate purpose of winning prestige and honour. This is in marked contrast to the approach evidenced at the turn of the century when the following was typical of attitudes to playing: "Dear Sir: We have organized our baseball team and wish an easy game for the first so challenge your team. Answer if you accept and our captain will call on you." 74

The period around World War I saw the gradual ascendancy of rugby football over the association code of play. 75 This had been evidenced as early as 1900 when it was noted that "while local rugby enthusiasts were " being served up on Thanksgiving Day with the real article of football as played at old Yale, the association game will put on a exhibition at Bennett Park." By 1912 there were at least four teams in the city playing under the American code of rules, Windsor Collegiate, Assumption College, a Windsor representative team, and the Hillsides club. 76

At the turn of the first and second decades, there emerged within this sport a clear pattern of attitudes. The major elements were again work and success although there was, as yet, no league structure. In 1907, for example, the Hillsides club prepared for a game with a Detroit team by "practising and working hard with the
expectation of playing at least a tie game." Some five years later the importance and intensity of this kind of preparation had become more apparent. The newly formed Windsor representative club of 1912 declared its intention of putting "this city in a conspicuous position on the local rugby map" and pursued that goal by instituting "a practice every Monday, Wednesday and Friday till the hot spell has ended. Following that, stiff practices will be indulged in every night."

The same approach to the game was exemplified at the high school level where the emphasis was again upon work and, as a part of that, discipline and commitment. The Windsor Collegiate team of 1912 were said to have adopted a training schedule which was no easy one: "two hours each night after school, the team is put through a strenuous practice followed by a three mile run... The rules laid require the players to keep good hours and exercise care in their food." Any violation of the rules meant suspension from the team and a clear relationship was perceived to exist between success and practice, one which ensured individual and group commitment to hard work. As the second decade unfolded, the work theme and the importance of practice and coaching became embedded within the sport. In 1915, for example, it was said that the twenty boys who tried out for the high school team were so eager for work that "they could not get enough. In fact when it was deemed advisable not to continue the practice, considerable trouble was experienced in trying to get them off the field." 78

With the turn of the third decade there were significant
changes in the organization and type of football played in Windsor as teams which had previously played exhibition games against American clubs now entered Canadian city and provincial leagues. In 1924, for example, the schools of Windsor Collegiate Institute, Windsor-Walkerville Technical, and Walkerville Collegiate formed a junior city league. By 1927 there were four junior and two senior teams playing in organized football leagues in the city. The two major club teams, the Mic Macs and the Maple Leafs, were both affiliated with the Intermediate ORFU by 1926. With the entry into these forms of highly structured, competitive levels of play, the intensive pursuit of success guaranteed the entrenchment of the values of hard work and discipline.  

This is illustrated in the preparation of the Windsor Collegiate team of 1927. The fifty candidates for positions on the side began working in April of that year and were expected to attend three training sessions a day, beginning at seven a.m. when "a stiff work out marks the opening of the day's toil." This was followed by a lunchtime session in which rules and basic fundamentals were drilled into the players and finally, after the school day had finished, they went through a further hour's "stiff scrimmage followed by a half mile run." By this time the importance of hard work and training was perceived to be the root cause of success or failure; these ideas were reiterated in many references to the sport and were clearly considered to be central: "stung by defeat at the hands of Oak Ridge, the Mic Macs are working harder than ever this week for their next game."
The game of hockey was characterized by the lack of consistent interest during the first two decades of the twentieth century, something which was attributed largely to the mild climate and lack of adequate playing facilities. Whilst the importance of hard work and practice was eventually to become a part of the complex of ideas associated with the game, it did not emerge until the middle of the 1920's. One interesting shift which was particularly evident in this sport, and in basketball too, was the increased emphasis upon rationalization of effort and the importance of skill. Illustrated in the recognition of the effectiveness of team play and technical rather than simply physical ability, these shifts were indications of a more general movement towards rationalization and specialization.

There was a spasmodic organization of hockey teams and league throughout the first two decades. In 1898, when it was noted that hockey was a "comparatively new game" in the area, there was a local team playing exhibition games against the Detroit College of Medicine and the Windsor Collegiate Institute. Four teams were playing in a city championship in 1901, but the expression of the conviction that this would "no doubt thoroughly establish the finest winter sport in the city" was premature. An amateur league consisting of five Detroit and one Windsor team was mooted in 1905 but it was not until 1912 that the first city league came into being. Comprising four teams, the league did not flourish despite "prospects for a cracking good team", and in 1918, it was still being lamented that notwithstanding the enthusiastic efforts of those interested in the game, there was no organization to satisfy them.81
Material circumstances altered during the 20's with the completion of the first Windsor Arena in 1923 and the present rink in 1925. There was a rapid expansion in the number of teams and a measure of permanence was ensured with the institution of stable leagues. By 1927 there had been established a sufficiently sound base to permit the entrance of Border Cities teams into Ontario Hockey Association play.

As a consequence of the uneven pattern of development of the sport in this area, it is not possible to trace the emergence of those attitudes which were, by the 1920's, firmly entrenched in baseball and football. That there was a similar recognition of the need for commitment to work in the pursuit for success was apparent, however. In the 1927 Border City Senior League, for example, the Sandwich and Ford AA teams were provided with facilities specially constructed for training purposes. This concrete commitment to their pursuit of the city title was a clear recognition of the need for long-term planning and sustained effort in the attainment of that goal. In a similar vein, the manager of the Windsor Intermediate OHA team announced that aggregation's pursuit of the provincial title, and committed his players to regular sessions of "stiff practice" in an effort to prepare them for the struggle.

Paralleling this emphasis on the need for practice was the emergence of strategy as an important means in the pursuit of success which represented a shift towards a more rationalized application of effort. This had been perceived to be happening as early as 1907:
Canada’s national winter sport has developed very much in the past ten years. Up to that date the rules of the game were very loose, rough play was the order of the day. The heaviest team were sure of victory, now with strict rules and combination play, it is a question of skill and not strength. While the emergence of more refined styles of play was considered to be an ideal form, the cruder methods obviously persisted. The Windsor hockey league of 1927, for example, was characterized by an emphasis on unrefined and physical play which, though effective, was considered to be dated: “Windsor have less polish and a more meagre knowledge of the primary principles of hockey than other teams. Their style of play is original but it cannot be described in comparison to any modern day standards.”

A part of the whole process of improving technique and the more efficient application of effort was the increased importance of coaching. In a recognition of the need for a specialization of roles, the coach’s task was one of shaping and refining players’ abilities to produce a smoothly operating machine. A “few more weeks of vigorous training, under rigid discipline” was the prescribed remedy for “passing... of the indifferent variety and lone rushes that... ended at the defence.”

Basketball was played from the late nineteenth century when it was in integral part of the Windsor Collegiate programme. After a relatively slow beginning outside this institution, it was by the First World War, a major winter sport. Focussed upon the city armor-
ies and played largely by regimental teams, the sport slumped during the war years but was kept alive in the school system. Up until 1918 play was largely of the exhibition type but in that year there was an effort made to establish the sport on a more permanent and competitive basis by forming a Border Cities' league.87

Following on from this initiative, by 1924 league play had become established and in that year there were six intermediate, five junior and eight juvenile teams playing in the Windsor Basketball Association.88 This trend towards a more structured organization became an established feature of the sport and by 1929, all divisions of the Border Cities Basketball League were affiliated with the provincial organization.89 With this development of league play, there was a gradual emergence of an emphasis upon work and practice. In contrast to basketball and football, this pattern did not develop until the 1920's and along with it there was a shift towards the primacy of team play over individual effort.

In the first two decades, individual players were considered to be the crucial element in determining the outcome of the game and accounts such as this were typical: "Warren was the whole works ... ringing up four baskets in succession."90 Traces of what was to become the dominant, ideal style of play were evident in the early 1900's, however. Physical prowess, while a factor, could be negated by the rationalization of individual effort: "the Detroit team outweighed the locals but were lacking in the combination necessary to carry the ball off to their own basket."91
By the 1920's, the importance of subsuming individual success and functioning rather as a unit in a team effort had become central. Rough, physical play was considered to be a handicap to an efficient performance and good 'combination' was the crucial element. Basic to this was the need for coaching and a commitment to work. Although outstanding individual play was applauded, teamwork was the keyword: "There was no outstanding performer. The Assumption line up played more as one, with fine and accurate passing being the defining characteristic in victory." In order that this peak of efficiency could be achieved the same invocation of hard work as had been evident in baseball and football was made: "Father O'Loane of the College cagers has been working his men exceptionally hard of late in order that they may soon reach their old form." 92

The shift towards an emphasis upon teamwork was institutionalized in 1927 by the American governing body when a rule change was introduced which was designed to encourage this style of play. The innovation was applauded by Canadian advocates of the game: "the decision to restrict dribbling to a single bounce should achieve the desired end—the elimination of many fouls and the discouragement of individual play." 93

Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century then, the team sports of baseball, basketball, hockey and football were becoming increasingly imbued with attitudes which were supportive of the industrial, capitalist mode of life. Charged with an exhortative power, these leisure activities were clearly not isolated
from the productive world, indeed they may be interpreted as a constitutive and reinforcing agent of that whole structure. It is significant in this respect, perhaps, that the themes of hard work, discipline and rationalization became manifest during the very period in which this 'secular ideology' was emerging as an inherent phase of the new industrialism. For Windsor, this phase began during the second decade with the development of the new, intensive modes of capitalist production.
FOOTNOTES

1 The latest reference found to blood sports was 8 March, 1901; Evening Record, 12 February, 1896; 24 January, 1898; 16 April, 1900; 7 January, 1901; 8 March, 1901.

2 Evening Record, 7 January, 1901.

3 Ibid., 16 April, 1900; 7 January, 1901; 8 March, 1901.

4 Evidence of social class was drawn from the occupational listing in the following source: Henry Vernon & Son, City of Windsor Ojibway, Sandwich, Walkerville, East Windsor and Riverside street, alphabetical business and miscellaneous directory (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Son, 1896-1898); Evening Record, 12 February, 1896; 7 January, 1901.

5 Ibid., 7 January, 1901; 8 March, 1901.


7 Evening Record, 11 May, 1912.

8 Ibid., 4 November, 1898; 7 January, 1901; 6 November, 1912.

9 Ibid., 27 October, 1898; 10 January, 1901.

10 Ibid., 17 March, 1898; 3 December 1899; 5 May, 1900; 7 October, 1907; 6 November, 1907; 12 November, 1907.


12 Evening Record, 3 January, 1912; 12 April, 1912.

13 Ibid., 11 May, 1912.


15 Evening Record, 7 February, 1927; 11 February, 1927; 24 December, 1927.

16 Ibid., 1 August, 1898; 11 June, 1900.

17 Ibid., 2 April, 1898; 12 April, 1898; 7 July 1900; 19 July, 1900.
18 Ibid., 6 April, 1898.
20 Evening Record, 4 April, 1907.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., 20 March, 1907.
23 Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture," p. 51; Evening Record, 13 July, 1912.
24 Evening Record, 17 February, 1913; 26 February, 1913.
26 Border Cities Star, 7 June, 1920.
29 Ibid.
31 Border Cities Star, 7 June, 1920.
33 The frequency and prominence of press accounts of curling changed throughout the period. In 1898, the sport ranked second to baseball in frequency and second to horseracing in prominence. In 1912, it ranked third in frequency and fourth in prominence. In 1927 there were only two references made to the game.

37 _Evening Record_, 11 October, 1898.
38 See footnote 4.
39 Mott, "Manly Sport in Manitoba," p. 35.
40 _Evening Record_, 6 January, 1898.
41 Ibid., 6 November, 1912; Mott, "Manly Sport in Manitoba," p. 35.
42 _Evening Record_, 17 March, 1898.
44 Ibid., 11 January, 1912.
46 Ibid., 10 May, 1912.
48 Ibid., 20 July, 1912; 21 August, 1912.
49 Ibid., 17 August, 1912; 21 August, 1912; Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture," p. 43.
50 _Evening Record_, 10 April, 1907.
51 In 1898, lawn bowling was ranked third in frequency, and fourth in prominence; in 1912, fifth in both and in 1927, sixth in frequency and eighth in prominence.
52 Ibid., 14 January, 1915; Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture," p. 43;
53 _Evening Record_, 8 September, 1927; 15 September, 1927.
The lack of detailed accounts of the sport is illustrated in the figures for 1927 when it was one of the most popular sports in terms of numbers playing. While ranked sixth in frequency, the prominence score was comparable to that of curling.

By 1927 these sports had displaced games such as curling and lawn bowling in terms of frequency and prominence of press accounts. Where curling had been second in frequency in 1898, by 1927 it had been displaced. In that year, baseball, basketball, football and hockey were, respectively, the most frequently reported amateur sports. The most apparent change was between 1912 and 1927 in the prominence measurements. In 1912, the respective scores for baseball, football, basketball, curling, and lawn bowling were 44, 40, 36, 26, and 21. In 1927 the scores were: baseball, 161; basketball, 153; football, 102; hockey, 53; lawn bowling, 17; curling, 7. A further indication of the expansion of these sports can be seen in the involvement of various social groups. In 1898, sixty-five percent of those playing were categorized as middle class according to occupation while thirty-five percent were working class. In 1912, the figures were fifty-six percent middle class and forty-two percent working class and in 1927, they were fifty-one and forty-nine respectively. See footnote 4 for source.


Evening Record, 5 August, 1897, 16 June, 1898.

Ibid., 7 November, 1900.

Ibid., 13 June, 1898.

Ibid., 6 June, 1898.

Ibid., 7 November, 1900; 2 April, 1907.

Ibid., 5 June, 1907; 18 April, 1907; 20 April 1907; 2 August, 1907.

Ibid., 18 April, 1907; 22 November, 1907.

Ibid., 10 April, 1912.
Ibid., 12 April, 1912; 16 April, 1912; 23 June, 1912.

Ibid., 1 November, 1912.

Ibid., 1 May, 1912; 11 May, 1912.


Ibid., p. 63; Border Cities Star, 1 April, 1927.

Evening Record, 1 May, 1900; Border Cities Star, 1 April, 1927; 2 April, 1927; 6 April, 1927; 7 April, 1927.

As a result of its close relationship to patterns of immigration, the game of soccer featured a unique pattern of development which could not be adequately addressed in this study. For this reason it has not been included.

Ibid., 26 November, 1900; 13 September, 1912; 16 September, 1912; 20 September, 1912; 26 September, 1912; Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture," p. 41; Short, "Sport and Economic Growth," p. 110.

Evening Record, 8 November, 1907; 13 September, 1912.

Ibid., 7 September, 1912; 12 April, 1915.

Short, "Sport and Economic Growth," p. 44.

Border Cities Star, 21 September, 1927; 12 October, 1927.

Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture," p. 31; Evening Record, 12 December, 1898; 3 January, 1901; 12 January, 1912; 19 January, 1912; 16 December, 1918.


Border Cities Star, 3 January, 1927; 15 November, 1927; 5 December, 1927.

Evening Record, 20 March, 1907.

Border Cities Star, 16 February, 1927.

Ibid., 6 January, 1927.

Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture," p. 48; Evening Record, 28 November, 1918; 9 December, 1918.
88 Laurendeau, "Sport and Canadian Culture," p. 49.
89 Ibid., p. 66.
90 Evening Record, 16 January, 1912.
91 Ibid., 27 November, 1907.
92 Border Cities Star, 10 January, 1927; 7 February, 1927.
93 Ibid., 12 April, 1927.
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The central purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between sport and hegemony, notably to determine whether or not sport was one of the areas for and facilitators of the process by which a dominant hegemony was maintained. It was also hoped that a more concrete understanding of both the concept of hegemony and its utility to the historical analysis of sport would emerge. In general both these objectives were achieved, for the study furnished insights into the attitudinal features of sport in an industrial, capitalist society whilst also providing further understanding of the complexities of hegemony and its strength as a means of accounting for the interrelationship between sport and the broader social and economic context. It was found that certain sports were imbued with attitudes and values which were a part of way the dominant ideological framework, whilst alternative elements were evident in the sports of horseracing and boxing. The specific pressure which was exerted upon these activities was illustrative of the way in which hegemony functions by adaptation and accomodation of those ideas and practices which constitute a challenge to it. There are certain limitations and weaknesses within the study which must be recognized but these are themselves
important for they are indicators to the future paths of research which must be pursued if the complexity of both sport and hegemony are to be adequately addressed.

The influence of the dominant hegemonic values could be seen in the emergence of distinct attitudes within amateur team sports, particularly between 1907 and 1912. As these activities became structured by regular competition, the pursuit of success through disciplined work and a rationalization of effort became a central theme. With the expansion and firm establishment of league play and entry into provincial structures, these sports had become, by the 1920's, vehicles for the transmission of these values. This pattern of change was particularly evident in baseball which, at the turn of the century, had been characterized by informal organization and a balance of emphasis between process and outcome. By the end of the second decade the emergence of those attitudes to work and discipline from which a capitalist society draws much of its stability made the link between these sports and the dominant hegemony evident.

The centrality of the work theme in these sports highlights the close relationship between the material and cultural realms of life. What a man did in his leisure time was recognized as either supporting or undermining his capacity to function in the productive world, and sport and work were thus two faces of the same coin. The distinction which was made between legitimate sports and those which were to be excluded, was based largely upon attitudes to work. Evidently sport and leisure were parts of life in which it was
necessary that the productive function of man be reinforced. This parallels in many ways the development of 'rational' recreation in nineteenth-century England, and it was part of a broader initiative within North American industrialism which ensured the maintenance of a disciplined, efficient workforce.

If we consider amateur sport alone, then there was evidently a suffusion of ideas and forms of behaviour which were part of the dominant hegemony. These games represented, however, only one unit of the totality of sport, and activities such as horse-racing and boxing, with the association with gambling, represented a very different approach. While the pursuit of success by the principals clearly required a commitment to hard work and disciplined training, these sports furnished large numbers of spectators with opportunities to indulge in vicarious success and excitement that demanded no real effort from them. In the first two decades particularly, gambling was thought to be not only sinful but likely to undermine a man's desire to follow a path of honest toil and endeavour. Highlighting as it did the role of chance or fate in determining success, gambling represented a threat to the idea of achievement through self-discipline and work. In their very antithetical nature these activities, too, pointed to the dominant societal values and the role which sport was being accorded in their promulgation.

The active repression and modification of these pursuits demonstrated the functioning of the hegemonic process, and also its interaction with the more clearly coercive state apparatus.
Thus we see that, by the turn of the century, blood sports such as cockfighting and dogfighting were being repressed. Satisfying brutal tastes and associated with gambling, they were distinct from respectable sports and through the efforts of agencies such as the legal system and the largely middle-class humane society, they had disappeared by the end of the first decade. Boxing shared common roots with the animal blood sports, and it too was the object of censure and active repression. By the middle of the second decade there had been a legal definition of a prize fight which allowed commercial boxing to persist in the city and while there was still opposition to the sport, the most vocal and impassioned protests had abated by the 1920's when there were a number of boxing promotions being staged.

Linking these two activities was the practice of gambling and this also proved to be a focus for opposition to the sport of horseracing. During the first decade and a half there was vocal opposition to the sport culminating in government legislation which introduced a stricter system of track wagering. This, the pari-mutuel system, was introduced in Windsor in 1914, had been implemented throughout Canada by the 20's, and seemed to provide sufficient control of the sport to check the general tide of opposition. Pockets of condemnation persisted but it was evidently felt in Windsor, by the third decade, that the racetracks provided the city with valuable revenue and should therefore be supported.

Arising from this descriptive material are a number of points which should be addressed at a more theoretical level.
It was possible to distinguish between particular sports on the basis of the attitudes associated with them and also on their position relative to the core societal values. The framework of hegemony provides some insight into these cultural complexities and their significance in the broader sphere, while the patterns of change which were evidenced throughout the period were actualizations of certain dimensions of the theory. These were the process of incorporation, the link between the material and the cultural, the interplay of hegemony and coercion, and the strength of hegemony over ideology as a means of analyzing sport.

An important feature of hegemony is that it is never total or exclusive, for it is always resisted and therefore has to have a capacity for renewal. This capacity is contained within the process of incorporation, the means by which alternative and even oppositional values and practices are drawn into the dominant framework. This is important, for it permits a degree of resistance and opposition to the dominant and therefore accounts for elements of consciousness other than those of a formal ideology. Those values and practices which cannot be incorporated are excluded on the basis of their inappropriateness to the dominant culture.

There were instances of both exclusion and incorporation in the development of commercial sports within Windsor during the period of study. By the turn of the century, for example, blood sports had been pushed outside the acceptable limits of leisure pursuits; the fate of pugilism and horseracing were
markedly different. Both these were subjected to opposition and repression but, more significantly, they were ultimately shaped and modified sufficiently to make them compatible with the dominant hegemony.

The condemnation of, and the pressure exerted upon, horseracing and boxing illustrates, too, the relationship between hegemony and coercion. The intervention of the state apparatus of legislative control was indicative of the failure of a consensus of moral censure alone to check these practices. As Gramsci states "it is possible for ... 'puritanical' struggles as well to become functions of the state if the private initiative ... proves insufficient or if a moral crisis breaks out among the working masses which is too profound and too widespread." 4

In an interplay of hegemony and coercion, when the former proves to be ineffective, the latter is mobilized so that control can be maintained. Ultimately, control rests in the state apparatus and is embodied in its legislative and judicial systems. While hegemony is normally sufficient, at certain times it has to be reinforced. In this complex flux of direct and indirect repression and coercion we can see one the confusing shifts of Gramsci's conceptualization in which hegemony appears to be located not only in civil society but also in the state. In the final analysis it seems that the latter is the ultimate repository of control. 5

Once a form of control had been successfully exerted, the perception of the activity changed subtly. This was clear in the case of horseracing for, following the institution of the pari-mutuel system, the most obvious cause for repression was removed.
The persistence of the sport, with its contrasting emphases and attitudes was significant, for it illustrated again that within the totality of sport there were alternative forms of thought and behaviour. This supports John Hargreaves point that it is wrong to assume that "sport can be treated as an undifferentiated whole... there are much more likely to be wide variations between sports and in individual sports at different times, along each of the dimensions of hegemony." 6

There was a clear interweaving of threads from the economic material sphere within amateur team sports from about the middle of the second decade, and this is significant as it supports the claim that the theory of hegemony furnishes a more complex and therefore more complete analysis of sport and its broader context. Although Hargreaves states that Gramsci treated hegemony largely as a political and ideological process, the relationship between the productive world and culture was, nevertheless, recognized within the latter's scheme of thought. 7

His discussion of North American industrialism is particularly pertinent to the claim made for hegemony as a means of integrating sport into the totality of social and economic life. He established very clearly the connection between the sometimes radically separated areas of work and leisure, stating that "the new methods of work are inseparable from a specific mode of living and of thinking and feeling. One cannot have success in one field without tangible results in the other." 8 The gradual emergence of positive attitudes to work and discipline within amateur sport may
therefore be interpreted as part of the suffusion of these values throughout an industrial society and when this is set beside the equally clear proscription of those activities in which a challenge to these values was perceived, the relationship between the apparently separate spheres of work and sport is highlighted. In this way Gramsci's framework permits that "recognition of the indissoluble connections between material production, political, and cultural institution and activity, and consciousness" which the too literal interpretation of the base and superstructure model undermines.9

It is in its recognition of the wholeness of the process by which social and cultural patterns and relationships are created that hegemony goes beyond ideology and is therefore so useful for an analysis of sport. Ideology, as Williams states "in its normal senses, is a relatively formal and articulated system of meanings, values and beliefs, of a kind that can be abstracted as a 'world view' or a 'class outlook.'" Hegemony goes further than this by not equating all consciousness with this formal system and by allowing for the importance of less well articulated attitudes.11 To be effective, however, the hegemonic must diffuse throughout all areas of life and reach into all human experience, and this is where its significance for sport lies. Sport can be considered one of the many "so-called private initiatives and activities" which constitute part of the total apparatus through which the process is actualized, for hegemony is "a whole body of practices and expectations: our assignments
of energy, our ordinary understanding of the nature of man and his world. 12

An important feature of hegemony is that it is a means by which patterns of dominance and subordination between disparate social groups are traced out and ultimately perpetuated. This dimension does not emerge from the present study and is a weakness which derives from the limitations imposed by the data. Having recognized this problem, however, certain statements can be made. It was possible, for example, to identify a general trend in the involvement of social groups in sport in general. By the third decade, there was a much broader representation of social groups in amateur team games, and this is important for it signals the increasing significance of sport as a site for hegemony. The effective diffusion and eventual assimilation of dominant ideas demands that all social groups come into contact with them; this was evidently beginning to happen by the 20's.

In the sports of curling and lawn bowling, particularly in the first decade or so, there was a very clear predominance of middle class professionals and businessmen. There was also evidence of a relatively clearly articulated set of beliefs associated with the games which derived from the British code of amateurism and muscular Christianity. Abstracted, as it was, from the original social, historical context, this code was a screen of ideas through which a dominant social group perceived reality. The Windsor curlers professed very clearly the ideals of equality and good fellowship, yet the reality was that they were an exclusive organization in which
there was no real representation of any other social group. This ideology contrasts with the far more subtle integration of attitudes within the team sports in which a broader representation of social groups was increasingly to be found. Although the amateur code was one element of the attitudinal facet of sport, it was neither sufficiently widespread nor clearly disinterested to constitute an hegemony; for it is the comprehensive nuances of the latter which furnish it with much of its strength.

It is apparent that a more detailed analysis must be undertaken which will account for both the differential involvement of social groups and the various ideological features with which sport is clearly replete. This basic concern spawned the present study and the hegemonic framework permitted an analysis which addressed, in general terms, this aspect of sport.

At the descriptive level it was possible to distinguish between particular sports on the basis of the attitudes associated with them and also on their position relative to the core societal values. The significance of the differences is furnished by the concept of hegemony, for it points to the fact that there were various forms of thought and behaviour which had to be accounted for. This is necessary if we are to fully understand the role of sport as both an enricher of life and as a symbol of the dominant cultural values. There is an interweaving of both dominant and alternative ideas within sport and it is possible to address both of these from the perspective of hegemony.

Involving, as it did, the reinforcement of certain ideas and
the rejection or modification of others, the process by which sport was being shaped to fit an industrial, capitalist society in this period can clearly be understood in hegemonic terms. This process was evident in, for example, the repression of blood sports at the turn of the century and the incorporation of pugilism as boxing. The interweaving of threads from the economic, material sphere into the cultural is also emphasized by an analysis from this stance. By integrating the cultural, social, and economic within a whole process, a more realistic interpretation is offered than those theories in which they are separated and the cultural is seen as peripheral or illusory.13

There was evidently a clear relationship between sport and the broader context and from this we may deduce that sport was a site for the operation of hegemony. The existence of alternative forms of thought and behaviour illustrated, however, that sport did not function simply as a tool of the dominant hegemony. That hegemony was challenged by some forms of sport and its response to those challenges highlighted the mechanisms of the process. There is sufficient evidence to establish a claim for sport’s significance in a broader scheme of political and social issues, but if we are to fully understand the complex cultural and material implications, more detailed analyses from the perspective of hegemony must be undertaken. As John Hargreaves states:

the analysis of sport must be carried on in historical terms, if present patterns are to be understood. A start has been made, but much more work is required. Above all in this respect the development of sport has to be systematically related to the major phases in the development of industrial capitalism and to the phases of hegemony associated with it.14
FOOTNOTES


2 Bailey, Rational Recreation, p. 16; Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism, p. 58.


4 Gramsci, Prison Notebook, pp. 303-304.


6 John Hargreaves, "Sport and Hegemony," p. 120.

7 Ibid., p. 112.

8 Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, p. 302.

9 Williams, Marxism and Literature, p. 80.

10 Ibid., pp. 109-110.

11 Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, p. 258.

12 Williams, Marxism and Literature, p. 108.


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APPENDIX

Statement of problem

Sport in the Windsor area c. 1895 to c. 1929 was an element of the cultural process which facilitated the dominant hegemony.

Sub-problem

There were instances of resistance to the dominant hegemony in sport in Windsor during this period.

Definition of terms

Sport—"A human activity that involves specific administrative organization and a historical background of rules which define the objective and limit the pattern of behaviour; it involves competition and/or challenge and a definite outcome determined by physical skill and/or prowess."¹

Element—"A component part or quality, often one which is basic or essential."²

Cultural process—"A whole body of meanings, experiences, and practices which are continually created and recreated by individuals and social groups."³

Hegemony—"A process of domination and subordination between social groups which permeates formal and informal agencies."⁴

Resistance—"The setting up of meanings, values, and practices which are divergent from those of the dominant hegemony."⁵

Limitations

A major limitation of the study is the nature and availability of the data.

Delimitations

Time—c. 1895 to c. 1929.

Space—the centres of East Windsor, Sandwich, Walkerville, and Windsor, Ontario.
Directional propositions

The relative importance of various sports will change throughout the period.

The qualities and values associated with amateur sport will be those of the dominant hegemony.

There will be instances of resistance to the dominant hegemony in commercial sports.

Sources

The major primary source was the local newspapers, the Evening Record and the Border Cities Star, and city and county directories.

Sample

By year, 1898, 1912, 1929; within year, a random sample of forty days within each year.

Methodology

At the most readily quantifiable level, a frequency measurement of types of sport was made. A crude measurement of prominence of sports was also used to determine their relative importance. An indication of social group was drawn from lists of players. These lists were checked against city directories, and thus an estimate was made of the extent to which sports were identified with social groups.

A second level of analysis was used to determine the values and attitudes transmitted through newspaper coverage of sport. Each article was categorized according to those qualities and values which best typified it and this permitted the determination of the extent to which dominant and alternative hegemonic ideas were transmitted. It is acknowledged that a degree of was involved in eliciting these values.

The following system was used to assess the prominence of sports:

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.2-.5 column 1 point
.5 column 2 points
Every .5 column thereafter 1 point

NOTES


Ibid.

Ibid., p. 122.

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