Sport and Canadian culture in the Border Cities, 1867 to 1929.

W. Edward Laurendeau

University of Windsor

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SPORT AND CANADIAN CULTURE IN THE BORDER CITIES
1867 TO 1929

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies through the
Department of Physical and Health Education in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Physical and Health Education at the
University of Windsor

by

W. EDWARD LAURENDEAU
B.P.H.E., University of Windsor, 1970

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1971
SPORT AND CANADIAN CULTURE IN THE BORDER CITIES 1867 TO 1929

by

W. EDWARD LAURENDEAU

Approved by

Rev. E. Malley

J. Duthie, Ph.D.

A. Metcalfe, Ph.D., Chairman
ABSTRACT

University of Windsor

LAURENDEAU, W. EDWARD  
Sport and Canadian Culture in the  
Border Cities, 1867 to 1929.  
Masters in Physical Education,  
(Alan Metcalfe)

The purpose of this study was to examine the development of Canadian culture. Sport, a cultural artifact, described as well as any other artifact the culture which produced it. The history of sport in the Border Cities reflected the changing cultural influences. The sporting scene diversified after a solid British beginning. By the end of World War I, three general trends were noted: first, the decreasing British influence; second, the increased American influence; third, the slow growth of native sport. After World War I, sport experienced a period of great growth. Both British and Canadian sports experienced new interest, while American ones continued to remain strong. The key trend throughout the study was noted as the increasing amount of American influence. Examination of this American influence showed it to be of two types. Before the 1920's the influence was seen to be a specifically American phenomenon; during the twenties it was noted that what still appeared to be this continuing Americanization process, actually represented the spread of modern Western culture. It was noted that if Canadians were to develop a distinct culture, it would have to be carried out in this type of setting.
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The existence or non-existence of a Canadian culture has been the subject for considerable debate since the political inception of the country in 1867. A great deal of the problem centres around exactly what constitutes a Canadian culture and what is a reliable means of identifying its existence or non-existence. The following thesis will give its own answer to the problems posed.

Culture has been defined in numerous ways but for the purposes of this study it is defined as:

... an organization of phenomena -- acts (patterns of behaviour), objects (tools; things made with tools), ideas (beliefs, knowledge), and sentiments (attitudes, "values") -- that is dependent upon the use of symbols.¹

Culture is difficult to identify since it is an abstract quality that deals with the patterns and abstractions that underlie behaviour, or are a result of it, rather than the observable behaviour itself.² It follows then that the way to analyze culture is to draw inferences from observed or recorded behaviour. Since culture is dependent upon symbols, and articulate language is the most important expression of its symbolic nature, oral history, and written accounts (language in a coded form) of behaviour provide materials for an analysis of culture. A symbol is defined as "... a
thing the value or meaning of which is bestowed upon it by Those who use it.\textsuperscript{3} Due to its symbolic nature, it is readily transmitted from one human organism to another. It becomes a continuum that flows from generation to generation and laterally from one people to another. This flowing is a cumulative process since new elements enter the system from time to time. It is also progressive since it moves to greater control over the forces of nature as well as greater security of life for man. Culture is, therefore, a "symbolic, continuous, cumulative, and progressive process."\textsuperscript{4} It is manifested in institutions, thought patterns, material objects, and allows man to adapt to his natural and social setting.

Only man has culture since only man's behaviour consists of, or is dependent upon, the use of symbols. Culture cannot exist without human organisms who are the natural carriers of culture. However, culture is both supra-biological in the sense that the cultural elements are transmitted by the mechanisms of social heredity, and extrasomatic in the sense that the elements of culture have an existence independent of any individual and acts upon the individual from the outside. It follows that culture is:

\begin{quote}
\ldots a thing \textit{sui generis}, as a class of events and processes that behaves in terms of its own principles and laws and which consequently can be explained only in terms of its own elements and processes.\textsuperscript{5}
\end{quote}

To analyze and define a culture, the method must be applicable. Psychology cannot explain culture, nor can biology.
The sum total of all conditions under which, and in response to the culture arises and exists must be explored to explain that culture.

Historical analysis is one of the most fruitful approaches to understanding the nature of a culture, for, as it has been noted, "it is the nature of culture to be heavily conditioned by its own cumulative past." In addition, it was pointed out earlier that culture was symbolic, continuous, and cumulative. All three of these are obvious preconditions for historical analysis.

The content of a culture may be simply characterized as "the total collection of the things people do, say, believe, and make." To analyze a culture fully, history, when regarded as "the totality of events which have brought us to where we are", would be extremely beneficial; however, it has been shown that history, in this form, is an "abstract quality lacking in tangible form." Furthermore, it follows there can be no such thing as "interpretative history", rather there are only interpretations of the sparsely limited remnants of history that have survived. If culture must be analyzed in terms of the total number of influences that affect its birth and existence, then history is an imperfect measuring device. All of the evidence may never be collected, and when and if it were, it would certainly pose a problem as to the scope of the study that would even attempt to deal with all the material. As it has often been put:
only a part of what was observed in the past was remembered by those who observed it, only a part of what was remembered was recorded; only a part of what was recorded has survived; only a part of what has survived has come to the historians' attention; only a part of what has come to their attention is credible; only a part of what is credible has been grasped, and only a part of what has been grasped can be expounded or narrated by the historian. 

The best the historian can strive for is to make the best use of the data which he has at his disposal to arrive at sensible explanations. The thesis arrived at is not the answer, but a plausible one based upon available information and reasonable interpretation.

To aid in the focusing of the problem, the relationship of culture of society must now be clarified. Society and culture are not the same but by definition are co-extensive -- "the system aspect of culture is the set of relationships that makes it possible for human beings to create a society."

In the simplest of terms, a society may be defined as "any group of people having a common body and system of culture."

Greater focus may be obtained in considering the two great stages in the evolution of society -- primitive or tribal and civil or national. The tribe and clan are characteristics of primitive society; the nation (political) state characterizes civil society. The primitive society is relatively structurally homogenous and based on kinship ties; civil society is more structurally diversified and based upon properly relationships and territorial distinctions.

Canada has been characterized from its inception by the latter stage, that is, a civil society manifested as a nation.
state. As noted previously, culture is an abstraction that can only be analyzed by drawing inferences from observed or recorded behaviour. Since the culture cannot exist without a society, the behaviour under study is that of the members of the society, or portions of it in this case, the people who constitute the Canadian nation state.

The problem posed at this point is what is it about the behaviour pattern of Canadian society that makes it distinct from other societies? By finding unique or different patterns of behaviour specific to Canadian society, a Canadian culture could be inferred. If a separate pattern was not found, no such inference could be made.

The question at issue is complicated in Canada's case due to the nature of its settlement and geographical location. Indian, French, and British settlers during respective periods exerted dominant influences on the development of Canada. The United States of America, its giant southerly neighbour, has also been seen as exerting a significant influence on Canada's, as well as most other nations, development. It is important to note that one common culture may underlie two or more societies, or conversely, a given society may carry an inheritance from more than one culture that are integrated or are in conflict. This commonness is the case in Canadian history.

To further compound the problem, the question of what exactly does "different", in the sense of a separate identifiable unit, mean? The boundaries of any culture cannot be
precisely delineated since there is no exact dividing line between "same" and "different" cultures. Kuhn\textsuperscript{16} emphasized this by remarking:

"Same" and "different" are not characteristics of things but of the classification system, the observer, and the purpose at hand, and any two things in the universe can be classified as "same" and "different", depending upon the circumstances.

Various approaches or classification systems have been used in the attempt to identify a Canadian culture, the political and economic approaches being the most commonly used. The system used in this study is a relatively new approach, that is, the use of the history of sport as an approach or classification system to define the existence or non-existence of that culture. The problems associated with this type of approach have been hinted at.\textsuperscript{17}

The relationship of sport and culture, as culture has been defined here, has been well documented. Frederickson\textsuperscript{18} notes, ". . . sport is primarily a cultural product and must be understood as such." Sport has been likened to a mirror of a way of life, while the "cultural climate" in which it is found determines the form and function of sport.\textsuperscript{19} Luschen\textsuperscript{20} sums it up best by remarking, "Sport is indeed an expression of that socio-cultural system in which it occurs." Due to the fact that sport is a product and expression or indicator of the socio-cultural system, it follows that an analysis of the history of sport in Canada will furnish an index with which to evaluate the behaviour of Canadian society in the process of inferring the existence or non-existence of a
distinct Canadian culture. Sport as noted is an element of culture. History records and transmits these elements; as cultural artifacts, they describe, as well as any artifact, the culture which produced them. Differences found in this cultural artifact serve as evidence that a separate, distinct culture existed or does exist. The important distinction to be kept in mind is that the study will only be concerned with an index, the history of sport, as a means of cultural identification. Culture, as noted previously, underlies all behaviour and an examination of one aspect of human behaviour is necessarily insufficient as a final answer. This is not seen as an insurmountable liability, however, when the nature and scope of the thesis is considered. Historical analysis cannot give final or total explanations. It is necessarily post hoc research. Lindsay21 feels the optimal result to which a writer may aspire is to make the best use of the data at his disposal in order to derive sensible explanations about human behaviour, the certainty of which is almost always in doubt. It is thus felt that the analysis of the history of sport will provide a sensible explanation of the existence or non-existence of a Canadian culture.
FOOTNOTES


3White, op. cit., p. 25.


5Ibid., p. xviii.


8Peter L. Lindsay, "What Are We Trying To Do? (Theory, Design and Methodology of Historical Research)", A Paper Presented at the NCPEAM Annual Conference in Portland, Oregon, December 28th, 1970, p. 1.

9Ibid., p. 2.


11Lindsay, op. cit., p. 5.

12Kuhn, op. cit., p. 205.

13Ibid., p. 212.


16Kuhn, op. cit., p. 212.


19Ibid., p. 636.

20Luschen, op. cit., p. 89.

21Lindsay, op. cit., p. 5.
CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH BEGINNING, 1867-1911

The Border Cities refers to the population configuration evidenced in Windsor, Walkerville, Sandwich, and Ford City.\(^1\) The usefulness of 1867 (the pitfalls associated with periodization are recognized) as a starting point is readily apparent as the political inception of the Dominion of Canada and provides a meaningful embarkation point in an analysis of the existence or non-existence of Canadian culture. The second date refers to a change in local urban-industrial conditions: from approximately this time onward, the area exhibited a phenomenal increase in manufacturing output and population.\(^2\) Until the turn of the present century, manufacturing had been on a small scale, widely dispersed, and dominated by the railroad.\(^3\) The events leading to the growth in large scale and highly specialized manufacturing with concomitant increases in population were associated with a series of distinct developments, separate in point of time, but cumulative in their effects.\(^4\) This then is the period that laid the foundation for the urban-industrial growth that has typified the area since the arrival of the automobile industry.

In considering the ethnographical elements of the area, it has been pointed out that immigration was not a large factor in the second half of the nineteenth century in
Ontario and was not to be a major factor again until well into the twentieth century. By the turn of the century, most of the people in Ontario had been born there. Most of the immigrants were from the British Isles. Americans came only in small numbers and the American-born population in Ontario was not increasing rapidly. Essex County did not have the largest American population of counties in Ontario although it contained 3,514 Americans. The greatest number of Americans lived in counties close to the border; Kent and Wentworth contained over 2,000 each, Simcoe, on the other hand, had only 921 compared to York's nearly 7,000. It is apparent that the number of Americans in Essex County was not unusual. Also, by 1900, the traditional drain to the United States had been plugged as settlers moved to the Canadian west. At the outset of the period there were important Roman Catholic minorities, mainly French and Irish, but as the time passed, the province was increasingly dominated by Protestant Anglo-Saxons. The Indian population by 1901 in the whole of the Western District was down to ten, and consequently must be considered as inconsequential during this period of the cities' development.

From these diverse types of elements the country was formed in 1867, not out of any strong sense of nationalistic idealism or as an outcome of any popular grass-roots movement toward confederation, but rather as a practical answer by practical politicians to the problems of government in the
The constitution was referred to as the British North American Act and the people were *British* American — with a sometime extreme emphasis upon the British portion. Locally, the area was regarded as a distinctly frontier town with brawls, drinking, and fugitive criminals all too common as late as the 1890's.10

The inhabitants of the area celebrated the natal day of their Dominion much as the majority of Canadians did. Sporting activities formed a major part of the day's celebration. In the morning, the Windsor Cricket Club defeated the Detroit and Milwaukee Club of Detroit, Michigan by making one hundred and eighty-six runs in one inning as against the fifty-two runs recorded by the losers in two innings.11 The afternoon was principally occupied by horse racing at the Bellevue track. The card itself appeared to be of secondary interest since it was noticed by the American reporter there were "no less than five distinct fights, besides innumerable kicks and cuffs that could not be properly called fights."12 The writer went on to give a blow-by-blow description of the savage fighting that proved to be characteristic of the whole day.

The military procession in the evening was followed by:

The usual games, such as the sack-race, wheelbarrow, jumping and running, climbing the greased pole, and contending in feats of strength and agility, (which) amused the crowd for an hour or two, on the parade-ground in front of the barracks . . . 13

Following these simple games, "scenes were enacted as like
Donnybrook fair might be (while) the majority of the fair portion of Windsor was indoors. The locals still had not had enough when what must have been one of the first black-versus-white race riots in Canadian history erupted. The bloody "war of the races asserted its power and undying hate" in which brickbats, stakes, bottles, and even guns and knives were used. The disturbance was quelled only after the intervention of well-armed troops. The frontier type of constant brawling was apparently the chief attraction for a large portion of the area's people. The organized sport at this time was obviously totally British.

Horse racing continued to remain popular throughout the period. A track operated by Colonel Alexander McKee at Sandwich under the auspices of the Western Jockey Club had been witnessed as early as 1848, while other tracks were frequently mentioned at later dates: the Bellevue track of 1867 noted above; the track operated by the Maisonvilles at Windsor in 1875; the first track to operate within the City of Windsor itself, the Windsor Fairgrounds and Driving Park opened in 1884; and the larger track opened in 1892 on seventy acres of the Daniel Goyeau farm between Cuellette Avenue and Goyeau Street. Ownership of these tracks remained Canadian until the turn of the century. Racing became big business in 1893 with the opening of the Windsor Fairgrounds and Driving Park by the Windsor Jockey Club. The importance of American patronage was recognized by the owners and figured heavily in their decision to open the track.
gave the track a larger population to draw upon than either Montreal or Toronto.\(^9\) Somewhat optimistically, the transportation links -- rail and water -- with populated areas such as Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Sandusky, Port Huron, London, Hamilton, St. Thomas, Chatham, and Sarnia, were seen as factors that would bring even greater numbers to the track.\(^20\) Realistically, Detroit did provide a good area to draw from, a fact that was evidenced by the construction of an electric street railway from the foot of the Detroit-Windsor ferry to the race track. On July 5, 1893 the railway proved its worth when it hauled two-thirds of the 5,000 people who attended the day's racing.\(^21\) The president of the race track, Dr. Coventry, was also president of the electric railway company, an arrangement that may have helped the two enterprises to come together so quickly.

In 1908, the Michigan legislature banned all race track betting in the state and the meets scheduled for Wisconsin and Illinois also fell under the ban.\(^22\) Americans who had previously been appreciative of the relative laxness of Canadian horse racing legislation became much more interested in the possibilities offered by the Windsor site.\(^23\) The track had been rented as early as 1899 by Americans, but the unfavourable legal decision handed down by the state governments raised the interest in a commercial take-over to a new level.\(^24\) Stands were moved from the American Grosse Pointe track and for the next five years, the track boomed as various lessees tried their luck.\(^25\) Further developments
along these lines will be seen in following chapters: it was not until 1933 the legal ban was lifted.

Cricket, the other sport which witnessed the first Dominion Day, remained popular until the turn of the century. In the 1860's, the Windsor Cricket Club was active playing challenge matches. Local Canadian towns such as Amherstburg, Kingsville, Leamington, Ruthven, Blytheswood, and Sarnia furnished the great majority of competition, but infrequent games were played against American opponents. 26

This Canadian orientation for competition remained, although cricket had virtually disappeared from the sporting scene by 1900. 27 By 1893, only two American teams, the Gentlemen of Wayne and the Cleveland club were played. In 1897, the Delta Athletes Club furnished the recorded American opposition for the Windsor-Walkerville Victorias. 28 It has been remarked, "Americans never could understand the appeal of cricket." 29 This disinterest was shown when it was noticed that the crowd watching a touring Australian team defeat the Detroit team in 1893 was mostly Canadian. 30 The decline of interest in the Border Cities was apparent in a 1911 advertisement in the local paper. The Windsor club was to play Chatham as part of the celebration for Coronation Day. It was written at the time:

They are finding it somewhat difficult to round up a full team owing to the holiday and any cricket player who would like to play in Chatham Thursday is asked to communicate with Mr. Reynolds. 31

This appeal for any player is indicative of the level to which cricket had declined. No mention of whether this game
or any other was played in 1911 was found. Despite this obvious decline the Canadian focus of competition remained.

Another sport identified with Britain in this period enjoyed considerable popularity in the Border Cities. Soccer, or association football, was first played by local residents circa 1889. A team from Detroit, largely composed of Scotch stonecutters, provided the first opposition. These Scots were a bit too much to handle: they returned to their homeland each winter to play professional football and obviously outclassed the scrub team of local residents.\(^\text{32}\)

The local residents soon picked up the finer points of the game and capped a strong drive to the top in 1893 by capturing the Western Football Association championship.\(^\text{33}\) After this early success, association football retained its popularity throughout the period. A similar trend was noticed in this game that was evidenced in cricket, that is, the Canadian competitive orientation was also found here.

Although the Detroit club of the Michigan Athletic Association had captured the Western Football Association championship in 1891, the club withdrew from the league in 1893 and left the association composed of totally Canadian clubs.\(^\text{34}\)

The Windsor club remained in the Western Football Association and continued to play in the local league made up of Essex and Kent clubs.\(^\text{35}\) Exhibition games were played infrequently against the Michigan Athletic Association club.\(^\text{36}\) It was peculiar to see that in a game billed "M.A.A. versus All Canada" that is was written "Windsor is well represented on
both elevens."Paradoxically, since Windsor seems to have had an abundance of players, Chatham successfully protested a Windsor-Chatham game on the basis of the Western Football Association's alien rule that prohibited the use of Americans. The league president, Mr. Lamont, who also happened to be president of the Chatham club, insisted on refereeing the rematch that ended in a fierce and bloody draw. The local schools similarly had all Canadian leagues to participate in.

Detroit reentered Canadian play in 1897 with a junior team in the Peninsular League, but was defeated by the Windsor eleven in the first round for the H. O. Fleming Trophy, symbolic of the league championship. The Detroit College of Medicine captured the senior division and the Walker Cup in 1897, but this was the last evidence found of Americans playing in the Canadian league.

Association football remained a popular sport throughout the period. Competition was organized on both local and regional levels for Canadians. Alien rules were in evidence that barred American players, increasing the Canadian orientation of the game. Only sporadic entries into these Canadian leagues and exhibition games with the various American clubs detracted from this orientation.

The game indigenous to Scots, curling, presented a somewhat similar pattern to association football described above. Detroit had recorded curling clubs as early as the 1840's that had been organized by local Scotsmen. Even with these early clubs, such as the one organized by the employees of
the Detroit and Milwaukee Railway Company and the later Thistle Club, competition was almost totally Canadian in nature with clubs from places such as Chatham, Sarnia, Thamesville, and London providing the opposition. The modern Detroit club originated in 1885, was incorporated in 1888, and inaugurated the Detroit Bonspiel in 1897. This club was the first to have an artificial ice plant, an example that took other clubs ten years to follow. The importance of facilities such as those of the Detroit club were essential before curling was able to make significant strides in the area. The mildness of the climate hindered the various bonspiels: they were off and on from day to day according to the dictates of the weather.

Windsor began its annual President versus Vice-President’s rink contests in 1896 although it is difficult to establish when curling and the first organized club originated. As in association football, American clubs competed in otherwise all Canadian leagues. The Detroit Curling Club had participated in Ontario Tankard play as early as 1886. It was also informative that a history of the Detroit clubs had been included in a book entitled *Curling in Ontario, 1846-1946* and, in addition, two Detroit curlers had been elected President of the Ontario Curling Association. The group fourteen competition for 1893 was held in Detroit and typically the host city was the only American representative. The Border Cities were not yet represented but a reader's letter to the Windsor paper served to emphasize the desire for a
local club by reading:

It looks very singular that many of the descendants of Scotland who live in Windsor, that any who delight in the "roarin game" must go to Detroit to have their desire gratified.49

In addition to the previously mentioned poor climate and inadequate facilities, the area suffered, at least curling wise, by having a limited number of Scotsmen in the area to boost the great game.50

Despite these hindrances, the Windsor group managed to inaugurate the Windsor Bonspiel in 1898 with a cup donated by Messrs. Hiram Walker and Sons.51 The following year two American clubs, Detroit and Grand Rapids, provided opposition for the six Canadian clubs entered.52 Competition was plentiful that week. The Windsor Bonspiel occupied Monday and Tuesday, followed by the Detroit Bonspiel, and to polish off a good week, the Ontario Tankard district competitions were run off on Friday and Saturday.53 The Windsor club managed to win its home event but lost in the Ontario Tankard play.54 The club had better luck in the 1900 competition where it was successful in the primaries for the Western Ontario Tankard.55 Canadian curling in general had reached such a level by 1911 that an experienced Scotch curler on tour in Canada proclaimed:

Two conclusions I did arrive at, the one was that Canadian curling is far in advance of our Scottish curling as a scientific game; the play is much more accurate and, therefore, less trusting to chance; the second conclusion I came to was that I shall never again state in the presence of a Canadian curler that I can curl.56

Curling was obviously quite well adapted to the Canadian
scene. American enthusiasts crossed over the border to compete within these organized Canadian competitive schemes quite early and continued to do so for many years.

A similar recreational activity associated with the British Isles followed a similar course of competitive play. First evidenced in 1899 when both Windsor and Walkerville decided to send two rinks from each club to a Chatham tournament, lawn bowling grew to be a popular club game amongst a segment of the communities. Both intra-club and inter-club competition was keen and well organized. The Walker family held what must have been prestigious tournaments, for it was announced:

The annual bowling tournament at Walkerville will commence tomorrow morning on the beautiful greens at the Messrs. Walker's offices. There are thirty-six rinks entered including representatives from the leading bowling clubs in Ontario.

A regular county league was later organized in which Windsor, Walkerville, and Sandwich were all entered. Only one instance of Americans bowling against these Canadian clubs was found.

Recreational clubs were also popular until around the turn of the century when they appear to have lost a significant amount of their popularity. Unlike the sports mentioned to this point, American competition was of great consequence and occurred on a regular basis. The Keystone Gun Club, plus the clubs from Windsor, Belle River, and Malden, competed with the Americans. Monthly shoots were held with the large Detroit club in the 1890's and the Canadian shooters crossed
the river to take part in the Detroit club's profitable
tournaments as well. Simultaneously, local competition
was organized to allow regular shooting matches at the
Sandwich butts under the auspices of the Rifle Association. Canadian companies offered prizes for these local competitions, particularly those who profited by the event such as the Hamilton Powder Company. Interest was manifested in joining the national regulating body, the Canadian Shooting Association, as early as 1893 when it was decided by the Windsor Gun Club to send a representative to Toronto for the inaugural meeting of that body. In spite of this enthusiasm, less and less reference was made to these clubs in the media and until after the turn of the century, extremely little notice was taken of their activities.

During the same interval that the gun clubs suffered a decline, the bicycle craze that swept North America moved into the Border Cities with the formation of clubs in the 1890's. The Windsor Wheelmen appear to have been the first club organized in 1892. Walkerville and various county towns such as Essex, Kingsville, and Leamington were not far behind in the formation of similar clubs that periodically raced under the auspices of the Canadian Wheelman's Association for substantial cash prizes. The popularity of the sport was attested to by the nearly one thousand spectators who witnessed the second annual road race of the Windsor Wheelmen who raced for prizes such as a bicycle watch, a ton of coal or ice, a guitar, a case of perfume, a dozen napkins,
as well as more conventional rewards donated by local merchants. At the time, there were several hundred of the "new fangled . . . safety machines" in Windsor alone. The machine was more than just sport to local residents for by 1899, the leading industry in Windsor was the Canadian Typograph Company Limited, manufacturers of the popular E + D bicycle. During the decade of the 1890's, prices demanded for the purchase of these machines declined. It is difficult to determine whether their popularity plus more efficient methods of production helped bring about this phenomenon, or whether this price reduction further stimulated the popularity of the bicycle amongst more segments of the population, or whether some combination of these and other factors, better determined by an economist, were responsible for the price reduction. Nevertheless, prices did decline. In 1893, for example, the list ranged as follows:

1. The "King of Scorchers" .... $165
2. The "Greyhound" ............ $140
3. The "K.O.S." Roadster ....... $165
4. The "K.O.S." Racer .......... $175
5. The "Wulfruna" ............. $125

These prices naturally included the new rage -- pneumatic tires. Only four years later, prices had dropped to fifty dollars "spot cash" for either the Yale cycle offered by Morton and Christie (local merchants), or the Sun Bicycle sold by A. D. Bowlby, president of the Windsor Wheelmen. After the passage of another two years, Cleveland machines were available for forty dollars while Mr. Bowlby advertised "The Great Bicycle Slaughter" with bikes for twenty-eight
dollars spot cash, no trades, no time.\textsuperscript{73}

From this popular base of support, the area clubs branched out into national and international competition. Meets were periodically run off under the banner of the Canadian Wheelman's Association for worthwhile cash prizes.\textsuperscript{74} The Association's power was evident when one of the best riders in the area steadfastly refused to enter a local competition because it was not sanctioned by the national body: the rules of the group forbade him from entering non-sanctioned meets.\textsuperscript{75} Sanctioned competition in the region did draw large crowds such as the large competition held in Sarnia in 1893.\textsuperscript{76} It is interesting to note that, in addition to local Canadian riders swelling the ranks of the Border Cities' clubs, Americans came across the river to join these cycling groups in the 1890's when the fad reached its peak.\textsuperscript{77}

The proximity of the Detroit metropolis was instrumental in drawing locals into international competition early in their history. Despite their early induction to these classes of competition, area cyclists were not very successful. At the Belle Isle Bicycle Road Race, the best they were able to finish was the twenty-third spot awarded to H. E. Dodge; H. C. Walker finished fifty-second while A. Reid of the Walkerville contingent had his chain come off in the first round which prevented him from finishing in front of the 20,000 spectators. Hyslop, the Canadian champion, salvaged some respect for the country by wheeling home in third
When Canada was fortunate enough to host the World Bicycle Meet in Montreal in 1899, the railway companies were quick to take advantage of local enthusiasm and accommodated bicyclists with reduced fares, special for the event. The Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific were able to agree on a fifteen dollar and ten cent fare for the round trip after a small price war. These clubs faded with the approach of the automobile and the bicycle began its slide into a child's toy from its once proud position in the Border Cities.

Up to this point, the sports mentioned concentrated upon Canadian competition. In marked contrast stand the patterns manifested in two American sports that were to have such a great impact on the Border Cities' sporting scene. The first of these was baseball, the national pastime of the United States. The game was introduced relatively early to local residents, presumably due to the close geographical proximity of Detroit. The first area team appeared in 1878 and were appropriately known as the Eurekas: the Windsors and the Harvesters, from Maidstone, soon followed to provide suitable opposition at picnics where all three were favourites that attracted large audiences. During the 1880's, the Windsor "Clippers", Walkerville, and the Detroit "Pearls" joined the scene. One decade later, games between the Detroit News and The Evening Record teams were reported to have attracted between four and five thousand spectators.

Almost from the earliest traces of the game the Americans were amongst the first opponents. This trend continued
throughout the period; American teams were always important on the schedules of local ball clubs as they were in no sport mentioned heretofore. One of the highlights of early baseball history, for example, occurred in 1884 when the previously mentioned Windsors reached their prime and, after defeating most of the opposition in Essex and Kent counties and some of the smaller teams in Detroit, they defeated Detroit Cass, the Michigan champions. Similarly, around the turn of the century the Detroit Athletic Club was Windsor's strongest competitor. These Canadian-American games appear to have been the ones most favoured by the fans. Games such as those between the Amateurs of Windsor and the Sluggers or Utopians of Detroit attracted much attention. Local industries, Canadian Typograph and Globe Furniture, began sponsoring teams but the Parke-Davis company provided what must have been an interesting series of games by sponsoring teams from both their Detroit and Windsor factories.

Junior baseball flourished as well amongst younger members of the communities who were not yet up to the previously mentioned clubs' level.

Canadian organized competition was not forgotten and when the Canadian Amateur Baseball Association was formed in 1893, Windsor entered and was grouped in Western Peninsula competition with Chatham, Blenheim, and Amherstburg. Other divisions included the Interior, Western, Central, and Toronto.

Nineteen-ten saw the formation of the Trolley League,
a completely American group with the exception of the Windsor entry. The latter was the only Canadian entry in the league against Mt. Clemens, Pontiac, Spaldings, Wyandotte, Northwestern A. C., and Detroit. Although outnumbered, the Windsor club was not outclassed and reached the championship final in 1910 before being knocked off by Wyandotte, five to four. This constant look to America for good competition, or whatever reasons they did so, was again evidenced in 1911 when a team from Windsor, managed by a Mr. Neil, secured a game with the Philadelphia Giants who were reputed to be:

... the best semi-professional ball team in the world ..., barring perhaps the Cubans, to whom they lost the recent series in Detroit. The Cubans, however, are an organization that has beaten the Detroit Tigers and World’s champion Athletics, so it is hardly fair to draw the comparison.

Special trolley cars were run to Wigle Park for the game that saw Windsor defeat the Giants four to two.

American origin and competition were not the only things American about baseball in Canada in these early years. American entrepreneurs, such as A. G. Spalding and Brothers, encouraged the development of the game in Canada as early as the 1890’s. Spalding, one of the greatest manufacturers of baseball goods, offered pennants free of charge to any regularly organized league in Canada. The only requirements imposed by Spalding were that each league was to be composed of four clubs or more, and that each nine play not less than twelve games. The apparent generosity was somewhat deflated by a contemporary writer who pointed out:
Spalding does not even demand that his balls or bats be used in championship contests, but these implements of baseball warfare are in such general use that this clause was scarcely necessary.\textsuperscript{93}

The chance to make a profit by the use of his products in the Canadian expansion of the game undoubtedly figured in Spalding's policy. The economic aspect of sport once again did not escape American eyes.

Basketball first appeared in local print almost twenty years after baseball made its debut in Border Cities' sport. It was 1896 when the Windsor Y.M.C.A. defeated a Detroit team by a score of three to nothing. Basketball as a winter sport was ideally suited to the mild climate of the Border Cities and was picked up by the local secondary school, Windsor Collegiate Institute, and made an integral part of their program just before the turn of the century. At first both county schools, such as Essex, and Detroit schools, the Trinity S. S. team, were engaged.\textsuperscript{95} Girls at the school were playing the game by 1905 as evidenced by a picture in the Windsor Centennial History.\textsuperscript{96} After a slow beginning, the game picked up many adherents and by 1911 basketball was a big drawing card at the Windsor armory. Almost all of the contests were the Canadians versus Americans type of affairs found to produce such enthusiasm in baseball. Typically, the 1911 season opened with the Wanderers (the local regimental team) playing Carleton Michigan and the Frontiers (the second team of the regiment) engaging the Puritans of Detroit in the preliminary game. Four hundred people witnessed the defeat of the American clubs.\textsuperscript{97} The military boys from the
Border Cities also had a third team, the Fremonts, who often rounded out the card. These three plus the first and second teams from the local collegiate were the usual opposition for the invading Americans on the twice-weekly cards.\textsuperscript{98}

Local competition was found at this time, but it was usually amongst the younger teams such as the Ascension Boys' Club and the "Bluejays" of Windsor Collegiate.\textsuperscript{99} The games were of the challenge match variety that required a lesser amount of organizational structure. No affiliation with any regional, provincial, or national regulating body was found in this period and the teams continued to go to the United States for worthy opposition that was close enough to be practical. The Wanderers did express their wish to arrange home and home games with teams in "London, Hamilton, Toronto, and other eastern cities, preferably with regimental teams", but no record of any such games was found.\textsuperscript{100} Games continued to be played with the Americans with Fort Wayne and the Detroit Light Guard Armory being frequent opponents. Good seats, warm heating, and gentlemanly play by the teams apparently did a great deal to popularize the game for it was written at the time: \ldots{} they are playing a fast clean game and their games are free from disputes and roughness, which does so much to hinder the game.\textsuperscript{101} From these late beginnings began basketball's rapid rise to favour that was to reach great heights in the later sports history of the Border Cities.
Canada's contributions to the sporting world, hockey and lacrosse, were undeveloped in the Border Cities during this period. Lacrosse, for example, could hardly be described as the most popular team as it was in the rest of the country.\textsuperscript{102} The early development of baseball and its rapid rise in popularity appear to roughly parallel the decline of cricket and the low level of interest in lacrosse.

Windsor had lacrosse teams by the early 1880's which engaged groups of enthusiasts such as those of Walkerville that were probably not yet an organized team.\textsuperscript{103} Lacrosse experienced considerable difficulties in the late eighties and early nineties that were not confined to the Border Cities. In 1893, three teams were organized in Windsor; Stars, Windsors, and Y.M.C.A. club battled it out for the city championship. This activity was the first seen for "five long years."\textsuperscript{104} Lacrosse in the Niagara peninsula, one of its strongholds, experienced similar difficulties.\textsuperscript{105} Considerable pride was attached to the sport described as "the best outdoor game played" and that "as a sport to look at is away ahead of any" so naturally local enthusiasts were hopeful when contemporary sportswriters remarked that both the "old Windsor lacrosse club" and the "old national game (show) every indication of reviving its old popularity in the city."\textsuperscript{106} The fans were treated to the details of the various lacrosse wars, such as the brutal Ottawa-Montreal league championship game in 1893, and kept informed of the Senior Lacrosse League.
standings even though the closest team was Toronto. Although games ended when a goal was scored, an arrangement not particularly suited to pleasing paying spectators, large and enthusiastic crowds put in appearances that were both pleasure and pain; the "newly awakened interest" was tremendous, but problems were experienced with the crowd encroaching on the field that led to the lament, "Oh! that we had a decent athletic ground." Complementing this enthusiasm, clubs, presumably younger players of lesser ability, also began play. A game with the Walpole Island Indians was played by the men of the Y.M.C.A. and all the clubs expressed their desire to secure games with eastern clubs. The game with the Indian club was the only one found that was played outside the Border Cities despite this wish.

Lacrosse failed to manifest the growth that was envisioned by more ardent fans. By 1900, only one team existed and appears to have been in a shaky condition since public notice was served, "Lacrosse practice tonight on Ouellette square. Any players in the city are invited." The team, however, was able to secure sufficient numbers and competed with various clubs around Essex County. This intracounty play was the highest the team played and after the season, lacrosse again returned to its previous low level of play so that by the end of the period the dearth of activity that characterized the late 1880's once again typified the local scene.

Hockey presented an analogous pattern of development
at this time. The mild climate and lack of suitable facilities were contributing factors in the slow growth of the sport in the Border Cities. As late as the 1890's the public was still demanding, "A skating rink, either open or covered, to amuse the young and old." Local merchants advertised:

Skates of every description. Hockey and Ladies' Skates a speciality. . . . Prices to suit the hard times.

Morton & Christie
Windsor and Walkerville

It is evident from the advertisement that local residents knew of, and probably were playing, the game by this time. A covered rink was in existence by 1897 on Chatham Street near Ouellette Avenue. Recreational skating was popular as the six hundred who attended the skating carnival attest. Windsor had an organized hockey team by 1898 but were considered "much faster" after a year's practice on the blades. The club was playing in the Ontario Hockey Association (O.H.A.) by 1899 although, due to the quizzical organizational set up, the team was eliminated from O.H.A. play after only two games -- a tie and a loss to Sarnia. Windsor finished out the season by playing exhibition with nearby American clubs such as the Detroit College of Medicine and the University of Michigan (a team who for "the most part" was already Canadian), and local teams such as the Windsor Collegiate team. Crowds became larger with each game and a noticeable feature was the large number of ladies present despite the severe weather.
Hockey crowds were still comparatively small by 1900 to see the senior team and the two junior teams in action. Local sportswriters continued to see a bright future for the game in the Border Cities. One writer remarked, "Hockey in the future is evidently going to assume the position among sports in the winter that baseball occupies in the summer", and forecast this development of the "great Canadian game" for the United States as well. Another writer concluded that "in only a few years it will be an organized sport" that would satisfy the American public's demand for entertainment. To accomplish these goals it was felt that "teams and leagues governed in a manner similar to baseball, under the national commission seems to be a successful manner in which to conduct this sport." After all, how could a sport that provided situations that were just as thrilling as "two men out in the ninth and the score tied" miss?

Hockey did continue to develop and Sandwich added a team that played the same type of American and Canadian schedule played by Windsor. Windsor entered the Detroit Amateur Hockey League to avail itself of regular competition at about the same time. The nature of O.H.A. competition did little to encourage organized league play with other Canadian clubs and thereby helped force the local club to turn to this American league.

Various other sports, generally more recreational in nature such as golf, tennis, boat racing, pool, bowling, and indoor baseball, were popular with small segments of the
community. The analytical value of these, during this period at least, is limited due to their sporadic nature and limited number of followers. Any systematic attempt to develop a pattern of development was difficult and not of a crucial nature.

In summary, certain trends relevant to the thesis are evident. During the early years of the period, sport was of a definite British nature -- no other form of organized sport had yet developed. However, as the years went by, American sports and entrepreneurs moved in to dominate the local scene. The British sports showed a marked decline in contrast to this American rise. Canadian sports were relatively undeveloped at this point and were unable to hold the sportsmen as the other forms did. In considering the organization of the various sports, it was apparent that the British forms were more highly organized and Canadian, almost strictly Canadian, in competitive orientation. The American games of baseball and basketball stood in marked contrast; Canadians looked upon entry into American competition with favour. Lacrosse remained at a low organizational level and solidly Canadian while hockey was almost forced to leave the Canadian sphere and enter into American play for the sake of regular competition.
FOOTNOTES


3 Morrison, *Garden Gateway To Canada*, p. 8, 159.


6 Ibid., p. 135.

7 Ibid., p. 135.


11 Detroit Free Press, July 2, 1867, p. 1. The Border Cities had no regular newspaper until Windsor's Evening Record commenced publication in 1893. Various newspapers were sporadically attempted before this date but were consistently unsuccessful and in any case took extremely slight notice of any existing sport. Cricket had been played at least from the 1850's. See Morrison, *Garden Gateway To Canada*, p. 47.

12 Ibid., p. 1.

13 Ibid., p. 1.

14 Ibid., p. 1.

34
Peter Lindsay brings out the British nature of these sports in "The Impact of Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America", Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, May, 1970. British troops had been stationed in Windsor and Amherstburg as late as the 1850's although it is difficult to ascertain their importance on the development of these sports in this area. See John Philip, "The Economic and Social Effects of the British Garrisons on the Development of Western Upper Canada", Ontario History, Vol. XLI, No. 7, p. 48.

Local Windsor-area businessmen were in control of these race tracks. Colonel McKee, Dr. Robert Coventry, William and John Curry, and M. P. P. John J. Foster were examples mentioned in the Windsor Centennial History, p. 61.

Evening Record (Windsor), May 6, 1893, p. 2. See also July 5, 1893, p. 2. See also July 5, 1893, p. 2.

Windsor Centennial History, p. 61.


Evening Record (Windsor), August 1, 1899, p. 4.

Morrison, Garden Gateway To Canada, p. 79-80. Detroit, Cleveland, and Cincinnati were American cities which provided clubs to play against the Windsor group.

This decline was noted in Windsor Centennial History and was supported by the author's own review of local newspaper accounts.

Evening Record (Windsor), June 2, 1897, p. 4.


Evening Record (Windsor), June 2, 1897, p. 4.
31Ibid., June 21, 1911, p. 3.
32Ibid., June 28, 1899, p. 2.
33Ibid., November 3, 1893, p. 4. It appears that Windsor won the championship previously since it is noticed they are "twice champions." However, no other reference to this earlier victory could be found.
34Ibid., March 29, 1893, p. 4. See also April 3, 1893, p. 3.
36Ibid., May 11, 1893, p. 2.
38Ibid., May 15, 1893, p. 2.
39Numerous references are made to these games in the Evening Record (Windsor).
40Ibid., June 2, 1897, p. 4. The Windsor team went on to win the trophy in a contest that Essex withdrew from based on its objection to a referee's decision. See Ibid., June 14, 1897, p. 4.
41F. Neal, The Township of Sandwich, Past and Present (Sandwich: n.p., 1909), p. 115. Windsor captured the trophy in 1898, 1899, and was playing Chatham for the championship in 1900. Sandwich captured the cup in 1903 and 1904. See Detroit Free Press, June 1, 1900, p. 6 and Neal, op. cit., p. 115.
43Ibid., p. 206.
44Frequent references to the unsuitable weather were found in the local newspaper. A typical notice might have read, "Week after next, weather permitting, will be a gala one among the curler." Evening Record (Windsor), January 9, 1899, p. 4. The importance of good weather for curling was apparent.
45Ibid., January 3, 1899, p. 4. It was recorded at this time that this was the third annual event.
46Ibid., February 1, 1899, p. 8. It was remarked at this time that Detroit had been struggling for thirteen years to reach the Tankard finals.
It was noted at this time that the Wheelmen were holding their second annual road race.

The importance of geographical proximity for the early introduction of the game has been noted by both Lindsay, op. cit., p. 11, and by Nancy and Maxwell L. Howell in Sports and Games in Canadian Life, 1700 to the Present (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1969), p. 82.

Windsor Centennial History, p. 80.
Hoskins, op. cit., p. 39.
Evening Record (Windsor), August 7, 1893, p. 4.
Windsor Centennial History, p. 80.
Morrison, Garden Gateway To Canada, p. 287.
Evening Record (Windsor), May 25, 1893, p. 4. See also May 27, 1893, p. 2.
Ibid., July 29, 1893, p. 2. See also July 30, 1893, p. 4 and July 5, 1893, p. 4.
Ibid., March 27, 1893, p. 2.
Ibid., April 4, 1893, p. 1.
Windsor Centennial History, p. 80.
Evening Record (Windsor), June 7, 1911, p. 8.
Ibid., June 9, 1911, p. 3.
93 Ibid., March 4, 1893, p. 2.
94 Morrison, Garden Gateway To Canada, p. 167.
95 Evening Record (Windsor), January 31, 1899, p. 4. See also February 28, 1899, p. 4. and January 2, 1900, p. 4.
96 Windsor Centennial History, p. 66.
97 Evening Record (Windsor), January 6, 1911, p. 7. See also January 8, 1911, p. 1 and January 9, 1911, p. 2.
98 Ibid., January 11, 1911, p. 3.
99 Ibid., January 13, 1911, p. 3.
100 Ibid., January 18, 1911, p. 3.
102 Howell and Howell, op. cit., p. 73.
103 Hoskins, op. cit., p. 39.
104 Evening Record (Windsor), July 4, 1893, p. 2.
105 Ibid., May 30, 1893, p. 2. It was noted at that time that Hamilton was trying to revive lacrosse in its area.
107 Ibid., August 30, 1893, p. 2. See also July 15, 1893, p. 4.
108 Ibid., July 21, 1893, p. 4.
109 Ibid., July 19, 1893, p. 4.
110 Ibid., August 7, 1893, p. 2. See also June 2, 1893, p. 2.
111 Ibid., June 12, 1900, p. 4.
112 Ibid., June 26, 1900, p. 4.
113 Ibid., December 5, 1893, p. 2.
114 Ibid., January 5, 1897, p. 1.
115 Ibid., January 13, 1897, p. 8.
116 Ibid., January 30, 1897, p. 8.
117 Ibd., February 14, 1899, p. 4.

118 Ibd., January 3, 1899, p. 4. See also January 12, 1899, p. 4.

119 Ibd., February 11, 1899, p. 4. See also January 20, 1899, p. 4.

120 Ibd., February 13, 1899, p. 3.

121 Ibd., January 9, 1911, p. 2.

122 Ibd., January 9, 1911, p. 2.

123 Ibd., January 9, 1911, p. 2-3.

124 Ibd., January 9, 1911, p. 3.

125 Ibd., January 9, 1911, p. 3.

126 Ibd., January 10, 1911, p. 3.

127 Ibd., January 10, 1911, p. 7.
CHAPTER III

THROUGH WORLD WAR I, 1912-1918

As noted in the previous chapter, the Border Cities were now in the early stages of the urban-industrial growth that has since come to symbolize the area. The process was allowed to proceed uninterrupted for only two years when a very influential event for Canadians, the First World War, rocked the country. In sport, trends that were evident before the 1912 beginning date for this chapter continued, but were to be significantly influenced by the events which occurred during this short span of time.

Cricket had been in serious difficulty by the turn of the century and by 1911 had virtually ceased to exist. Association football suffered a downward trend also, but not nearly so drastic as that experienced in cricket. The introduction of rugby football and its subsequent popularity and growth contributed to the decline of the former brand of football although neither game nor a combination of the two seems to have been able to draw players, spectators, or press as association football had done previously. Mention of the game was sporadic, although Walkerville was playing in the Border Soccer League, the makeup of which is uncertain at that time. Windsor Collegiate Institute opened its second season of rugby football that same year against competition.

41
largely composed of American schools. Both brands of football suffered with the coming of the war, although the rugby style continued to be played at Windsor Collegiate throughout the war. Although neither game was in a position of great popularity, from the sources researched, it appears that rugby football took precedence over the association game. Windsor developed a local rugby team that also played mainly against American teams such as the Northwesterns of Detroit. The Canadian team contemplated entry into the Detroit City Rugby League, but the recording of such an entry was not found. With the arrival of rugby football, the local teams looked to Americans to provide their competition, a distinct switch from association football days. The war, the phenomenal interest manifested in baseball, and certain other factors not yet identified, possibly contributed to the relative decline of the football games.

In contrast, other traditional British pastimes, curling and lawn bowling, did not experience the slump so noticeable in the above sports. Lawn bowling remained popular with Windsor, Walkerville, and Sandwich all having teams entered in organized competition in 1912. All three were competing in regular County League play and the annual tournaments such as those staged by the Windsor Lawn Bowling Club. Matches were also played with other Canadian centres, notably Blenheim, Guelph, and Chatham. Play continued and rose to such popularity that by the last year of the war: With the handsome new club house and twenty good greens, it will be
possible to handle a large crowd and run off the tournament in one day.\textsuperscript{9} Competition remained keen and Canadian throughout these war-time years.\textsuperscript{10}

Similarly, curling continued to be played and remained essentially unaltered in popularity or competitive structure throughout the period despite the generally negative effect of the war on sport in general. Local rinks continued to curl amongst themselves in both "friendly matches" and matches for the Record trophy.\textsuperscript{11} The across-the-river competition of the Detroit and Windsor clubs continued throughout.\textsuperscript{12} The Windsor Club became the first Canadian curling club to visit Chicago when they sent two rinks to that city in 1912.\textsuperscript{13} Despite this visit, competition remained focused on the Canadian structure with games for the Western Ontario and Ontario Tankard providing the culmination for both Detroit and Windsor curlers. Detroit Curling Club continued as Windsor's nemesis in Western Ontario Tankard play.\textsuperscript{14} This American club managed to have a member of their group elected to the presidency of the Ontario Curling Association in 1918.\textsuperscript{15} The bonspiels and Tankard play continued throughout the war.\textsuperscript{16} Even in times of war, the Windsor curlers were only too ready to lend their assistance to the Detroit club in entertaining visiting Canadian clubs.\textsuperscript{17}

In summary of this section, certain things appear evident. The decline of football in general was evidenced. The
rugby football game began to gain preeminence over the association game and was kept alive in the local secondary school throughout the war. Competition was now mainly with American opponents in this newer style. Neither one nor a combination of the two brands was able to attain the crest once held by association football. Both varieties declined with factors such as the negative effect of the war on sports, the rise of baseball, and other not so easily discernible variables being mentioned as probable reasons. Curling and lawn bowling continued to remain in vogue and did not suffer to any noticeable extent the trouble experienced in football. This trend, that is the decline of sports, with the exception of the senior or recreational type, with the coming of World War I, has been demonstrated to be the case throughout Canada at this time. In addition, a discernible decline in the popularity of traditional British sporting activities, such as association football, has also been cited.\textsuperscript{18} The Border Cities appear to be in line with these developments for Canada as a whole.

Canadian sports, lacrosse and hockey in particular for this region, were not present to a significant degree to fill this void left by the decline of the traditionally British sports. Lacrosse in the Border Cities was at an extremely low ebb at this time, with no mention of this Canadian pastime being played on an organized or unorganized level. Throughout Canada, the sport was in disfavour due to its brutality and fierce competition.\textsuperscript{19} St. Catherines, a hotbed
for Canadian lacrosse, was close to dropping the game at this time. \(^{20}\) Local sportswriters lamented:

Perhaps they are going "to rest in peace" this season. It is hoped they do not. St. Catharines out of lacrosse would be a great blow to the national pastime. \(^{21}\)

Particularly a great blow at this stage in the development of lacrosse -- the game needed all the support it could muster at this time. Interest in the game in the Border Cities was confined to articles such as the one above and news on the professional Amateur Athletic Union of Canada conflict that was occurring at the time. \(^{22}\)

Area hockey, on the other hand, experienced an upsurge of interest before the war with the opening of a hockey rink at Wigle Park in Windsor. Four local teams were organized into a Windsor City Hockey League around this new rink in 1912. \(^{23}\) A combination of the rink, the "... much available dormant material in Windsor this year, a number of eastern players of repute being employed in the city", and the strenuous efforts of Manager Frank Mitchell were instrumental in the popularization of "the old-time sport in the border city." \(^{24}\) Manager Mitchell was gratified to see a full grandstand for the first game as the Shamrocks defeated the Maple Leafs four to three. \(^{25}\) This league marks the first attempt to organize local hockey into a Canadian league. Detroit also was playing a good deal of hockey at this time, primarily against Canadian clubs from the O.H.A. after the association lifted its ban on American competition. \(^{26}\)

Toronto Argonauts, Toronto Amateur Athletic Club, Sarnia, and
Chatham provided good competition for the American septette.\textsuperscript{27} By 1918, competition appears to have suffered the negative effect of the war on sport, particularly Border Cities' hockey, since only one team was referred to in that year, it being "the hockey squad."\textsuperscript{28} The league had obviously collapsed by that time leaving only the one team to uphold hockey in the cities. This club played benefit games for war veterans against teams such as Birmingham, Michigan during the war years.\textsuperscript{29} Hockey interest was manifested in National Hockey League news and occasional treats such as:

...a real exhibition of the Canadian national ice game at the arena, in Detroit, Friday night when the Crescents, of Toronto, hooked up with the arena team.\textsuperscript{30}

The war apparently played a large part in setting the game back at this time.

Lacrosse and hockey, Canada's two greatest sporting contributions and the only ones that were really suited to the locale, were unable to fill the position left by the decline of the British sports. Lacrosse was non-existent on a participatory level and hockey was hard hit by the war, sending it back down the organizational ladder.

To fill this void, American sports and commercial domination moved in. As mentioned previously, baseball, Americans' national pastime, enjoyed great popularity at this time, and became the most popular sport in the Border Cities, as it did in the rest of Canada.\textsuperscript{31} Windsor was playing in the Border Baseball League and was the only Canadian involved in the league with Port Huron, Ypsilanti, Pontiac, Mt. Clemens, and
Wynandotte. Windsor remained in the group until 1914 but no further reference is made to Windsor's playing during the war. In addition to the American competition, a Windsor Manufacturers League was composed of Franklins, Pirates, F. Stearns and Company, Ford Motor Company, the Wellingtons, Cardinals, Canadian Bridge Works, National Spring, Maloney, Trussed Concrete, Sirocco and Studebaker. Independent teams from the Border Cities were also playing at the game against American opposition -- for the majority of their contests. The Windsor Independents competed against opposition in the form of the Detroit Hupmobiles, Onion Lodge, Detroit Packards, and Darbe Royals. The Sandwich Greys also followed this American line of competition in playing their across-the-river counterparts in the form of the Detroit Crescents and River Rouge to name a few.

The war affected Border Cities' baseball as might be expected -- it caused it to drop off. Baseball in the rest of the country suffered a similar fate. Coverage of American professional games continued in the local press but locally baseball receded to the collegiate level, a pattern similar to that noticed in football. Windsor Collegiate continued the game throughout the war against schools like Birmingham, Michigan. Despite the slump, baseball remained the most popular game.

The other sport commonly associated with the United States, basketball, dominated winter sport as baseball did summer. Teams noted in the previous period continued to
remain big attractions: Wanderers, Fearnaughts, A.B.C.'s (later the Colonials), Frontiers and the Windsor Collegiate boys and girls teams. The spreading of the popularity of basketball has perhaps not yet been equaled in Canadian sporting history. Competitive organizational structure continued to exhibit the "look to America" for opposition trend so noticeable until 1911. Much of the opposition was familiar: Detroit Light Guard Armory, Wyandotte, Riversides, Forts, Oakland Motors, Kalamores, Woodward Avenue Baptist Church, and the Omierons, provided plentiful American opposition for the regimental and high school teams. It is interesting to note that the local regimental teams were able to play each other rather infrequently due to the large number of fights which usually ensued each game. The two Windsor Collegiate teams journeyed across the border to compete with American schools. The armories remained a key centre for the games and installed four big gas stoves to keep the paying customers warm.

With the advent of the war, once again sporting activity dropped off and particularly in this instance, basketball. The Wanderers were the only remaining team outside of the collegiate ranks playing by the end of the war. This does not seem illogical since, with the call-up of men, the number of players available for basketball duty in the regiment would have decreased. Other player sources would also be hindered by the war-time drainage of manpower. But as pointed out earlier, basketball remained alive in the secondary
schools during the conflict. The collegiate game received a boost when a new gymnasium was opened at Windsor Collegiate in 1917. The Collegiate teams were practising twice a day and:

An extensive schedule is arranged for two games every night. Boys and girls will enjoy the benefits of the new collegiate gym. The boys have more scheduled games this year than ever before in any branch of sport, indicating the popularity of basketball.

The athletic instructors were pushing the sports program in the local school system to try and have "every student engage in some branch in order to promote physical development." Basketball also appears to have fallen in collegiate hands with the arrival of the war and suffered a noticeable decline as a result. However, the popularity of the game remained high as noticed above.

Complimenting the dominance of these American sport forms, American commercial interest continued to move in on the money-making aspect of sport in the area. The illegality of turf racing, the subsequent gambling, and attractions of Windsor as a race course site were noted in the previous chapter. Various American lessees tried their hand at operating the Windsor Driving Park. The stabling capacity of the course was taxed, although 800 horses were able to be handled. It was noted that once again, "Windsor is ... prominently before the eyes of the great American public." Attendance for July 16th of 1913 reached a height of 10,000 persons while the figures for the following day were only a few hundred short of that figure. Traffic jams occurred as
claim that the fights were not public but rather for their club members to whom no admission was charged. The Windsor Athletic Club under Ed Glasco was staging bouts under these conditions at the time.\textsuperscript{61} The boxers were Americans, and professional.\textsuperscript{62} As noted, the audience was mostly American and must have been fairly large in number since the seating capacity of the club was expanded to 1500.\textsuperscript{63} Boxing also appears to have been staged to attract the American dollar as well. The sport (if it is one) was looked upon somewhat more favourably during the war since it was felt that it made men "good bayonet fighters".\textsuperscript{64}

Other sports will only be mentioned in passing as they only enjoyed a limited following in this period. Shooting, although not so popular as previously, remained attractive to local gun enthusiasts. The Keystone Gun Club of Sandwich, the Windsor Remington Rifle Club, and the new Village Inn Gun Club held regular trophy competition.\textsuperscript{65} As before, these clubs attracted American competitors.\textsuperscript{66} These clubs did not suffer from the war to any significant degree as indeed most recreational or senior sports did not. Track and field, tennis, and golf had followers as well but were not major sporting concerns at this time.\textsuperscript{67} The development of recreational sport was yet to really begin.

In summary, key trends are discernible in this period. World War I contributed a negative effect on sport in the Border Cities, but recreational or senior activities -- curling and lawn bowling in particular -- for the most part
Americans jammed both the Windsor and Walkerville ferries to reach the track -- it became so bad people had to abandon their cars.52

Horse racing was popular in Canada at this time, but was in danger of going under when it appeared all forms of gambling would be declared illegal, but the arrival of the pari-mutuel system of placing bets saved the sport from this censure.53 Pari-mutuel betting began at the Windsor track in 1914.54 Montreal and Windsor continued to obstruct any further efforts to make the racing and attendant gambling illegal for the remainder of the war.55 Racing boomed to such an extent that two new and larger tracks were opened by American entrepreneurs in 1916 -- Devonshire and Kenilworth.56 All three tracks were heavily dependent upon Detroiter's patronage.57 The commercial take-over was completed. The tracks, especially the latter two, were completely American owned and operated to attract the American patron.

Boxing exhibitions attracted "mostly Detroit fans" as well.58 The "manly art" was under close surveillance of "The Moral and Social Reform Council" of Canada, "who were pleased at having stopped public prize-fighting in Windsor and were attempting to do so in Toronto."59 Sections 104, 105, and 106 of the Criminal Code of Canada forbade public prize-fighting, but the wily operators of athletic clubs were able to get around the law by selling memberships at a nominal fee and then charging each new member so much per capita for entertainment.60 In this manner the owners were able to
escaped this blight. The traditional British sports, cricket and association football, declined even further without this war-time effect. Canadian sports were unable, at this time, to fill the gap. American sports, baseball and basketball, became the two most popular sport forms. American commercial take-over in sport reached a new high with the opening of Devonshire and Kenilworth by Americans in 1916. Desire for the American dollar was also manifested in the boxing exhibitions that attracted American patrons. Many of the sports hindered by the war fell into the collegiate ranks where they were kept alive for posterity. In conclusion, the key trend to consider is the increasing American influence in the Border Cities -- and Canadian sport as well.68
3 In 1918 the local chamber of commerce was hosting a banquet for the W.C.I. team. The sport program in this institution did not appear to suffer from the effects of the war and it is most likely rugby football had a continuous existence throughout the war years.

4 Ibid., October 7, 1912, p. 2.

5 Ibid., October 11, 1912, p. 6.

6 Ibid., June 17, 1912, p. 3. See also June 7, 1912, p. 4.

7 Ibid., July 14, 1913, p. 3. See also July 9, 1913, p. 2.

8 Ibid., July 17, 1913, p. 3. See also June 4, 1913, p. 3.

9 Ibid., June 15, 1918, p. 8.

10 Ibid., June 5, 1918, p. 2.

11 Ibid., January 4, 1912, p. 2.

12 Ibid., February 24, 1912, p. 4.

13 Ibid., January 17, 1912, p. 2.

14 Ibid., January 24, 1912, p. 2, and see also January 21, 1918, p. 8.


16 Evening Record (Windsor), January 5, 1918, p. 8.

17 Ibid., January 17, 1918, p. 8.

18 Jones, op. cit., p. 2.

19 Ibid., p. 2.
Evening Record (Windsor), June 29, 1918, p. 8.

Ibid., June 29, 1918, p. 8.

Ibid., June 4, 1918, p. 8.

Ibid., January 3, 1912, p. 6.

Ibid., January 3, 1912, p. 6. See also January 22, 1912, p. 6.

Ibid., January 24, 1912, p. 6.

Ibid., January 5, 1912, p. 3.


Ibid., January 7, 1918, p. 6.

Ibid., January 25, 1918, p. 12.

Ibid., January 5, 1918, p. 7. See also January 26, 1918, p. 7.

Jones, op. cit., p. 3.

The Border Baseball League appears to be a continuation of the 1910 Trolley League mentioned in Chapter Two. See also Evening Record (Windsor), June 1, 1912, p. 3.

Ibid., June 3, 1913, p. 3. See also July 12, 1913, p. 1, and August 5, 1914, p. 6.

Ibid., April 19, 1913, p. 3. See also June 2, 1913, p. 6, and August 4, 1914, p. 3.

Ibid., June 2, 1913, p. 6. See also July 3, 1913, p. 3, July 2, 1913, p. 3, and August 14, 1914, p. 3.

Ibid., June 2, 1913, p. 6.

Howell and Howell, op. cit., p. 284.

Evening Record (Windsor), June 3, 1918, p. 9.

Howell and Howell, op. cit., p. 313.

41 Ibid., January 23, 1912, p. 2.
42 Ibid., January 17, 1912, p. 2.
43 Ibid., January 13, 1912, p. 3.
44 Ibid., January 16, 1912, p. 8.
45 Morrison, Garden Gateway To Canada, p. 284.
46 Evening Record (Windsor), January 2, 1918, p. 12. See also January 24, 1918, p. 10.
47 Ibid., January 24, 1918, p. 10
49 Evening Record (Windsor), July 4, 1913, p. 2.
50 Ibid., July 4, 1913, p. 2.
51 Ibid., July 18, 1913, p. 1.
52 Ibid., July 18, 1913, p. 1.
53 Jones, op. cit., p. 9.
54 Evening Record (Windsor), August 6, 1918, p. 7.
55 Ibid., June 25, 1918, p. 6.
56 Windsor Centennial History, p. 61.
57 Morrison, Garden Gateway To Canada, p. 286.
59 Evening Record (Windsor), January 10, 1912, p. 1.
60 Ibid., January 10, 1912, p. 1.
61 Ibid., January 4, 1912, p. 2.
63 Evening Record (Windsor), January 4, 1912, p. 2.
64 Ibid., January 5, 1918, p. 7.
65 Ibid., June 28, 1912, p. 7. See also June 5, 1913, p. 3, June 28, 1918, p. 15, and June 5, 1913, p. 3.

66 Ibid., June 25, 1913, p. 3. See also June 28, 1918, p. 15.

67 Ibid., February 17, 1912, p. 6. See also June 28, 1912, p. 7 and Windsor Centennial History, p. 72.

68 Jones, op. cit., p. 12, 16. Jones notes the trend from 1900 to 1920 as "away from the traditionally British sports in favour of North American games", and also the increasing American influence precipitating changes in Canadian sport at this time.
CHAPTER IV

THE ROARING TWENTIES, 1919-1929

These years, which began with the close of the war and ended with the opening of new communication links with the United States, witnessed unprecedented sporting activity in the area. Area citizens warmly welcomed the new vigor and sportswriters were moved to comment:

Yet, . . . , these events are far from being altogether responsible for the mushroom growth of sport and interest in sport. New games have been introduced and found favor; old pastimes have been indulged in with greater enthusiasm; hundreds of fans have been created for games which formerly enjoyed little public patronage.1

The British Isles sent the largest group of immigrants to Canada during the period; a fact that played an important part in the marked upsurge in popularity of traditional British pastimes.2 It is logical to assume that these "new Canadians" would continue their former customs, in this case their sporting pursuits, for some time. While cricket was in obvious decline in Canada as a whole, area play experienced a return to popularity.3 Britain's "national pastime" was also being encouraged and widely played once again in the old country as well.4 By 1923, Border Cities fans had a full schedule at their disposal. In addition to a touring team that played various centres in Ontario such as Kitchener, Galt, Preston, and Guelph, two teams -- Border 'A' and Border 'B' -- were playing in the Detroit and District

57
Cricket League and a four unit local loop composed of the Corinthians, Dreadnaughts, Argonauts, and Bedouins was also in existence. Although the Border Cities' Cricket Club was not particularly successful in representing the area cricket honours in terms of the even-loss column, "they nevertheless profited . . . to the extent of putting the old English game on a firmer basis here." New teams entered the competitive structure from time to time; one particularly interesting group was the West Indian Cricket Club who entered the Windsor and District League play. Both the local Canadian league and competition within the American league continued throughout the remainder of the period. Special exhibition matches against touring teams provided occasional treats for Border Cities enthusiasts; one such game took place between the Chicago Cricket Club and local cricketeers at Baby Park in Sandwich. Despite the strong showing exhibited by cricket, other sports were to make even greater gains.

One such sport was "the game that Britishers, as missionaries, have made the most popular sport in the world -- soccer." Soccer was to reach a peak never before attained in its local history. Local fraternal organizations encouraged its growth with donations of trophies and badges for area competitors. The Windsor District Football League composed of four clubs -- Walkerville, United, Border Cities Stars, and Rovers -- was in operation in 1919. Soccer in Canada has often been promoted by the intense rivalry fostered by ethnic groups forming their own clubs.
and indulging in "international series" that attracted much attention. This form of promotion took place locally with the "national" conflict between England, Ireland, and Scotland.

As in cricket, the Border Cities were represented in American competition. Windsor and Walkerville both competed in the Detroit Soccer League and the Walkerville Football Club captured the prestigious Michigan State soccer title in 1923 and managed to again reach the finals in 1929 before being eliminated. Accompanying this international play, soccer continued to grow in the form of local Canadian leagues and competition within provincial organizational structure followed. By 1923, ten soccer teams were competing in the Border Cities, and junior age players were given new opportunities to play with the formation of the nine-team Essex County Junior Football Association. The Chemsals of the newly formed junior league were competing for the Ontario Junior Cup by 1926 and although unsuccessful in their first attempt, managed to secure the prize from 1928 to 1930 inclusive. Windsor Collegiate Institute also was successful in post-season play and captured the Western Ontario Secondary School Association soccer championship in 1923. The popularity of soccer in the Border Cities at this time was sufficient to support a local professional team, the Rovers. Eight thousand persons witnessed a game against a touring English team and it was felt at the time that the crowd "showed the great popularity of the game and the hold
it has taken in this part of the country. A bright future was forecasted for the game in the ensuing years, and indeed the game was still being enthusiastically played in 1929. Soccer recovered from the low level it had experienced in the previous period and became a popular pastime for many border residents. Local leagues developed and competition within provincial schemes was partaken of with varying degrees of success. As in cricket, limited entry in American play also took place. The importance of American competition apparently declined with the increased formation of local teams and organizations and the ensuing desire to compete in Ontario Championship play.

The popularity that the recreational sport of lawn bowling enjoyed in Canada during this period was undoubtedly due to the great influx of immigrants from the British Isles. Sandwich, Windsor, and Walkerville all boosted teams and the pastime continued to receive strong support from area players in the regular competitions and annual tournaments such as those sponsored by the Windsor Lawn Bowling Club. Competition was virtually 100 per cent with Canadian clubs with the Detroit group providing the only American opponent found in these years. Local clubs were affiliated with the Western Ontario Lawn Bowling Association and several Border Cities men were on the executive of that body. The Windsor club hosted the 1926 Western Ontario Lawn Bowling Tournament in which thirty-two rinks from every town and city of importance in Western Ontario competed. The event took four days to run

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off and was reputed to be one of the greatest ever held in Canada.25

The following year, 1927, Andrew Laing captured the individual honours at the annual international tournament in St. Petersburg, Florida, and the Windsor rink was almost equally successful.26 Two years later the same club was successful in securing the Ontario doubles championship at Toronto.27 Participants and competition remained plentiful throughout the period and when the rinks did venture outside the country for competition, an infrequent occurrence, they were fairly successful as shown above.

Another recreational sport of British origin, curling, apparently did not retain the position of popularity that it once enjoyed. Poor weather and the lack of suitable indoor facilities continued to hamper the game.28 The Windsor club had, by this time, a concrete floor that provided an easy surface on which to make ice, but were still unable to keep the rink intact due to the warm, changeable weather common to the area.29 Competition during the early years continued along familiar lines; weekly play against the Detroit Curling Club, competition with Ontario cities -- Hamilton, Kitchener, Waterloo, London -- and helping the Detroit club entertain its Canadian visitors who were its opposition.30 However, as the twenties progressed, decreasing reference to the sport was made by local sportswriters indicating a decline in either public interest in news of the game (which would have discouraged sportswriters from writing about the sport), or

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in the game itself. In either case, curling stands in con-
trast to the sporting boom witnessed in the period particu-
larly amongst previously near-dead British associated sports.

Americans' national game, baseball, continued to hold
down the top position in terms of popularity that it had
during the preceeding years. The pattern of competition that
was found before World War I continued during the early years
of the twenties but by the closing years, as in other sports,
significant alterations in the competitive orientation and
organizational structure came about.

Immediately after the close of the war, two local leagues
were in operation. The Windsor Baseball League, a six-team
circuit composed of the Windsors, Royals, Wanderers, Fords,
Pirates, and Knights of Columbus, was the senior of the two,
while a seven-team Border Cities Junior Baseball League was
made up of six Windsor clubs, Mohawks, Orioles, Stars, Eagles,
O.L.P.S., Circles, and one Walkerville group, the Alerts.

Neither of these leagues apparently went beyond their own
league for play or post-season play at that time. In con-
trast, Windsor Collegiate's team played almost all of their
games against American teams since, at the beginning of the
period, the local collegiate was still entered in the Detroit
High School League. Independent baseball clubs appear to
have faded from the scene during these years as less and less
reference is made to any activity on their part. A possible
explanation for this phenomena may be found in the quickened
growth of local leagues and their subsequent entry into pro-
vincially organized play. Thus, the teams would have no longer been independent and would not have needed to cross the river for competition with Michigan clubs. The Maple Leaf ball club of Walkerville provides an instance of this development when it followed such a pattern in 1919.\textsuperscript{33} Subsequent developments along the two lines suggested above were also manifested. By 1923, a thirteen team Industrial League, a Border Cities Intermediate League with ten clubs, a Border Cities Senior League with nine members, and a public school league were all in operation outdoors while indoor baseball was a big hit at the armories with the 18th Battalion (Essex Scottish), Chrysler, Ford, and Windsor Merchants battling it out for top honours.\textsuperscript{34} Competition in Ontario Baseball Amateur Association play had begun and local scribes were complaining that there were too many teams, thus dividing up the talent for the Border Cities to win the all-Ontario championship.\textsuperscript{35} Despite this complaint, the famous Walkerville Chicks, the area's entry into senior O.B.A.A. play, were in the finals of the association's play-downs by 1926 and succeeded in bringing the area's greatest baseball honours to it in 1929 by capturing the Ontario Senior 'A' crown.\textsuperscript{36} The team's play brought the greatest crowds in the history of local baseball to Stodgell Park during their years of fame.\textsuperscript{37}

A recreational derivative of baseball, softball, was organized in 1924. The league that year was composed of four teams that, by the following season, had grown to eight and
the popularity of the game was such that it was almost impossible to accommodate the crowds. The game continued to envelop local enthusiasts until six senior, eight intermediate, four junior, and four girls teams were competing.38

Concomitant with the developments mentioned, Canadian competition, both in the form of local leagues and provincial play, increasingly replaced former American competition that was once so necessary. Local leagues focused on teams within their own bodies and clubs using Americans were subject to specific restrictive regulations.39 These teams who desired to use imports were also limited by O.B.A.A. resident rules that were in effect at this time.40 It would be expected that as local leagues increased their affiliation with the provincial association, the use of American players and competition with American teams would have declined. A review of the ball being played does seem to indicate that as baseball developed locally, American influence on the game declined and subsequently affiliation with the provincial O.B.A.A. increased.

Another sport that followed a roughly parallel course of development was the extremely popular game of basketball. After the war-time slump, Star writers remarked:

With indoor baseball and basketball leagues competing for attention, the armories will soon be the centres of winter sport as they were before the war.41

Basketball returned to its position of high popularity both in the armories and in the schools which had gymnasiums. At the outset, competition continued along familiar lines where
American teams provided the key opposition. The military teams continued to host Detroit teams in the Windsor armories and Windsor Collegiate Institute continued to find most of their opponents across the river. Assumption College played against American teams of their calibre, as did the independent teams such as the Mic Macs. Locally, league competition centred on four teams; Fords, 21st Wanderers, Dominion Forge and Stamping, and Central Methodists Crescents, who were organized into the Border Cities Basketball League (later the Border Cities Athletic Association).

However, local organization began to develop and by 1922 the Assumption College Norwoods were listed as champions of the Border Cities Intermediate League. Girls basketball experienced a period of tremendous growth at about this time. In 1923, the three local secondary schools, Windsor, Walker-ville, and Windsor-Walkerville Technical, had girls teams entered in Essex County and Western Ontario championship play. A tremendous boost was given the game when the Recreation Commission entered the picture. In 1922, only one year previous, the Y.W.C.A. had the only organized senior women's team in the area. The commission organized fourteen teams into a new senior Ladies Basketball League and eight more into a new junior series. The men were not to be overlooked and, as a result, the schedule for the 1923-24 season of the Windsor Basketball association included six intermediate, five junior and eight juvenile teams in addition to the senior and high school play already going.
Coincidental with this large local growth and similar to the girls' teams involvement in provincially organized play, the three high schools boys' teams entered Western Ontario Secondary School Association play with sixteen other Ontario teams. Despite this increased entry into provincially orientated play, the high school teams continued to play approximately half their games against their American counterparts. The girls followed a similar course of play, and were sufficiently good players so that four of them were selected by a Detroit sponsor to accompany five Detroit girls in their journey to play the famous Edmonton Grads. Teams playing in Border Cities Leagues occasionally played exhibition games with the Americans. This international competition, however, also continued to lessen and never again did the American teams provide the focus of attention they once had in their game. As noted in baseball as local leagues developed, American influence lessened and Border Cities teams increasingly looked to provincial bodies for organizational direction and play. The Ford City Omars were defeated in the Ontario Senior Men's Basketball finals in 1926, but the Windsor Alumni secured the Ontario title the next year and held it for three years and in the meantime, securing Windsor's first Dominion title in 1928 in the Canadian finals played in the Windsor Arena. Similarly all the divisions entered in the Border Cities Basketball League were affiliated with the Western Ontario Basketball Association by 1929,
although none were as successful as the Alumni.56

Basketball then followed the trend already mentioned in connection with both baseball and basketball in the Border Cities, that is, a tremendous upsurge in interest in the game with local leagues developing to accommodate this enthusiasm. As these leagues develop, American play and influence declined and simultaneously, local groups became affiliated with Canadian organizational sporting structures, primarily on the provincial level.

Two new and larger race tracks had been opened near the end of World War I and all three facilities continued to depend heavily upon Detroiter's patronage. To accommodate the American trade, trains ran direct from Detroit to the tracks as well as the street cars and buses from the Detroit-Windsor ferry.58 "King Horse" had many worshippers at his shrine during these years.59 The addition of the newer tracks that were able to accommodate in the neighbourhood of six hundred thoroughbreds for their meets provided excellent facilities for the many ardent fans.60 The popularity of turf racing can be seen by looking over the receipts of the three tracks for a fourteen-day meeting in 1927 at each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Track</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windsor Jockey Club</td>
<td>$3,461,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devonshire</td>
<td>$3,450,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenilworth</td>
<td>$3,064,690</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The help from "American neighbours" in this outpouring of wealth was gratefully acknowledged.62 The decade of the 1920's was the greatest for area racing, but its decline began before the period had run its course with the sale of
the Windsor Jockey Club to the City of Windsor in 1928 for school and park purposes. The remaining two tracks continued to draw good support throughout the era. The fate of the remaining two tracks, however, was sealed when the 1908 Michigan legislature's ban on racing was repealed in 1933, and within a few years both remaining tracks had closed and were never to open again. The importance of this legal ban and the ensuing influx of American entrepreneurs and fans into Canadian territory was readily apparent. With the relegalization of the sport in their own land, Americans no longer had to come to Canada to partake of turf racing and, as a result, this profitable venture was brought to an end for many years.

Boxing in the Border Cities followed a remarkably similar course. The "gentlemanly art" was forbidden to American enthusiasts during the 1920's in Michigan. Only "no decision" bouts called "exhibitions" were allowed and it has been remarked, "crowds have never been known to favour these types of performances in any branch of sport endeavour." During the early twenties, boxing in Windsor had been sporadic in nature and the local battalion, the 18th, was the only group found to be sponsoring amateurs in events such as the London Garrison Amateur Boxing Tournament. Windsor had had its own boxing history, but nothing to compare to the many "top-notch" fighters who appeared in the area during the 1920's when the U. S. ban sent the sport to the Canadian city where it proceeded to flourish.
Border Cities, was "the logical boxing centre for the fight-hungry Detroiter; and as naturally as horse racing flourished here, so did boxing." Both of these sports that were made into profitable, commercial ventures followed a pattern that contained many similarities and after the removal of prohibitive American legislation on the sports in the United States, further similarities continued to be found beyond this period.

Canada's two sporting contributions to the world, lacrosse and hockey, presented two dissimilar patterns of growth during this period. Lacrosse, on the one hand, was not-at-all popular and only sparse mention of the game was found. Games appeared sporadically such as the 1922 "all-star" versus an Indian team game played at Assumption College in front of 1500 spectators. A similar event was planned for 1923 when it was hoped that the local Windsor team, or an all-star mixture from Windsor, Sarnia, and Wallaceburg, would engage the Royal Red Lacrosse Team of Brantford on Labor Day. At first, it was feared that Windsor would have to go against the Wallaceburg squad, Group II champions of the Ontario Amateur Lacrosse Association, who had previously defeated the local team and probably would not have been the attraction the Indian team promised to be. The Brantford Indians, however, did make their appearance and were the only team that the local team defeated all season. Local sportswriters were called to remark on the state of the game and, as a result, noted:

Lacrosse, still in its infancy here, enjoyed a better year than in 1922, but much remains to be
done if the game is to be established firmly in the Border Cities.75

The game was in trouble throughout most of the county during these years and various reasons such as rough play, the rising popularity of baseball, and the lower spectator-appeal of lacrosse have been cited as explanations.76 The importance of the lacrosse "wars" has been listed as a key factor in accounting for the decline of lacrosse and Border Cities Star writer, Vern De Geer agreed when he wrote:

About two thousand fans were on hand for the "finale" and by the time the game was half over a dozen ambulance calls had been made. It was a terrible exhibition of a game that has long been known as Canada's national pastime. Three players were rushed to hospitals, and four others had to receive medical attention. It was a blood and thunder contest, a vicious exhibition of the kind such as had actually brought about the downfall of the sport.77

De Geer further expressed his doubt about reviving the game.78 In the Border Cities at least, he was correct since the sport remained at a low ebb throughout these years.

Canada's other national game, hockey, stands in direct contrast to the pattern found in lacrosse. Initially, poor weather for winter sports, a continual problem in the area, continued to hamper hockey development after the war. Thoughts of organizing an Essex County Hockey League were shattered in 1919 as a result of the extremely thin ice, a condition that prevailed all over Western Ontario and hindered the game's development that year.79 Local hockey fans were placed in a position where they were unable to decide whether war with no players or peace with no ice is the best
The Detroit Recreation Commission expressed a wish to have a Border Cities entry in the Detroit Community Hockey League and Assumption College responded with its first team that had difficulty in getting to play any of its games due to the poor weather. A local city league also began operation in that year under the same poor conditions that perennially hampered the local game.

The completion of the first Windsor Arena in 1923 and the present Windsor Arena in 1925 aided the game to overcome the adverse environment and embark on a period of great growth. The completion of the former arena contributed to the 550 per cent increase noted in 1923 in the Border Cities. The Border Cities now had two teams entered in the American league and the Windsor league expanded to include six teams. In addition to this growth, the local league became affiliated with the Ontario Hockey Association and was known as the "Southwestern Ontario Hockey Association" that was to play under O.H.A. rules "so far as local conditions permit." It is interesting to note that 1923 was not only a year of great hockey growth, but also one of the top years in terms of population growth. At a meeting of the Border Cities Hockey League that year, an unusually large turn-out caused a sportswriter to notice:

Players were present from most every corner of Canada. . . . More hockey players are kicking around Detroit and Windsor than ever before and it looks like a bumper season.

Area industrial growth and resulting need for manpower quite probably served to draw the players to the Border Cities.
Groups from more hockey-prone parts of the country banded together to form their own clubs once they found so many of their ex-neighbours in the vicinity. One such group was a team composed entirely of ex-Winnipegers who, once they met each other at the meeting, entered their own team in the competition. Similarly, the Senators Athletic Club was all ex-Ottawa men. The recent immigrants were a key to the growth of the game and local enthusiasts acknowledged their aid since most of them were "genuine exponents of the two great Canadian games, hockey and lacrosse." The presence of these avid players could not possibly do anything but help hockey's popularity.

With a solid base of support, hockey continued its growth with entry of two intermediate teams, the Monarchs and Maroons, from Windsor into the O.H.A. for the 1924-25 season. The opening of the Windsor Arena in 1925 contributed the essential artificial indoor ice that was necessary for further development. The facility was so good that the Detroit Cougars of the National Hockey League played all their home fixtures in it and continued to practice there during the 1926 season. The arena itself entered a team, the Hornets, in senior O.H.A. ranks in 1925 and in 1926, established a professional team in the Canadian Professional Hockey League (Canpro) with Hamilton, Niagara Falls, London, and Stratford as opposition. In 1928, this Canpro League was renamed the International League and the Hornets who were re-christened the Bulldogs emerged as champions.
Nineteen twenty-seven saw the Border Cities complete their entry into O.H.A. play with the addition of a junior club, the Riverside Bluebirds. Additional O.H.A. entries were added in both intermediate and junior ranks. Behind this entry into the provincial body was a tremendous local increase in the number of leagues in play. The Windsor City League, larger than ever, a Public School and Separate School League, and a collegiate league associated with the Western Ontario Secondary School Association (which the Tech Red Devils emerged victorious in for the 1927 season), were a segment of the local play.

It is obvious that hockey did experience a period of tremendous growth at this time. Local teams and leagues grew and entered into Canadian organization such as the O.H.A. and Western Ontario Secondary School Association (W.O.S.S.A.). Teams no longer had to compete in Detroit leagues with this development. The influx of hockey players and the development of indoor artificial ice promoted the boom. The Border Cities were represented in the junior, intermediate, and senior ranks of the O.H.A. and professional hockey had its first entry in the form of the Hornets, later the champion Bulldogs. All in all, it was a period of great development for Canada's great winter sport.

The development of Canadian football followed rather unique lines in the Border Cities. Canadian rules were not played in the area until 1924 when Windsor Collegiate switched in that year. Previous to that date both Windsor
and Walkerville Collegiate competed in the Southeastern Michigan League. Other teams were not quick to follow the precedent and it was not until 1926 that independent teams, namely the Mic Macs and the Maple Leafs, played Canadian rules and then only as an experiment.

The urban schools began the switch and subsequently entered W.O.S.S.A. play at both the junior and senior levels. Windsor-Walkerville Technical School entered senior W.O.S.S.A. play in 1927 and was followed in 1929 by Kennedy Collegiate. By the latter date, five junior teams from the Border Cities were also in W.O.S.S.A. play and were so successful that they captured the league championship four of the five years between their entry and 1929. The senior title was not to be taken until 1931 when Kennedy secured the honours.

As noted earlier, the independent teams first tried the Canadian brand in 1926 on an experimental basis. The two clubs who made the first move were grouped in the intermediate Ontario Rugby Football Union series with Sarnia and London, finishing one-two behind Sarnia. The games were poorly attended, at least in part due to the inclement weather that kept the fans away. Both the Mic Macs and Maple Leafs reverted to the American style for several post-season exhibition games with American Clubs. The 1927 season saw the Mic Macs drop from the Ontario Rugby Football...
Union (O.R.F.U.) to play the American game while the Maple Leafs disbanded with a new club, appropriately named the Americans, taking their place. Several other independent teams who had continued to play the foreign game enjoyed busy seasons but were also handicapped by the weather. Assumption College had teams all the way up from midgets to varsity playing American football throughout the period; the junior teams did not switch until well into the 1930's and the varsity team did not switch and was still playing the U. S. set of rules when the game was dropped for the duration in 1942.

In 1928, the famous Toronto Argonauts came to the Border Cities to engage the Mic Mac club, and border gridiron fans received their first taste of senior Canadian football in action. The first half of this influential game was played under Canadian rules in fairness to the Argos and they managed to score twelve unanswered points. In the American style second half, however, the Mic Macs came back to score eighteen points using the forward pass and downfield blocking to perfection. It was felt by contemporaries that this victory had a lot to do with the Mic Macs reswitching to the Canadian game from 1929 on. Windsor secured its first senior O.R.F.U. team in 1929 and the local team was located in Group A with Sarnia, Kitchener-Waterloo, and Varsity, while Hamilton, Camp Borden, and Balmy Beach were placed in Group B.

Football in the Border Cities presented an ambiguous picture of development. Whereas many of the developmental
changes in Canadian football resulted from a declining influence of British traditions as American ideas correspondingly increased, the development of the Canadian game was from a complete acceptance of the American style to a gradual shift to the Canadian game that was not completed by the end of the period.\textsuperscript{117}

Sports, more recreational than most mentioned previously, also enjoyed considerable following. Swimming, on a competitive basis, began during the twenties with the opening of various pools in the city. Walkerville, Sandwich, and Windsor Collegiates opened the first facilities suitable to this event during the early twenties.\textsuperscript{118} The Y.M.C.A. followed with a pool in 1925 and Kennedy Collegiate opened a fifth in 1929.\textsuperscript{119} Various clubs were formed around these pools: Jim Farmer was the first president of the Windsor Swimming Club in 1924; 'Y', teams of both boys and girls coached by George Sinclair and Margaret Sterling; the Border Cities Amateur Swimming Association in 1928; and the Border Swimming Club in 1929.\textsuperscript{120} The Border Cities Amateur Swimming Association soon affiliated itself with the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association and the local group held a 1928 Border Cities championship meet at the East Windsor Bathing Beach under the auspices of the national body.\textsuperscript{121} The collegiates followed with a Border Cities Secondary School Swimming Association and by 1930, Windsor sent the first Border Cities representative to compete for Canada in the aquatic portion of the Olympic Games.\textsuperscript{122}
Tennis also began to attract a somewhat larger following so that by 1925, the Elm court Tennis Club was hosting the Western Ontario Open Tournament.\textsuperscript{123} Competition was of good calibre and included both Michigan and Canadian national champions.\textsuperscript{124} Local interest began to develop toward the end of the period and by 1928, the club was holding its first annual Border Cities championship tournament and the event was successful enough to have the same tournament held in 1929.\textsuperscript{125} Tennis, however, was still in its infancy during the twenties in the Border Cities.

Golf also began to considerably enlarge its sphere of popularity, but like tennis, the numbers were limited due to the social "elite" type of club formation. The number of private clubs greatly expanded in these years. Beach Grove, St. Clair (later known as Lakewood), Little River, a course in the middle of Devonshire raceway, and Essex Golf and Country Club's move to LaSalle, all occurred during the twenties.\textsuperscript{126} It was 1928 before the general public got the opportunity to play the game on any scale with the opening of Roseland by the Neal brothers, and from its opening the game gained rapidly in popularity.\textsuperscript{127} The clubs continued to report large memberships and unprecedented interest in club events.\textsuperscript{128} Both professional -- the Roseland Cup and Southern Ontario Professional Golfer's Association play -- and amateur -- the Essex-Kent Amateur Championship for the Border Cities Star Trophy -- events were offered.\textsuperscript{129} The new facilities and particularly the public course with its
special transportation arrangements for the golfing public and its thirty-cent green fees, helped popularize the game during the latter part of the 1920's and turn it into a sport instead of just a pastime for the well-to-do.\textsuperscript{130}

Trap shooting similarly experienced an upsurge in interest in the latter twenties. Three clubs in existence in the Border Cities in 1926 -- the LaSalle, the Sandwich East, and the Ford A. A. club -- held a number of successful shoots during the course of the year that provoked a Star writer to comment:

\begin{quote}
During the year that has just been brought to a close, trap-shooting in the Border Cities regained much of the popularity that it appears to have lost in former years.\textsuperscript{131}
\end{quote}

The Windsor Remington Rifle Club had previously held regular prize shooting but had not been able to attract any significant following even when one of its members, Andy Thompson, captured the prestigious St. Thomas Gun Club International Tournament.\textsuperscript{132} The peak for the sport appears to have been reached in 1926 and subsequently, suffered a gradual decline.

Other sporting pursuits such as track and field, badminton, bowling, and quoits enjoyed but limited enthusiasm and were comparatively unorganized. A description of a track and field meet at Assumption College indicated that the sport had not entered its modern form for the program was still largely composed of the comic events -- wheelbarrow race, three-legged race, and blind race -- and was relatively unsophisticated.\textsuperscript{133} By 1925, the local secondary schools were proving too much for their county competition and as a
result, the high schools and public schools sent their better athletes to London for the W.O.S.S.A. championships. Quoit championships on the cities' playgrounds attracted considerable attention for short periods. Badminton enthusiasts came together into a club to compete against various other towns such as Sarnia and London. Bowling leagues continued to have good following as well. However, these recreational sports, for the most part, were strictly limited to those who either had the necessary money or special interest and attracted limited following compared to the other sports already mentioned.

In summary, several things should be brought forth. The first noticeable aspect of this period was the tremendous growth in sport of almost all types in the Border Cities. The population of the Border Cities also increased; it was its greatest period of growth. Traditional British sports, cricket, soccer (association football), curling, and lawn bowling, regained much of their popularity, with the possible exception of curling. The games of baseball and basketball, usually associated with the United States, appeared to have remained the two most popular games, but the latter began to suffer, if only in a small way, from the tremendous enthusiasm and growth of Canada's national ice game, hockey. The game quickly developed in the Border Cities once suitable facilities and perhaps other key stimuli, such as organizers and players, arrived in the area. The Canadian version of rugby football made its appearance amongst local teams in
this period and although the transition was not complete, the future of the game and its rules was shown. Commercial sporting ventures, horse racing and boxing in this case, were dependent upon American patronage and once these events were made legal again in the United States, they rapidly dropped from the local sports scene. Recreational sports were noted as being quickly developed during the latter 1920's as well. And finally, with the fantastic growth of sport and its organization into leagues within the Border Cities, the dependence of almost all sporting teams upon competition from Michigan ceased to exist, even in sports where it had been crucial. Accompanying this independence were subsequent entries into provincially or nationally organized sport structures.
FOOTNOTES

1^Border Cities Star (Windsor), January 3, 1919, p. 10. See also December 31, 1926, p. 4.

2Canada, Department of Immigration and Colonization, Annual Report, 1929 (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1930), p. 11.


4^Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 6, 1919, p. 10.

5Ibid., August 2, 1923, p. 2. See also August 10, 1923 p. 2, and August 17, 1923, p. 2.

6Ibid., December 31, 1923, p. 4.

7Ibid., June 5, 1929, p. 3.

8Ibid., June 5, 1929, p. 3.

9Ibid., June 29, 1929, p. 3.


11^Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 2, 1919, p. 6. See also June 13, 1919, p. 10.

12Ibid., June 2, 1919, p. 10.

13Howell and Howell, op. cit., p. 342

14^Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 6, 1919, p. 10. See also June 13, 1919, p. 11.

15Ibid., June 27, 1919, p. 10. See also December 31, 1929, p. 7.

16Ibid., December 31, 1923, p. 4. See also December 31, 1926, p. 7.

17Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 7. See also Windsor Daily Star, September 3, 1943, p. 6.

18^Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1923, p. 4.
19Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 7.
20Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 7.
21Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 7. See also June 3, 1929, p. 3.
22Howell and Howell, op. cit., p. 291.
23Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 26, 1919, p. 11. See also June 18, 1919, p. 11.
24Ibid., June 18, 1919, p. 11.
25Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 4.
26Ibid., January 23, 1929, p. 3.
27Ibid., January 8, 1929, p. 2.
29Ibid., January 4, 1919, p. 12.
31Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 2, 1919, p. 10. See also June 5, 1919, p. 9.
32Ibid., June 10, 1919, p. 9.
33Ibid., June 24, 1919, p. 10.
35Border Cities Star (Windsor), August 21, 1923, p. 2. See also December 31, 1923, p. 4.
37Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1926, p. 4.
39Border Cities Star (Windsor), August 8, 1923, p. 3.
40 Ibid., June 8, 1929, p. 3.
41 Ibid., January 8, 1919, p. 10.
42 Ibid., January 2, 1919, p. 4.
43 Ibid., January 22, 1919, p. 12. See also December 31, 1920, p. 4.
44 Ibid., January 8, 1919, p. 10.
45 Ibid., December 1, 1923, p. 3.
46 Ibid., December 1, 1923, p. 2.
47 Ibid., December 4, 1923, p. 3.
48 Ibid., December 4, 1923, p. 3.
49 Ibid., December 10, 1923, p. 2.
50 Ibid., December 5, 1923, p. 2.
51 Ibid., December 31, 1923, p. 4.
52 Ibid., December 19, 1923, p. 2.
53 Ibid., December 19, 1923, p. 2. See also June 5, 1929, p. 2.
54 Ibid., December 19, 1923, p. 2.
55 Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 4. See also Windsor Daily Star, September 3, 1943, p. 9.
56 Border Cities Star (Windsor), January 7, 1929, p. 3.
57 Windsor Centennial History, p. 61. See also N. F. Morrison, Garden Gateway To Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 286.
58 Border Cities Star (Windsor), August 1, 1923, p. 3.
59 Ibid., June 21, 1929, p. 2.
60 Ibid., August 24, 1923, p. 2. See also June 26, 1929, p. 2.
61 Windsor Centennial History, p. 62.
62 Ibid., p. 62.
63 Morrison, op. cit., p. 286.
64 Windsor Centennial History, p. 62.
65 Ibid., 63.
66 Ibid., p. 52.
67 Ibid., p. 52.
68 Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 7, 1923, p. 3.
69 Windsor Centennial History, p. 52.
70 Ibid., p. 52.
71 Border Cities Star (Windsor), August 16, 1923, p. 2.
72 Ibid., August 16, 1923, p. 2.
73 Ibid., August 30, 1923, p. 2. See also August 13, 1923, p. 2.
74 Ibid., December 31, 1923, p. 4.
75 Ibid., December 31, 1923, p. 4.
76 Howell and Howell, op. cit., p. 309.
77 Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 17, 1929, p. 2.
78 Ibid., June 17, 1929, p. 2.
80 Ibid., January 23, 1919, p. 11.
81 Ibid., January 10, 1919, p. 10. See also January 14, 1919, p. 11, and January 20, 1919, p. 12.
82 Windsor Centennial History, p. 56.
83 Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 22, 1923, p. 1.
See also Windsor Centennial History, p. 56.
84 Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1923, p. 4.
85 Ibid., December 4, 1923, p. 4.
86 Ibid., December 12, 1923, p. 4.
87 Caroline Fraser, History of Windsor Scrapbook (Carnegie Library: 1940), p. 10.
88 Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 6, 1923, p. 2.
89 Ibid., December 6, 1923, p. 2.
90 Ibid., December 29, 1923, p. 2.
91 Ibid., December 29, 1923, p. 3.
92 Windsor Centennial History, p. 56.
93 Ibid., p. 56.
94 Ibid., p. 56. See also Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1926, p. 3.
95 Windsor Centennial History, p. 56.
97 Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 6. See also Border Cities Star (Windsor), January 11, 1929, p. 2.
99 Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 9. See also Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1923, p. 4.
100 Ibid., December 31, 1923, p. 4. See also Windsor Centennial History, p. 84.
102 Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1926, p. 4.
104 Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 9.
105 Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 9.
107 Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1926, p. 4.
108 Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 4.
109 Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 4.
111 Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1926, p. 4.
113 Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 7.
114 Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 7.
115Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 7.

116Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 6, 1929, p. 6.


118Windsor Centennial History, p. 68. See also Windsor Daily Star, September 3, 1943, p. 8.

119Windsor Centennial History, p. 68.

120Ibid., p. 68. See also Windsor Daily Star, September 3, 1943, p. 8.


122Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 8. See also Windsor Centennial History, p. 68.

123Detroit News, June 2, 1925, p. 38.

124Ibid., June 2, 1925, p. 38.

125Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 8, 1929, p. 3.

126Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 4. See also Windsor Daily Star, September 3, 1943, p. 9.

127Ibid., September 3, 1943, p. 9.

128Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1926, p. 4.

129Ibid., December 31, 1926, p. 4. See also Windsor Daily Star, September 3, 1943, p. 9.

130Border Cities Star (Windsor), June 8, 1929, p. 3. See also Windsor Daily Star, September 3, 1943, p. 9.

131Border Cities Star (Windsor), December 31, 1926, p. 4.

132Ibid., June 16, 1919, p. 10.

133Ibid., June 4, 1919, p. 11.


135Border Cities Star (Windsor), August 7, 1923, p. 2.

136Ibid., January 14, 1929, p. 3.

137Ibid., December 1, 1923, p. 3.

138Fraser, op. cit., p. 3.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Two problems were immediately evident in attempting to conclude this study. The first was concerned with the use of the history of sport as an index to Canadian culture. This different approach posed a problem in that no precedents had been set and, as a result, no guides for analysis were available. Secondly, despite the central relevance of this question no attempt, apart from two or three brief pamphlets and essays of a superficial character, has been made to systematically conduct scholarly research on the topic.1 As a result, not only was the approach made from unfamiliar ground, but supportive literature from other avenues of analysis is similarly lacking. It is with these severe limitations that the author proceeded in this analysis -- exploratory rather than definitive, as is all history.

Canada, in 1867, on its natal day was still a colony. It has been noted that:

The Canada that had been formed in 1867 was not the outcome of a grass-roots movement. It was not the product of a strong sense of nationalist idealism. It was, instead, the practical answer of practical politicians to the problems of the eighteen sixties. It was the achievement of the few, rather than of the many; the work of government, rather than of peoples.2

Canada was still a British possession, molded into a political entity to combat the spread of American influence on the
North American continent, an important part of imperial strategy. Clark, in support of this idea, advanced the position that in order to check the growth of American hegemony, British colonial policy concentrated on playing down the development of Canadian cultural life by strengthening of the supports of the Old World ethnic group loyalties of English, Scots, and Irish and this policy served to perpetuate the colonial attitude of the Canadian people. Lower expressed the same type of thought when he wrote:

The colonists were colonists, the majority of them devoted to 'the parent state', and all of them, French included, were afraid of Americans who did not use the geographical adjective: the colonists were British North Americans, as American as the Americans, and many of them rather more British than the British. While such a foundation could never be as secure as bonds formed from within, it was the only one available, and as such, it strengthened and broadened, until it became what we have today.

The history of sport in the Border Cities gives a tentative reflection of this policy. The continuance of British sports, the sending of touring teams from the old country, the strong orientation of these British sports towards Canadian competition, the exclusion of Americans as individuals by alien rules, and the slow development of Canada's two games, as noted previously, seem to indicate this policy as it was reflected in sport in the area. The sports of the mother countries were kept alive, orientated inward to the exclusion of the feared Americans, and occasionally "rejuvenated" by the appearance of the teams direct from home.

As might be expected, sport in the Border Cities did
reflect the British nature of the country in the formative years that followed confederation. In Chapter II, it was found that sport was of the British variety until late in the 1870's when baseball made its first appearance. The competitive orientation for these sports was focused on Canadian teams and usually excluded any American competition. Writers, such as MacCormac, who note that Canadian leaders have often sought to erect a "protective prejudice" against the American idea in order to combat the pressures emanating from the United States towards cultural conformity, lie in essential agreement with the policy outlined by Clark and Lower previously. The sporting trends noted give support to these theories, as noted previously. Luschen emphasizes that sport implies basic cultural values and has the ability to pass on these values to its participants. Whether the British government consciously used sport in this manner is unknown at the present time, but the relationship pointed out by Luschen does suggest the possibility that it could have been, whether deliberately or not, by the home government. However, other confounding variables must be considered in relation to these trends since a multivariate situation was in constant operation. It is not possible, for example, to attribute a univariate relationship between the slow development of Canadian sport and the aforementioned policy of the British government. Other factors, as will be mentioned, were also in operation to produce the described changes.
Important changes were becoming strongly suggestive by the turn of the century. It was seen that British sporting practices were on the decline, Canadian sport was as yet not on a significant level, and the American pursuits were rapidly on the rise to the top in popularity. American influence in sport was soon to become, and remain throughout the remainder of the time span under consideration, paramount.

Assimilation in Canada has always meant an increasing conformity to American values of life and standards of behaviour. This process was noted in the sporting trends mentioned above. However, this process has not proceeded unchecked: the presence and persistence of ethnic differences suggests this fact. In sport also, ethnic differences have remained. The continuance, and later strong upsurge in British and Canadian sports in the 1920's, indicates that this assimilation into American culture, or "Americanization", was not unchecked and, in fact, was strongly opposed in Canada. Large scale immigration from the British Isles, which surpassed immigration from any other country, including the United States, from 1920 to 1929 apparently lent strong support to this growth of non-American sport and the curbing of the process of assimilation, at least for this decade.

The importance of the British connection for Canada has been indicated many times. Canada's ex-Governor-General, Vincent Massey, remarked that Canada was the meeting-ground of a geographical axis from the South (the United States) and an historical axis from the East (Great Britain) and that these
two factors have shaped the meeting-ground.\textsuperscript{11} He wrote:

In Canada we have certain institutions and traditions and characteristics which gave us, whatever language we speak, our meaning as a separate country. Without the British connection these things would have steadily evaporated and we should have less and less significance as an individual state. How long would a Canadian republic maintain its individuality here in North America? The forms of our sovereignty might be retained, but we should be caught inexorably by the southward undertow and completely assimilated to American life. It is thus true to say that the British connection is essential to Canadian independence; we are the more Canadian for being British.\textsuperscript{12}

It was the source of strength that Canada was able to draw upon that enabled it to resist "Americanization". Despite the central position occupied by American sport in the Border Cities, it was never able to extinguish the British or Canadian. The process remained incomplete.

Since the "Americanization" of sport in the Border Cities was the dominant trend from before the turn of the century, it is well to consider exactly what is meant by the term or its synonyms, "assimilation" (in the sense described previously), or "increased American influence". Writers on the subject have disavowed that what is ordinarily summed up in these phrases or words is specifically American culture and its imposition on others. Brogan, for example, writes:

I have already stressed the fact that the problem of resisting "Americanization" is common to the whole world, including the United States, if, by Americanization, we mean the excessive confidence in gadgets (and there can be spiritual gadgets as well as mechanical gadgets), the excessive exaltation of the contemporary, the comparative neglect of hindsight as well as foresight. This is a problem for the whole free world and the United States is merely the most prominent, not the only sinner.\textsuperscript{13}
Craig similarly sees the constant worrying on the part of Canadians concerning their ability to retain their "national identity" as something distinct in the face of American influence as "unnecessary because if (Canada) sees American influence where it should see the more general trends of modern life." Underhill views the situation in a similar manner by pointing out:

As the second most affluent people in the world we have become more like the Americans than any other people has yet become. But all mass democracies tend to become more and more like each other, that is, more and more like the United States, the first twentieth-century mass democracy. This process of assimilation should not be called Americanization. It is really democratization.

The close proximity has made Canadians overly sensitive to the ill-defined differences between the two cultures according to Starkey and Robinson. It is repeatedly stressed that these processes are typical of the whole of the western world. One writer puts it:

The lives of modern nations, if they are going to remain modern, now interpenetrate each other in so many ways that they tend to become assimilated to each other. Canada and the United States just happen to be the two peoples among whom this mutual interpenetration has gone farthest. But international interdependence rather than national independence is becoming the mark of all the states that make up the western world community.

MacLennan feels that, in fact, "Much of the culture in Canada, as much of the culture elsewhere, is imported, and not native." And one further example of modern thinking on the subject will suffice as Brogan further writes:

Yet, to be repetitious, the "cultures" of Canada and the United States, using the word in a general
and possibly too materialistic sense, are very close indeed. In part, this is, of course, merely the result of the general spread of the modern technological, and if you like, materialistic culture that dominates all of the Western World and is invading the Eastern World with frightening speed. If Coca-Cola is competing successfully with wine in France, ice hockey, I am told, is threatening the allegiance of the Scots to their national game. (I don't mean curling; I mean Association Football.)

Both Brogan and Underhill stress similar underlying conditions that are responsible for this process of world assimilation. Underhill claims they are mass industrial production and mass democracy. Brogan feels it is the spread of modern technology and materialism.

It was in the 1920's that Canada, and the Border Cities in particular, underwent the processes alluded to by Underhill and Brogan above. Morton writes:

In the development of Canada, 1921 is indeed a watershed. . . . Agricultural and rural Canada had reached its limits; industrial and urban Canada had become its equal, and was moving with a momentum that would carry it into first place. This momentous change, economic, social, and it was to prove, moral, was exhibited simply in the percentages for the totals of rural and urban population. These were rural, 50.48%; urban, 49.52%. In this regard the decade was Janus-like, facing back to a predominately rural past and forward to a predominately urban future.

McInnis expresses the same thought but further notes that three-quarters of the increase during the decade was absorbed into the cities and towns. The Border Cities population rapidly increased from 45,291 in 1919 to 114,276 in 1929, while during this same decade, the area underwent a period of rapid industrialization that was centred on the production of automobiles. The lure of jobs in this developing
urban-industrial area drew people since the increase in population noted above was much more than could be expected by natural increase. It was during this period that the Border Cities appear to have developed the necessary underlying conditions as outlined by Brogan and Underhill, for this new process of "democratization" or "assimilation" or "Americanization" to occur. The importance of these processes is noted by Lower when he writes:

Canada in particular, with its newly evolved urban industrial and commercial class, must accept the new gods, for these classes worship them in spirit and in truth. And it is permissible to imagine that out of these very classes there would arise that new culture which alone would justify the country's separate existence. The oldfolk culture was gone, killed by the god CAR. Yet the new cities, with their miles of sprawling streets, were not slums: they contained the vitality of the nation. 25

These processes were evident in the 1920's in the Border Cities as noted above. Lower notes, "The growth of organized sports is ... a good indicator of the turn from rural values to urban ... " 26 The period was one of terrific growth in the realm of sport and as such, with Lower's observation in mind, does serve to indicate the development of the Border Cities towards the type of society or culture outlined by Brogan and Underhill as necessary for these processes termed under the various names given by different authors. The process of democratization, as Underhill calls it, is also apparent in examining the area. The effects of democracy were being felt more acutely in Canada as a whole at this time and in sport in particular. 27 Jones notes that, "By 1920, Canadian sport was firmly established and
accepted within society and was no longer an upper or middle class phenomenon; some form of sport was available to every Canadian. This democratization -- in effect mass participation -- was apparent in the growth of sport in the Border Cities. The large number of sports and numbers playing was evident. The 1920's then saw the creation of the conditions necessary for the processes described previously to occur.

Since these conditions were not in existence until the 1920's in the Border Cities, the instances of "Americanization" would appear to be of two different types. Ante-1920 cases were examples of American influence due to the fact that conditions in the Border Cities during this period were as yet insufficiently developed as to allow the trends and patterns of influence described as those that encompass the western world, and not specific to the United States, to develop. It also appears that in order for a society to exhibit these modern trends, a level, as yet unspecified, of urban-industrial growth must be attained.

One important aspect for consideration is the commercial domination over parts of the Canadian economy by American entrepreneurs that began during the 1890's and was in its most profitable phase during the decade of the twenties. Saywell has noted that it was during the 1890's that the rapid growth of American capital investment in Canadian natural resources and the establishment of branch plants in significant numbers occurred that subsequently lead to foreign control of the economy. Significantly enough this
trend began during the same period in one of sport's most profitable lines, horse racing, in the Border Cities. This commercialization reached its peak with the opening of Devonshire and Kenilworth during World War I and their prosperous operations, American in ownership, during the decade of the twenties. The parallel between this process in sport and the general economy is rough but apparent. It can only be hypothesized whether the decline of these two trends followed or will follow similar lines. The tracks turned into fields once conditions became favourable once again in the United States; will the same happen in other segments of the economy under American control? This commercial takeover, whether a specifically American process or part of the "Americanization" one has been one of Canadians biggest fears.

If the writers' opinions who were previously mentioned as feeling that these trends were world wide phenomena are correct, then what was actually happening during the various phases of the "Americanization" of sport in the 1920's was not so much an American domination, as noted, but rather the modern western trend in cultural influence emerging. This trend represented a new system of culture developing, based not upon national boundaries, but rather upon the common and shared processes involved in industrialization, the spread of mass democracy, technology, and materialistic philosophy. Luschen expresses this international type of influence created by the similar processes of industrialization and technological spread. Clark also feels that in North
America at least, cultural systems did not develop based upon political boundaries, but rather upon the underlying form of economic life. Modern nations, dependent upon their industrial production as an economic basis would come to culturally resemble one another. It is not unusual then that the Border Cities would reflect this trend, perhaps in a more pronounced fashion due to its closeness to the world leader in the process and even more so due to its extreme closeness to the most heavily industrialized city in the country.

Despite pessimistic fears expressed by some Canadians, this trend has not always been viewed as necessarily harmful to Canadian development. Why should nations and cultures, particularly "young" ones such as Canada, be above learning from other nations who have faced similar problems and possibilities and continue to do so? It would be illogical if the two countries, Canada and the United States, did not resemble each other both for reasons mentioned above and also their history as neighbours in a common environment.

MacCormac writes:

Visiting Britishers, finding so little that is recognizably English about Canada or Canadians, are apt to go home and there to view with alarm the "Americanization" of the senior Dominion. Actually what they see and hear merely reflects the fact that Canadians, like Americans, have lived for almost two centuries on the North American continent and have reacted similarly to the same continental influences. In dress, manner, and social customs it is natural that they should resemble each other.

Clark expresses similar thoughts on the importance of a continental environment that has been shared for so long in establishing such similar ways of life on the North American
Brogan sums up these thoughts by remarking:

Not only will many things be identical on each side of the border: there is no reason why they shouldn't be. To go looking for a specifically Canadian way of doing things, merely because it is Canadian, even if it is manifestly inferior to the American or British way of doing things, is to be as silly as are the childish nationalists of Europe or Asia.35

In conclusion, it may be stated that the history of sport in the Border Cities did serve as an index to cultural change. The shifting from a British colonial position through intermediate stages and into the modern trend of cultural development was witnessed. This later international type of cultural development sheds a different light on the development of a specifically Canadian culture. Kidd in 1970 maintained:

Canada does not have a distinctive sports culture. Virtually every aspect of Canadian sport has been conditioned by American influences. . . . Canadians in search of a distinctive national culture get no help from sports.36

However, it is apparent that Kidd was looking for a distinctive sport culture in terms of times that have apparently past. Canada will not be able to develop a system of sport that will be so readily identifiable as Canadian as Britain had done a century earlier. Underhill writes:

We must, then, face the facts that any project of developing distinctive Canadian traits of character will have to be carried on in a society whose mass culture is becoming more and more indistinguishable from that of the Americans. This is where the real cost of being Canadian is going to emerge.37

The countries of the world and their systems of culture are constantly becoming more and more alike due to similar
underlying conditions and it is within this setting that Canadians must develop their own national culture. Sport reflected that Canadian culture may evolve within this setting for it was in the twenties that Canadian sport made its greatest advances in the Border Cities. It is apparent, however, that there is a long way to go and a great deal of analysis to be done.


12. Ibid., p. 100.


17 Underhill, *op. cit.*, p. 5-6.


30 Luschen, *op. cit.*, p. 89.


Clark, op. cit., p. 185.

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V I T A

Born December 20, 1947 Windsor, Ontario

Graduated from J. L. Forster, 1965

Graduated from University of Windsor, 1970, B.P.H.E.

Married to Stacia Lynne Gamble, August 14, 1971