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Robert Stephen. Kossuth

University of Windsor

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THE DECLINE OF ENGLISH RUGBY AND THE RISE OF CANADIAN FOOTBALL IN
HALIFAX, 1930 TO 1954

by

Robert Kossuth

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Kinesiology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1996

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### Subject Categories

#### THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communications and the Arts</td>
<td>0379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art History</td>
<td>0377</td>
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<td>Cinema</td>
<td>0378</td>
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<td>Fine Arts</td>
<td>0387</td>
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<td>Information Science</td>
<td>0385</td>
</tr>
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<td>Journalism</td>
<td>0391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Science</td>
<td>0399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Communications</td>
<td>0409</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>0413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech Communication</td>
<td>0429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theater</td>
<td>0450</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>General Administration</td>
<td>0515</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>0516</td>
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<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>0523</td>
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<td>Bilingual and Multicultural</td>
<td>0528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>0557</td>
</tr>
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<td>Community College</td>
<td>0572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum and Instruction</td>
<td>0577</td>
</tr>
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<td>Early Childhood</td>
<td>0581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>0588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>0299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidance and Counseling</td>
<td>0277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>0580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>0245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>0228</td>
</tr>
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<td>Industrial</td>
<td>0521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages and Literatures</td>
<td>0280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>0282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>0283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Sciences</td>
<td>0283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>0252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>0355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>0356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>0357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>0358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>0320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>0340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>0359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>0360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>0370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tests and Measurements</td>
<td>0283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>0747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language, Literature and Linguistics</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>0679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient</td>
<td>0289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>0292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval</td>
<td>0295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>0296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renaissance</td>
<td>0297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>0316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>0321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian (English)</td>
<td>0352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian (French)</td>
<td>0353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>0335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>0311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin American</td>
<td>0312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Eastern</td>
<td>0313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>0351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>0578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Philosophy, Religion and Theology</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>0422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>0423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>0431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblical Studies</td>
<td>0427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>0431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of</td>
<td>0420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy of</td>
<td>0422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sociology</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Studies</td>
<td>0523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>0524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology</td>
<td>0525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminology</td>
<td>0577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic and Racial Studies</td>
<td>0578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological Sciences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>0272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Behavior</td>
<td>0275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Pathology</td>
<td>0277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Science and Technology</td>
<td>0395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry and Wildlife</td>
<td>0278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Culture</td>
<td>0279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Pathology</td>
<td>0324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Physiology</td>
<td>0281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range Management</td>
<td>0283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood Technology</td>
<td>0746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>0306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy</td>
<td>0287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biochemistry</td>
<td>0308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>0309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cell</td>
<td>0379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecology</td>
<td>0329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency</td>
<td>0323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genetics</td>
<td>0369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limnology</td>
<td>0798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Microbiology</td>
<td>0410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molecular</td>
<td>0307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nematology</td>
<td>0279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceanography</td>
<td>0416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>0333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radiation</td>
<td>0579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary Science</td>
<td>0786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoology</td>
<td>0472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biogeography</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>0784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>0786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth Sciences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biochemistry</td>
<td>0425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geochemistry</td>
<td>0996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>0700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geophysics</td>
<td>0720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>0722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydrology</td>
<td>0723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineralogy</td>
<td>0411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleobotany</td>
<td>0511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleocology</td>
<td>0425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleontology</td>
<td>0426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleotectics</td>
<td>0418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleogeography</td>
<td>0765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palynology</td>
<td>0437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Geography</td>
<td>0268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Oceanography</td>
<td>0415</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Environmental Sciences</td>
<td>0768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Sciences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>0566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audiology</td>
<td>0300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemotherapy</td>
<td>0356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>0357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>0359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Development</td>
<td>0360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immunology</td>
<td>0361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy</td>
<td>0362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td>0363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>0364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstetrics</td>
<td>0365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstetrics and Gynecology</td>
<td>0380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Health and Safety</td>
<td>0354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ophthalmology</td>
<td>0381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathology</td>
<td>0382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacology</td>
<td>0383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Therapy</td>
<td>0384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radiology</td>
<td>0385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrolytes</td>
<td>0386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluid and Plasma</td>
<td>0798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molecular</td>
<td>0769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osteoporosis</td>
<td>0790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optics</td>
<td>0791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radiation</td>
<td>0792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>0463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Sciences</td>
<td>0464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Mechanics</td>
<td>0984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer Science</td>
<td>0465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>0577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeronautical</td>
<td>0538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>0519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automotive</td>
<td>0540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biomedical</td>
<td>0541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical</td>
<td>0542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil</td>
<td>0543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics and Electrical Systems</td>
<td>0544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluid and Thermodynamics</td>
<td>0564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydraulics</td>
<td>0545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>0564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine</td>
<td>0546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>0576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radiological</td>
<td>0547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reactor</td>
<td>0548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermodynamics</td>
<td>0549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PSYCHOLOGY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>0621</td>
</tr>
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<td>Behavioral</td>
<td>0622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinical</td>
<td>0623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>0624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>0625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>0626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>0627</td>
</tr>
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<td>Physiological</td>
<td>0628</td>
</tr>
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<td>Psychobiology</td>
<td>0629</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychometric</td>
<td>0630</td>
</tr>
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<td>Social</td>
<td>0631</td>
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<td></td>
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this investigation was to understand why Canadian football replaced English rugby as the popular form of football in Halifax between 1930 and 1954. The reasons why this change occurred was the result of the actions of individuals and groups involved in football within the city. The changing popularity of these forms of football were also influenced by events and actions that took place both within and outside Halifax.

An important segment of the Halifax football playing population that supported Canadian football was the city's youth. Many of these individuals were introduced to American football in the 1930s and later to Canadian football in the 1940s. Combined with this increased interest in Canadian football was a decline in the interest in English rugby following the disbanding of high school English rugby in the city after the 1938 season. As a result, the interest of young people in Canadian football was reflected in the future of football in the city.

The single most important influence behind the introduction and promotion of Canadian football in Halifax was that of the Royal Canadian Navy during the Second World War. It was through the efforts of individuals within this organization that teams and leagues were formed in Halifax. Two additional Halifax sporting institutions, the Wanderers Amateur Athletic Club and Dalhousie University, wielded similar influence over football in the city following the war. In 1947, these two organizations formed
Canadian football teams, which reflected the growing popularity of the sport in Halifax. The result of this change was that greater attention and interest was brought to the game within the city's civilian population.

A final influence that was responsible for the declining interest in English rugby was the inability of English rugby administrators to successfully increase interest in their sport. This lack of success, combined with the effective promotion efforts undertaken by Canadian football organizers, resulted in decreased exposure of, and interest in, English rugby by the early 1950s.

These changes within Halifax that affected football participation and interest resulted in the rise to dominance of Canadian football in Halifax by 1954.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank Dr. Alan Metcalfe for the guidance and encouragement he provided throughout this project. The support Dr. Victoria Paraschak and Dr. Kenneth Pryke was also greatly appreciated. The assistance provided by the many individuals in Halifax and Nova Scotia who gave freely of their time and knowledge was invaluable and will always be fondly remembered. Finally, I would like to thank Jennifer for her valued contribution, support, and patience over the course of this endeavour.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.  INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE DOMINANCE OF RUGBY UNION: FOOTBALL IN</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALIFAX PRIOR TO 1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dominance of Rugby Union in Halifax</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During the 1930s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Introduction of Rugby League at Dalhousie University, 1933 and 1934</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Challenge of American Football</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Football and Alternative Games</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Early Effects of the Second World War on</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby Union in Halifax, 1939 and 1940</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE WAR YEARS: THE INTRODUCTION OF CANADIAN</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOTBALL, 1941 TO 1944</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Introduction of Canadian football</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Twelve's&quot; and &quot;Eight's&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Establishment of Navy and High School</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Football</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Football Takes Root in Halifax, 1943 and 1944</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Transition From Rugby Union to Rugby</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League, 1943 and 1944</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE CAMPAIGN FOR FOOTBALL DOMINANCE IN</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALIFAX, 1945 TO 1950</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post War Restructuring of Football in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halifax, 1945 and 1946</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Reemergence of Canadian Football, 1947 to 1950</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Decline of Rugby League in Halifax, 1947 to 1950</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. THE DOMINANCE OF CANADIAN FOOTBALL AND THE 
DEMISE OF ENGLISH RUGBY, 1951 TO 1954 .......... 94
   Introduction .................................. 94
   The Dominance of Canadian Football, 1951 
   to 1954 .................................. 96
   The Collapse of English Rugby in 
   Halifax, 1951 to 1954 .......................... 109
   Conclusion .................................. 114

VI. CONCLUSION .................................. 115

APPENDIX 1: Content Analysis Methodology .......... 123

APPENDIX 2: Halifax City Rugby League 
(Senior) .................................. 124

APPENDIX 3: Halifax City Rugby League 
(Intermediate) .................................. 125

APPENDIX 4: Halifax High School Rugby Teams 
(Senior, Intermediate, Junior) .................. 126

APPENDIX 5: Coverage of Football on Mondays .......... 127

APPENDIX 6: Halifax Senior and Intermediate 
Canadian Football Teams ........................ 128

APPENDIX 7: Halifax High School Canadian 
Football Teams .................................. 129

APPENDIX 8: Coverage of Institutions on 
Mondays .................................. 130

APPENDIX 9: Maritime Intercollegiate Rugby 
League Teams .................................. 131

APPENDIX 10: Halifax Junior Canadian Football 
Teams .................................. 132

SOURCES CONSULTED ............................... 133

VITA AUCTORIS ................................ 137
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rugby Union Teams in Halifax</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Coverage of Football on Mondays in the <strong>Halifax Herald</strong>, 1930, 1934, and 1938</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Coverage of Football on Mondays in the <strong>Halifax Herald</strong>, 1941 to 1944</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Coverage of Institutions Involved in Football on Mondays in the <strong>Halifax Herald</strong>, 1941 to 1944</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Coverage of Football on Mondays in the <strong>Halifax Herald</strong>, 1944 to 1946</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Coverage of Football on Mondays in the <strong>Halifax Herald</strong> and <strong>Chronicle Herald</strong>, 1947 to 1950</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Coverage of Football on Mondays in the <strong>Chronicle Herald</strong>, 1951 to 1954</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAC  Amateur Athletic Club
COTC Canadian Officers Training Core
CRU  Canadian Rugby Union
DAAC Dalhousie Amateur Athletic Club
HAFL Halifax American Football League
HClCFL Halifax City Intermediate Canadian Football League
HCRL  Halifax City Rugby League
HHSCFL Halifax High School Canadian Football League
HSCFL Halifax Senior Canadian Football League
MI RLR Maritime Intercollegiate Rugby League
MRFA Maritime Rugby Football Association
MRU  Maritime Rugby Union
NSCFL Nova Scotia Canadian Football League
NSJCFI Nova Scotia Junior Canadian Football League
NLRC Navy League Recreation Centre
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In Halifax, between 1930 and 1954, there was a change in the popular form of football played in the city.¹ This change involved a decline in the popularity of English rugby² and the rise in the popularity of Canadian football. Prior to the Second World War, the dominant form of football played in Halifax was rugby union. By 1954, however, less than a decade after the end of the Second World War, Canadian football became the city's dominant football game. In order to understand why this change took place an investigation of the alterations that caused this phenomenon, and an appreciation of the influences that initiated and fostered this change, must be examined.

The relevance of this investigation lies in the unique nature of the events surrounding the change in the popular form of football in Halifax. Between 1930 and 1954 no other city in Canada experienced a comparable shift in popular interest from one form of football to another. Although the history of both English rugby and Canadian football in Nova Scotia have been

¹ Football, for the purposes of this study, will refer to games that are derived from the sport of rugby union that was first played in England in the early 19th century. These games involve the use of an oval ball that is either kicked, or passed by hand, and does not include association football or soccer.

² English rugby in this study refers to both the rugby union and rugby league games.
investigated independently, there has been no attempt to examine the events that transpired within Halifax over this period which caused the popularity of these two forms of football to change so dramatically. Thus, through undertaking this examination, the knowledge of the history of sport in Canada and the Maritime provinces will be advanced. Finally, it must be noted that this question was of personal interest to the author of this study who, in the past, has been involved in both Canadian football and English rugby.

To understand how Canadian football was able to replace English rugby as the dominant form of football in Halifax requires that the mechanisms of social change be examined. The theoretical concepts of cultural production and reproduction, and structure and agency will be utilized in this study to examine social change in order to form a theoretical framework that will guide this investigation. These theoretical concepts, however, will not be employed to provide a detailed theoretical examination of the nature of social change, but will be used to focus this study.

A theory of cultural production and reproduction will provide an analytical tool that attempts to account for "... both the recognition of change and the experience of consistency in ... everyday relations with cultural formations."\(^3\) Cultural production, in the case of football in Halifax between 1930 and 1954, was evident with the introduction of alternative

forms of football, including Canadian football, into the city. Ongoing Cultural reproduction, however, acted in opposition to this change and was evident through attempts to preserve the sport of English rugby. These two processes, one which promoted change and the other which strived to maintain the current order, were clearly at work in Halifax between 1930 and 1954. Therefore, cultural production and reproduction, utilized as a broad theoretical concept, accounts for both the processes of change and maintenance that were evident within the football community in Halifax over this period of time.

Change or cultural production, and maintenance or cultural reproduction, were evident in the operation of organized football within Halifax between 1930 and 1954. It is necessary, however, to question what forces were involved in promoting this change and maintenance. A theory of structure and agency provides a means by which the influences that foster or resist change can be identified. Structures are those boundaries within which people live their lives. Structures, however, do not only effect the actions of individuals and groups, but are also affected by the actions of groups and individuals. Agents, are individuals or groups of individuals who are linked to structures through their actions, and are not only affected by structures but also have an

---

4 Alan Metcalfe, Lecture in course 95-515 at the University of Windsor on 26 October 1994.

effect upon them. Structures and agents, therefore, are
interrelated and the result of this interrelation acts to either
cause or resist social change. Thus, in a broad sense within
Halifax, changes that affected the popularity of Canadian
football and English rugby were the result of the interaction
between agents within the structures that comprised football in
the city.

Social change and maintenance within Halifax that was
influenced by the actions of individuals and groups had a clear
effect on the form of football that was popular within the city.
As a result, change, and to a lesser degree maintenance in the
case of football in Halifax, was primarily the result of the
interactions between players, coaches, administrators, and
spectators who constituted the two forms of football. These
individuals, however, represented only the influences upon
football that acted internally within Halifax. External
influences, in the form of events and the actions of groups and
individuals outside the city, also affected change and
maintenance of the popular form of football in Halifax. The
combination of these internal and external interactions and
events, therefore, had a critical influence on the acceptance of
Canadian football and the eventual dismissal of English rugby as
the popular form of football in the city. Finally, it must be
noted that conclusions concerning social change and maintenance

6 J.H. Turner, The Structure of Sociological Theory (Chicago:
in football in Halifax based on this theoretical framework will be examined exclusively within the concluding chapter of this study.

Football in Halifax was supported within specific institutions that provided athletes with the opportunity to play football. These institutions and the individuals who operated them formed the rules that governed football within the city. Within Halifax, educational institutions including universities, colleges, and high schools; the military, primarily the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN); and the Wanderers Amateur Athletic Club (Wanderers AAC) were the dominant institutions that supported and organized football. The relations within, and between, these institutions, therefore, were critical to the operation of football within Halifax.

Individuals and groups that were involved in organized football in Halifax between 1930 and 1954 included players, coaches, administrators and spectators. Players, coaches, and administrators interacted primarily within the institutions to which they belonged. The interactions between these groups and individuals was the primary influence that resulted in changes within football in Halifax. Spectators, however, were not necessarily directly involved within any one institution that supported football, but their actions did have an important impact upon the popularity of the different forms of football played in the city over this period of time.
The city newspapers were an institution not directly related to football that had an effect on football within Halifax. Newspapers provided coverage of organizational meetings, games, and other football-related events. The prominent daily newspaper in the city was the Halifax Herald, and after 1948 the Chronicle Herald, 7 which provided coverage of the majority of football-related events in the city. In this study these newspapers were utilized to conduct a content analysis study to determine the amount of coverage English rugby, Canadian football, and American football received in order to provide a measure of the changing popularity of these games. Similarly, the coverage each football related institution received was gleaned to determine the changing influence these organizations had on football in the city (see appendix 1). 8 Other newspapers which covered more specific segments of the football community included the Dalhousie Gazette and the Saint Mary's Journal. Halifax newspapers were not only important for the coverage they provided of football, but were also influential because of the opinions expressed by writers and editors, many of whom were outspoken about the actions of individuals and groups involved in football in the city.

7 The Chronicle Herald was formed when the Halifax Herald and the Halifax Chronicle were merged in 1949.

A second measure of the popularity of rugby union between 1930 and 1954 was evident through the spectator interest in the various forms of football played in Halifax. From 1900 to 1930 the attendance figures at matches between Dalhousie University and Wanderers AAC provided evidence of the popularity of rugby union—attendance figures of over three thousand spectators was not uncommon at senior city league games.\(^9\) The changes in attendance figures at football games between 1930 and 1954, when sufficient to exhibit change, are a useful instrument for gauging the popularity of English rugby and Canadian football over this period.

Rugby union, which had been played in Halifax since the 1860s, was established within the city by the 1880s. According to Ralph Davies, the popularization of rugby union in Halifax was the result of the ties between the British military, who introduced the game during the late nineteenth century, and the civilian elite of the city, who continued to play the game into the twentieth century following the British military's withdrawal from Halifax.\(^10\)

During the first three decades of the twentieth century rugby union maintained its popularity among the male elite in Halifax. These individuals participated in the sport as members of university, high school, sport club, and military teams.


According to Davies, rugby union was predominantly an upper class pastime in England and was played by the equivalent "social elite" within Halifax.\textsuperscript{11} The Wanderers AAC, the most influential sporting club in Halifax, was formed in 1882 and fielded cricket and rugby football teams that claimed many men, prominent in the business and social life of Halifax as members. Among the charter group, one later became knighted, one a lieutenant-governor, one a Supreme Court Justice, one a senator, one a Member of Parliament, one a Member of the Provincial Parliament and one a President of the Bank of Montreal.\textsuperscript{12}

Individuals who formed the Wanderers AAC football teams were drawn from the city high schools, colleges, and universities, and thus a vast majority of the players were member of the "social elite" of the city.

Prior to the 1930s, rugby union was the only "handling game" form of football played in Halifax.\textsuperscript{13} It was not until early in the decade that alternative forms of football were introduced into the city. These forms of football were introduced into Halifax following 1930 included sports such as American football, Canadian football, and rugby league. Although the dominant position of rugby union was not threatened by the arrival of

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 5.


\textsuperscript{13} The reference to the "handling game" is used to differentiate rugby football and its derivative games from association football. These "handling games" include rugby union, rugby league, American football, and Canadian football.
these games during the 1930s, the events that transpired during this period indicated that North American style football games would have a profound impact on the future of English rugby in Halifax.
CHAPTER II

THE DOMINANCE OF RUGBY UNION: FOOTBALL IN HALIFAX
PRIOR TO 1941

Introduction

The organization and composition of Football in Halifax during the 1930s remained much as it had been in the first three decades of the twentieth century. There were, however, a number of important additions and alterations during the decade that indicated the future of football in the city was less settled than it appeared. The most visible change to football in Halifax at this time was the addition of new forms of football including American football, Canadian football, and rugby league. This challenge, however, did not alter rugby union's position as the popular form of football played in Halifax during the 1930s. The continued popularity of rugby union was evident in several respects, including the number of teams that were represented within the various institutions and the extensive coverage of rugby union-related events in the city newspapers. With the start of the Second World War, however, there were a number of disruptions to the organization and functioning of rugby union in Halifax which had clear negative effects on the sport.
The Dominance of Rugby Union in Halifax During the 1930s

The dominance of rugby union in Halifax during the 1930s was evident through popular interest in the city's newspapers, the number of rugby union teams active in the city, and the continued support the sport received from the institutions within which it was played. Support for rugby union was evident within the educational institutions in the city, the Wanderers AAC, and to a lesser degree the military bases in the city. As a result of rugby union's past popularity in Halifax and the foundation of support on which it operated during the 1930s, the sport was clearly the dominant football game in the city.

Universities and colleges in Halifax that fielded English rugby teams included Dalhousie University, Saint Mary's College, Kings College, and Nova Scotia Technical College. Acadia University, located in Wolfville Nova Scotia, also competed with these teams in the senior and intermediate sections of the Halifax City Rugby League (HCRL). The sole sport club in Halifax was the Wanderers AAC which fielded rugby union teams throughout the 1930s. Finally, teams representing various branches of the military made-up the remainder of the men's rugby union teams in Halifax. High schools that fielded rugby union teams included Saint Mary's College, Saint Patrick's, Bloomfield, Richmond, and Morris Street High Schools. For the majority of the 1930s, high school teams in the city competed within the Nova Scotia Headmasters League which decided the provincial rugby union
champion at the junior, intermediate, and senior levels.\textsuperscript{1}

Although high school football in the 1930s was vibrant, its
fortunes were closely tied to, and dependent upon, the senior
teams in the city as they provided coaching and facilities for
many of these teams.

Military rugby union teams that were active in Halifax
during the 1930s did not operate with the same numbers and were
less stable from year to year when compared to teams from the
educational institutions. In any year, however, there was at
least one military team represented in the HCRL at either, or
both, the senior or intermediate levels. Military teams at this
time were primarily represented by either RCN or United Services
teams. During the 1938 season, however, a team from the Air
Force competed in the HCRL and during the 1940 season, an Army
team from the Aldershot training base participated in the city
league. As well as fielding teams in the HCRL, the military was
also involved in the administration of the league, with officers
holding positions on the league executive.\textsuperscript{2} Military teams,
therefore, were an important component of the operation of rugby
union in Halifax.

The number of teams that competed at various levels within
Halifax during the 1930s remained relatively constant. The

\textsuperscript{1} Halifax high school teams did not compete in the Nova Scotia
Headmasters League in 1938 and as a result formed the Halifax High
School Senior Rugby League.

\textsuperscript{2} In 1934 the Chairman of the HCRL was Lieutenant-Commander
Murray and the Vice Chairman was Lieutenant-Commander Edwards.
number of active teams in the representative years, 1930, 1934, 1938, and 1939 indicates that there were only minor changes in the number of teams participating in rugby union throughout the decade (see table 1 and appendix 2, 3 and 4).

Table 1.--Rugby Union Teams in Halifax

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Senior League</th>
<th>Intermediate League</th>
<th>High School Teams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stability of rugby union in Halifax during this period was not approached by either American football, Canadian football, or rugby league. The dominance of rugby union, as measured by team numbers, was not seriously challenged during the 1930s.¹

Newspaper coverage of football in Halifax during the 1930s focused principally on rugby union, although there was also coverage provided of other forms of football which were played primarily outside the city. Football coverage in the Halifax Herald, as indicated in table 2, was dominated by rugby union. In the years 1930, 1934 and 1938, coverage of rugby union in the Halifax Herald represented over 90% of all the football covered (see appendix 5). Thus, it is clear that rugby union was the

¹ The only sport to challenge rugby union in terms of team numbers during the 1930s was American football in 1934. In this year there were three senior and one high school American football teams in the city.
football game of greatest interest to those individuals who wrote for and read the Halifax Herald.

Table 2.--Coverage of Football on Mondays in the Halifax Herald, 1930, 1934, and 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rugby Union</th>
<th>Canadian Football</th>
<th>American Football</th>
<th>Rugby League</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>94.7%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>92.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>91.7%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the irregular reporting of attendance figures in the Halifax newspapers during the 1930s, the use of published game attendance numbers to measure the popularity of senior rugby union in the city was unreliable over this period. There was one exception, however, that being an American football game between Dalhousie University and Saint Mary’s College on 6 October 1934, where an attendance of between 1000 and 1200 spectators indicated that there was popular interest in football games other than rugby union at this time. Despite this one example, the use of attendance figures to measure the popularity of various forms of football during the 1930s was not feasible.

---

4 The percentage of football coverage is derived from a content analysis study of the Halifax Herald on Mondays for September, October, and November (see appendix 1).

5 Halifax Herald, 8 October 1934, 9. Dalhousie Gazette, 12 October 1934, 4. The Saint Mary’s College at Dalhousie University game attracted between 1000 and 1200 spectators. The attendance figures provided for this game were the only ones provided during the 1934 season.
The dominance of rugby union as the football game of choice in Halifax during the 1930s was undeniable. None of the alternative football games approached rugby union in terms of the number of active teams or coverage received in the Halifax Herald. Despite this clear dominance, the appearance of alternative football games in Halifax during the decade indicated that there was an interest in football games other than rugby union within the city.

The Introduction of Rugby League at Dalhousie University, 1933 and 1934

The sport of rugby league was first introduced to Halifax during the 1933 and 1934 seasons. At this time, however, it was not a threat to the dominance of rugby union in the city. What this brief experiment with rugby league did highlight were some of the problems facing rugby union at the time. The reason why rugby league was introduced at this time was solely the result of the efforts of one individual, John McCarthy.7

John McCarthy arrived at Dalhousie University in 1933 to coach the senior and intermediate rugby union teams following a

---

6 Rugby League is a form of English rugby popularized in the late nineteenth century by working class rugby players who did not accept amateur rules imposed by the Rugby Football Union. For a history of rugby league see: Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, Barbarians Gentlemen and Players, (Oxford: Robertson, 1979).

7 Davies, 62. John McCarthy was a former rugby league player from the North of England who coached the Caledonia rugby team during the late 1920s and early 1930s. He was credited with introducing a style of play based upon his experience as a rugby league player in England.
number of years as the coach of the Caledonia rugby club of Cape Breton Island during the late 1920s and early 1930s. When McCarthy became the coach at Dalhousie University he was already involved in a dispute with the Maritime Rugby Union (MRU) over several issues concerning the state of rugby union in the Maritimes. These issues included the need to train competent referees and coaches, and the general lack of understanding in the rules of rugby union exhibited by players. McCarthy believed these problems were damaging to English rugby, as they threatened popular interest in the game. McCarthy introduced the game of rugby league to the inter-faculty league at Dalhousie University during the 1933 season in an attempt to exhibit the merits of the sport. Through this exhibition of rugby league McCarthy attempted to convince rugby union enthusiasts that rugby league was more exciting than rugby union and could increase popular interest in English rugby.

John McCarthy continued to promote rugby league in the inter-faculty league at Dalhousie during the 1934 season, and for his efforts McCarthy did receive some positive feedback. For example, a match between the Law faculty team and a Commerce-Engineers combined faculties team was reported by some to be more interesting, faster, and more "wide open" in comparison to the

---

8 *Dalhousie Gazette*, 19 October 1933, 2.

9 *Dalhousie Gazette*, 26 October 1933, 4.
typical inter-faculty rugby union games. The favourable accounts of this game were attributed in a large part to the innovations of the rugby league rules. Despite this positive feedback, rugby league remained limited to inter-faculty play at Dalhousie University. The reasons why McCarthy introduced rugby league during his term as the Dalhousie coach are clear, however, it is not clear why he was removed as coach of the varsity team after only two seasons, thus ending the rugby league experiment. One reason may have been his poor record of one win and four losses during the 1934 season. Apart from his record, however, McCarthy's attempt to alter the existing form of English rugby at Dalhousie most likely did not win the approval of either rugby union leaders or the university administrators in Halifax.

Although the introduction of rugby league at Dalhousie University during the 1933 and 1934 seasons did not have an impact upon the popularity of rugby union, it did indicate that there was at least a minor interest in an alternative form of football. As well, McCarthy's reasons for introducing the game exhibited that at least one individual believed there were problems with the sport of rugby union in Halifax and the

---


11 No evidence was found of rugby league being played in any other venue aside from the inter-faculty league at Dalhousie university during the 1933 and 1934 seasons.

12 Dalhousie Gazette, 27 September 1935, 4. McCarthy was replaced as the Dalhousie rugby coach by "Big" Jim McDonald.
Maritimes at this time. This, however, was not the only example of the introduction of an alternative football game to the city, as American football was also being played by students at Dalhousie University and Saint Mary’s College as early as the 1932 football season.

The Challenge of American Football, 1932 to 1937

The first games of American football were reported to have been played on Studley Field at Dalhousie University in the autumn of 1932. A report in the Dalhousie Gazette revealed concern about the playing of American football at Dalhousie University, and was quick to blame the participation in these games on freshmen and the increasing American influence at the university.13 This influence, however, was not limited to students at Dalhousie University. Students at Saint Mary’s College and Saint Patrick’s High School were also involved in the sport. Interest in American football in Halifax over the ensuing five years initially expanded and then disappeared by 1937. The end result of this experience, however, was the appearance of the growing influence of the rest of North America within Halifax.

On 11 November 1933, the first inter-university American football game was played between Saint Mary’s College and Dalhousie University in front of a large gathering of curious

13 Dalhousie Gazette, 23 November 1932, 4.
spectators.\textsuperscript{14} This was the Saint Mary's College team's first attempt at the new game, thus, it was no surprise that the more experienced Dalhousie University team won thirteen to nil.\textsuperscript{15} An account of this game in the Saint Mary's College publication, The Collegian, reported the attendance at the game to be close to 1200 spectators. The article also revealed that American students from the Dalhousie and the Saint Mary's teams both had standard American football uniforms, padded pants, and helmets, all of which were imported at considerable cost to the players.\textsuperscript{16} The interest expressed in American football by students at these two institutions indicated that the sport had attracted more than just a passing interest at the schools.

The Halifax American Football League (HAFL) was formed in 1934 and was the first alternative football league to challenge the dominance of the HCRL. This new league was made up of teams from Saint Mary's College and Dalhousie University, along with a team drawn from the American population of the city called the Ardmore.\textsuperscript{17} This league, however, was not stable as the Ardmore team lasted in the league for only one season.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} The Power Sports Collection, 13 November 1933 in Davies, 57.

\textsuperscript{15} Dalhousie Gazette, 16 November 1933, 4. The Collegian, December 1933, 45.

\textsuperscript{16} The Collegian, December 1933, 45.

\textsuperscript{17} The Collegian, December 1934, 53. Dalhousie Gazette, 4 October 1934, 4.

\textsuperscript{18} Diane Webster, "Saint Mary's Football 1933 to 1988" (Undergraduate paper, Dalhousie University, 1988), 2-3.
HAFL survived this loss and continued to operate until the Saint Mary's College team folded in 1937, after which the league disbanded.\textsuperscript{19} Also, in the 1934 season, there was an American football team formed at Saint Patrick's High School which played against the university teams but was not an official member of the HAFL.\textsuperscript{20} Although this league lacked stability during its short existence, it did at the time represent a visible alternative to rugby union.

The increasing interest in American football was a popular topic of discussion during the 1934 football season. Jimmie Smith, a writer for the Halifax Herald, voiced his belief that the growing interest in American football was due to the number of American players living in Halifax.\textsuperscript{21} Smith also wrote that the introduction of American football was, in large part, a result of the younger athletes in the city being interested in the game. This interest, Smith advanced, was exhibited through the formation of the teams at Dalhousie University, Saint Mary's College, and Saint Patrick's High School.\textsuperscript{22} Further evidence of the interest younger athletes in Halifax had in American football was provided by Tommy Sweet, a lifelong Halifax resident and local sport historian. Sweet recalled having played

\textsuperscript{19} The Collegian, May 1937, 58.

\textsuperscript{20} Halifax Herald, 9 November 1934, 9. Saint Patrick's played against the Saint Mary's College team on Saturday 1 November 1934.

\textsuperscript{21} Halifax Herald, 9 October 1934, 9.

\textsuperscript{22} Halifax Herald, 3 November 1934, p. 9.
"pick up" American football games with his friends "down on the parade" when he was a child during the 1920s and 1930s. He believed that movies showing Canadian and American football games were responsible for their interest in the game. Sweet also added that many of his peers viewed Canadian and American football as more exciting than English rugby. The increased interest in American football during the 1934 season resulted in the first viable challenge to the dominance of rugby union in the city of Halifax.

Interest in American football during the 1934 season was comparable to that of rugby union in so much as attendance was concerned. The largest crowd for an American football game was recorded to have been between 1000 and 1200 spectators while no crowd as large was recorded for any rugby union game during the season. The challenge posed by the new American football league, however, was not regarded as a serious threat by the administrators of the HCRL. The chairman of the HCRL, Lieutenant Commander Murray, and the league vice-chairman, Lieutenant-Commander Edwards, did not publicly communicate concern over the

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24 Dalhousie Gazette, 12 October 1934, 4. Halifax Herald, 8 October 1934, 9. The crowd estimate for the game between Dalhousie University and Saint Mary's College was 1000 in the Dalhousie Gazette, while the estimate in the Halifax Herald was 1200.
success of the new American football league.\textsuperscript{25} There was,
however, a rule change introduced at this time by the league
which may have been initiated as a response to the challenge
posed by the new American league. The new rule was implemented
to combat the problem of the late arrival of teams at games,
which had been a complaint of both players and spectators. As a
result, a fine of $25 dollars was imposed against any team
arriving more than ten minutes late for a game. The reason this
rule was instituted was to curb "... the lessening interest in
rugby in Halifax," caused by late starting games that often
finished in near darkness.\textsuperscript{26} Whether this rule change was a
reaction to the perceived challenge of American football cannot
be determined, however, its implementation was a clear attempt to
correct this problem which they believed could result in a
decline in the interest in rugby union.

Discussions concerning the possible threat posed by American
football to rugby union occurred primarily within the newspapers.
In one example writer Jimmie Smith quoted Dalhousie University’s
rugby coach John McCarthy concerning the state of English rugby
and the challenge posed by American football.

The success or failure of American Football, or rather
the league which will be operated in Halifax this
season, will not make or break English rugby in Nova

\textsuperscript{25} No record could be located of any member of the Halifax
City Rugby League executive expressing an opinion concerning the
American football league.

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Halifax Herald}, 10 October 1934, 8.
Scotia --the Maritimes for that matter-- according to such an authority as John "Mac" McCarthy. . .27

Publicly this may have been McCarthy’s position, yet his actions, as viewed through his introduction of rugby league during the 1933 and 1934 seasons, indicated that he may not have been so certain about the future of rugby union in Halifax.

Discussions in the newspapers at this time surrounded not only the question of American football’s challenge to rugby union, but also the presence of other alternative forms of football in Halifax. James Power of the Halifax Herald wrote in his column titled "Sport View" that "Halifax is enjoying a variety of football this season: British Rugby, Rugby League, Association, and the American game, but no Canadian football."28 Power’s emphasis on the absence of Canadian football in Halifax was clear and demonstrated that there was a realization that the American influence in Halifax was greater than that of Central Canada with respect to football choice at this time. The influence American football had during this period, therefore, was apparent through the raised interest it generated among many football enthusiasts, and in particular the city’s youth, in Halifax.

The American influence upon the form of football played in Halifax from 1932 to 1937 was most evident among students and young people in the city. In particular, this influence was

27 Halifax Herald, 2 October 1934, 9.

28 Halifax Herald, 26 October 1934, 7.
present at Saint Mary's College which was administered by the Irish Christian Brothers, an American religious order, up to 1939.\textsuperscript{29} The Irish Christian Brothers, many of whom were Americans, would have had a significant influence on which sports were played in both the high school and college during the 1930s. Combined with the influence of the Irish Christian Brothers was the presence of American students who attended Saint Mary's College during this time, some of whom would have had experience playing American football.\textsuperscript{30} Although student interest was the primary motivation behind the formation of an American football team, the students would not have had access to the necessary equipment, facilities, and coaching required to organize competitive teams. It would have been difficult for students to access these resources without the assistance of the staff and administration at the college.\textsuperscript{31} Saint Mary's further exhibited its commitment to American football by terminating their participation in the intermediate Halifax rugby league in 1934. They did, however, field both senior and junior high

\textsuperscript{29} Kevin Cleary, interview by author, Phone Conversation, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 21 August 1996. Cleary is the Senate Secretary of Saint Mary's University.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid. Kevin Cleary claims that during the time the Irish Christian Brothers administered Saint Mary's there were a number of American students attending the school.

\textsuperscript{31} Alan Metcalfe, Lecture in course 95-240 at the University of Windsor on 15 February 1995. The structure and organization of Ontario and Quebec university sport, Metcalfe contends, was controlled by faculty and academic representatives during the early 1900s. The situation at Saint Mary's College, was in all likelihood similar in that sport was organized and administered by the faculty at the college at this time.
school rugby union teams.\textsuperscript{32} Thus, the influence of the American players and faculty was important in the formation of an American football team, but it did not result in the complete replacement of rugby union by American football at Saint Mary's College.

Although the HAFL did not last past the 1937 season, the effect of its presence remained. The most important legacy of the brief presence of American football in Halifax was its influence on the youth of the city. The result of this influence was the continued interest in North American style football later in the decade. At this time, however, rugby union continued in its position as the dominant football game in Halifax.

**Canadian Football and Alternative Football Games**

The first evidence of Canadian football being played in Halifax was reported in an article in the 4 November 1936 Saint Mary's Journal. In this article the director of junior sports at Saint Mary's, Brother Lyons, was reported to have obtained a book of rules governing Canadian football. Based on these rules, Brother Lyons organized two teams, one white and one maroon, for scrimmages of the Canadian game.\textsuperscript{33} Canadian football, however, did not remain a regularly played sport at Saint Mary's College High School, which was evident because there was no mention of

\textsuperscript{32} The Collegian, December 1934, 54.

\textsuperscript{33} Saint Mary's Journal, 4 November 1936, 3.
Canadian football in either the Saint Mary's Journal or The Collegian year book the following year.

In Halifax, following the 1937 season, forms of football other than rugby union were not played at an organized institutional level until the advent of the Halifax City Intermediate Canadian Football League in 1942.\textsuperscript{34} There were, however, examples of North American style football games being played in Halifax during the 1939 and 1940 seasons.

At Saint Mary's College in 1939 there was a revival in North American style football at the inter-faculty level. In the Saint Mary's Journal there were references made to inter-faculty football matches played between teams representing "Junior Arts" and "Senior Engineers" in a form of football called "American Sixes".\textsuperscript{35} "American Sixes" continued to be played at an inter-faculty level at Saint Mary's until the 1943 season, after which the game disappeared. The competition in "American sixes" football at Saint Mary's during this time exhibited that there was an interest in alternative, North American, forms of football that remained within this segment of the Halifax football community.

\textsuperscript{34} The Saint Mary's College American football team disbanded during the 1937 football season.

\textsuperscript{35} Saint Mary's Journal, 30 November 1939, 1; and 15 December 1939, 4. The Collegian, 1940, 37. No rules for "American Sixes" were found, but a photograph of the 1939 champions, the Junior Arts team, was found in The Collegian in which there were six players (three linemen and three backs) wearing football equipment and uniforms.
Evidence also exists of touch football, a game based on Canadian football, being played within Halifax schools during the autumn of 1939. The impetus behind the introduction of touch football was Earle Wilson, the Physical Director of the Halifax YMCA, who was able to obtain rules for the game. The game itself was described as a combination of American and Canadian football rules and the popularity of the game within the schools was enhanced due to the low expense required to equip the teams.\textsuperscript{36} Schools that took part in touch football games included Tower Road, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Sir Charles Tupper, Joseph Howe, Bloomfield, and LeMarchant Schools.\textsuperscript{37} The existence of touch football during the 1939 football season was, most likely, a result of the onset of the war and the need to organize sport outside the schools, in this case at the YMCA, because of restrictions on extra circular activities at schools in Halifax. The presence of these two alternative football games exhibited the persistent popularity of North American style football games among the youth of Halifax.

The existence of North American style football games in Halifax during the 1939 and 1940 seasons reflected a change in attitude, primarily within the youth of the city, towards these alternative football games. Whether the increased interest in these games was indirectly a result of the onset of the Second World War was not clear. The effects of the war on the

\textsuperscript{36} Halifax Herald, 10 November 1939, 7.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
participation, organization and administration of rugby league, however, was clearly evident.

The Early Effects of The Second World War on Rugby Union in Halifax, 1939 and 1940

Canada entered the Second World War on 10 September 1939. With the declaration of war, the city of Halifax immediately became a site of strategic importance because of its geographic location, and its port and harbour. As a result, Halifax became a home base for military personnel from all branches of the armed forces. In the early days of the war there was little change to organized sport throughout Canada, with many sporting organizations such as the Senior Canadian Football League, the National Hockey League, and the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association declaring their intentions to continue operating as usual. In Halifax, however, there were a number of disruptions to the sport of rugby union during the 1939 and 1940 seasons.

During the 1939 football season the senior and intermediate rugby leagues operated normally suffering few disruptions due to the onset of the war. There was, however, an exception to the normality experienced within the men's rugby leagues. This exception was the absence of high school rugby union teams in the

city (see appendix 4). The absence of high school rugby union indicated that the ability of high schools to organize sport at this time had been affected by the outbreak of the war. In 1938 there were four teams competing in the Halifax City Senior High School Rugby League, including Saint Mary's, Saint Patrick's, and Bloomfield High Schools, as well as Halifax County Academy. By 1939 however, none of these schools fielded a rugby union team, and no high school in Halifax would do so until well after the end of the war. The reason why high school rugby was discontinued is not evident, yet one possible explanation is the loss of coaches and teachers to run the teams forced the teams to disband. It is not clear, therefore, why the senior teams, coaches, and players did not take it upon themselves to preserve high school rugby in Halifax.

Although the absence of high school rugby was the main disruption to rugby union in Halifax during the 1939 season, there were further disturbances during the 1940 season that reflected the growing effect of the war. One important disruption that affected the operation of football in Halifax was the imposition of a ban on intercollegiate athletics by Dr.

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39 In 1947 Queen Elizabeth High School formed a rugby league team. There was, however, no evidence of a rugby union league in Halifax prior to the end of 1954, the limit of this investigation.

40 Davies, 54. As early as 1920 the Wanderers AAC had lent its facilities and provided coaching to high school teams in Halifax.
Carlton Stanley, the president of Dalhousie University. As a result of the ban on intercollegiate athletics, the Dalhousie University rugby team could no longer play against their senior league rival Acadia University. In order for the league to continue to operate with this ban in place an interlocking schedule was drawn up to allow league competition without Dalhousie and Acadia Universities playing one another. The eventual league winner was, thus, decided on points awarded for games won. In addition to this ban, the HCRL intermediate section was disbanded by the HCRL, although teams were able to take part in exhibition matches. Due to these changes the HCRL was no longer able to operate as it had prior to the war.

By 1940, therefore, rugby football in Halifax had undergone a series of changes that had altered the operation and composition of the sport in the city. Of the disruptions to rugby union in Halifax at this time, the absence of high school rugby union teams would have the most profound effect on the future of football in the city. Although this loss did not have an immediate effect on the operation of men’s rugby in Halifax, the serious consequences of this loss would become apparent in ensuing years.

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41 Dalhousie Gazette, 30 September 1940, 4. Halifax Herald, 10 September 1940, 5.
42 Dalhousie Gazette, 30 September 1940, 4.
43 Ibid.
Conclusion

The changes to the composition and organization of rugby during the early years of the war was the first evidence that the dominance of the sport in Halifax could be in jeopardy. This was evident through the discontinuation of high school rugby union and the loss of players from the university and club teams to military service. These events resulted in the first of many difficulties for rugby union during the war years. Although a number of rugby union teams were able to continue to operate in Halifax, the ability of the HCRL to function was severely constrained by the environment created by the war. Rugby union in Halifax, therefore, was faced by a new set of challenges that would threaten the popularity and dominance of the sport.
CHAPTER III

THE WAR YEARS: THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CANADIAN FOOTBALL, 1941 TO 1944

Introduction

The city of Halifax, by 1941, was fully involved in the Second World War and was being transformed by the growing military presence within the city.\(^1\) The city itself had undergone a variety of changes, the most noticeable of which was the growth in population from 59,275 in 1931 to 77,488 in 1941.\(^2\) During the height of the war, the Mayor of Halifax, William E. Donovan, estimated the city's population to have been well over 100,000 people.\(^3\) The majority of this population growth occurred following the onset of the war as people arrived to serve in the armed forces and work in the thriving war-related industries.\(^4\) The influx of military personnel into Halifax during this period resulted in the continuation of the trends

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1 McFarland, 39. In 1941 over 5,000 military personnel were stationed in the city of Halifax.

2 Census of Canada, Table 6. Birthplace of the population classified by racial origin and sex, for cities of 30,000 and over, 1931, 220. Table 22. Population by birthplace, racial origin and sex, for cities of 30,000 and over, 1941, 468.


that had affected football during the 1939 and 1940 seasons. These trends included a decrease in the number of rugby union teams and players due to service in the rest of Canada and overseas, and an increasing interest in Canadian football and other alternative football games.\footnote{Alternative football games included high school touch football during the 1939 season and inter-faculty American "Sixes" at Saint Mary's College from 1939 and 1943.} The event that most clearly represented continuation of these trends was the formation of two Canadian football teams by the RCN in 1941.\footnote{Halifax Herald, 10 October 1941, 5.} Although the introduction of men's Canadian football garnered extensive attention within Halifax, rugby union remained the dominant form of football played in the city during the 1941 season.

There were five teams in the HCRL senior section during the 1941 season. There were also three intermediate rugby union teams although there was no official intermediate section of the HCRL. Rugby union teams in Halifax endured despite the difficulties posed by the war to the operation of the sport (see appendix 2 and 3). One rugby union team, however, that was a casualty of the war was Kings College University, which had not fielded a rugby union team since the 1939 season. An article in the Kings College Record provided an explanation for the reduction in athletic activities during the war that included the disbanding of the rugby team. This reduction in athletic activities was argued to be the result of a "... reduced Student Body, the shortage of funds and the lack of
facilities. A second team to disband during the war was Nova Scotia Technical College which had not entered a team in intercollegiate or city league competition since the 1938 season. A lack of enthusiasm on the part of students was blamed for the reluctance to organize a competitive team, although there was evidence of unorganized rugby union matches taking place on campus. Thus, a lack of resources and a drop in interest among students at these schools resulted in the decline in the ranks of rugby union teams during the early years of the Second World War.

The number of senior and intermediate rugby union teams in Halifax remained relatively constant during the early years of the war (see appendix 2 and 3). A decrease in participation in rugby union, therefore, was not obvious based upon the number of teams in Halifax, however, there was evidence that indicated interest and participation in rugby union was declining. An example of the declining interest in rugby union was evident with the suspension of inter-faculty rugby at Dalhousie University, the largest inter-faculty league in the city. There was one positive sign for rugby union in 1941, that being the lifting of the ban on intercollegiate competition between Dalhousie and Acadia Universities. Despite the lifting of this ban, it was

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7 Kings College Record, November 1941, 27.
8 The Tech Flash, November 1941, 27.
9 Dalhousie Gazette, 17 October 1941, 4. Inter-faculty rugby union teams at Dalhousie University in 1940 included Medicine, Engineering, Law, Arts and Science, and a Freshman team.
10 Dalhousie Gazette, 10 October 1941, 1.
clear that participation in rugby union in Halifax was declining due to the loss of players, coaches and administrators to war service.

**The Introduction of Canadian Football "Twelve's" and "Eight's"**

Canadian football, as it was played in Central Canada at this time, was first introduced into Halifax during the 1941 football season.\(^1\) The first indication that the RCN in Halifax would permit Canadian football to be played occurred when it was revealed that equipment had been purchased to outfit two Canadian football teams.\(^2\) The two teams formed were the RCN Main Guard and the RCN Stokers. The headline attached to this article read, "Top-Ranking Senior Stars to Perform In Navy Loop: First Game Here Sunday."\(^3\) The same article declared that Canadian rugby of the "real McCoy" brand is on the sports slate for Halifax this week-end when two teams of the Royal Canadian Navy tangle in the season's first senior exhibition of the 12-man game. Lieut-Commander A.E. Chilcott chief sports officer for the sea fighting force on the Atlantic Coast and formally a headline player with the Toronto Argonauts is handling the squads.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Frank Cosentino provides a brief description of Canadian football as it was played in the late 1930s and 1940s in Don Morrow and Mary Keyes, *A Concise History of Sport in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 155-157.

\(^2\) *Halifax Herald*, 10 October 1941, 5.

\(^3\) Ibid.

\(^4\) Ibid. Lieut-Commander Chilcott was instrumental in the organization of Canadian football at the RCN base in Halifax because of his position as chief sports officer.
The support Canadian football received from the RCN was visible through the actions of Lieutenant Commander A.E Chilcott who arranged for the purchase of the necessary equipment to outfit the teams. It was also apparent that there was sufficient football talent available among the RCN personal stationed in Halifax to permit the formation of the two teams.

The support provided by the RCN for football was part of a larger program of physical training and sport that was implemented to prepare crews for active duty, build morale, and relieve boredom during off duty hours.\textsuperscript{15} The football played in Halifax during the war years was of high calibre as many of the athletes were top class players from the Ontario, Quebec, and Western Canadian leagues. Interest in the arrival of Canadian football during the 1941 season, however, was not limited to play between the RCN teams. Also, at this same time, Canadian football was played by several high schools in the city who participated in a modified version of the Canadian game known as Canadian "Eight's".

On Thursday 30 October 1941, the first game of Canadian "Eight's" was played at the Wanderers grounds between Saint Mary's College High School and Halifax Academy. The game, in which Halifax Academy defeated the Saint Mary's team 6-0, was reported to have drawn the largest crowd to see a football game during the season.\textsuperscript{16} The game of Canadian "Eight's" was the

\textsuperscript{15} McFarland, 46.

\textsuperscript{16} Halifax Herald, 31 October 1941, 5.
creation of the Halifax YMCA Physical Director Earle "Packy" Wilson; Reverend Vincent F. Hayden S.J., the Athletic Director of Saint Mary’s College; and Reverend F. Elliot S.J., a Saint Mary’s College instructor. The game itself was boasted to combine the "zip and speed of both Canadian and American rugby." The curiosity and interest surrounding Canadian "Eight’s" during the 1941 season indicated that there was an expanding interest in alternative forms of football in Halifax.

Two other forms of football that were present in Halifax during the 1941 season were junior high school touch football and the American "Sixes" inter-faculty league at Saint Mary’s College. The junior high school touch football league was organized by Reverend Hayden and Earle Wilson, the same individuals who were responsible for introducing Canadian "Eight’s" high school football. American "Sixes", which had been played at an inter-faculty level at Saint Mary’s since 1939, was one of the sources from which Canadian "Eight’s" was created. A report in the Saint Mary’s Journal by "Gabby" Griffin testified

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17 Halifax Herald, 24 October 1941, 5. Reverend Hayden was a former American football player from Pennsylvania. Reverend F. Elliot S.J. was a former Canadian football player who assisted Earl Wilson and Reverend Hayden with formulating the rules of Canadian "Eight’s". The term Canadian rugby was used by some writers in reference to Canadian football.

18 Halifax Herald, 21 November 1941, 5. The only reference to this league found in the Halifax Herald was a report that Saint Thomas Aquinas had won the South End Junior League by defeating Charles Tupper school at the Wanderers Grounds on Tuesday 4 November 1941.
to both the connection between the two games and the interest shown by the students in American "Sixes". Griffin wrote,

I haven't yet seen a game held up because of a shortage of players as a matter of fact a full team, plus two spares is always on hand whenever they are scheduled to play. When the league is completed Mr. Hayden will endeavour to get a series with the Halifax Academy in Canadian Rugby. This might pave the way for the introduction of regular games of Canadian rugby in this city. 19

Participation in these alternative North American style football games can be attributed to the efforts of Reverend Hayden, Earle Wilson, and the interest of the high school players. These individuals, however, were not connected to the RCN's introduction of Canadian football in 1941, thus Canadian "Twelve's" and "Eight's" were introduced into Halifax through the efforts of two separate groups. This separate introduction of the two forms of Canadian football by these groups at this time attested to the broadening interest in Canadian football in Halifax during the 1941 season.

The 1941 football season, therefore, was characterized by two distinct trends. The first trend was the early indication of a decline in the number of rugby union teams and leagues, while the second, was the introduction of two versions of Canadian football—Canadian "Eights" and Canadian "Twelve's". These changes were, in part, the result of the war's influence and the military presence in the city. Initiatives by non-military institutions including Saint Mary's College and the YMCA also

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19 Saint Mary's Journal, 15 November 1941, 2.
played an important role in the popularization of Canadian football. The growing presence of Canadian football in Halifax during the 1941 season resulted in the introduction of the game to both young people and adults in the city. These events, therefore, foreshadowed the increasing influence Canadian football would have during the remaining war years.

The Establishment of Navy and High School Canadian Football

Events that occurred during the 1942 football season in Halifax confirmed the trends exhibited during the previous season. These trends included a continued decline in rugby union participation and interest, and increased participation and interest in Canadian football. The reorganization of football in Halifax toward this end continued through to the end of the 1944 season. The dramatic change in the composition of, and interest in, football during this period was evident through the number of teams represented in the Canadian football and English rugby leagues, and the respective coverage the two sports received in the city newspapers.

The continued decline in the number of English rugby teams in Halifax became increasingly evident between 1942 and 1944. In 1942, there were both senior and intermediate divisions of the HCRL, with each division containing four teams. Although the senior section of the city rugby league remained unchanged in 1943, the intermediate section was reduced to three teams.
Finally, in 1944 the Halifax City Services Rugby Football League was formed with five teams, however, the intermediate league was disbanded leaving only Dalhousie University fielding an intermediate team (see appendix 2 and 3). Although this decline between 1942 and 1944 was not dramatic, it did exhibit a clear reduction in the number of English rugby teams and leagues in Halifax.

The growth of Canadian football between 1942 and 1944 was evident through the increasing number of teams competing within Halifax. In 1942 there were three teams participating in the Halifax City Intermediate Canadian Football League (HCICFL) and three teams in the Halifax High School Canadian Football League (HHSCFL). The following season, the HCICFL disbanded following the withdrawal of the Saint Mary's College entry.\(^{20}\) The remaining RCN teams, representing HMCS Stadacona and the RCN Destroyers, continued to compete in exhibition play which included competition against out-of-province teams (see appendix 6). There were only two active high school teams in Halifax in 1943, yet the following season the HHSCFL resumed operation with the three original teams that founded the league from 1942 (see appendix 7). Finally, in 1944 a new men's league called the Halifax Armed Services Football League was formed. There were three teams in this league, as well as a team from Saint Mary's College that played against a less experienced RCN team, both of

\(^{20}\) Saint Mary's Journal, 28 September 1943, 2. The Amateur Athletic Association at Saint Mary's decided to end competition in any senior football league for several seasons.
which were not part of the league. The strength of Canadian football in the high schools and in the RCN by 1944 indicated that the sport was well established in these areas in Halifax.

An indicator of the changing popularity of English rugby and Canadian football during the war was the coverage provided of Canadian and American football, and English rugby in the *Halifax Herald*. In table 3, the change in the coverage of English rugby and Canadian football was clearly evident between 1941 and 1944. In 1941 English received 65.9% of football coverage, while Canadian football received only 20.1% of the coverage. In 1944, however, Canadian football received 48.6% of football coverage, while coverage of English rugby had declined to 38.0%. During this period, the coverage of American football remained relatively constant which indicated the small, but constant, American influence over this period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Canadian Football</th>
<th>English Rugby</th>
<th>American Football</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>47.7%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coverage of Canadian football in the *Halifax Herald* had increased steadily over this period and eventually surpassed the coverage of English rugby by 1944. This change indicated not
only that the interest in Canadian football had increased but also that the popularity of English rugby had deteriorated during the war.

The most active institutions in Halifax involved with football during the Second World War, as indicated in table 4, were the RCN and educational institutions including the universities, colleges, and high schools.

Table 4.—Coverage of Institutions Involved in Football on Mondays in the Halifax Herald, 1941 to 1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Educational</th>
<th>Sport Clubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout the war, educational institutions involved in football continued to receive the majority of the coverage in the Halifax Herald, although this coverage varied during the war from a high of 62.9% in 1941 to a low of 37.7% in 1943. The most dramatic change in newspaper coverage, however, was concerned with military football activity. In 1941 military teams represented 9.2% of the football coverage in the Halifax Herald, yet by 1943 that figure had increased to 50.5% of the football coverage in the newspaper. By 1944 coverage of military football activity had declined to 40.9%, this, however, still represented a sizable portion of the total coverage of football in the Halifax Herald.
During the 1942, 1943, and 1944 football seasons the military, and primarily the RCN, became the most visible and influential institution involved in football in Halifax (see appendix 8), and a large measure of this influence was focused on the promotion of Canadian football within the city.

The military in Halifax and Nova Scotia had a broad-ranging influence over many sports including football during the war.\(^{21}\) In Halifax, the RCN undertook a number of initiatives to organize and administer sport in the city. One of these initiatives was the take-over of the Wanderers AAC grounds in 1942. The assumption of control over the grounds was possible under the terms of the lease between the Wanderers AAC and the federal government, and as a result the name of the grounds was changed to the Navy League Recreation Centre (NLRC).\(^{22}\) This action forced the Wanderers AAC to suspend all sports activities including their club rugby union team.\(^{23}\) The RCN, after gaining control of the NLRC, made several changes to the grounds in 1942, including the installation of flood lighting,\(^{24}\) and

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\(^{21}\) The Army, although it was not as influential as the RCN, was also important in the organization of sport in Halifax during the war. An example of this was the formation of the Halifax Area Army Athletic Association in 1942. This association was formed with the goal of improving inter-branch and inter-unit sport as well as providing leadership for sport in Halifax.

\(^{22}\) Doug Hargraves, "Canadian Football In Nova Scotia" (Paper for the CIAU Project, Centennial of College Football in Canada - 1974, Dalhousie University, 1974), 7.

\(^{23}\) Davies, 67.

\(^{24}\) *Halifax Herald*, 25 September 1942, 5.
the installation of loud speakers to assist in the explanation of
the game to the spectators.\textsuperscript{25} Finally, the RCN's endorsement
of Canadian football in Halifax was clearly exhibited when in
1944 the NLRC was closed to English rugby games, thus setting
aside the grounds for exclusive use by the RCN Canadian football
teams.\textsuperscript{26} These efforts undertaken by the RCN to promote
Canadian football resulted in an increased interest in Canadian
football within Halifax at this time.

In September of 1942 an organizational meeting was held at
the NLRC to discuss the possibility of forming an intermediate
Canadian football league in Halifax. It was expected that the
RCN would enter two teams in the league, while a possibility
existed that entries from Saint Mary's College and Dalhousie
University could also join the league.\textsuperscript{27} In order to emphasize
the importance of this event, the Halifax Herald stated that "The
brand of football will be Canadian as played in other parts of
the dominion."\textsuperscript{28} The administrators of the HCICFL were elected
at the organizational meeting, and included honourary president
J.G. Dunlop, President Earle "Packy" Wilson, and Secretary

\begin{footnotes}
\item[25] Halifax Herald, 10 October 1942, 5.
\item[26] Halifax Herald, 21 October 1944, 4. Dalhousie Gazette, 6
October 1944, 4.
\item[27] Halifax Herald, 9 October 1942, 5. Dalhousie University
had considered fielding a Canadian football team but rugby coach
and Physical Education Director BurnieRalston decided that a team
would not be entered in the league.
\item[28] Halifax Herald, 16 September 1942, 7.
\end{footnotes}
Treasurer Gerald "Sham" Hanrahan. Following the decision by Dalhousie University to not field a team, the new league was comprised of the RCN Stokers, the RCN New Entries, and the Saint Mary’s College Canadian Officers Training Core (COTC) team. Although this league was only comprised of three teams, it successfully embodied the first organized men’s Canadian football league in the city of Halifax.

The HCICFL was not the only venue for men’s Canadian football in Halifax during the 1942 season. There were also several exhibition games played between RCN teams comprised of players with senior Canadian football experience who were selected from the intermediate RCN teams. Although the RCN Canadian football teams constituted the majority of the football played in Halifax in 1942, the organization of the HHSCFL had an important influence on the public’s interest in the sport.

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29 Halifax Herald, 22 September 1942, 5. Although this was called an intermediate league, many of the players on the teams had experience playing senior Canadian football in Ontario, Quebec, and the Western Provinces.

30 The Saint Mary’s COTC Canadian Football team was comprised of only students in the COTC. As well, it was decided that the RCN star players would not be allowed to participate against Saint Mary’s College team in order to make these games competitive (Halifax Herald, 10 November 1942, 5).


32 The games between senior select RCN teams were not associated with HCICFL, yet many players played for both intermediate and senior teams in 1942.
The formation of the HHSCFL in 1942 provided further evidence of the increasing popular interest in Canadian football in Halifax. The new league included teams from Saint Mary’s College, Queen Elizabeth, and Saint Patrick’s High Schools. These teams were coached by instructors at the high schools and by RCN players and coaches who volunteered their services in order to promote the sport in the high schools. In 1943 and 1944 the Saint Mary’s College High School team was coached by Father Gordon George, a Jesuit priest who had played Canadian football for Loyola College, a Jesuit school in Montreal. Father George coached the Saint Mary’s team for most of the 1940s and was credited with imparting and maintaining an interest in the Canadian game at the school.\textsuperscript{33} The 1944 Saint Patrick’s team was coached by Jim MacDonald and Doug Spruin, both of whom played for the 1942 Saint Mary’s college COTC team. Queen Elizabeth High School was coached by Mike Hedgewick who played for, and coached, the HMCS Stadacona Canadian football team in 1944. The participation of these individuals within high school Canadian football indicated that senior football players and coaches were concerned with the promotion of the game to the youth in Halifax.

Evidence of the growing interest in Canadian football in Halifax could be found both on the sports fields and in the newspapers. The ability of the RCN to influence the promotion of the game at this time facilitated the growth of Canadian football

\textsuperscript{33} Kevin Cleary, interview by author, Phone conversation, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 21 August 1996.
in the city. The RCN not only promoted its own Canadian football
teams but also assisted in the development of city high school
teams. As a result of the support provided by the RCN and the
interest expressed by many football enthusiasts in the city,
Canadian football developed to become a legitimate threat to the
dominance of English rugby in Halifax by 1942.

Canadian Football Takes Root in Halifax, 1943 and 1944

Over the course of the 1942 football season Canadian
football formed a solid base of interest among both the military
and civilian populations in Halifax. The popularity of the sport
was most obvious within the RCN, however, students in the city
were also exhibiting a greater interest in the game. During the
1943 and 1944 seasons Canadian football was able to build upon
the base of support it had developed during the early years of
the war and become an established sport that was, in some
respects, more popular than English rugby.

Prior to the start of the 1943 Canadian football season
there was discussion among military sport officials concerning
the formation of a four team inter-branch league in Halifax. It
was believed that this league would include two teams from the
RCN, a team from the Army, and an Air Force team. The headline
of the related article announced, "Halifax To Contend In Canadian
Grid Picture?"34 The expectation was that if a strong military

34 Halifax Herald, 11 September 1943, 5.
league were formed it would put Halifax on the national Canadian football stage. At the start of the season, however, only two senior Canadian football teams were formed, the RCN Destroyers and HMCS Stadacona. As a result, a new course of action was taken by the RCN and an application was made to the Canadian Rugby Union (CRU) to enter the HMCS Stadacona team in the Dominion Championships playoffs for the Grey Cup. The application, however, was not accepted as it had not been received by the CRU prior to the 1 October deadline. Following this set back, the RCN in Halifax invited RCN teams from Toronto and Montreal to compete for the RCN Canadian football title. With the acceptance of this invitation the HMCS Stadacona team played and defeated both the Toronto and the Montreal RCN teams in November of 1943 to win the title.

Despite the HMCS Stadacona team not being able to compete for the Grey Cup, events during the 1943 season did result in positive gains for Canadian football in Halifax. The results of these advances were apparent in an article on the victory of the

35 The HMCS Stadacona team was comprised of the top RCN senior Canadian football players stationed in Halifax.

36 **Halifax Herald**, 14 October 1943, 5. The Halifax RCN team continued to try and have their application accepted, but the CRU’s decision stood.

37 **Halifax Herald**, 15 October 1943, 5.

38 Stadacona first defeated the Montreal RCN team 9-0 on Saturday 6 November and then the Toronto RCN team 18-1 Saturday 20 November.
HMCS Stadacona team over the Toronto RCN team on Saturday 20 November 1943.

Saturday's game was a real crowd pleaser and many of the die-hard English rugger fans in attendance admitted it was a better performance and more interesting than anything they had seen around here for a number of years.  

The interest and excitement generated by these games against the Toronto and Montreal RCN teams was not matched by any previous football-related event in Halifax since the 1939 season. The success of these matches, therefore, clearly exhibited that the interest in Canadian football, at the senior men's level, was greater than the interest in English rugby.

Events that transpired during the 1944 football season continued to generate interest in Canadian football within Halifax. At the start of the season the Halifax Armed Services Football League was formed and included three teams, HMCS Stadacona, HMCS Cornwallis, and the No. 8 Peregrine Combines. Competition between these three teams comprised the majority of the senior Canadian football played in Halifax during this season. HMCS Stadacona, as a result of winning the service's league title, won the right to represent the city in a two game series against a Montreal combined services team. The HMCS Stadacona team won the first match against the Royal Naval

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39 Halifax Herald, 22 November 1943, 10.

40 The combined attendance figure for these two matches was over 10,000. The only comparable attendance number was for the Dalhousie University's 3-0 loss to the Caledonia rugby club in 1939 which drew 6000 spectators.
Volunteer Reserve in Montreal on Saturday 20 October, 3-0.\[41\] In the rematch, on Saturday 11 November, HMCS Stadacona travelled to Montreal where they lost to the naval reserve team 13-0 before a crowd of 5105 spectators.\[42\] This series, in combination with the senior league matches, were successful in generating greater interest in Canadian football during the 1944 season.

Although the majority of the interest in Canadian football was focused on the senior level, growth was also occurring at the men's intermediate level and within the city's junior and senior high schools. In addition to the senior Canadian football played in the city there were also two intermediate games played between a Saint Mary's College COTC team and a RCN intermediate side.\[43\] The rising interest in Canadian football during the war was primarily the result of the efforts of individuals in the RCN and instructors at the high schools who were willing to organize and teach the sport.

An event that demonstrated the efforts of Canadian football supporters to promote the sport to the youth in the city was the organization of a four day touch football and Canadian football camp at the NLRC in September of 1943. This camp was organized by Earle "Packy" Wilson of the YMCA; Jim MacDonald, the president of the city touch football league; Lieutenant-Commander A.E.

\[41\] *Halifax Herald*, 30 October 1944, 4.


\[43\] Hargraves, 8. *Halifax Herald*, 1 November 1944, 4. The Saint Mary's team lost this game 12-1.
Chilcott; and Sub-Lieutenant Stan Teasdale. These individuals were assisted by a number of senior Canadian football players who assisted in running the camp.44 Two of the guest instructors at the camp were Lieutenant Charles "Tiny" Herman, who had been both a star Canadian football player in Central Canada and rugby union player in Halifax during the 1930s; and Mike Hedgewick, who had been a star player for Sarnia and Hamilton in Ontario, and was both a coach and player for the HMCS Stadacona team.45 At the first day of the camp there were two hundred junior high and senior high school students on hand representing Queen Elizabeth High School, Saint Mary’s College High School, Bloomfield High School, Sir Charles Tupper Junior High School, and LeMarchant Junior High school.46 The success of this camp was notable considering the large turnout of students and the interest exhibited by the organizers and instructors. This camp, therefore, provided a further boost to the growing popularity of Canadian football in Halifax.

Although there was no football camp held in 1944, football in the high schools continued to thrive. Thus, through the efforts undertaken to introduce Canadian football to young football players in Halifax during the war, it was evident that the future of the sport in the city was important to Canadian

44 *Halifax Herald*, 16 September 1943, 5.

45 *Halifax Herald*, 22 September 1943, 5.

46 The four day camp was held on Monday 20 September, Wednesday 22 September, Friday 24 September, and Monday 27 September. All sessions were held in the afternoons at the NLRC.
football administrators, players, and coaches. By contrast, the lack of interest exhibited by English rugby leaders in Halifax in youth participation in their sport had been evident for several years following the disappearance of high school English rugby from the city in 1939.

During the 1943 and 1944 football seasons the RCN had firmly established the sport of Canadian football in the city of Halifax. During this time, senior and intermediate Canadian football leagues had been formed, games against teams from Toronto and Montreal had attracted widespread interest, and the sport had entrenched itself within the city high schools. Therefore, at the end of the war, the RCN had, through its support of Canadian football, caused popular interest in football in Halifax to shift away from English rugby.

The Transition From Rugby Union to Rugby League, 1943 and 1944

During the 1942 season there was considerable discussion in the Halifax Herald newspaper concerning the increasing popularity of Canadian football and the effect this popularity was having on the city's traditional football game, rugby union. This discussion was evident within the column entitled "Sports Shorts" by Ken Chisolm. Chisolm discussed what he believed to be the causes of the changes to football in Halifax football in 1942.

What about the future of English Rugby? That's a question being pondered by many a follower of the grid iron today. For the first time Halifax fans this year have an opportunity of seeing some of the boys who have
been real stars in Upper Canadian Circles, go about their paces in Canadian rugby. . . We are told that no school teams in Halifax are playing English rugby today. The majority of the players who have performed in the English senior loops through the years were products of the Halifax Academy, Bloomfield, St. Pat's, St. Mary's College and other schools. Without the development of high school players in the English game it seems, with this source of supply tapering off, that the game could not survive. A third big reason for thought on the future of the English game is that high school students seem to favour of the Canadian game. . . War too has had its effect on the English game.47

Based on these observations, the problems facing English rugby in Halifax were clear. What was not clear, however, was how the administrators of English rugby in Halifax would deal with the declining interest and participation in rugby union.

A continued rise in the interest in Canadian football within the city of Halifax was evident during the 1943 season. The success of Canadian football during the 1942 season in terms of team numbers and spectator interest resulted in a growing sense of urgency on the part of English rugby administrators to maintain and increase interest in their game. An early attempt to deal with the declining interest in the sport resulted in several minor rule changes, to speed up the game, being introduced during the 1942 season.48 These changes, however, were not deemed to have been successful, and by the start of the 1943 season a decision was made by the Halifax English Football


48 *Halifax Herald*, 6 October 1942, 5. One of these rule changes included a ban on kicking the ball to touch (out of bounds to the side lines) outside the 25 yard line by the defending team in order to reduce unnecessary stoppages in the game and promote more running of the ball.
League executive to adopt the rugby league rules, with some modifications, for league play.\textsuperscript{49} The switch to rugby league was made because it was believed that the game would present a "... faster game more pleasing to spectators."\textsuperscript{50} Reaction to the first rugby league game played between Dalhousie University and Army was mixed. One assessment of the game in the Dalhousie Gazette stated that "... the result was not altogether a success. The referee and players seemed at times a bit confused and the bewildered fans hardly knew what kind of a game they were watching."\textsuperscript{51} The assessment of a second rugby league game between the RCN and Acadia University played in Wolfville was more optimistic, stating that "... the 13 man game showed itself speedier, smarter, and more interesting to the fans."\textsuperscript{52} The differing opinions concerning the success of the conversion

\textsuperscript{49} The president of the Halifax English Rugby League was Fred Kelly of Acadia University; other officers included Burnie Ralston the coach of Dalhousie University, and George McNeil the coach of the Army team.

\textsuperscript{50} Halifax Herald, 7 October 1943, 5. Several differences between rugby league and rugby union at this time included: rugby league having only thirteen players compared to rugby union's fifteen; there were no line outs (throwing the ball in from the side line) in rugby league; it was illegal to kick the ball to touch (out of bounds) unless the ball bounced in bounds before it went out of bounds; when tackled in rugby league, instead of forming a maul, the ball was played between the feet while the defenders were forced to retreat five yards; and finally, the scoring for rugby union and league differed slightly, with both awarding 3 points for a try, but rugby league awarding only 2 points for a field goal and a penalty kick while rugby union allotted 3 points for a field goal and 4 for a penalty kick.

\textsuperscript{51} Dalhousie Gazette, 15 October 1943, 4.

\textsuperscript{52} Halifax Herald, 18 October 1943, 5.
to rugby league resulted in some uncertainty as to which form of English rugby would be played in 1944.

The debate over which form of English rugby should be adopted for the 1944 season remained unresolved as the season approached. During the off season, the newly formed Halifax City Services Rugby Football League recruited several new teams including Saint Mary's College, Nova Scotia Technical College, and a team from Fleet Air Arm. There was, however, no intermediate section in this league, and the loss of Acadia University, which decided to withdraw from the city league due to difficulties with transportation and accommodation restrictions and expenses, indicated the continued decline of senior men's rugby in Halifax at this time. Eventually, despite early uncertainty, a decision was made to adopt the rugby league rules for the 1944 season.

The adoption of the rugby league rules was officially announced in a statement by the league executive who explained, "We intend to use the Rugby League rules without trying to improve on them." "Gee" Ahern, the author of this article, believed that with improved publicity rugby league would "...draw better than the Canadian game which is bound to die out after the

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53 Dalhousie Gazette, 6 October 1944, 4.

54 Ibid.

55 Major J.E. "Gee" Ahern was the sports editor and a columnist for the Halifax Herald during the war.
war."\(^{56}\) This belief, it appeared, provided the motivation for the switch to rugby league. The final decision to adopt the rugby league rules was made by one man, the president of the league and Dalhousie University coach, Burnie Ralston. The vote by the league executive on which rules to adopt ended up in a tie, and Ralston, as the president, had the authority to make the final decision and implemented the rugby league rules.\(^{57}\) Also present at this meeting was John McCarthy, who had promoted rugby league a decade earlier as the coach of Dalhousie University. McCarthy was quoted by Ahern as stating, "... Rugby League rules speed up the game and should be adopted by all Maritime ruggers."\(^{58}\) The adoption of rugby league resulted in several new problems including the lack of rule books and the lack of competent referees who knew the game. Despite these problems, the decision was accepted by the teams in the hope that the change would stimulate interest and revitalize English rugby in Halifax.

The reaction of English rugby enthusiasts to the difficulties facing their sport during the war was one of concern. "Gee" Ahern, speaking for these individuals, commented

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\(^{56}\) *Halifax Herald*, 12 September 1944, 4.

\(^{57}\) *Halifax Herald*, 29 September 1944, 4.

\(^{58}\) *Halifax Herald*, 7 October 1944, 4. It is not known in what capacity McCarthy was involved in this meeting. In all likelihood he was consulted as an expert in rugby league and provided information about the game to the executive.
on the deterioration of English rugby and the rise in interest in Canadian football at this time.

Adherents to the English rugby game in Halifax feel that their favourite sport is fast being relegated to the background. They feel that the Canadian game has grabbed the spotlight, that the newspapers are closing their eyes to the doings of the English rugby teams and that in general nobody cares what happens to the brand of football popularized in the Maritimes by players from British warships and British regiments in the early [eighteen] fifties. . . . But the officials of the English league haven’t done much to keep their game in the spotlight this season. . . .  

Ahern’s comparison of the publicity material provided by the Canadian football and English rugby leagues led him to commend Canadian football officials for providing information such as the names of players and short player biographies. He was similarly critical of the rugby officials who he saw as having done little to publicize their sport. Ahern, however, cautioned that this was only one of a number of reasons why Canadian football had experienced greater success than English rugby during the war.  

Evidence of the declining interest in English rugby over the war years was seen in the apathy toward the game among students at city universities and colleges. An article in the Saint Mary’s Journal brought this problem to light, stating that "This year, it has been practically a waste of time for the rugby coach to attend practices."  

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60 Ibid

61 *Saint Mary’s Journal*, 19 October 1944, 2.
concern about the lack of interest in English rugby which was believed to have been responsible for the break up of the intermediate team prior to the 1944 season. This apathy however was not the primary reason for English rugby’s difficulties at this time. The success of Canadian football was the most important reason the popularity of English rugby declined during the war. English rugby could not compete with the resources of the RCN, and did not have the quality of players to attract the attention of football enthusiasts.

Conclusion

From 1941 to 1944 the military presence in Halifax, and specifically the RCN, had a large influence on the popularization of Canadian football in the city. With the introduction of intermediate and senior men’s teams and leagues, and the support and assistance provided to youth teams, leagues, and camps, the RCN was the primary influence behind the successful introduction of Canadian football to Halifax. As the end of the war approached, the influence the military wielded over the operation of football in Halifax began to decline with the departure of personnel and the loss of control over the administration of sport in the city. As a result, the future of football in

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62 Dalhousie Gazette, 6 October 1944, 4. The lack of interest may have been partly due to the loss of players to service duty, yet Dalhousie had consistently been able to field an intermediate team prior to 1944.
Halifax entered a critical period during which neither English rugby nor Canadian football leaders were able to claim football dominance in the city.
CHAPTER IV

THE CAMPAIGN FOR FOOTBALL DOMINANCE IN HALIFAX, 1945 TO 1950

Introduction

The years from 1945 to 1950 were an unsettled period for football in Halifax. Following the end of the Second World War, the port of Halifax was no longer required to support the large military service population it had during the war years.\footnote{McFarland, 108.} Post-war change in Halifax led to the reorganization of sport, including football, due to the withdrawal of military personnel from the city. The high calibre football teams fielded by the services during the war were disbanded, and spectators who had become accustomed to the top level military teams became less interested in post-war football activities.\footnote{McFarland, 137.} Although the military no longer dominated the administration of football in Halifax, the remaining military establishments, and specifically the RCN, remained important participants in the football community in post-war Halifax.

The military's declining involvement in football in Halifax following the war resulted in educational institutions that included universities, colleges, and the high schools resuming their role as the most important football-organizing institutions
in the city. This change was evident in the increased coverage of educational institutions in the *Halifax Herald* (see appendix 8). At Dalhousie University enrolment increased threefold, from 500 students in 1944 to 1680 students in 1946.³ This increase was representative of the dramatic increase in the number of students enrolling in Maritime colleges and universities at this time. The "Khaki College program", which was established to finance university and college educations for veterans, was a primary reason for this rise in enrolment and resulted in a doubling of staff and students at Maritime post-secondary institutions.⁴ The form of football returning student-athletes would choose to play was dependent on what was offered at the institutions they attended. At this time, English rugby was played within most educational institutions with the exception of the high schools, and either individuals would have to participate in this sport or would have to work to introduce Canadian football.

With the arrival of peacetime and the resulting changes in the city's football infrastructure, administrators, players, and spectators were faced with a number of decisions concerning the future of football in Halifax. The first, critical decision to be made was whether to support English rugby or Canadian football. At this time in Nova Scotia, English rugby remained

³ *Dalhousie Gazette*, 11 October 1946, 1.

⁴ Carman Miller, in Forbes and Muise eds., 329.
the dominant football game,\textsuperscript{5} however, in Halifax the two sports continued to struggle to gain the allegiance of the football enthusiasts. A second consideration, of concern to English rugby administrators, was which form of English rugby should be adopted, rugby union or rugby league. The decisions arrived at concerning these issues were the result of both the direct and indirect interactions between team and league administrators, players, and spectators.

The policies formed by administrators of both Canadian football and English rugby were focused upon satisfying both players and spectators in order to strengthen the sports through increased popularity. Players selected the form of football they preferred to play or the game that would provide them with the best competition and exposure. Spectators expressed their allegiance to one of these sports through attendance at games. Therefore, the interaction between these individuals and groups influenced the decisions that determined the form of football that would become dominant in the city of Halifax following 1950.

\textbf{The Post War Restructuring of Football In Halifax, 1945 and 1946}

Following the Second World War there were significant changes in the composition of football in Halifax. The most noticeable of these changes was the departure of many RCN Canadian football players. This withdrawal left fewer players

\textsuperscript{5} Brown, 20.
from which Canadian football teams could be formed. Also, at this time many English rugby players who had completed their war service duties were returning to Halifax. This change in the composition of football players in Halifax resulted in an increase in the popularity of English rugby while interest in Canadian football declined, but did not disappear.

The football scene in Halifax changed dramatically with the opening of the 1945 season. By this time the military was already assuming a reduced role in the organization of football in the city, a void that was rapidly filled by the universities and colleges. The formation of the Maritime Intercollegiate Rugby League (MIRL) reflected the growing importance of inter-university athletic competition at this time (see appendix 9). This league, organized by university and college coaches and administrators under the authority of the Maritime Intercollegiate Athletic Union, operated under the rugby union rules. In Halifax, the MIRL operated in conjunction with the HCRL. All universities and colleges in the city competed in the MIRL, while Dalhousie University and Nova Scotia Technical College also took part in the HCRL along with a RCN team. An intermediate section of HCRL was also formed, although it was comprised of only two teams—Dalhousie and Acadia Universities. These changes were indicative of a period of restoration for

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6 The President of the MIRL in 1945 was Dr. W. McCormick of Mount Allison University, the Vice President was Reverend L.G. McKenna of Saint Francis Xavier University, and the Treasurer was Father P.J. McCarthy of Saint Mary’s College.
English rugby following the end of the military's domination of football in Halifax.

At the start of the 1946 football season, English rugby in Halifax continued to change with the withdrawal of teams from the MIRL in favour of the HCRL (see appendix 2 and 3). As well, in this season, the rugby leagues rules were adopted in Halifax and throughout Nova Scotia. A further event of importance was the return of the Wanderers AAC team to the HCRL. With the decision of the universities and colleges to leave the MIRL and the Wanderers AAC's return to the HCRL, the future of English rugby in Halifax seemed to be assured.

Canadian football, it appeared, would become a casualty of the withdrawal of military personnel from Halifax. Only two senior teams, HMCS Stadacona and the No. 8 Peregrine Combines, remained active during the 1945 season. Although there was no official Canadian football league in 1945, the teams did compete for the Navy Canadian Rugby Championship of Halifax, the proceeds from which went to the Halifax Community Chest Fund. The following season, however, only two senior Canadian football

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7 Halifax Herald, 1 October 1946, 4. The only team from Halifax that remained in the MIRL was Nova Scotia Technical College.

8 Davies, 71. Halifax Herald, 7 September 1946, 4.

9 Halifax Herald, 5 September 1946, 4. This was the first time the Wanderers AAC had fielded a rugby team since 1941.

10 The championship was decided by a three game total points series. The first match in the series was a tie but Stadacona was able to win the last two games to secure the championship.
matches were played between HMCS Stadacona and a Saint Mary’s College Grads team.¹¹ Despite the small number of games played in these two seasons, these matches were able to maintain an interest in senior Canadian football. This interest, however, was not comparable to that which was evident during the war years when the teams were made up of many more star players and matches were played against top class military teams from Montreal and Toronto.¹²

The HHSCFL continued to operate after the end of the war with the three original teams, Saint Mary’s, Queen Elizabeth, and Saint Patrick’s High Schools. Interest in high school Canadian football remained strong and individuals, including journalist "Gee" Ahern, saw the league as the future of Halifax football.

[I am] ... fully convinced that the Canadian style of rugby is here to stay. That is, of course, should the navy sports officers not take away the valuable equipment borrowed by the high schools ... But all concerned, even those veterans of English rugby leagues, freely admitted after the St. Pats vs Queen Elizabeth game that the Canadian style has a tenacious grip on the high schools of our fair city.¹³

¹¹ Halifax Herald, 24 October 1946, 4. The Saint Mary’s College Grads won both matches and the first game raised $400 for the Community Chest Fund.

¹² The average attendance of the three games played in 1945 was 2167 per game and in 1946 it was 1000. During the war the two inter-city games played in 1943 attracted over 5000 spectators each. The 1944 match versus the Montreal combined team held in Halifax attracted only 800 spectators in very poor weather, however, a week later a match between HMCS Stadacona and the No. 8 Peregrine Combines was witnessed by over 4000 spectators.

¹³ Halifax Herald, 2 November 1945, 4.
High school Canadian football created further interest in 1946 when the league champions, Saint Mary's High School, defeated a Montreal high school team 27 to 7 before a crowd of 3000 people at the NLRC.\textsuperscript{14} This match attracted "... the largest crowd of the year..." to attend a football match, and was deemed the highlight of the football season in Halifax.\textsuperscript{15} With the decline in senior Canadian football in the first two years after the war, high school Canadian football was critical to maintaining a continued interest in the game within Halifax.

Coverage of Canadian football in the Halifax Herald between 1945 and 1946 declined sharply following the war as exhibited in table 5.

Table 5.--Coverage of Football on Mondays in the Halifax Herald, 1944 to 1946

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Canadian Football</th>
<th>English Rugby</th>
<th>American Football</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>58.7%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This change in coverage, given the small number of Canadian football teams active in Halifax, would seem to be an accurate measure of the declining interest in Canadian football and the rising interest in English rugby during this period. Attendance

\textsuperscript{14} Saint Mary's Journal, 22 November 1946, 1.

\textsuperscript{15} Halifax Herald, 18 November 1946, 4.
at football matches in the city at this time, however, indicated that this may not have been the case. For example, in 1945 there were five Canadian football games played that were attended by over 1500 people, while there were only two English rugby matches that attracted over 1000 spectators. The following season, there were three Canadian football games that attracted more than 1000 people while only one English rugby match attracted over 1000 spectators.\textsuperscript{16} Given that attendance figures were higher for fewer Canadian football games played over this period, it could be argued that in Halifax there was a larger popular interest in Canadian football than in English rugby at this time. The discrepancy between the newspaper coverage and team numbers evidence, and the evidence of attendance figures at games, indicated that although English rugby was more widely played, Canadian football continued to attract greater spectator interest. This lack of clarity concerning the popularity of Canadian football and English rugby was also reflected in ongoing debates within Halifax over the merits of these two sports.

The first comprehensive debate concerned with the issue of which form of football should be adopted in Halifax occurred at Saint Mary's College in the autumn of 1945. This debate was

\textsuperscript{16} In 1945 there were 3 senior and 10 high school Canadian football games played and attendance figures were given for 5 matches. In the same year there were 14 senior English rugby matches played, of which only 2 had recorded attendance figures. In 1946, there were 2 senior and 8 high school Canadian football matches of which attendance number were recorded for 3 games. Finally, in 1946, of the 12 senior English rugby games played, only 3 games had a recorded attendance figures.
initiated after comments made by Larry Murphy, a writer for the Saint Mary's Journal, who argued that a decision had to be made as to which form of football should be played in the high school. As well, Murphy pointed out that some individuals believed that English rugby should be reintroduced into the high schools because no other teams in the province, beside those in Halifax, played Canadian football. Murphy pointed out that these individuals had suggested that the high school students were lacking the skills to play English rugby when they continued on to college or university. Murphy concluded this column by stating,

It seems to me that the choice of one of these two games is up to the high school boys who will be playing the game, rather than to a group of men, more or less interested in the welfare of English rugger than in the fun the boys have in playing THEIR game.17

The controversy created by this article resulted in a broader investigation into the question of which form of football was more popular at Saint Mary's College.

In November 1943 an opinion poll was conducted by the Saint Mary's Journal in both the college and high school in order to determine the popularity of Canadian football and English rugby at the institution. Following the poll, the headline of the newspaper read, "S.M.C. Wants Canadian Game . . . Overwhelmingly Reject Rugger in Student Survey."18 The question asked of the students was, " . . . which of the two games would you prefer to

17 Saint Mary's Journal, 1 November 1945, 2.
18 Saint Mary's Journal, 15 November 1945, 1.
watch?" The response among college students was thirty nine in favour of the Canadian game while only four were in favour of English rugby.\footnote{Ibid.} The results of the poll within the high school was 108 responses in favour of Canadian football while only ten students supported English rugby.\footnote{Ibid., 3.} The support for, and interest in, Canadian football at the college and high school was obvious. The continued popularity of the sport at Saint Mary's College was further evidenced by the continuation of high school Canadian football and the formation of the Saint Mary's College Grads Canadian football team in 1946.

A similar question to the one that was posed at Saint Mary's College regarding which form of football should be played, was debated at the Nova Scotia Technical College in 1946. At the opening meeting of the Engineering Society, "... the question of whether the increasingly popular Canadian football should replace the older, and more rugged, English version in Tech's grid iron activities" was raised.\footnote{The Tech Flash, November 1946, 36.} The necessity to debate this question was argued to be

\[\ldots\] inevitable, considering the fact that Canadian football is receiving so much attention of late by Halifax fans due to [the] smart brand of football displayed by local High School pigskin squads. The newer and faster Canadian game is indeed getting a decided boost in a sports centre where the English counterpart has long been one of the major sports.\footnote{Ibid.}
The reason this question was debated at this time was due to Nova Scotia Technical College not being invited to participate in the senior section of the HCRL for the 1946 season. As a post-graduate college, most of the players already had senior English rugby experience playing at their previous college or university and felt this rejection was unwarranted. Consequently, they considered Canadian football as a possible alternative. There was, however, an argument that cautioned against this change, that being that Nova Scotia Technical College were the defending MIRL champion and it was argued that the team should defend the title. Finally, it was decided that the school would remain in the MIRL despite the strong argument for the adoption of Canadian football.

Discourse concerning the perceived advantages and disadvantages of English rugby and Canadian football were presented in an article in the Halifax Herald. In this article seven prominent sport and football administrators expressed their opinions concerning the future of football in Halifax. Dr. J.T. Landry, the Physical Director of Halifax Schools, believed that the Canadian game would remain popular. He cited the strong spectator interest as a means for leagues to remain financially viable, and the improvements in play and the interest expressed by student athletes as indicators of future

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24 The Tech Flash, November 1946, 37.
25 Halifax Herald, 10 November 1945, 4.
success. Burnie Ralston, the Physical Director of Dalhousie University, believed that Canadian football could not survive in a civilian club due to a lack of practice time which he felt was necessary to prepare a team. Ralston concluded that the lack of continuity of play in Canadian football would create disinterest, and that the Canadian game would not survive without regular competition with Upper Canadian teams which he believed was not possible. Other individuals who offered opinions included: Major A. Crich, the Army District Sports Officer, who favoured Canadian football despite the expense; Father E. Tyler, the Saint Mary's College Canadian football coach, who boasted about the greater scientific play of Canadian football, as well as citing the survey at the college in which students expressed strong interest in the game; Lefty Jordan, HMCS Stadacona and Queen Elizabeth High School coach, who believed Canadian football was safer because of the protective equipment and that given a fair chance it would do well in the city; L.B Hannon, the Director of Sports at Queen Elizabeth High School, who preferred Canadian football based on his years of experience with both games, yet was unsure of which game would survive in the future; and Jim Arnott, the Sports Officer at HMCS Stadacona, who had played both games and preferred English rugby but believed that the fans preferred Canadian football and would support it in the future. In a related article "Gee" Ahern of the Halifax Herald predicted that English rugby would perish due to the absence of high school

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26 Ibid.
rugby while Canadian football would succeed because of the support provided by senior Canadian football teams to high school Canadian football in the city. The majority of these individuals, therefore, believed that Canadian football would be the future of football in Halifax. Despite these opinions, however, support for English rugby endured, and this was most noticeable at Dalhousie University following the war.

Dalhousie University, in 1945, underwent an English rugby renaissance. At the end of the war many male students enrolled at, or returned to, the university greatly increasing the number of players available to play in senior, intermediate, and inter-faculty rugby. Dalhousie University boasted the most English rugby teams in Halifax with senior and intermediate teams, as well as an inter-faculty league that included teams from the faculties of Medicine, Law, Arts and Science, Commerce, Engineering, and a freshman team. According to "Gee" Ahern, Burnie Ralston, the coach of the Dalhousie English rugby team, was attempting to bring pre-war football fans back to the English game. At this same time, a report of plans to reintroduce English rugby into the high schools in the city provided further evidence of the interest in revitalizing rugby in Halifax.

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27 *Halifax Herald*, 3 November 1945, 4.

28 *Dalhousie Gazette*, 5 October 1945, 4.

29 Ibid.


31 *Halifax Herald*, 12 November 1945, 4.
This, however, did not occur, and the focus of English rugby administrators, including Burnie Ralston, remained on the improvement of English rugby at the senior and intermediate levels.

In an effort to increase interest in English rugby in Nova Scotia and the Maritimes, a decision was made by English rugby administrators to universally adopt the rugby league rules for the 1946 season. The acceptance of the rugby league rules in the Maritimes coincided with the return of the Wanderers AAC rugby team to the HCRL. This return provided further promise of a revival in the interest in English rugby in Halifax. Following the decision to switch to rugby league, John McCarthy, the long time proponent of the game, was asked to present a lecture on rugby league at a meeting organized by Hugh Noble, the Director of Physical Education for Nova Scotia. As the end of the season approached McCarthy was still not content with the state of the level of play and refereeing in rugby league games. The discontent expressed by McCarthy reflected the importance he placed on the successful introduction of rugby league into the Maritimes leagues. Despite these concerns, the interest exhibited in rugby league during the 1946 rugby season in both the Maritimes and Halifax was generally favourable.

32 *Halifax Herald*, 20 September 1946, 5. McCarthy was also asked to organize a school to train referees in the new game.

33 *Halifax Herald*, 6 November 1946, 5.
The return of rugby league to Halifax was greeted both positively and negatively. One positive assessment stated that "The game itself has speeded up considerably with the elimination of many whistles caused by knock-ons, and the practical elimination of the kick to touch." Other evaluations, however, were more critical, indicating that although the game had sped up there were still too many scrums and more practice was required for the game to be judged. An assessment by journalist Alex Nickerson recognized that "... there [had] been resistance by the older fans, yet by the end of the season the new game had caught on and seems to be here to stay." Although the initial reaction to the introduction of rugby league was mixed, following the completion of the 1946 season the game had won over many English rugby enthusiasts.

Following the 1946 season, evidence suggested that rugby league had secured an increased interest by producing a more exciting game for the spectators. Although rugby league had achieved a degree of success during the season, interest in Canadian football also continued to thrive. With the approach of the 1947 season the future of football in Halifax remained in the

34 Dalhousie Gazette, 11 October 1946, 4.
35 Halifax Herald, 7 October 1946, 4.
36 Halifax Herald, 5 November 1946, 4.
balance, and securing the interest of the spectators and players was a continuing challenge for the administrators of both sports.

The Reemergence of Canadian Football, 1947 to 1950

The period from 1947 to 1950 was marked by a rising interest in both Canadian football and English rugby in Halifax. Canadian football in the city expanded to include not only the military and the high schools, but also Dalhousie University and the Wanderers AAC. English rugby continued to operate within the city during this time with teams drawn from the military, universities, and colleges. There was, however, a marked shift in popular interest toward Canadian football during this time, most noticeably within the universities and colleges which had traditionally formed the foundation of English rugby in Halifax.

The coverage provided of Canadian football and English rugby in the Halifax Herald from 1947 to 1950, as indicated in table 6, did not vary dramatically, although there was a slight decline in the coverage provided of Canadian football in 1949 and 1950. The coverage of American football in the newspaper also remained relatively constant during this period of time. By 1950, however, English rugby was receiving greater coverage in the Chronicle Herald than that received by Canadian football. This measure of the popularity for these forms of football was

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38 The Halifax Herald and the Halifax Chronical merged in 1949 to become the Chronicle Herald.
not supported by the trend exhibited in attendance figures for men's football in Halifax.

Table 6.—Coverage of Football on Mondays in the Halifax Herald and Chronicle Herald, 1947 to 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Canadian Football</th>
<th>English Rugby</th>
<th>American Football</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidence of reported attendance figures for football games played in the city indicated that Canadian football matches attracted more spectators than English rugby games over this time.\(^{39}\) The incongruity between the newspaper coverage and the attendance figures evidence for determining Canadian football and English rugby popularity demonstrates that although both forms of football were firmly established within the city, Canadian football continued to receive spectator support. This popular support was evident in the obviously larger spectator numbers at games played in Halifax. A further reason for the discrepancy between these measures of popularity was that a portion of the English rugby being covered by the Halifax Herald and the

\(^{39}\) From 1947 to 1950 based on available attendance figures for 18 of the 50 Canadian football games played in Halifax, the average attendance was 1588 people per game. During the same period, an average of 875 people attended 4 of the 48 English rugby games played in the city.
Chronicle Herald originated from activity in the rest of Nova Scotia and the Maritimes, and not from within Halifax. As a result, it can be argued that Canadian football was the popular football game in Halifax by 1950.

The 1947 football season in Halifax was most notable for the return of organized Canadian football to the city. The formation of the Halifax Senior Canadian Football League (HSCFL) was possible following the decisions by Dalhousie University and the Wanderers AAC to form Canadian football teams. These clubs, along with the Saint Mary's College Grads, HMCS Stadacona and a newly formed team representing the Fleet Air Arm at the Dartmouth Air Station, provided the necessary elements for a league that was based in both the civilian and military populations of the city. The broad base upon which this league was formed was unique when compared to the military-dominated senior and intermediate Canadian football leagues of previous seasons.

Dalhousie University's decision to form a Canadian football team was, in part, due to the hiring of John McCormick as the new Athletic Director. The decision to form the team was also influenced by the interest students expressed in the game. The interest of students was evident in the strong position in favour

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40 The HSCFL was formed on Monday 6 September at an organizational meeting held at the Wanderers AAC. The President of the new league was John McCormick who was also the Athletic Director of Dalhousie University.

41 The Dartmouth Air Station team is included with teams based in Halifax for the purposes of this study due to its close geographic proximity to Halifax.
of Canadian football taken by the Dalhousie Amateur Athletic Club (DAAC) and its president, "Windy" O'Neill. A further factor that facilitated the team's formation was Bill Burkhart, a former professional Canadian football player from Toronto, who agreed to coach the team. In order to assess the reaction of students to the introduction of Canadian football a poll was conducted by the Dalhousie Gazette. In this poll, "Various characters were approached and quizzed as to their feelings on the subject." Of those polled, female students generally favoured English rugby, while males of the rugby "old guard" believed that the march of progress made the adoption of the Canadian game inevitable, although they believed English rugby was still the superior game. Individuals with Canadian football backgrounds all favoured the Canadian game. Following Dalhousie University's first game, a 9 to 7 victory over the Saint Mary's College Grads team, the Gazette stated that there was a "... resurgence of spirit for football at Dal that the new game has been designed to introduce ... [and] there can be nothing but optimism that the old spirit will come back." Despite some

42 Dalhousie Gazette, 3 October 1947, 1. McCormick and O'Neill were credited with bringing Canadian football to Dalhousie University.


44 Dalhousie Gazette, 3 October 1947, 3.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.
negative opinions about the new sport, Canadian football was readily accepted by the majority of students at Dalhousie University.

The official reasons for forming the Canadian football team at Dalhousie University were revealed in the Athletic Director's report to the President's Office for 1947. The first reason given was that the high school Canadian football league in Halifax had continued to thrive despite the loss of support from the military following the war. This, it was argued, exhibited the popularity of the game among the youth of the city, many of whom, it was noted, could be attending the university in the near future. A second reason for adopting Canadian football was that many Dalhousie University students had played the sport during the war and these students had gained the support of the student's council and the DAAC to join the new city league. Finally, it was noted that there had been an interest expressed by other Maritime Intercollegiate Athletic Union members in forming Canadian football teams. The institutions that exhibited an interest included Saint Mary's College, Saint Francis Xavier University, Acadia University, and the University of New Brunswick. The interest of these teams in Canadian football had been expressed at the Maritime Intercollegiate Athletic Union meeting held in 1947.47 In addition to the arguments presented

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47 Athletic Director's Report, 2 May 1947, in Dalhousie President's Office, Athletics and Physical Education, 1945-1952, MS 1-3 A-141, Dalhousie University Archives, Halifax. Fred Kelly was the long time rugby coach of Acadia University who was well-respected in English rugby circles.
in this report, there was no indication that the university administration had any objection to the new team. Therefore, based on the absence of objections from university administrators, and the support provided by athletic administrators and students, the Dalhousie University Canadian football team was formed.

The extent of the popularity of Canadian football at Dalhousie University was exhibited during a pep-rally held on Monday 10 November 1947. This rally was attended by five hundred of Dalhousie's two thousand students prior to the league semi-final match versus the Saint Mary's College Grads. Following the rally, students from both schools engaged in acts of vandalism which included the tearing down of goal posts and fencing around the football fields. The student's actions eventually required police intervention. The extent of the interest surrounding the introduction of Canadian football at Dalhousie University was both a reflection of, and contributor to, the growing interest in the game within Halifax.

The Saint Mary's Grads team that competed in the HSCFL in 1947 was a combined team of Saint Mary's College students and members of Saint Mary's Amateur Athletic Club. The entry of this team into the league was understandable as the Saint Mary's College Grads team of the previous season had played in two

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48 Dalhousie Gazette, 14 November 1947, 1.
49 Halifax Herald, 11 November 1947, 1.
community chest matches versus HMCS Stadacona team. This Saint Mary’s College Grads team had a successful season in 1947 reaching the league finals before bowing out to the HMCS Stadacona team nineteen to two in the final match. The following season, however, the team did not return to the league. Although no official reason was offered for the decision, one explanation given was that Saint Mary’s College and the Amateur Athletic Club had heavily committed to other sports including a senior hockey franchise in the Maritime Big Four Hockey League and could not continue to support the Canadian football team.\textsuperscript{51} This departure, therefore, had little to do with the popularity of Canadian football in Halifax, and in this case was the result of the need to allocate resources to other activities.

The switch from English rugby to Canadian football by the Wanderers AAC best exhibited the growing popularity of the Canadian game in Halifax. The decision to adopt Canadian football was symbolic because the Wanderers AAC was one of the oldest English rugby playing clubs in the Maritimes, and was steeped in rugby tradition.\textsuperscript{52} The decision to sponsor a Canadian football team was made by Andy Duffus, the chairman of the Wanderers AAC football committee, following the determination that interest had been expressed by enough players to form a

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51} Hargraves, 11.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Davies, 11. The depth of the rugby tradition at the Wanderers AAC was apparent as it was a founding organization of the HCRL in 1891.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The coach of the new team was Jerry Drew who had experience in Western Canada as both a coach and a player. Players on the team included a former professional player from the United States, a former Quebec Rugby Union player, and local athletes of whom some were English rugby converts. With the Wanderers AAC joining the ranks of the Canadian football league in Halifax, and evidence of English rugby players converting to Canadian football, further force was given to the argument that Canadian football was beginning to dominate football in the city.

The structure of Canadian football in Halifax from 1948 to 1950 remained unchanged apart from the withdrawal of the Saint Mary's College Grads team following the 1947 season. The teams in the HSCFL included Dalhousie University, the Wanderers AAC, HMCS Stadacona, and the Dartmouth Air Station team which later became the HMCS Shearwater team in 1949. The HHS CFL league also continued to operate with the three original teams, Saint Mary's, Saint Patrick's, and Queen Elizabeth High Schools. Both these Canadian football leagues continued to draw popular support which was evident in the attendance at games and the newspaper coverage the sport received (see appendix 5).

The most important football event of the 1948 season was the arrangement of an exhibition match between Dalhousie University's

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53 *Halifax Herald*, 8 September 1947, 7. Interest was expressed by thirty players.

54 Hargraves, 11.

55 Hargraves, 12.
Canadian football team and the McGill University intermediate Canadian football team. This match-up had been proposed the previous season by Dalhousie University but McGill University had declined the invitation to play.\textsuperscript{56} A second invitation to play in 1948, however, was accepted by McGill University. The organization of the game was taken seriously by the student council and the DAAC, which was evident when the student council voted to set aside $1650.00 to bring the Montreal team to Halifax. Any profits from the game were to go to the Dalhousie War Memorial fund.\textsuperscript{57} The Dalhousie Gazette reported that over 1000 people attended the game, however, no mention was made of whether money was made or lost. The effort expended by Dalhousie University to bring Canadian football competition to the city was a clear example of the interest that the students had in the Canadian game.

One reason given for the rise in the popularity of Canadian football within Halifax during the 1949 season was the success of the Wanderers AAC. Alex Nickerson believed that the increased interest in Canadian football during this season was a direct result of the Wanderers AAC’s success.\textsuperscript{58} By 1950, however, the problem of insufficient practice time available to the young business men who formed the team, was cited as the reason for the

\textsuperscript{56} *Halifax Herald*, 18 October 1947, 7.

\textsuperscript{57} *Dalhousie Gazette*, 1 October 1948, 2-4; 8 October 1948, 1.

\textsuperscript{58} *Chronicle Herald*, 18 October 1949, 13. The Wanderers AAC, in 1949, played in four games that attracted at least 1000 spectators.
decline in the team's level of play.\textsuperscript{59} Despite difficulties experienced during the late 1940s, the Wanderers AAC team continued to participate in and support the HSCFL, thus cultivating a broader interest in Canadian football within Halifax.

A number of innovations were introduced by HSCFL organizers to further generate greater spectator interest during the 1948 and 1949 seasons. One innovation was the introduction of live broadcasts of games over the radio in 1948.\textsuperscript{60} The first game to be broadcast was a match on 2 October between Dalhousie University and the Wanderers AAC. It was reported that the broadcasters were not considered to have done a good job, however, this did not deter future broadcasts.\textsuperscript{61} By 1949, according to "Windy" O'Neills of the Dalhousie Gazette there had been an improvement in the broadcasts. It was also noted that Nova Scotians were used to listening to American football games on the radio, so the use of these local broadcasts was deemed to be a good way to introduce the Canadian game to new audiences in the city and province.\textsuperscript{62} In 1949, further innovations were introduced at Canadian football games including bands, clowns, clowns, clowns.

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Chronicle Herald}, 22 September 1950, 18. It was argued that the Wanderers AAC team could not compete with the other teams in the HSCFL because of the limited practice time available to the team. The Wanderers AAC won only two of their five games in 1950.

\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Dalhousie Gazette}, 8 October 1948, 4.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Dalhousie Gazette}, 1 November 1949, 3.
and musicians who were employed "... to entertain the spectators at half time and during lulls in play."\(^{63}\) Other improvements also included the purchase of new uniforms made of silk, satin, and nylon, as well as new equipment for the teams.\(^{64}\) Although radio broadcasts and entertainment during games were viewed as novelties, their implementation indicated how important the promotion of Canadian football was to the administrators of the sport.

An event that foreshadowed the future of Canadian football in the Atlantic provinces was the adoption of the sport by the University of New Brunswick in 1948. It was also known that other universities, including Saint Francis Xavier and Mount Allison Universities, were considering making the same change. "Windy" O’Neill believed that these teams would eventually be forced to switch to Canadian football due to the increasing lack of competition in English rugby.\(^{65}\) The interest in Canadian football expressed by these universities provided further support to the sport by exhibiting that the popularity of the sport was not only expanding in Halifax but also moving into the rest of Maritimes.

The assessment of the innovations made by Canadian football organizers in the city newspapers varied depending on the allegiance of the writers. "Windy" O’Neill of the Dalhousie

\(^{63}\) Chronicle Herald, 1 October 1949, 12.

\(^{64}\) Ibid.

\(^{65}\) Dalhousie Gazette, 4 February 1949, 4.
Gazette wrote, "People in the know are really impressed with the way the affairs of the Halifax Canadian Football League are being administered." Alex Nickerson, however, believed that Canadian football administrators had an alternate motive for their actions when he wrote,

The only organized Canadian football league in the Maritimes, in one of the last strongholds of English rugby in Canada, is planning a long term familiarization experiment in a "determined" effort to hasten the death of rugger, the major sport in the seaside provinces since 1900.

Nickerson clearly believed that the organizers of Canadian football were focused on undermining the efforts of English rugby organizers in Halifax. Whether or not this was the case, by the end of the 1940s, Canadian football had clearly achieved football dominance within Halifax.

The domination of Canadian football in Halifax over the second half of the 1940s, however, was not absolute. Although Canadian football did dominate the military bases, at Dalhousie University, the city's high schools, and at the Wanderers AAC, there remained a number of individuals and institutions that continued to support English rugby in Halifax. Despite this continued, but limited, interest in English rugby, Canadian

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66 *Dalhousie Gazette*, 12 October 1949, 3.

67 Heather Harris, interview by author, Phone conversation, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 31 July 1995. Harris stated that Nickerson was a purist and he saw English rugby as a more manly sport than Canadian football. For this reason he preferred English rugby.

football had clearly become the popular football game in Halifax by 1950.

The Decline of Rugby League in Halifax, 1947 to 1950

The 1947 football season ushered in a critical period for the future of English rugby in Halifax. In the previous season rugby league had been adopted throughout the Maritimes in an attempt to build a solid infrastructure for the sport. In Halifax, however, in order to improve the interest in English rugby, a number of obstacles had to be overcome, the largest of which was the growing popularity of Canadian football. As the 1947 season approached, English rugby in Halifax was faced with a variety of challenges that threatened the foundation of the game in the city. These challenges included the adoption of Canadian football by Dalhousie University and the Wanderers AAC, the inability to organize high school rugby in the city, and problems surrounding organization and publicity efforts within the HCRL. How these challenges were met between 1947 and 1950 determined the future of English rugby in Halifax.

English rugby teams and leagues that operated in Halifax during the 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950 seasons lacked the stability that was present in the HCRL prior to the Second World War. This instability was evident through fluctuations in the number of teams in both sections of the HCRL and the MIRL over this period (see appendix 2, 3, and 9). An example of the lack of stability
within the English rugby leagues was the decision not to form the senior section of the HCRL in 1947. This action followed the decision by DAAC president "Windy" O'Neill to only enter an intermediate team in the league. The following season no intermediate league was formed, forcing the Acadia University intermediate team to participate in the senior section of the HCRL. Although the number of rugby league teams in the city leagues increased from four in 1947 to nine in 1950, interest in the game was becoming increasingly limited to small groups at the universities, colleges, and the military bases.

An increasing unwillingness on the part of English rugby organizers to address a variety of problems facing their game resulted in negative publicity as well as player and spectator dissention during the late 1940s. The inability to deal with these problems resulted in a decline in rugby league's popularity within Halifax at this time. These difficulties included negative publicity in the form of newspaper coverage, inadequate publicity efforts when compared to those undertaken by Canadian football administrators, and player and spectator objections to the quality of play and refereeing. These problems, combined with the increased interest in Canadian football, would have a serious impact on the future viability of English rugby in Halifax.

69 Dalhousie Gazette, 3 October 1947, 5.

70 From 1947 to 1950, of the 20 football games played with recorded attendance figures of over 1000 spectators only five were rugby league games while fifteen were Canadian football matches.
A common concern expressed about rugby league following the 1946 season was the objection by players and spectators to the inadequate level of refereeing in the Maritimes and Halifax. This complaint was evident within several newspapers including the Xaverian, the Saint Francis Xavier University student newspaper, and *The Tech Flash*.\(^{71}\) The solution to this problem, it was thought, would be to form referee schools because it was recognized that "If the English form of the gridiron game is to hold its own with its Canadian counterpart in the eyes of Maritime sports fans, strong steps must be taken to better the brand of play "dished up" for Mr. John Q. Fan."\(^{72}\) Other recommendations to improve the game included setting an examination for referees and having coaches take part in the refereeing school to learn about, and advise on, rule interpretations.\(^{73}\) Although part of the reason for these problems was undoubtedly the result of the switch to rugby league from rugby union, the need to remedy these difficulties remained a pressing issue that was not addressed appropriately by English rugby officials.

The reaction of English rugby enthusiasts to the success experienced by Canadian football in Halifax during the 1947 season was clearly evident in the discussions and actions that took place in 1948. Windy O'Neill, of the *Dalhousie Gazette*,

\(^{71}\) *The Tech Flash*, February 1947, 24.

\(^{72}\) Ibid., 25.

\(^{73}\) Ibid.
wrote that "... the M.I.A.U. [Maritime Intercollegiate Athletic Union] are sore at Dal for taking up Canadian football. They dislike anything that smacks of progress."\textsuperscript{74} As a supporter of English rugby, Alex Nickerson believed that the future of English rugby in Halifax depended on the intercollegiate links between the universities. Nickerson noted that at Dalhousie University there had been a campaign employing placards that announced "Save The Old Game" by English rugby supporting students. This campaign, Nickerson added, was successful with a number of former players, who were then studying in the professional schools, showing a willingness to "... give it another whirl."\textsuperscript{75} The campaign, although effective in the short term, was not sufficient to preserve English rugby in Halifax over the long term. Further discussions concerning strategies to combat the growing popularity of Canadian football, and how to increase interest in rugby league, were undertaken by the MRU, the senior English rugby governing organization in the Atlantic provinces.

The meeting of the MRU held in Truro on 1 November 1948 was called by the President, Reverend L.G. McKenna of Saint Francis Xavier University in order to discuss plans to improve rugby league for the benefit of spectators. The improvement of the game was chosen as the focus for this meeting as it had been determined that spectators did not feel they were being informed

\textsuperscript{74} Dalhousie Gazette, 2 November 1948, 4.

\textsuperscript{75} Halifax Herald, 19 October 1948, 6.
about rugby matters including what was taking place on the field and what was happening in the league as a whole. Several issues were brought forward that attempted to deal with problems facing English rugby in the Maritimes. These included the need for a recognized referees association; the possibility of employing a system of signals for referees to inform spectators as to the reasons for play stoppages and time remaining in the game; and the suggestion of having a paid, permanent, secretary to promote rugby league in the Maritimes. Although it was decided that a referees association would be formed at the next annual meeting under the supervision of President McKenna, little else was accomplished at this meeting.76 The progress made at the meeting was summarized in the Halifax Herald.

Means [for] improving the game from a spectator's point of view was discussed but no definite action was taken. Delegates felt the first step was getting teams to play the game and referees interpreting rules properly.77

One reason why the implementation of these changes at the MRU meeting was limited was that many delegates did not appreciate the need for change in order to combat the threat of Canadian football. Any urgency for action to be taken was limited primarily to representatives from Halifax. This lack of urgency on the part of many MRU members resulted in the lack of action taken at this meeting to implement the suggested changes within English rugby.

76 Halifax Herald, 30 October 1948, 7.
77 Halifax Herald, 2 November 1948, 6.
In 1950, in an attempt to improve the sport of English rugby, Hugh Noble, the Director of Physical Education for Nova Scotia, organized a series of clinics for rugby league referees and coaches. These clinics were staged in Glace Bay, New Waterford, Sydney Mines, North Sydney, Antigonish, and New Glasgow, however, no clinic was held in Halifax.\(^{78}\) Why no clinic was held in Halifax is not known, however, this omission may have been a concession on the part of organizers who assumed that the city would not be interested in hosting the clinic. What this event suggests, was that the future of English rugby in Halifax was not a primary concern of the regional and provincial English rugby administrators, and thus, any efforts to improve the sport were to be left to local administrators.

The continued lack of interest in improving English rugby in Halifax was apparent at the 1950 MRU meeting where there was no mention of any of the issues concerning the improvement of the game that had been raised at the 1948 meeting.\(^{79}\) An article written by Alex Nickerson in the same year outlined the position of English rugby in Halifax at the time. The headline read, "English Rugby Still King In Province." This statement concluded that English rugby was no longer the major autumn sport in Halifax, although it remained the dominant football game in the

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\(^{78}\) Chronicle Herald, 20 September 1950, 16.

\(^{79}\) Chronicle Herald, 26 October 1950, 18. The only issues discussed were the playoff schedule and the election of new officers.
rest of Nova Scotia.\textsuperscript{80} By 1950, the popularity of Canadian football in Halifax was not a question, however, the future of English rugby in the city was becoming increasingly uncertain.

Conclusion

Immediately following the Second World War, there was uncertainty as to which form of football would become dominant within Halifax. By 1950, however, it was apparent that Canadian football had become the dominant football game in Halifax primarily as a result of the support it received from the RCN, high schools, Dalhousie University, and the Wanderers AAC. Efforts to publicize Canadian football had been effective, and spectator interest noticeably exceeded that which had been recorded for English rugby. Attempts to improve the sport of English rugby, including the adoption of rugby league in 1946, were not successful in preventing the decline in the popularity of English rugby in Halifax. As well, recommendations to improve English rugby were not carried out, and changes that were implemented were inadequate to revive the sport in Halifax. Therefore, due to the increasing popularity of Canadian football and the failed attempts of English rugby administrators, both within Halifax and outside the city, to improve the sport’s popularity, the future of English rugby in Halifax was uncertain.

\textsuperscript{80} \textit{Chronicle Herald}, 30 September 1950, 12.
CHAPTER V

THE DOMINANCE OF CANADIAN FOOTBALL AND THE DEMISE OF ENGLISH RUGBY, 1951 TO 1954

Introduction

During the early 1950s the popularity of Canadian football in Halifax continued to expand while interest in English rugby steadily declined. Changing conditions that affected football within Halifax and the Maritimes at this time included the expansion of Canadian football to communities outside Halifax, the rationalization of football programs at the universities and colleges, and the increased military investment in the Atlantic region. These influences resulted in the continued dominance of Canadian football and increased uncertainty about the future of English rugby in Halifax.

The continuing rise in the popularity of Canadian football following 1950 was the result of both existing and emerging influences within the city. The RCN, which remained the primary supporter of Canadian football in Halifax, was able to expand in this role due to increasing military investment in the Maritime provinces during the early 1950s. The expansion of the RCN in the Maritime provinces prompted an increase in the number of personnel in the region from 10,687 in 1951 to 14,700 in 1952. This influx of personnel was, in part, the result of a
$350,000,000 ship building program initiated at this time.\(^1\) The increase in personnel facilitated growth within the RCN sport program including Canadian football played in Halifax. The RCN teams were able to utilize new personnel, including players and coaches, to improve the quality of their teams. Along with the RCN, Canadian football also continued to thrive at Dalhousie University and in the high schools. Competition with teams from Central Canada, combined with innovative publicity efforts, continued to attract interest to Canadian football. Additional efforts undertaken by Canadian football administrators to popularize the sport included the formation of a junior Canadian football league which, along with the existing high school league, enhanced the future prospects of the game in the city. These efforts, combined with the increasing problems within English rugby in Halifax over this period, resulted in Canadian football remaining the dominant form of football in Halifax.

The fate of English rugby in Halifax was sealed during the early 1950s, during which time the sport of rugby league became increasingly less stable and eventually collapsed following the 1953 football season. The declining presence of English rugby in the city was due, in part, to the inability of the administrators to improve public interest in the sport, the continued neglect of rugby in Halifax by the Maritime governing body, and the inability of administrators to resolve disputes among teams in Halifax and Nova Scotia. As these problems persisted, interest

\(^1\) Chronicle Herald, 22 October 1952, 4.
in rugby league declined, and by the opening of the 1954 season the sport was no longer a viable entity within Halifax.

The Dominance of Canadian Football, 1951 to 1954

By the opening of the 1951 football season, Canadian football was clearly increasing in popularity. The HSCFL continued to thrive with support of the RCN and educational institutions including Dalhousie University and the city high schools. The popularity of the sport continued to grow during the early 1950s and soon completely dominated the city’s football fields. English rugby, the sport that in earlier decades was the only football game played in Halifax, was no longer able to compete with Canadian football for the public’s interest.

Popular interest in Canadian football between 1951 and 1954 was evident through both the coverage of football in the Chronicle Herald and the recorded attendance figures at football games. Coverage of football in the Chronicle Herald revealed that there was a dramatic rise in the coverage of Canadian football and a similar decline in coverage of English rugby from 1952 to 1954 (see table 7). The modest amount of coverage Canadian football received in 1951 was most likely a combination of the remaining English rugby teams in Halifax along with coverage of rugby outside the city. By 1952, however, it was apparent that coverage of football in the Chronicle Herald focused predominantly on Canadian football.
Table 7.--Coverage of Football on Mondays in the Chronicle Herald, 1951 to 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Canadian Football</th>
<th>English Rugby</th>
<th>American Football</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>76.6%</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>83.6%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canadian football's dominance over English rugby was also evident through attendance at football games in Halifax from 1951 to 1954. The greater number of Canadian football games for which attendance figures were reported, and the larger attendance figures for Canadian football when compared to English rugby, indicated the increased public interest in Canadian football over this period. From 1951 to 1954 the number of Canadian football games played and number of teams in existence increased. At the same time, the number of English rugby games played and teams in existence declined. Therefore, the combination of the increase in Canadian football games and teams, and the larger attendance figures reported for games, indicated that Canadian football was

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2 In 1951 the average attendance at 2 Canadian football games for which attendance figures were recorded was 1750 people. In the same year 600 spectators attended the sole English rugby game for which an attendance figure was reported. In 1952 no English rugby games attendance figures were reported, while the average attendance of the 10 Canadian football matches for which attendance figures were recorded was 1439 people. The average attendance figure in 1953 was 1652 people at Canadian football games with recorded attendance number, and only 150 people at 2 recorded English rugby matches. Finally, in 1954 for the 11 Canadian football games where attendance figures were reported, the average attendance was 2000 people.
becoming increasingly popular while interest in English rugby was rapidly declining.\textsuperscript{3}

The HSCFL continued to thrive in 1951 with the entry of the HMCS Cornwallis team from Deep Brook Nova Scotia. This base had been closed following the Second World War, but was recommissioned in 1949 as a base for training new recruits.\textsuperscript{4} This new entry was the HSCFL's first experiment with Canadian football outside the Halifax area.\textsuperscript{5} Within Halifax, interest in Canadian football also continued to expand. An example of this expanding interest was the attempt to form an intermediate Canadian football league in 1951. Despite interest being expressed by Saint Mary's College and HMCS Stadacona to field teams, the league was not formed.\textsuperscript{6} Further evidence that demonstrated the growing popularity of Canadian football in Halifax included the operation of an inter-faculty Canadian football league at Saint Mary's College which had teams

\textsuperscript{3} In 1951 there were 17 Canadian football games and 16 English rugby games played in Halifax. The following season there were 27 Canadian football games and 11 senior English rugby games played in the city. In 1953, 15 senior Canadian football and 9 English rugby games played in Halifax. Finally, in 1954 there were 25 Canadian football games played and only 5 senior English rugby games played in the city.


\textsuperscript{5} Chronicle Herald, 17 September 1951, 15. The first game of the season was played in Deep Brook on Saturday 15 September between HMCS Cornwallis and HMCS Stadacona.

\textsuperscript{6} Saint Mary's Journal, 26 October 1951, 3.
representing the engineering, arts, and commerce faculties. Despite the popularity of Canadian football within both Halifax and Nova Scotia during the 1951 season, several problems did arise which had to be overcome.

During the 1951 football season two events occurred that raised uncertainty about the popularity of Canadian football in Halifax. These events included the feared discontinuation of Canadian football at Dalhousie University, and the withdrawal of the Wanderers AAC part way through the season due to their poor record. The circumstances surrounding the disbanding of the Wanderers AAC team sparked criticism concerning the inequalities within the HSCFL about the amount of time teams were able to practice. The discourse surrounding these two incidents indicated that the dominance of Canadian football was not fully secured by 1951.

Prior to the 1951 football season, Gabriel E. Vitalone, the Director of Athletics and Physical Education at Dalhousie University wrote a letter to Dr. A.E. Kerr, the university President, in support of the continuation of Canadian football the university. Vitalone, in the letter, stressed that his arguments for continuing Canadian football had been arrived at not from his position as the team’s coach, but as the

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7 Ibid. This inter-faculty league continued to operate during the 1952, 1953, and 1954 seasons

8 Gabriel E. Vitalone, to Dr. A.E. Kerr, 6 February 1951, in Dalhousie President’s Office, Athletics and Physical Education 1945-1952, MS 1-3 A-141, Dalhousie University Archives, Halifax.
University's Athletic Director. Vitalone's main arguments for maintaining the Canadian football team included: student, player, and spectator interest; the success of high school Canadian football in Halifax; and that the cost to support the team was only $534.00 which was half the cost of the ice hockey team and only $150.00 more than the English rugby teams. Furthermore, gate receipts for games averaged $500.00 per season.\(^9\) Vitalone also addressed the reasons for the team's poor record over the previous two seasons in the letter.\(^10\) He argued that there was no conflict by having both a Canadian football and an English rugby team as both had to practice during the lunch hour which had equally hindered success in both sports. He also contended that if the team was disbanded, players on the Canadian football team would likely not play on the rugby league team but would play on one of the other Canadian football teams in the city. As well, Vitalone argued that the HSCFL was not too strong for the Dalhousie University Canadian football team to be competitive.

In conclusion, Vitalone suggested that "Our shortcomings were the result of short and insufficient practices."\(^11\) No evidence exists of a response to this letter, however, the following season floodlights were installed at Studley field to allow both the Canadian football and English rugby teams to practice after

\(^9\) Ibid.

\(^10\) In 1949 and 1950 the Dalhousie University Canadian football team won only two of twelve games.

\(^11\) Ibid.
dark. Therefore, Canadian football at Dalhousie University was not terminated, and although Vitalone departed following the 1951 season his arguments to preserve the team were successful. The HSCFL fell under media scrutiny following the withdrawal of the Wanderers AAC team after a 32-0 loss to HMCS Stadacona on Saturday 3 November 1951. Alex Nickerson, of the Chronicle Herald, suggested that the failure of the Wanderers AAC team was the result of unequal practice time for the club when compared to the other HSCFL teams. Nickerson believed the advantageous afternoon practices enjoyed by the RCN teams provided more practice time then that which was available to the Wanderers AAC team who's players had to work during the day. Thus, Nickerson concluded that any team made up of part-time players with full-time careers off the field could not compete successfully in the league with the RCN and university teams. It was clear, therefore that the Wanderers AAC, which was itself in decline, could no longer support Canadian football.

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12 Dalhousie Gazette, 30 September 1952, 1.

13 Chronicle Herald, 11 September 1952, p. 10; Dalhousie Gazette, 30 September 1952, 4. Keith King, a graduate of Springfield College who was from Montclair New Jersey, became the new Dalhousie coach.

14 Chronicle Herald, 5 November 1951, 10.

15 Ibid.

16 MacDonald, 6. MacDonald argued that the Wanderers AAC had been in decline since 1925.
During the 1952 season interest in Canadian football outside Halifax continued to expand, following the success of the introduction of the HMCS Cornwallis team the previous season. To more accurately reflect the provincial composition of the league, the HSCFL changed its name to the Nova Scotia Canadian Football League (NSCFL). A new team was also added to the NSCFL during this season, that being the Dartmouth Arrows Canadian football team.\(^\text{17}\) Despite the addition of the HMCS Cornwallis team in 1951, men’s Canadian football remained solidly based in the Halifax area (see appendix 6). There was evidence, however, of interest in Canadian football expanding within the Maritimes. One example was discussions between the NSCFL and the New Brunswick Canadian football organization about the possibility of a Maritime Canadian football championship game.\(^\text{18}\) As a result of this discussion a championship match was organized in which HMCS Shearwater defeated Saint Thomas College of Chatham New Brunswick 14-5.\(^\text{19}\) This match, and the formation of the NSCFL, exhibited the widening influence of Canadian football within the Maritimes.

\(^\text{17}\) Brown, "Organized Canadian Football in Nova Scotia", 30. The Dartmouth Arrows club was formed in 1952 and was primarily comprised of players from the 1951 Wanderers team. The team remained active for only the 1952 season and then was disbanded.

\(^\text{18}\) Chronicle Herald, 16 October 1952, 8.

\(^\text{19}\) Chronicle Herald, 8 December 1952, 15. The Commanding Officer of H.M.C.S. Shearwater, Captain D.L. Raymond provided the ceremonial kick-off for the Maritime championship game.
The expansion of Canadian football within the Atlantic provinces was also evident through the interest expressed by Saint Francis Xavier University in forming a team. An article published in the Xaverian detailed the university’s interest in forming a Canadian football team.

Last Year about this time an article was written about the possibilities of initiating Canadian football on this Campus. It was brought out that mostly all the other colleges in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were gradually abandoning the old game of rugger and directing their attention to this comparatively new sport in the Maritimes. . . Arguments were presented for and against this move, the major argument was against being the expense involved in the purchase of the equipment. It is our opinion that if we did get Canadian football in, the expense entailed would be ironed out in a matter of a few years. Why? Because the Canadian game is a spectators game -- much more so than English rugby. Students would be willing to pay admission into the games.20

In 1953, Saint Francis Xavier University formed a Canadian football team and played its first game against the HMCS Shearwater junior team in the same season.21 The following season, Saint Francis Xavier decided to concentrate on Canadian football and joined the NSCFL while at the same time disbanding its English rugby team.22 The growth of Canadian football outside the city of Halifax exhibited the expanding interest in the sport within the Maritimes, and the formation of the NSCFL

20 Dalhousie Gazette, 14 October 1952, 4. The article originally appeared in the Xaverian and was reprinted in the Gazette.

21 Chronicle Herald, 4 November 1953, 21.

22 Chronicle Herald, 23 September 1954, 10.
reflected the interest of Canadian football administrators to foster this growth.

The reasons for the growth of Canadian football in Halifax and the Maritimes, were outlined by Alex Nickerson.

Canadian football -- a wartime experiment in Halifax -- is the game of the future not only in this city but in the Maritimes. . . Here in the seaside provinces -- the last stronghold of English rugby -- many attempts have been made over the last six years to revive interest in rugger. But the game has been steadily losing ground. . . Well the truth is, Canadian football has made tremendous strides in popularity. . . The reason is simple. Canadian football is a spectacular game for spectators. It has for the average fan, far more appeal than English rugby . . . 23

In this article, Nickerson also argued that the NSCFL policy of scheduling as many exhibition games as possible against teams from Ontario and Quebec was an important reason for the sport's success. 24 This policy, Nickerson maintained, was the reason why Canadian football would continue to grow in popularity and he predicted that as a result, one day, a team from the Maritimes would be in the position to challenge for the Grey Cup. 25 The application of this policy was evident with tours that took place during the 1952 and 1954 seasons. In 1952 the Royal Military College Canadian football team attracted large crowds when they defeated both HMCS Stadacona and Dalhousie University. 26

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23 *Chronicle Herald*, 18 October 1952, 12.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 *Chronicle Herald*, 18 October 1952, 12. A total of approximately 6000 spectators attended both games.
second tour, in 1954, by MacMaster University’s Canadian football team similarly attracted football enthusiasts’ attention by defeating HMCS Shearwater and Saint Francis Xavier University.\textsuperscript{27} Touring teams from Central Canada were important to Canadian football in the Maritimes because they represented a means to improve both the quality of and the interest in Canadian football.

Canadian football was not only expanding outside Halifax after 1950, but was also expanding within the city. The Nova Scotia Junior Canadian Football League (NSJCFL) was formed following a meeting of the NSCFL on 4 September 1953.\textsuperscript{28} By the end of the month the junior league was formed and began operation. The size of the NSJCFL’s executive indicated the careful planning that had taken place in forming the league.\textsuperscript{29} The teams that participated in the NSJCFL during its inaugural season included Saint Mary’s College, a Dartmouth club team, HMCS Shearwater, and HMCS Stadacona (see appendix 10). In order to compete in the league, players had to be twenty one years old as of 31 December 1953.\textsuperscript{30} The new league received considerable

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Chronicle Herald}, 12 October 1954, 12.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Chronicle Herald}, 5 September 1953, 6.

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Chronicle Herald}, 24 September 1953, 10. The league was presided over by Reverend D.W. Rourke of Saint Mary’s College. The remainder of the league executive included a Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, Publicity Officer, Senior League Liaison, and League Manager. As well, representatives from each club were also members of the league executive.

support from the NSCFL including the donated proceeds from an
exhibition game between HMCS Shearwater and HMCS Stadacona which
was played on Saturday 12 September at the Wanderers AAC
grounds.31 The support that the new league received from the
NSCFL in both its organization and operation clearly exhibited
the continued interest administrators of Canadian football had in
ensuring the future and quality of the sport in Halifax.

The formation of the NSJCFL in 1953 was not the only method
employed by NSCFL administrators to enhance interest in Canadian
football within both Halifax and Nova Scotia. During this
period, the league continued to employ previously successful
publicity efforts along with new innovations. One example was
the continuation of live radio broadcasts of games during the
1953 season. At this time, "Radio station CHNS was approved for
the broadcasting of league games."32 One new publicity effort
included ceremonial kick-offs by leading citizens. This occurred
at the opening game of the 1953 season between HMCS Stadacona and
HMCS Cornwallis when Rear Admiral R.E.S. Bidwell, the Atlantic
Coast Flag Officer, conducted the ceremonial kick-off.33 As
well, this support for the NSCFL from the highest ranking RCN
officer in the region indicated the league's advantageous
position with respect to institutional support at this time.

32 Chronicle Herald, 24 September 1953, 11. Saint Mary's
Journal, 16 October 1953, 3.
33 Chronicle Herald, 28 September 1953, 19.
These publicity efforts served to improve interest in Canadian football, however, there were also less obvious methods employed by league administrators to improve Canadian football for the spectators.

Bob Coe, the Referee in Chief of the NSCFL, organized a refereeing clinic with guest referee Johnny "The Great" Fortunato who was "... recognized in the United States as one of the top-flight football referees" in the country.\(^{34}\) Not only did this clinic exhibit the commitment of the NSCFL to improving the play of Canadian football, but it also created interest because of the individual who was brought in to lead the clinic. Another improvement implemented to assist the spectator was the adoption of new uniforms by Dalhousie University with a numbering system that corresponded to the players' positions.\(^{35}\) At the same time, all NSCFL teams adopted distinct uniform colours and designs.\(^{36}\) These continuing efforts aimed at maintaining and expanding popular support for Canadian football, therefore, were achieved through measures that improved quality of the sport for the spectators.

During the 1953 Canadian football season the success of the NSCFL was evident both in terms of increasing interest in the sport as well as in its financial position. A financial statement for the NSCFL covering the 1953 season reported that

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\(^{34}\) *Chronicle Herald*, 12 September 1953, 6.

\(^{35}\) *Dalhousie Gazette*, 9 October 1953, 3.

\(^{36}\) *Chronicle Herald*, 5 September 1953, 12.
the league's income from gate receipts and annual dues was $9,389.25. The league's expenditures for the same season for items including rent, payment to game officials, advertising, field lighting, and sponsorship to junior football was $9,135.76. This record, therefore, indicated that the league was financially stable, and that through effective management the league had secured its future within Halifax.

The domination of Canadian football in Halifax was complete by the 1954 football season. This domination was both a result of what Canadian football administrators had done to improve the sport and the problems that had beset English rugby over this period. 1954 was the first season during which the NSCFL and NSJCFL did not have to compete with an English rugby league that was comprised of teams from Halifax. High school Canadian football also continued to prosper within the city with the expansion of the HHSCFL to four teams in 1952. Although Canadian football had achieved football dominance in Halifax based on efforts to attract spectator and player interest, it was the almost complete absence of English rugby within the city that clearly indicated the dominance of Canadian football.


The Collapse of English Rugby in Halifax, 1951 to 1954

The success and popularity of Canadian football in Halifax during the first half of the 1950s was an important reason why interest in English rugby continued to decline. This, however, was not the sole reason for the demise of English rugby in Halifax. Declining interest in English rugby was also, in part, due to ineffective administration of the sport which resulted in negative publicity and declining public support. Thus, due to the popularity of Canadian football and the problems within English rugby, the future prospects for the sport in Halifax were uncertain.

The decline in the number of Halifax-based English rugby teams that participated in the HCRL senior and intermediate sections and the MIRL league from 1951 to 1954, provided a clear indication of the health of English rugby in Halifax (see appendix 2, 3 and 9). This decline was evident between 1951, when there were three Halifax-based teams in the HCRL senior section, and 1954 when no city-based teams participated in the senior league. As well, in 1954, the intermediate section of the HCRL was disbanded, and Nova Scotia Technical College was the only Halifax representative in the MIRL. This decline in the number of Halifax English rugby teams clearly exhibits the collapse of the sport in Halifax.

The 1951 English rugby season in Halifax opened on a positive note with the reentry of a Wanderers AAC team into the
HCRL. At the first practice of the Wanderers AAC rugby team it was reported that there was a large turnout of players. Alex Nickerson recognized the importance of the return of the Wanderers AAC to English rugby in Halifax and suggested that "Greater interest is being shown in the McCurdy Cup playoffs this year than in any since the great Caledonia club retired from the competition early in World War II." Despite the positive effect that the return of the Wanderers AAC had upon English rugby in Halifax during the 1951 season, it was not enough to solve the problems that had been building within the sport since the end of the Second World War.

A series of events damaging to the public image of English rugby in the Maritimes occurred during the 1952 season. These events revealed problems that existed within the administration of English rugby in the Maritimes. One serious problem emerged during the McCurdy Cup playoffs when the cup was kidnapped by Don McInnis, a cup trustee and a member of the Glace Bay Rugby Club of Cape Breton. The cause of this extreme action was the result of a decision by the MRU to force the Glace Bay club to play the Wanderers AAC team in Halifax on 11 November—only two days after returning from defeating the Yarmouth Rugby Club in

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39 Chronicle Herald, 26 September 1951, 9.
40 Chronicle Herald, 27 September 1951, 16.
41 Chronicle Herald, 12 November 1951, 16.
Yarmouth. The Glace Bay club refused to play so soon after its previous match and, thus, were ruled to have forfeited the game. Brown described the entire affair as "... an embarrassment to the M.R.U., especially at a time when English Rugby was struggling to overcome the challenge of Canadian football." This negative publicity, thus, did not assist in improving English rugby's reputation within Halifax.

The difficulties facing English rugby in the Maritimes and Halifax continued into the 1953 season. At the 1953 meeting of the MRU, a new constitution was passed renaming the association the Maritime Rugby Football Association (MRFA). At this meeting, however, the controversies of the previous season promptly arose when Don McInnis of the Glace Bay club moved that his club be declared McCurdy Cup champions for 1952. This motion was seconded by Colonel MacDonald of Windsor, but was defeated when voted upon. In an attempt to improve the league's poor image, the Secretary-Treasurer of the MRFA sent out a bulletin stating, "... rugby is in for a comeback with more teams than

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43 Glace Bay is on Cape Breton Island in the North east part of Nova Scotia, while Yarmouth is at the extreme South west of the province. The return trip from Yarmouth would have taken the Glace Bay team at least a full day.

44 Ibid.


46 Chronicle Herald, 23 September 1953, 8.

47 Chronicle Herald, 28 September 1953, 18.
ever before seeking honours in the various divisions.\textsuperscript{48} This statement may have been true, but in Halifax this was not the case. Further negative publicity for English rugby in Halifax surrounded the events that took place during the home-and-home quarter-final series of the McCurdy Cup between the Wanderers AAC and the Glace Bay club in the 1953 McCurdy Cup playoffs. The difficulties started following the first game of the series. After the game the president of the Wanderers AAC advised the MRFA that his team would forfeit the second game in Glace Bay if the same referee was assigned to the second match.\textsuperscript{49} The league would not change the referee, and the Wanderers AAC forfeited the game. The Wanderers AAC team did not return for the 1954 season, and it is not clear whether or not this controversy lead the club to decide to no longer support an English rugby team. Alex Nickerson, in his column in the Chronicle Herald, cited the above controversy and the adoption of Canadian football by Saint Francis Xavier University as two signs of increasing uncertainty for the future English of rugby in Halifax and Nova Scotia.\textsuperscript{50}

Following the 1953 season, English rugby disappeared from Halifax. At the start of the 1953 season there were five teams competing at the senior, intermediate, and intercollegiate

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{48} Chronicle Herald, 7 October 1953, 16.
\item \textsuperscript{49} Chronicle Herald, 9 November 1953, 8. The reason why the Wanderers AAC did not want the same referee was not evident.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Chronicle Herald, 10 November 1953, 8.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
levels, however four of these five teams did not return for the 1954 campaign. The only team from Halifax to compete in an official league during the 1954 season was Nova Scotia Technical College, who played in the MIRL. This final blow to the faltering fortunes of English rugby in Halifax clearly marked the collapse of popular interest in the sport.

The collapse of English rugby was most visible at Dalhousie University where the sport was unceremoniously discarded from the school’s sporting program. This event was described in the *Dalhousie Gazette*.

On Monday, Oct 4, at 7:50 p.m. the end came to an era in sports at Dalhousie. The American element in our way of life emerged triumphant; the British Element was further weakened! No longer will Dalhousie Varsity teams win fame and glory for their prowess in English Rugby, for on Oct 4 the Council of Students passed a motion to drop English Rugby from the list of Varsity sports. There was almost no opposition to the proposal... English Rugby, however, has been doomed for some years. When the Canadian game was introduced at Dal it was understood that if it caught on, it would replace the English game. ... "The old order changeth, yielding place to new."51

The swiftness and ease with which English rugby was abandoned clearly exhibited that the sport, which had long been in decline at the university, no longer attracted enough interest to warrant the expenses required to support the team. The fate of English rugby at Dalhousie not only revealed the loss of interest among students in the game, but also reflected the attitude of disinterest towards the game throughout Halifax.

51 *Dalhousie Gazette*, 12 October 1954, 6.
With the disbanding of the Dalhousie University English rugby team, which had competed in both the HCRL and the MIRL, and the departure of the Wanderers AAC team, which had competed as an independent team in 1953, the two most influential English rugby teams in the city vanished. As a result, the 1954 HCRL was comprised of teams from Acadia University, Truro, Windsor, and New Glasgow, none of which were from Halifax. By 1954, as a result of the loss of the Dalhousie University and Wanderers AAC teams, English rugby was no longer a sport of consequence within the city of Halifax.

Conclusion

The collapse of English rugby and the rise to dominance of Canadian football in Halifax was concluded between 1951 and 1954. A number of factors secured the dominant position of Canadian football in Halifax at this time. These factors included: the continuing growth of interest in Canadian football not only in Halifax, but also in Nova Scotia; the support provided by the RCN and Dalhousie University; and specific league policies that sought to attract out-of-province competition and improve the quality of the play and coverage for spectators. These influences, coupled with the continuing decline in interest in English rugby in Halifax resulting from negative publicity and inadequate administration, led to the uncontested dominance of Canadian football within the city.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Don Loney, who was a Canadian football player for HMCS Stadacona in 1944, was the coach of HMCS Shearwater in 1953, and was the coach of Saint Francis Xavier University from 1957 to 1973, is recognized as one of the individuals primarily responsible for the growth and development of Canadian football in the Maritimes from 1953 to 1974.¹ Loney, during the time he was involved with Canadian football in Halifax prior to 1954, did not recall English rugby as being a sport that attracted spectator interest. When asked why he thought Canadian football replaced English rugby as the popular football game in Halifax during and following the Second World War, he responded, "Society chooses its own game, in this case Halifax chose Canadian football."²

Why Canadian football rose to become the dominant form of football in Halifax and English rugby declined to obscurity in the city by 1954 was the result of a variety of influences. These influences acted both internally within the city and externally upon the city to initiate and foster changes that were

¹ David Marcus, "The Dominant Figure in the Growth and Development of Football in the Maritimes: A Case Study of Donald J. Loney", (Undergraduate paper, University of Western Ontario, n.d.), 1.

² Donald J. Loney, interview by author, Phone conversation, Sherbrooke, Nova Scotia, 31 August 1995.
able to overcome elements of resistance, and resulted in the popularization and eventual dominance of Canadian football at the expense of English rugby.

Important internal influences within football in Halifax between 1930 and 1954 were the individual players; team, league, and institutional administrators; and spectators. Individuals who participated in football within the RCN, Dalhousie University, the Wanderers AAC, the high schools, and Saint Mary's College were critical to alterations that occurred within football in Halifax at this time. The interactions between these individuals, groups, and institutions resulted in alterations to the organisation and operation of football in the city. These interactions, however, did not exist in a vacuum as there were powerful external influences that also impacted on and altered football within Halifax.

Influences that were external to Halifax which transformed football within the city included specific events, groups, and individuals. By 1930, the British influence on rugby union in Halifax was negligible.\(^3\) Therefore, influences upon football in the city were primarily American, and Central and Western Canadian in origin. These influences included newspaper coverage of Canadian and American football events; American teachers and students; Central and Western Canadian service personnel, teachers, and students; and touring teams from Central Canada.

\(^3\) Davies, 48. By 1931 the MRU was no longer affiliated with the Rugby Football Union in England, but was a member of the Rugby Union of Canada.
The most important external event, however, was the Second World War, the start of which indirectly ended high school English rugby in Halifax and later facilitated the development of high school Canadian football in the city. A further effect the war had on football was the introduction and popularization of Canadian football by the RCN. The effects of these external influences, combined with the internal interactions of individuals, groups, and institutions involved in football, resulted in critical changes to the composition and organization of football in Halifax between 1930 and 1954.

American football was first played in Halifax in 1932. Although it survived only until 1937, its introduction represented the initial interest in alternative forms of football within the city. It was not until 1939, however, that games including American "sixes" and touch football were played at Saint Mary’s College and the city high schools on an organized basis. At this time, the individuals that fostered this change were American teachers and students, who, along with local students, provided the impetus for the adoption of alternative North American style football games. The dominance of rugby union was not challenged at this time, although the HCRL did implement several rule changes which indicated that they were concerned about spectator interest in their game declining. English rugby enthusiasts, however, could not have predicted the profound negative affect the growing interest in alternative
football games at this time would have on the future of their sport.

An event of critical importance to the future of football in Halifax was the disappearance of high school rugby union in 1939. This was, in part, the result of the loss of coaches to the war service, yet it is not clear why remaining senior teams and players did not assist in preserving the high school leagues. Senior rugby, however, remained the popular football game in the city by the start of the Second World War, despite interruptions to the HCRL senior and intermediate sections resulting from a ban on intercollegiate sport imposed by the President of Dalhousie University. Despite the above obstacle and the difficulties involved in organizing and administering the sport, English rugby survived the war.

An event critical to the future of football in Halifax, occurred when men's Canadian football was introduced during the 1941 season by the RCN. The presence of Canadian football teams, formed by Lieutenant Commander A.E. Chilcott, quickly established the sport in the city. The following year the first Canadian football league was formed, and by 1944 there were three service teams and one civilian team participating in league play. The successful introduction of Canadian football at this time was the result of the presence of military personnel from Central Canada stationed in Halifax who had Canadian football experience. Thus, football enthusiasts were able to experience high quality Canadian football, and as a result many of these individuals
became increasingly interested in the game. In addition to this, touring teams from Toronto and Montreal provided Halifax football enthusiasts with an opportunity to witness competition against teams from the rest of Canada, an attraction that remained popular in the years leading up to 1954.

Another notable event to take place during the Second World War was the establishment of Canadian football within Halifax high schools. The HHSCFL, formed in 1942, was supported by RCN players and coaches for the duration of the war. Touch football, a version of Canadian football, was organized in 1941 by Reverend Hayden, an American teacher at Saint Mary’s College, and Earle "Packy" Wilson, the director of the YMCA. During this period numerous coaches, teachers, and players with Canadian and American football experience assisted in teaching high school and junior high school players the game. Primarily, though, it was the influence of the RCN within Halifax during the war which firmly established an interest in Canadian football among the youth of the city.

In response to the decline in interest suffered by English rugby during the war, rugby league, a form of English rugby considered to be a faster and more exciting game, was adopted by the HCRL. The decision to adopt rugby league during the 1943 and 1944 seasons was made by Burnie Ralston, the coach of Dalhousie University, who was also the President of the HCRL. English rugby administrators were assisted in implementing this change by John McCarthy, who had first introduced rugby league to Halifax
in 1933 while a coach at Dalhousie University. The decision to adopt rugby league was a clear indication from HCRL administrators that a change was necessary in order to compete with Canadian football for the public's interest.

Following the end of the Second World War, Canadian football declined in popularity due to the loss of RCN players, while English rugby regained some of its lost popularity with the return of players to Halifax from the services. Burnie Ralston and John McCarthy along with Hugh Noble, the Director of Physical Education for Nova Scotia, continued to support the implementation of rugby league in Halifax and the Maritimes during the 1946 season. Despite the success experienced by English rugby at this time it became obvious that Canadian football, which had persisted within the RCN and the high schools, had its roots already well-grounded in the city. The popularity of Canadian football following the war was evident in debates and opinion polls at Saint Mary’s College, Nova Scotia Technical College, as well as among football and sport leaders in Halifax. These investigations revealed that many individuals preferred Canadian football to English rugby and believed it was the future of football in the city.

The major turning point that determined the future of football in Halifax was the adoption of Canadian football by Dalhousie University and the Wanderers AAC in 1947. This conversion was the result of efforts undertaken by players with Canadian football backgrounds to play the sport of their choice.
Instrumental in forming the team at Dalhousie University were John McCormack, the university's Athletic Director, and "Windy" O'Neill, the President of the DAAC. Andy Duffus, the chair of the Wanderers AAC football committee, was responsible for the decision to adopt Canadian football following interest being expressed by club members. This rise in the interest in Canadian football was met by a corresponding decline in English rugby's popularity. This decline, however, was not solely the result of the success experienced by Canadian football, but was also due to the inability of English rugby administrators to recognize problems in their game, the continued neglect of youth rugby, and the failure of MRU administrators to act to support the sport in Halifax.

Following the 1951 season, increased participation and interest in Canadian football was, in part, due to the expansion of the military in the Maritimes. This expansion was the result of increased military investment that brought more personnel and football players to the Maritimes. Several events, including the disbanding of the Wanderers AAC Canadian football team in 1951 and the poor performance of the Dalhousie University Canadian football team the previous season, indicated there was resistance to and problems within the HSCFL. Despite these problems, the sport was solidly established in the city and was not negatively affected by these events. Therefore, Canadian football was able to prosper in Halifax because of the strong support provided by
the RCN and the continued interest within the civilian population of the city.

By 1954, the only English rugby team that remained in Halifax was Nova Scotia Technical College, a member of the MIRL. The Wanderers AAC had disbanded its English rugby team following a series of problems the previous season, and the decision by Dalhousie University to abandon English rugby was met with no opposition. These events left the HCRL comprised exclusively of teams from outside Halifax. At the same time, Canadian football had expanded to include military and university teams from throughout the Maritimes. As a result of these events, and its own success, Canadian football had clearly become the dominant football game in the city.

Changes to football in Halifax between 1930 and 1954 were the result of forces from both within and outside Halifax. External influences in the form of events, and individual and group actions were primarily responsible for the introduction and promotion of Canadian football within the city. The interactions between individuals, and within groups, in Halifax were affected by these external influences and resulted in either the adoption of or resistance to Canadian football by these groups and individuals. Therefore, events resulting from internal and external influences that affected the operation of football within Halifax, and the combined influence of all these events, caused the rise to dominance of Canadian football and the decline to obscurity of English rugby in Halifax by 1954.
APPENDIX 1

Content Analysis Methodology

A Content analysis study of the Halifax Herald for 1930, 1934, and 1938 to 1948, and the Chronicle Herald from 1949 to 1954 was undertaken to determine the coverage of football games and institutions involved in football over this period. The procedures followed during data collection included: the measurement in centimetres per column of football related articles in the sport section of each newspaper on Monday for the months of September, October, and November to provide a measure of total football coverage; articles were then grouped according to the sport (Canadian football, English rugby, and American football), and institution (educational, military, sport club, and other); finally, a percentage of coverage of each sport and institution was calculated for each year by dividing the total for each sport and institution by the total for football coverage. If two or more sports or institutions were the focus of an article the total measure of the article was divided equally between the two. For example in an article about a game between Dalhousie and the Wanderers AAC half the articles length in centimetres per column would be recorded under educational and half under sport club.
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**Halifax City Rugby League (Senior): 1930, 1934, 1938-1954**

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## APPENDIX 3

**Halifax City Rugby League (Intermediate): 1930,1934,1938-1954**

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Legend:
S- Senior High School Team
I- Intermediate High School Team
J- Junior High School Team
APPENDIX 5

Coverage of Football on Mondays in the *Halifax Herald* and *Chronicle Herald*, 1930, 1934, 1938-1954 (%)

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Coverage of Football, 1930, 1934, and 1938 to 1954

![Graph showing coverage of football from 1930 to 1954](image-url)
# APPENDIX 6

**Halifax Senior and Intermediate Canadian Football Teams: 1941-1954**

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<th>HMCS Stadacona</th>
<th>RCN Destroyers</th>
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<th>HMCS Cornwallis</th>
<th>Dalhousie University</th>
<th>Wanderers ACC</th>
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APPENDIX 8

Coverage of Institutions on Mondays in the *Halifax Herald* and *Chronicle Herald*, 1930, 1934, 1938-1954 (%)

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Coverage of Institutions Involved in Football, 1930, 1934, 1938 to 1954

- Educational
- Military
- Sports Clubs
- Other
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**Halifax Junior Canadian Football Teams: 1952-1954**

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SOURCES CONSULTED

PRIMARY SOURCES

Newspapers and Yearbooks


Kings College Record (Halifax). November 1941.


Archival Sources


Unpublished Sources


Marcus, David. "The Dominant Figure in the Growth and Development of Football in the Maritimes: A Case Study of Donald J. Loney." Undergraduate paper, University of Western Ontario, n.d.


Theses and Dissertations


Interviews


SECONDARY SOURCES

Books and Journal Articles


Census Material

Census of Canada. Table 6. Birthplace of the population classified by racial origin and sex, for cities of 30,000 and over, 1931.

Census of Canada. Table 22. Population by birthplace, racial origin and sex, for cities of 30,000 and over, 1941.
VITA AUCTORIS

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