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The function of the tavern in Toronto 1834 to 1875, with special reference to sport.

Howard Angus. Christie
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THE FUNCTION OF THE TAVERN IN TORONTO
1834 to 1875
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SPORT

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

by

Howard Angus Christie
B. P. H. E., University of Windsor, 1971

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1973
University of Windsor

CHRISTIE, Howard Angus

The Function of the Tavern in Toronto, 1834 to 1875, with Special Reference to Sport.
Masters in Physical Education
(Alan Metcalfe)

The main focus of this study was to examine the relationship between the tavern and the sport of Toronto and the changes this relationship underwent between 1834 and 1875. In advance of this, a description of the tavern's function in the general community life demonstrated it to be a temporary one. This was due to the urbanization of the area, which gradually created establishments of a specific nature to fulfill these separate roles which the tavern had previously absorbed. Some of this same development was noted regarding the tavern's sporting function although some distinct differences remained. It was discovered that the tavern no longer functioned as a locale for club sport activities by 1875 due to the nature of that form of sport although it did retain other uses. Specifically this refers to the tavern's continued employment as a centre for some non-club sport; as a social centre for many sporting activities, and as an organizational meeting place especially in the area of club sport during the last ten years of this period. This continued dependency upon the tavern's resources was attributed to a developmental gap between sport and the more basic aspects of urban life.
It was foreseen that sport would eventually leave these temporary environs as it reached a more mature stage in its development.
DEDICATION

To my parents.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is deeply indebted to the chairman of the committee, Dr. Alan Metcalfe for his restraint in allowing a novice's thoughts to come forward, for his loyalty and enthusiasm despite periods of low production and for his continued encouragement throughout the ups and downs of the thesis process.

Special thanks are also offered to Dr. James Duthie who always had suggestions for a project which was not his cup of tea, and to Professor Ronald Hoskins for helping to narrow the scope of the paper and for maintaining interest over a long period.

Sincerest appreciation is extended to my mother's uncle and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Phil Mason for their generosity and kindness during my stays in Toronto and thanks also to the staff of the Baldwin and Toronto rooms of that city's public library for their unfailing efficiency and courtesy.

Finally thanks are extended to fellow graduate students Phil, Steve, Wayne, Terry, Gus, George, Patrick, Cam, Wayne, Don, Jim, Joanne and Kathy for making the master's program much more than this thesis and four courses.
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INTRODUCTION

Writing in 1899, Adna Weber determined that "the most remarkable phenomenon of the present century is the concentration of population in cities."\(^1\) Canada, despite its youth, did not escape this phenomenon for although eighty per cent of all Canadians were still classified as rural inhabitants by 1971;\(^2\) the process had begun. The process of course was urbanization and one of its major products was Toronto, a town situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario and one fast accumulating the "characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities."\(^3\) Caught up in this mad rush towards maturity was the tavern, an institution of various faces and purposes which of necessity would be shaped by the process shaping its environment.

Closely associated with both the urbanizing process and the tavern was the sporting life of the area, thus forming a three-cornered relationship which is integral in this thesis. The relationship though three-cornered is also seen as being one-sided since urbanization is viewed as the major effector on the other two components.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{URBANIZATION} \\
\text{Sport} \leftrightarrow \text{Tavern}
\end{array}
\]

Thus sport and the tavern affected each others form and existence, though both were under the continuing influence of the developing city.
On a basic level, urbanization can be seen as the "concentration of population in cities" brought about by movement from rural areas or from other lands. This naturally creates communities that within themselves develop very divergent values, needs and desires. These divergencies then lead to further developments in the process with the city being "re-organized and reshaped...into spatially segregated areas of residence (households) and work (firms) with sharply differentiated time for labour and domesticity."4 The residence areas themselves would then be segregated, likely based upon some class lines, while work regions would perhaps find themselves separated into commercial, industrial or other classifications. As these alterations take shape within the city, its boundaries are expanding, exchanging the rural landscape for an urban one.

Sport in an urbanizing region is obviously affected by the process. The influx of new or foreign people means that different forms of sport may be introduced, minor ones already present may be solidified or major activities will gain more support. Disparities in affluence and amount of free time lead to the growth of a spectator class thus changing the face of sport quite dramatically. Gradually, wealth and position (as examples of upper class determinants) accede to ability as prime factors in participation, yet spectators increase. This creates a necessity for new facilities, a need which is further heightened as city land becomes more inhabited and large
tracts of playing field are no longer allowed to block urban sprawl. Sport therefore as part of the developing urban scene is perhaps created and certainly molded by the surrounding change.

With the background of a changing urban environment and sporting scene, the tavern then becomes the focal point of study. It is an institution within that changing urban environment related to that sporting scene. By itself the tavern has various forms and functions which undergo change throughout the time in which the city is developing. Sport, as indicated, is subject to change resulting from environmental occurrences. From these two statements it follows that the tavern's relationship with sport must be altered by the ramifications which urbanization creates for both and this is the development to be demonstrated here.

The tavern's involvement with sport is an event not completely disregarded by sport historians. Its development as an intriguing and possibly integral institution in relation to the growth of Canadian sport has already been documented by people such as Howell, Lindsay and Guillet. Guided by larger objectives however they have only touched lightly on the tavern's role or as in Guillet's case have not attempted an analysis within a sporting framework. As a result, the formulation of this paper is partially derived from these previous efforts and their allusions to this tavern-sport link.
In addition, it seems that little rationale need be expended for a study which deals with a still outstanding problem in the history of Canadian sport: what was the role of various institutions in the development of sport? Of course generalizations cannot be made for church, school or business from conclusions made on the tavern but this does not render the thesis ineffective, rather it leaves it as a fragment of a larger work. Generalization from one urban area to others (within similar national boundaries) is a less risky proposition however and thus the role of the tavern could be assessed on a larger scale.

Attempting to define this institution is a difficult task due to the fact that it presented such varied faces. The following description was used as a basic guide to the type of building under investigation: any establishment catering to the public desire for drink and/or lodging. As later remarks will indicate this general statement applied itself to three discernible levels of tavern ranging from fine, large hotels for a better class of the citizenry to low-drinking houses which basically served as refreshment dens. Between these was a concern of middle proportions and across the three ran an urban-rural continuum which would affect structure and purpose. The nature of this diversity will be more fully explained along with its affect on sport.

No attempt is made here to adhere to a strict definition of sport because of the various activities involved and
because the thesis is not concerned with precisely what sport is. For this paper however sport may be considered as free-time activity, generally of an active and diversionary nature and normally pursued for its own pleasure.

The delimitation to the Toronto area and this era indicate an attempt to present a study that is relatively definitive in terms of data collection (although further newspaper sources could have been utilized) and conclusions. The change that the role of the tavern would undergo was identified as an important observation early in the total process and the urbanization movement was seen as the key independent variable in the change. As a result the selection of an urban area (or one in the course of becoming so) proved to be a natural decision. The choice of Toronto also seemed natural, from a practical viewpoint at least because of its extensive and available historical data. Secondly as the largest and fastest growing town in Upper Canada it would likely illustrate more fully the results of change, the change from 1834 when the city was incorporated under its new name to 1875 as it was beginning a new period in its history, "a period in which the scale of the city and the texture of its life was radically transformed." It was in fact not just in Toronto but in other areas also that "the character of the modern city was most precisely defined" after 1875. Also by this date the club sport which would be the major competition of the final third of the century was in full swing, thus allowing for a
a view of tavern involvement at this important, new level of organization.

The focus of this essay is the tavern, yet the essential evidence concerns the tavern and the sport of Toronto since the former would not have merited consideration without having established a connection with the latter. To discuss simply the tavern and sport however isolates the relationship from the rest of the developments in city life. With this in mind the tavern is focused on in terms of its general function in order to set a stage for its sporting function thereby presenting a better perspective for sport and providing some basis for comparison. On a larger scale, comparison of the effects of urbanization on general life and sporting life is another, possibly created by this approach.

There was really little doubt that the tavern did play some role in the sporting life of Toronto and so to hypothesize such a finding would prove little. Exactly what the role was however and how it evolved were unknown quantities which could lend themselves to theories based upon the knowledge of the effects of growth and progress on anything. Therefore it could be logically hypothesized that just as the vacant lot on the corner gives way to the well-manicured park diamond, so the tavern would surrender its functions to facilities specifically created for the purpose.
FOOTNOTES


7Edwin C. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns (Toronto: Edwin C. Guillet, 1954), I-V.


9Ibid., p. 221.

10Oscar Handlin, "The Modern City as a Field of Historical Study", The Historian and the City, ed. Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, p. 4.
CHAPTER I

THE FORM OF THE TAVERN

"Whereas from the rapid increase of the population, commerce and wealth of the Town of York, a more efficient system of police and municipal government than that now established has become necessary. And whereas none appears so likely to attain affectually the objects desired as the erection thereof into a City..."1

These words introduced the act incorporating "muddy little York" into Toronto in 1834. From the initial settlement in the 1790's expansion had gone in all directions away from Lake Ontario, though in greater proportions to the west. The actual limits of the town were guarded by Lot (Queen) Street in the north; Peter Street to the west and the more natural boundaries of the Don River and the lake to the east and south. (See Fig. 1). These lines did not totally limit housing however, which now extended "westward beyond Simcoe Street Creek up to the military reserve...beyond Queen Street ...and up Yonge"2 though still vary sparse. "There were neither sidewalks, drains, nor sewers, no water supply except from wells, no attempt at street lighting, nothing..."3 yet this area was home for 9,254 inhabitants. At incorporation, Toronto was a "town of small beginnings and of individual enterprise...devoting itself to commerce and to the requirements of a growing frontier settlement."4
By the 1870's drastic changes had occurred and Toronto had become a city of varied business, industrial and cultural pursuits. Geographically it now extended "from the Provincial Lunatic Asylum in the west to far eastward beyond the Don... while Bloor Street in the north had long since ceased to be... a nominal boundary between Toronto and Yorkville." \(^5\) (See Fig. 1). The population numbered approximately 68,000\(^6\) and growth was still in evidence.

It is this remarkable change in the city which is the key to this presentation, for the development of Toronto would profoundly affect the function of the tavern. As statistics illustrate, the numerical existence of this establishment would also be affected by this change. The following chart offers a comparison of tavern and population growth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF TAVERNS</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>RATIO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>9,254</td>
<td>1/119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>14,249</td>
<td>1/213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>21,025</td>
<td>1/155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>41,760</td>
<td>1/204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>1/240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>1/279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>67,995</td>
<td>1/269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The population figure includes men, women and children, creating the possibility that the ratio does not differ for the drinking members of the community since it may be assumed
that an increase in the percentage of the non-drinking popula-
tion had occurred over the forty year span. This factor could 
be countered however, realizing that licensing procedures had 
tightened up by the seventies with the result that the tavern 
statistics were then closer to the truth than in the earlier 
times. Assuming a balance then, the large decrease in the 
tavern-population ratio could be accounted for by any or all 
of several possibilities.

It would seem that people were not entering the inn-
keeping business at a rate they previously had, perhaps in-
dicating that Toronto's new commercial development was provid-
ing better outlets for advancement. Coheen who studied the 
"pattern and process of growth" in Toronto from 1850 to 1900, 
postulates at this time that "larger enterprises were creating 
new levels of efficiency and of organization so that each 
facility was able to serve a larger population." Certainly 
the appearance of large hotels such as the Rossin and Queen's 
would lend some credibility to this thesis since they could 
now handle a volume of business that would formerly have 
needed several establishments. Another possibility to consider 
could be an improvement in individual dwellings which would 
make home living more than a subsistence proposition, thus 
enabling residents to entertain themselves or others at their 
own houses. Some of the credit/blame may also be awarded to 
the temperance movement and its continuing attempts to elim-
inate the liquor trade or at least create a more stringent
licensing code. This element will be discussed in greater detail later in this thesis. Perhaps other reasons will be discerned, but it remains that in comparison with the total population there was a substantial decrease in tavern numbers, although the actual aggregate was of course larger by the end of this period and still increasing as evidenced by the official figures.

Though unable to keep pace with the fast increasing population, the statement that the tavern was a prominent member of Toronto's life is incontestable. Nor can one argue that its prime reason for existence in many cases was to serve as a local refreshment bar. From the 1830's to the 1870's, liquor was very noticeable in city life despite numerous and energetic attempts to remove it from the public domain.

The tavern as bar-room, catering to this desire for drink, must be dealt with as a form of this institution within the developing city. The attraction of liquor allowed taverns to flourish and was the key to business, a fact soon discovered by the temperance hotelkeepers whose "principles proved difficult to maintain in the face of strong competition" from "wet" taverns. "So freely did the people at the time partake that the individual who did not indulge was the subject of curious comment." Unfortunately any moderation was frequently drowned by too many glasses, making drunkenness prevalent and abounding by one account "to a greater extent in Toronto than in any town of the same size in America."
This problem led quite naturally to another—drink related crime—and here the statistics are rather staggering. The year 1848 found almost one-third of the total crime in the city attributable to liquor's influence while in 1861 the aggregate number of offenders was 3,589 and of these "the drunk and disorderly cases amount to 1,969 or 1,187 men and 782 women." Although the increase may be attributed to improved enforcement and tabulation procedures, the results are still appalling, yet taverns flourished, many without the inconvenience of a license.

The populace recognized this fact as their continued patronage evidenced while the following simple statement made by the city council's committee in 1863 demonstrated that government was also knowledgeable about the situation: "the commissioners must be aware that any number of groggeries are selling without license with the greatest impunity." Not only were many establishments in business without the proper certification, but many of those "approved" were lacking the requirements set by law for licensing. These requirements had been stipulated as early as 1836 when the grand jury stated that "each inn must have at least 3 beds and stabling accommodations for travellers." The city council minutes of January 4, 1841 however show how little effect this ruling had:

"...22 licensed innkeepers are entirely destitute of a single spare room for the accommodation of travellers..."
In 1847, the requirements were increased to 5 bedrooms, 6 spare beds and room for 6 horses but this did not seem to improve the enforcement policy. The Globe, a critic of the liquor trade, condemned the fact that "the greater number of taverns have no bona fide accommodation for man or beast but are mere licensed drinking shops," a full quarter century following the ruling. Countering this however and perhaps indicating the general ambivalence of the city on the question was a continuing satirical output by the Daily City Press against those law enforcers restricting the sale of spirituous beverages. A recent raid was described in these terms:

"Another anti-liquor crusade--whiskey Mason and his pimps have secured a fresh batch of victims. Thirty-three dispensers of tangle-leg have been summoned to appear before the beak tomorrow on charges of violating the license law."

The picture presented here is of one form of tavern that was prominent in the Toronto of this era. This tavern survived often outside the boundaries of the law or perhaps just within boundaries stretched for convenience. They were in the eyes of some, a civic problem because of their illegal existence, due to the product they pandered and as a result of the deleterious effects of their trade in terms of social discord, crime, poverty and disease. To many others however, (and this group likely formed a majority), they were the apices of
social life: the keys to simple pleasure in an existence that had still to become the paradise that a haloed view across an ocean had envisioned.

Drinking, vital as it seemed in most places, was not the major concern of another type of tavern. As the city developed, hotels which were mainly interested in serving a travelling public appeared, to accommodate the increase in this traffic which the railroad expansion had helped to create. Among this group was the Wellington in the earlier years but it was surpassed in the early sixties by the Rossin, the Queen's and the American Hotels. The Rossin House in particular was a magnificent structure for the times with 220 rooms at the corner of King and York. The following description portrays the style of this first class hotel in 1858:

"the two commodious private entrances...an extensive reading room lighted by a large and handsome glass dome...fifteen elegantly furnished stores on the ground floor...a long row of parlours and reception rooms, the principal of which is a ladies parlour...a dining-room, 100 ft. by 38 and 18 feet high adjoining which is the carving room, desig room, dessert room and a glazed gallery connecting these with the kitchen and pantry...three staircases, two for the use of quests and the third for servants...a very extensive bar-room, with billiard table underneat...a barber's shop and gentlemen's bathing room containing ten baths...and a Book and News Depot where one may obtain local or European journals." 21

Certainly the more elegant of society were now well served.

The definition of the tavern identified three forms of which two have been discussed, these being perhaps the easiest
to distinguish as the best and worst of most categories are. By 1866, at least, tavern licenses were established for three classes of building at $80, $60 and $50 though no criteria are mentioned to differentiate the three. The middle form can perhaps be loosely described as being more respectable than that below it yet unlikely to serve the same class of clientele as the glossier hotel. It would also seem probable that the likes of the Rossin were larger establishments than these and in addition this form would exist on a better balance of bar and lodging than the other two. An example could perhaps be the Peacock on the outskirts of town which was definitely of service to the travellers of the province but which also was regarded as a good spot for Torontonians out for an afternoon. Unfortunately little more in the way of definition can be offered here and with less than adequate descriptions of most of the taverns, listings would be impractical and certainly often erroneous. It should suffice that there seemed to be various strata of taverns in Toronto and a division into three groups does offer some guidance. Fig. 2 shows the location of some of the taverns of Toronto which will be mentioned in ensuing pages.

Discovering that some taverns were of a better class than others lends naturally to the conclusion that a better class of people were patrons in certain establishments. This was the case in Toronto but this was not the only source of identification as various taverns could be defined by the interests or occupations of their regular visitors.
SELECTED TORONTO TAVERNS (See Fig. 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1840's, 1850's</th>
<th>1860's, 1870's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Porter's Hotel</td>
<td>19. Queen's Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Eagle's Hotel</td>
<td>20. Lovejoy House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tuer's Hotel (Peacock)</td>
<td>21. Steamboat Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Swan Tavern</td>
<td>23. Globe Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Barney Short's Tavern</td>
<td>24. Elliot's Sun Tavern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Royal Oak Hotel</td>
<td>25. Red Lion Inn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Duck's Hotel</td>
<td>27. Black Swan Inn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Caer Howell</td>
<td>28. Beard's Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Apollo Tavern</td>
<td>29. Mansion House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Halfway House</td>
<td>30. Wellington Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Greenland Fishery</td>
<td>31. Privat's Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Terrapin</td>
<td>32. Don Vale House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Crispin's Tavern</td>
<td>33. Butcher's Arms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Rossin House</td>
<td>34. Fox Head Inn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Macdonald's Hotel</td>
<td>35. Rising Sun Inn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Shakespeare Hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Toronto was always militarily influenced, having the Garrison established in the west end of the city, and the soldiers were ever eager to make use of the local tavern facilities. In the 1830's Montgomery's was "a favourite rendezvous for dining and dancing and particularly among Toronto garrison officers and their ladies." Popular houses among the enlisted men during the 1850's were the Rescue Inn, just east of Bathurst; "the Halfway House midway between the garrison and the old city hall...(where) many stepped in...(and) consequently spent their nights in the guardhouse; and the "number of small drinking houses adjoining the Greenland Fishery."

Among other groups whose presence readily identified certain taverns were the political parties of the time. In fact the taverns were considered quite important in the political climate of the day as in 1843 it happened that "with a view to strengthen themselves...the Tory party...have issued more licenses than ever before known." By 1860 their importance had apparently diminished little as noted by this condemnation:

"...for so long as tavernkeepers have it in their power to influence the polls so long will they continue to increase in numbers and gather strength to be exerted in a mischievous manner..."

Beard's Hotel (Russell's in 1853) on Church Street was the gathering point for politicians in general whereas earlier Elliot's Sun Tavern "became the headquarters of the leaders
of the radical party and here were held their meetings."²⁸ The
Red Lion Inn, notable for many uses, was also considered "the
most important political centre in the district when party
feeling ran high"²⁹ and the Rossin House, perhaps Toronto's
finest hostelry, "was for many years headquarters of the
Liberal party."³⁰

Other sections of the population also found their favour-
ites with the theatrical crowd naturally gathering at the
Shakespeare. "Men of letters, editors and newspaper reporters
learned to look upon the Continental as their haven of hap-
iness,"³¹ while for the less intellectual of the population,"Crispin's Tavern (was) a popular resort among gentlemen's
servants, butlers and the like."³² Among the country folk of
the area, the Red Lion on Yonge Street and Wink's at the head
of Toronto Street were prominent³³ and other taverns too found
their clientele characterized by some common element.

In summing up this attempt at classification we find three
forms of tavern all served the public, satisfying in different
proportions the need for lodging and refreshment. The larger
more fashionable buildings concentrated on the needs of the
overnight travellers while the saloons were content to quench
the local thirst while pretending to cater to the lodger.
Between these was a tavern of less pretensions than its su-
periors but more capabilities than its underlings. Although
these categories could roughly be divided by the class of the
customer, in certain cases another classification scheme based
on the common, interests or occupation of the tavern visitors could be ascertained.

This chapter has served to present the physical platform on which the remainder of the data will perform. The tavern has been described as presenting itself in three general forms yet often bearing an identification with its clientele and these facts may prove important regarding the sport of Toronto. Based upon this evidence it could be concluded that certain taverns may have also been associated with certain groups of the sporting population and were thus looked upon as havens for the followers of a particular activity. It might also be considered that since the more affluent of Toronto would be more likely discovered at establishments such as the Rossin, so too would the more affluent sportsmen of the city congregate there. This creates a separation of the population along some sort of class lines which could also create the difference in sporting activities.
FOOTNOTES


12 The Globe, May 7, 1849.


16 ibid., p. 223.


18 ibid., February 7, 1874.

19 The Daily City Press and Commercial and General Advertiser, February 25, 1871.

In 1850 cholera was found to have been most prevalent amongst "the lower class of the static population who were steady patrons of the small drinking shops with which the city abounded". Middleton, The Municipality of Toronto, II, p. 244.

21 Alfred Sylvester, Sketches of Toronto in 1858, in Guillet, Edwin C., Pioneer Inns and Taverns, I, p. 121.

22 Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto 1863, p. 17.

23 Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, III, p. 163.

24 Guillet, Toronto From Trading Post to Great City, p. 300.


26 Buckingham, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and The Other British Provinces in North America, p. 25.


28 Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto, I, p. 113.

29 Guillet, Toronto From Trading Post to Great City, p. 307.

30 Ibid., p. 316.*


33 Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, I, p. 50.
CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL FUNCTION OF THE TAVERN

Besides its basic role, and the sporting function which will be mentioned later, the tavern served further purposes within the community and this chapter will deal with this general function. As indicated earlier, this will hopefully place a better prospective on the tavern's relationship with sport as this institution is described in terms of its complete involvement within Toronto. At the same time a yardstick for comparison is created with the tavern's function detailed in both the sporting and general life of the city. The urbanization process should obviously affect both functions and presumably with some similarity thus allowing for a small measure of predictability based upon the results of this chapter. The assumption therefore would be that the changes observed in the tavern's general function would be similar to those that would be noticed in its sporting function.

Through its various forms, the basic services of the tavern were provided in Toronto; sometimes with a flourish, generally with efficiency and always in abundance. Liquor and lodging were not all that the tavern meant to this young town however, for there was much to be done in the growing years and often nowhere to do it. An abundance of functionally
specialized buildings had yet to appear necessitating make-shift arrangements which often involved the tavern. To this end the drinking houses were less prominent, perhaps due to a disinclination but more likely because it was the middle and upper classes who were more involved with these functions which extended beyond the realm of mere existence. Throughout early Upper Canada "amusement and social life centred in the inn. Whether rural or urban it was the focal point of innumerable gatherings...." 1 Toronto was no different from other centres in this respect although by 1834 it had developed to the stage where the tavern did not have to serve as one of the basics of community life (i.e. church, school) as it was still doing in smaller areas. Many times during this era one found the tavern to be the site of activity of a nature unrelated to the institution's basic role, yet with the underlying theme or need of this activity being the congregating of people, perhaps no more logical spot than the tavern was present. Still, as mentioned, this arrangement was only make-shift and stop-gap with these functions being siphoned off as new means of accomplishing the desired ends were created.

In its general function the tavern served several purposes, not naturally associated with its role. Occurrences of a very temporary nature included the holding of auctions at tavern locations such as the Wellington where "the sale by auction of the wharf... took place." 2 Another spot which had its share of this activity was the Royal Oak around 1860 which
served the region of the Humber River mouth just to the west of the city. The more rural placement of this tavern allowed it to hang on to this role longer than normal as by the sixties auctions were not normal tavern fare. Another obviously temporary development saw a tavern in use as a post office which after moving "up and down Yonge Street was established in 1836 under the name of York Mills in the Hogg's Inn." Besides these somewhat irregular happenings, the general functions of the tavern can be divided into three major categories: meetings, municipal affairs and entertainment.

MEETINGS

Perhaps more than any other purpose, the tavern's community function encompassed the role of meeting place for various groups. As an example of this (and due to their prominence) the societies dedicated to the patron saints of the British Isles may be observed. These were people still clinging to memories of their homeland who met frequently to keep these memories alive. The St. George's Society in the thirties gathered at the Coffee House (forerunner of the Rossin) as did the St. Andrew's group while in 1844 with the 23rd of April "being St. George's Day, the Society will assemble at the North American Hotel." By 1864 operations had apparently stabilized since "the annual meeting...was held in the rooms of the Society at the Globe Hotel." Similarly the St. Patrick's followers found several taverns to suit their needs temporarily at least, with Macdonald's serving in 1847 for
their annual meeting and election of officers. Eight years later the Daily Colonist announced a gathering of the clan on St. Patrick's Day at McConkey's Saloon but in 1857 this same occasion found them at Sword's Hotel (the early Queen's). The third of these groups, the St. Andrew's Society after the previously noted beginnings at the Coffee House in the 1830's and later meetings at, among others, the Phoenix Hotel, found themselves assembling quarterly in 1862 at the Newbigging Hotel.

Many other groups employed tavern facilities as meeting centres and certainly this function did not disappear by the early sixties as the data on the British societies might suggest. A notice in the Globe referring to the Toronto Opera House Company in 1874 testifies to this: "the first annual meeting of the shareholders of this company was held at the Queen's Hotel." What did occur however was the continued growth of the city and a concomitant dilution in tavern use with the erection of large halls serving the purposes of group meetings. Prominent among these was the St. Lawrence Hall near Front and Jarvis which was "completed in 1851 and provided a location for concerts, balls, lectures and public meetings of any sort." Shaftsbury Hall was another new centre for group get-togethers which was in continual use at its location on the corner of Queen and James. A third important new rendezvous was the Mechanics Institute-Building constructed in the late forties at Church and Adelaide, which
supported a library and scientific lectures as its main endeavours but also became available to other groups wishing to congregate. When these buildings established themselves they became the focal points of gatherings and part of the general function of the tavern had been removed.

**MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS**

Much municipal business was also taken care of in tavern environs and in fact "when municipal councils were first organized they often met in the most central inn." An example of this was the Red Lion Inn at Yonge and Bloor which in the thirties served "as a meeting place for the village council of Yorkville," which was just the other side of Bloor. For Toronto purposes we find them put to more specific uses as witnessed by the 1835 "meeting held at Anderson's Tavern to adopt measures for the macadamizing of Yonge Street." That street was again the topic when the road commissioners held a meeting at the North American in 1844 to consider "the propriety of removing toll-gate number one." While the following year found claims against the government resulting from the rebellion being assessed at Dalby's Tavern over a two-week period. Court procedure was municipal business and in the forties "the large ballroom of Montgomery's Inn... was the place of meeting of the court of the quarter sessions," thus giving the tavern another face in the early years of Toronto.

In keeping with the government theme, it is also re-
corded that taverns were used during elections. Previous mention of political-group-affiliations with certain establishments have been made and in addition to these, there were also connections with electioneering techniques and voting mechanics. With taverns full of happy voters it made sense to a candidate to present himself there as did Messrs. Brown and Wilson, particularly the latter, during the municipal election of 1861. On July 1st Mr. Wilson addressed his friends at "the Rising Sun Inn, Yonge near Yorkville and afterwards at Short's Tavern, corner of Bathurst and King Streets." 21 The next three days saw the eager Wilson chasing votes at Ditty's Saloon and also in "St. Patrick's Ward at O'Reilly's Hotel, Queen Street near Bishop." 22 When the campaigning was over, Mr. Brown and his committee decided upon Liken's Hotel as the most congenial spot to wait out the results, hopefully a wise choice considering the length of the waits in those days.

The more official task of actually voting for your favourite was also associated with the tavern in the early years of Toronto. Middleton recalls the first election in the new city when votes for aldermen and the mayor were held.

"for the ward of St. George at Wright's Inn; for the ward of St. Patrick's at Elliot's Inn; for the ward of St. Andrew's at Falvey's Inn; for the ward of St. David at the courthouse; for the ward of St. Lawrence at the Ontario House..." 23

This custom was still present as late as 1846 when the Globe reported these election posts 24 with only the names different:
St. David's Ward--------Ralph's Inn
St. Patrick's Ward--------Queen Street Inn
St. Andrew's Ward--------Shakespeare Inn
St. George's Ward--------Black Swan Inn
St. Lawrence Ward--------City Hall

As in the instances in the general meetings category, here too an erosion of the function of the tavern becomes evident especially in voting methods. With the march of years, they progressed to the point where elections were no longer decided by "a show of hands inside the inn and a show of fists outside." 25 Though no permanent facilities for using the franchise were present, by 1861 (and possibly earlier) the local polls had moved away from their tavern locations. The Globe cites the following locations for the municipal elections of July, 1861 (inexplicably minus St. Lawrence's Ward):

St. John's Ward--------the engine House
St. Patrick's Ward-------St. Patrick's Market
St. Andrew's Ward-------Beckett's Foundry
St. George's Ward-------Strachan's Block
St. David's Ward--------the old police station

Perhaps here there was not a similar development when compared with the meeting function of the tavern since new facilities were not created (although special voting areas are still not used today). Attitude may have been a more critical factor in this instance as government became more important and temperance sentiment evoked some response.
ENTERTAINMENT

A final general function of the tavern and one more closely linked to sport because of its recreational nature, concerned this institution as a centre for the various forms of entertainment a working population needed for amusement. Whether the performances came from local talent or transient troupes, many were likely to be found stalking the premises of patronized taverns.

Circuses were among the diversions presented as early as the 1830's when the North American, as one example, hosted travelling groups though in 1827 the barn of DeForest's Inn had had a resident circus. Apparently by 1851 some restrictions had been placed on performers resulting in Mr. Pinch needing "a by-law passed in order to allow a travelling circus to perform on the grounds" at his hotel on the northeast corner of Finch and Yonge. Even by the end of the era however, the grounds around the Queen's were occasionally occupied by itinerant circuses.

Theatrical performances were also at times tavern located. They had first appeared in 1825 at Frank's Hotel when an American company had come through the city but by 1843 no actual theatre had been built. That year a small area behind the Shakespeare Hotel was prepared for theatre presentations and it served until new arrangements could be made.

There were still other forms of entertainment, both
local and foreign, which were available to the city's residents and these also found tavern homes. In 1935 the Courier announced what must have been quite a curiosity for the citizens, stating that, "the extraordinary exhibition of the industrious fleas from England has just arrived in this city and will be open for exhibition at the Steamboat Hotel."

By the fifties, the Apollo and the Terrapin were the best saloons in the city and the former

"staged an entertainment which may be called the forerunner of the nightclub floor show... (as) the patron was entitled to a smoke or a drink as well as to witness a performance of Negro minstrelsy, comic and sentimental singing."

The North American also held public amusements in its large dining hall during the same period, thus showing the signs of an emerging metropolis escaping its subsistence level. Unlocking the door in many of these instances were the taverns where social interaction was the rule.

As with the tavern's function for meetings and municipal affairs, it lost its place in this lastendeavour. The entertainment business though also lingering in tavern surroundings found itself more competently conducted in the several new locations built for the express purpose of providing pleasure to attentive audiences. Theatricals especially were given a boost with the appearance of several theatres, most notably the Royal Lyceum which opened in 1848.

"...it had a varied, even kaleidoscopic career until 1853 when John Nickerson
leased it. He established a sound stock company...and in the fashion of the pre-
railway times welcomed the travelling
stars of the day and gave them adequate
support."  

Theatre in general had become a popular attraction among
Toronto for the burning of the Royal Lyceum in 1873
spurred the erection of three replacements the next year. The
elegant Grand Opera House on Adelaide, outfitted with an elect-
trically lit chandelier contrasted somewhat with the new Queen's
on King Street (not the hotel) which had performances of a
light, sensational character, but adapted to some not unrefined
tastes," while on the spot of the razed Lyceum was the third
new theatre, the Royal.

Circuses and their like had now generally found a more
permanent location at the grounds on Grenville near Yonge.
One example of this was the appearance in the city of P.T.
Barnum's Great Travelling Museum and Menagerie in September
of 1872." Hailed by the Globe as an amazing spectacle for
the citizenry, it was witnessed by an estimated 38,000 people
in relative comfort on the constructed bleachers. In addi-
tion, other interests were at this time accessible to residents
looking to be entertained. The Crystal Palace which appeared
in 1858 provided the locale for a wandering fair which would
take up permanent residence in Toronto and eventually become
the Canadian National Exhibition. Excursions, mainly by boat,
were very popular for the sake of the trip itself or in order
to visit towns along the lake. Notable too among the enter-
tainments of the day were sporting events which are the subject of the next chapter. Certainly, while free time was still a prized commodity, it was becoming less so and there were various methods to fulfill it.

In detailing the general function of the tavern, characterized by three specific roles, one fact becomes dominant: with few exceptions the tavern served in this function on a temporary basis. It was used as an intermediary agent filling the gap that existed between the uprooting from a home country, which, most of the residents had undergone, and a more firmly established new life. This shift from the tavern locations was largely a result of the urbanizing process which was creating a city where a town had stood. More permanent, and specialized facilities were built which undertook the function that the tavern had served. Alongside this development was the growth of an attitude - temperance. This thought had become organized as early as 1828 with the Upper Canada Temperance Society but its success through the years was spotty: buoyed by the inspirations of those like John Cough but stymied by lack of support from all phases of society. The temperance movement was stubborn enough however to last out the era, establishing a Temperance Hall and reducing somewhat the number of taverns but perhaps more substantially, creating a more negative attitude towards the tavern environment. This could have been important in the loss of the electoral function, a movement which goes further today with
bar closings on election day.

A summation could conclude that certain needs of Toronto were taken care of by the tavern for as long as was necessary. By the seventies however everything had simply become too big for makeshift arrangements. Regular meetings needed regular meeting halls, while circus crowds of 38,000 had to have suitable vantage points after paying their admission. Despite the changes, the tavern remained in Toronto still numerically strong by the end of this period (247 licensed taverns in 1874), perhaps more elegant than ever with edifices such as the Rossin and Queen's and yet as miserable as it had ever been with its many common drinking houses. The latter were of course mainly concerned with dispensing their wares while the others found their niche in serving the overnight trade. They had both to some extent been reduced to these roles in the community: both victims/products of progress.

The basic conclusion of this section dealing with the general function of the tavern has concerned the temporary nature of that function. By the end of these years the tavern was no longer the multipurpose institution it had been earlier, its other functions now being dealt with by buildings specifically created for those purposes. This finding lends more credence to the hypothesis that the tavern would undergo similar changes regarding its sporting function, with the seventies finding a tavern bereft of the sport it once was heavily involved with. A discovery of this sort would illus-
trate the concurrent development of the more basic aspects of urban life and a single aspect of that life --- sport. The assertion that the latter serves to mirror the former could also then be more fully demonstrated.
FOOTNOTES


3 Guillett, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, I, p. 94.


5 Guillett, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, I, p. 123.

6 Toronto Star (Transcript and General Advertiser), April 20, 1844.

7 The Globe, January 16, 1864.

8 Ibid., March 17, 1847.

9 The Daily Colonist, March 26, 1855.

10 The Globe, March 26, 1857.

11 Ibid., May 19, 1849.

12 Ibid., August 22, 1962.

13 Ibid.; January 16, 1874.


15 Guillett, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, IV, p. 112.


18 Toronto Star (Transcript and General Advertiser), July 16, 1944.

19 The Globe, September 11, 1845.

20 Guillett, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, IV, p. 115.
22. Ibid., July 5, 1861.
25. Source unknown.
27. Ibid., p. 71.
29. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, I, p. 82.
33. John Ross Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto (Toronto: Republished from the Toronto Evening Telegram, 1908), IV, p. 524.
40. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, I, p. 76.
41. The Globe, February 12, 1874.
CHAPTER III

THE SPORTING FUNCTION OF THE TAVERN

As the explanation of the form of the tavern served to set the physical basis, so the general function has provided a theoretical stage for the tavern's sporting function. The tavern was important in the general community life and it was similarly involved with the sporting life. Here too the temporary nature of this involvement seems to be important, as an intermediary link between the change inherent in emigration and the stabilization which would come only with time was created. For the sporting function however, the deletion of usage is not as complete with the blossoming of a new level of sport which employed tavern facilities in its infant stage and other forms which had not yet discovered new facilities.

An assessment of the tavern-sport union throughout these years has resulted in a division into four major functions served by the tavern. These have been labelled as the LOCATIONAL, ENTREPRENEURIAL, SOCIAL and ORGANIZATIONAL functions. For the sake of unity and for want of a suitable term, LOCATIONAL was devised to describe the fairly common occurrence of the tavern serving as the locale of sporting activity whether within the actual structure of the building or on the outer premises. Closely linked with this, the
ENTREPRENEURIAL function of the tavern categorizes sponsorship of events which may—or may not have been tavern located. The tavernkeeper of course would be the catalyst in this development, for any of several possible motivations. A third distinction is seen in the SOCIAL function of the tavern which was served when sporting folk used this institution as a gathering spot at the completion of their activity. Though perhaps edging close to the general function, this bears detailing for at least three reasons. In some cases sporting grounds were created with the sociability of nearby establishments in mind (with the reverse of this also possible: taverns locating near sports areas) thus evidencing some cause and effect relationship. Secondly, some activities were specifically tavern directed, the most obvious being sleighing excursions which put the social activity on an equal basis with the sport. Finally it should be noted that there were social gatherings of sports enthusiasts and it was the sport that was the cause of the gathering. A last use of the tavern, the ORGANIZATIONAL function, also concerned the gathering of individuals or groups as a result of sport affiliation. In this instance, however, the meeting was before the activity and in order to settle arrangements for the proper running of the activity. This function was important in both the execution of singular events and in the continuing development of sport clubs.

The tavern not only served these four functions, it
served them across two relatively distinct sporting levels. The names for these levels are perhaps only applicable here, but essentially they consist of club and non-club sport. The former of course sets the tone for both as it refers to the various organizations of men who banded together linked by a common sport interest. The Toronto Hunt Club and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club are examples although the first club mentioned in Toronto was the Toronto Cricket Club formed in 1874. Initially these groups "emphasized personal participation and social intercourse" with regular competition being restricted to intra-club play. By the late sixties this would change with the advent of much improved transportation.

Certainly pioneer Canadian sportsmen never shied away from competing because of the hazards of travel, but it was the development of the railway which made inter-club rivalry a much more reasonable (and therefore popular) proposition.

Besides possessing a mutual sport affection, the members of these clubs were usually men of similar social standing with money and free time being prerequisites for active participation. As a result, garrison officers were often the instigators and agents in early clubs since in peace time they, more than most, were equipped with the time, resources, "administrative experience" and inclination for recreation. Gradually the more stable citizenry began to dominate the clubs due to improvements in their life styles and also as a result of the continuous changes and depletions in the mili-
tary personnel. Generally the clubs then were predominantly composed of the more affluent of Toronto's society although the increase in inter-club activity would later break down at least some of these barriers. 6

With club sport defined to include activities in which at least one of these organizations is present, non-club sport will naturally refer to all other organized sporting endeavours in which the tavern is involved. It may be stated that these will be individual activities of a less formal nature than those with club involvement but this does not rule out organization or sanction by larger bodies which would declare champions on any of municipal, provincial or national levels. Participants in non-club activities were mostly from similar status levels as those in club sport however with the singularity of this type of sport (as opposed to the clubs' continuity) there was a larger influx from all societal levels.

It is this last factor, the frequency of participation, which may be put forth for the early dominance of non-club activities or the lack of those involving clubs. Therefore the social elite or the military were alone, the ones that were capable. With the former's ranks still thin and the latter's, fluctuating, club development was slow. The Tandem Club, for example, formed in the late thirties and was so dependent upon military support that it "was forced to disband in 1941 when several of the regiments returned to England." 7 Despite this, at least one of these groups was
active every year after 1834 with eleven being recorded in 1859. By 1868 there were eleven cricket clubs alone in the city, emphasizing that the boom was later in these years. Non-club sport then was prevalent through much of this period for activities which would not become club oriented, as a forerunner of sports which did gain club sport, or as an outlet for these latter sports for people unable to affiliate with clubs.

LOCATIONAL

The tavern became the actual scene of several activities, especially at the beginning of these years. The inside of the structure often lent itself to various happenings, largely non-club in nature, with bowling and billiards being prominent. By 1833, two of the forty taverns had bowling alleys as part of their establishments and others were soon to follow. Apparently this relationship was not looked on favourably by all. One tavernkeeper, Thomas McHaffie, presented a request to the city council in which he "humbly" solicited their permission to build a nine pin alley at his stand and stated himself "willing to give proper security for keeping regular hours and buying any licence...." Presumably the bowling was no problem except in unison with the tavern environment when it took on a different air with gambling entering the scene. In 1841 a law decreed that licences were not available for taverners "who kept a bowling, ten pin alley, fives court or other gaming resort," however once again "as with
the laws regarding accommodations) this seemed to be more mere words rather than actual policy. Evidences of this were found at Privat's pleasure resort centred at their island hotel which included bowling among its many attractions in 1843, 13 and at the Lovejoy House on King Street which openly advertised its alley in the newspaper in 1850, 14 and which would indite that the law had been rescinded. Later notices indicate that in 1867 there were two ten pin alleys licensed in Toronto 15 however any connection by this time with taverns is not documented.

Billiards on the other hand began in tavern surroundings and definitely remained there, eventually finding its best expression in the city's largest hotels. Like bowling, this sport found itself to be in early disfavour when in 1834 the city fathers were charged with looking into the "suppression of tippling houses and the regulation or suppression of all billiard tables." 16 It would seem that some regulation was indeed evidenced since billiard rooms (as reported) were not plentiful, but, when they appeared, in tavern environs. In 1845 the Headquarters on King Street, in advertising its business, mentioned the "first rate billiard table" 17 obviously feeling this would be an enticement for some of the populace. A licence was necessary however and in fact was included with tavern licences when the annual renewal came up by the late forties. 18

The sixties present a better picture of the presence of
billiard parlours with those licensed finding homes in the major hotels of the city. In 1860 five licences were issued as there were in 1867 when all were located at major hotels in the city. If judged solely by its surroundings therefore, billiards had by this time gained a measure of respectability. The Rossin House, for example, on its re-opening in 1867, was outfitted with a billiard room "furnished with four of Riley and May's celebrated Canadian tables built expressly for it. Both here and at the Revere House top flight competition was catered to with the latter arranging for dispatches of a championship match in Montreal to arrive at the premises every half hour on the night of the big game. This served also to whet appetites for the 4th annual provincial tournament held there a week later, in December of 1867, for the second consecutive year. As the Revere garnered the more prestigious events, the Rossin had to counter with exhibitions such as those given by Joseph Dion in 1869 or by Mr. Jackes of Cobourg who in 1870 "attracted quite a knot of lovers of the game." The 1870's saw billiards popularity growing and other parlours opening within taverns of less pretension such as the Royal and Royal George Saloons while the larger hotels maintained their tables. With billiard owners forced "to put forth two sureties of $200 each to ensure they kept order" (ie, no gambling, prostitution) and with licences now as costly as those for first class taverns, there was considerable expense involved, yet despite this and the early
disesteem which the relationship spurred, billiards and taverns found themselves to be symbiotically entwined in Toronto's growth during the second half of the century.

The natural confines of the tavern buildings also lent themselves to other activities, some of dubious distinction. Dancing of course was generally favourably regarded and was associated with the tavern in the earlier days as Howison noted in 1821 that "to have a ballroom seems to be the height of every publican's ambition in Upper Canada." In later years tavern terpsichore remained popular after as the aftermath of other events as will be remarked upon later. Less kindly regarded was cards or anything which invited gambling, but, naturally with gatherings of men, taverns became ideal rendezvous for this, among the better known being the Don Vale House. In 1860 an attempt at prohibition was made by council in the passing of a by-law for public places which stated that "no person...shall play at any such table or device; or at cards, or at any unlawful game." Though this led to arrests such as that at Barney Short's Tavern, King and Bathurst in 1867, it obviously did not eliminate the practice.

Several activities of close association with the tavern may have been carried on within the walls or on the grounds adjacent. Some stigma was also attached to these sports such as cockfighting and boxing but for awhile they went undeterred. It was in fact 1864 until the former was made illegal with this
new by-law:

"if any person shall keep or use any house, pit, ground or other place for the purpose of running, baiting or fighting any bear, bull, dog or other animal...or for cock-fighting...every such person shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding the sum of $50 for every day on which he shall so keep..."34

Previous to this, at taverns like the Don Vale, "contests... of cock-fighting were not only arranged but brought off in the sheds adjoining the tavern."35 Another inn attracting cock-fighting devotees was the Butcher's Arms, "...perhaps the best known sporting house to the east of the city"36 in the 1850's. Forms of human combat such as boxing contests were generally involved with the same establishments, namely the Fox Head and the apparently infamous (depending upon your viewpoint) Don Vale House.37 After the middle of the century, boxing was still regarded with mixed opinions... (unless) practiced at an established gymnasium38 so that its affiliation with the tavern must have diminished somewhat.

Shooting of various types was another activity which found the tavern environment to its liking and matches were often carried on outside a local establishment. The island hotel of the Privats in the fifties had room for much sport including "a fine spot created for unrestricted gaming."38 Unfortunately another activity was also catered to there in which,

"a turkey was tied and placed on an elevation about 50
yards from where the sportsmen stood... pay a York shilling for each shot; the first who hit it became possessor of the turkey."39

Competitive elements of greater stature than this were found in pigeon shooting as early as 1833 at the Golden Lion Inn which held a "grand pigeon shooting match...with 3 prizes for the winners."40 In the late sixties a contest at Gray's Lake Ontario House on the west point of the island awarded a silver cup to the best shot41 while pigeons again were the victims for enthusiasts at the Royal Oak Hotel one Friday afternoon in November of 1967.42 The seventies continued this relationship, with the "Dog and Duck" on Colborne Street being particularly active as the scene of shooting competitions.43 Similarly James Ward's Hotel served as host for tourneys44 possibly because Ward himself enjoyed the sport, having put up a challenge to anyone the year before (1870) with a purse of $100 to $1,000.45

Though Toronto developed several race courses during these forty years, tavern locales were often involved with matches, partially because they "influenced the selection of the courses and established finishing-marks as close to their caravansaries as could be conveniently arranged."46 Their grounds were the actual sites for races on occasion with the Appii Tavern Forum being very prominent in this respect. This spot on Dundas near Dufferin was also known as the Three Taverns because of the presence of Collard's.
Church's and James' Taverns and "both in summer and winter were there to assemble racing men, eager to arrange contests to test the capabilities of the various trotting horses" in the 1850's. Other sites included Nightingale's Tavern in the early forties and in 1869 Tuer's Hotel, Dundas Street (also known as the Peacock) which provided the scene for a match "between the horses Irish Goat and Black Bill." This same Peacock was the finish line for a best of three trot the next year which went for a mile up Dundas from the Humber River. Despite the presence of tracks, horse racing was found near some Toronto taverns during this era.

Generally these were the sporting activities of a non-club nature which could be found in or near the taverns of Toronto. Besides these particular endeavours, a few establishments became known for their surrounding pleasure grounds which allowed people to amuse themselves in a peaceful atmosphere. At these spots boating, bicycling, picnicking or just plain walking were at the whim of the citizen and many took advantage. Once again the island hotel of the Privat's, thanks to its natural landscape, was a frequent target with its playground for children, a small zoo and various excursion paths. By 1867 Mrs. Parkinson had taken over the reins of the inn, yet with the Bouquet continually running across the bay, "crowded with picnic parties, post-prandial excursionists and unprovendered passengers in search of fresh air and fish," it remained a happy haven. Similar taverns were the
bay located Peninsula Hotel in the 1840's and the hotel run by Charles Nurse in 1870 which came equipped with large grounds and fishing areas. Clearly throughout this period many of Toronto's inhabitants found their leisure needs no further away than their local tavern.

The large list of non-club activities which were tavern oriented seems even larger when compared with those involving club involvement with the tavern as the locale. There is mention of the Turf Club holding its first meet near Shepherd's Golden Lion Inn in May of 1843, with a second located by Nightingale's, another Yonge Street tavern, in October of the same year. Apart from these examples the only other instances involve the Caer Howell Hotel and here the use of "locale" may not be a true indicator of the function. This establishment was situated very near the St. Leger Race Course (of the 1840's) and even closer to the cricket grounds, bowling green, and rackets court. Of these it was the cricket grounds that saw the most continuous activity involving clubs, not only in its natural sport but also in lacrosse and baseball. The major group involved here however was the Toronto Cricket Club which at its general meeting in 1867 announced that it had secured the grounds at Caer Howell for the upcoming year. This indicates that either someone was renting the land for club use or simply allowing it to be used, but whether or not the hotel management was involved cannot be discerned. There are numerous examples
which could be mentioned of the activity which appeared here but it should suffice to say that intra and inter-club matches were actively engaged in with admission charges and fenced security being present as early as 1860. The truth may best be served to see the hotel's purpose as being a social one in these matches as opposed to serving as the site, although this could hinge, technically perhaps, on the ownership of the grounds.

A comparison of these two levels of sport must conclude that though the tavern served as the locale for various non-club activities this was much less the case for club sport. Any attempt to explain this disparity must, it seems, rest first with the actual activities and then with the nature of these activities. The type of sport that clubs were formed around did not lend itself as readily to tavern usage as was the case with the individual and often indoor activities of a less formal nature. The team sports which were the bulk of the club movement needed fairly large playing areas with increasingly exact dimensions while billiards was quite capably carried on in a single room. Some, such as shooting and horse racing could fit into both molds with more organized deployment at the Don range or a Toronto race course in addition to their tavern appearances.

While the type of activity was important in the choice of locale, it was not necessarily the prime factor for, as seen with shooting and horse racing, accommodations could be
made. It was the nature of both non-club and club sport which was perhaps more important than the activities when it came to choosing a site. Simply put, club sport had become too big for the type of temporary arrangement that a tavern locale would suggest. An example of the type of spectacle that had risen occurred in Toronto on the civic holiday, August 16, 1973. The programme for the day at the Toronto Cricket Grounds consisted of the following: 57

9:00 a.m.  Baseball – Dauntless Club
2:00 p.m.  Lacrosse – Toronto Shamrocks vs Onondagas
3:00 p.m.  1 mile race (open)
3:30 p.m.  1 mile race (amateur)
4:00 p.m.  Baseball – Union vs. Young America

Admission was 25¢ and the Band of the 10th Royals was in attendance making it a gala day for residents, and one obviously beyond the scope of makeshift tavern presentation. A presentation of this sort required designed areas for the two games and the races, plus space for the holiday crowd and band. Certainly this was an exceptional occasion but even the single club events required these types of arrangements.

What is being suggested here is a continuum with club sport being (for this time) the ultimate and at one end, while non-club sport would find itself somewhere down the line. The ultimate embodies the most advanced development in several factors perhaps best brought out in John Loy's
definitional effort on the nature of sport. As an example, Loy views sport as a social situation in terms of the degree and kind of involvement. The former concerns the frequency, duration and intensity of involvement while the other refers to producers directly involved with the activity and consumers having vicarious involvement. Clearly in categories of this sort the differences in club sport and non-club sport become more evident thus the reason for the affiliation with taverns of one and not the other becomes more obvious. Those involved in club sport competed more often, demonstrating a greater investment in the situation than the individual involved in singular events and with the advent of inter-club matches, likely a greater intensity or personal commitment was also present. In addition club sport involved both producers and consumers to a greater degree than did non-club activities. Sport without club affiliation would naturally involve primary producers or those actually competing, and would likely also have some spectators but this would be the extent of the kind of involvement in many cases. Club sport however had developed the other trappings such as officials, bands and consumers who followed via the newspaper. Other of Loy's categories could be used here but the point, hopefully is clear. Club sport had grown past the tavern stage in its execution, due to its nature, while non-club activities often remained in the simpler environment. Regular competition, on constant surfaces with paying customers was a major
growth from the haphazard of the past and one in which the tavern as a temporary locale had no place.

ENTREPRENEURIAL

If their own businesses could not be the site of some particular sporting venture this did not necessarily deter tavernkeepers, for often they were keen enough to sponsor activity at other locations. These gestures, besides fulfilling personal pleasures likely had no ill effect on their trade and so innkeepers provided funds for various competitions of a non-club nature. Racing was again found to be popular as early as 1839 when an innkeepers' plate of fifty pounds was held during a two day meet at Scarlett's Race Course. In 1843 the programme of the City of Toronto and Home District Spring Race Meeting also included an innkeepers' race while trotting races over the ice were noted as "the great sporting events of the winter (where) purses of fifty or a hundred dollars were offered by business men and hotel proprietors" in the 1850's. By 1870 tavern sponsorship was still in evidence with the Newmarket Race Course being perhaps the most obvious example. This track was the property of the owner of Gates' Hotel and these two businesses must have complimented each other nicely. Human racing was also within the realm of the innkeeper as was witnessed on a spring day in 1873. On this occasion eight hundred spectators were present at the cricket ground for a programme which included
a tavernkeepers' race, but whether this involved the owners as sponsors or as competitors is not resolved. Another interesting meet was held at the cricket ground, this one on an annual basis in the fall. It consisted of divers sports with the competitors being the Rossin House waiters and with "valuable prizes being contributed by the patrons of this house."  

Besides racing, shooting was the other area in which tavern sponsorship was quite prevalent with the locale for the competitions, as previously mentioned, often being the tavern itself: a logical manoeuvre when considered. Visitors to the tavern would be natural spectators for these "shoot-outs" and as a corollary (and likely a more important one for the owner), those attracted to the match would find the nearby house to be the perfect spot for victory celebration or some post-match analysis. Thus pigeon shooting contests were not only found near taverns but were the result of the entrepreneurial enterprise of the owner. An example was the offer of a "valuable silver cup for competition for amateur pigeon shooters...(of) the whole dominion by Mr. Joseph Taylor, owner of the "Dog and Duck." Other illustrations include the earlier mentioned offers by James Ward which may have helped boost some interest in the sport. By these instances and those mentioned for racing it seems clear that to some extent at least, tavern proprietors were very active in the advancement of non-club sporting activities, caring enough
(for several reasons) to promote through their own facilities or sponsor financially at other areas.

Whereas sponsorship by taverns was quite common for non-club sport it was apparently non-existent for club activities. Part of the reason here would of course be that early club sport was largely intra-club games where prizes would be of little importance with the competition itself being the essence. Even with the spread of matches between groups, monetary prizes were not necessarily the major incentive. When inter-club contests were arranged it would seem likely that any prize would come from the pockets of those competing who it should be remembered were the well-to-do of the city. Post-game dinners were quite often the rule with the home team serving as host and the visitors promising to serve in the same capacity at a future date. Spectator admissions was another method for raising funds and as the popularity of sport increased in the sixties this became a good source of revenue. One Toronto club attempted to have municipal funds employed based on the premise that they represented the city. This was a rifle club which in 1863 wished to enter several candidates in a match at Montreal though whether or not their request met with any success is not known. Tavern-keepers of course may have been club members and thus aided in the sponsorship of their own group, but this could not be viewed as a tavern oriented function as no concrete relationship would exist between the activity and the establishment.
Once again it would seem that non-club sport was the recipient of the tavern's function whereas club sport was not involved at all and once again it would seem that the nature of each activity dictated these developments. Club sport, composed of the "better" members of society, was still based largely on the value of the competition and not the value of the prize which winning brought and reciprocal visits to other towns made the sport a social occasion. Non-club activities offered money or other valuables as incentive thus attracting those who needed the prize more than the thrill of the activity. The taverns which were mentioned in this respect were not of the highest class indicating a clientele which would be more receptive to this type of enticement to compete.

SOCIAL

A third role of the tavern is closely linked to its general social function in that it served as a gathering spot for people to enjoy food, drink and each other's company. Often these gatherings were sports motivated with tavern-congregating considered an integral portion of the whole outing. In non-club activity the best example of this occurring concerned the various sleighing outings which left from the city with certain taverns being the designated targets of the ride. Once there, dinner and dancing would continue until the wee hours when the sleighs would return, somewhat more slowly, to their homes. These were simply parties of friends, neighbours or fellow employees assembling for an evening of pleasure.
Though in the forties the Peninsula was supported by these excursions, the sixties seems to have been a most vibrant period for such activity (at least more was reported during this period). In 1866 the Daily Leader noted that "sleighing parties appear to be all the rage now a days amongst the young folks....(as) a party of about 60 young ladies and gentlemen in 2 large sleighs proceeded to Weston." Their goal was the Eagle's Hotel which, with its dining, drinking and dancing facilities, was one of the most popular establishments among the sleighing citizenry. Apparently the class of that citizenry was not especially important as "the employees of Messrs. R.W. Laird, Ewing, Phillips and Matthews (gilders) drove to the Eagles...where...they sat down to a capital supper" on what must have been a golden evening. Tuer's on Dundas Road was perhaps the other major recipient of the sleighing trade with one "excursion composed of about a hundred ladies and gentlemen got up by a party of employees of the Grand Trunk Railway." The winter before in 1866, on account of another trip was headlined with the phrase "Ethiopian Sleigh Ride" and described in the following manner:

"...a large number of darkies were rejoicing... having got up a grand sleighing party to Tuer's Hotel better known as the Peacock with Quadrille Band in attendance. The ebonies were got up in great style...this most comical portion of the great human family." In addition to being a somewhat cryptic, yet evocative social commentary of the times, this paragraph also serves to once again indicate that sleighing parties were enjoyed by various strata
of Toronto society and suburban taverns were apparently open to all who cared to use their facilities.

This social function of the tavern was present in other non-club activities besides sleighing although that is perhaps the best example because the social aspect was an actual part of the total experience. Many taverns became recognized as sporting taverns, often being filled with the sport fraternity much as others were the meeting places of political partymen or the military population. Among these were several already remarked upon such as the Don Vale, the Fox Head and the Butcher's Arms, all suburban inns with convenient race courses providing the majority of the in season clientele.

Another of this type was the Rising Sun Inn on Queen Street east of the Don. With the "old race course" in the rear it too "was greatly patronized by sporting men and by those who followed in their train." 72 Apparently with this house the relationship was so integral that when racing finished in 1857 the tavern soon closed also.

This has described a further function of the tavern which while not directly serving to initiate sports was important in their development. The social side of non-club activities was that extra pleasure which completed an outing and possibly created an even greater popularity for this phase of Toronto's culture.

The social function that the tavern served in club sport was both similar and different than that in non-club act-
ivity. Thus sleighing excursions to suburban inns by clubs were present much the same as those participated in by any other groups of people. Such an outing took place on the last Tuesday in January of 1865 when the Toronto Sleighing Club gave their first annual assembly with about fifty couples heading for Miller's Hotel on Yonge Street near Eglinton, for dining and dancing.\(^7\) This was certainly not a new practice at that time since the tandem club's drives had often been "protracted" between houses of refuge such as Sanford's, the Blue Bell or the Peacock as early as 1839.\(^7\)

Club activities though were mainly competitive and with urban growth (in Toronto and elsewhere) and greater railway development, inter-club matches were becoming more frequent. It has been noted that sports requiring club organization were the domain of the more affluent in society at this time\(^7\) with the result that gentlemanly traits were often exhibited despite the outcome of the encounter. A common practice therefore was to host the visiting team to a dinner before their departure for home with a hotel as the natural site for the gathering. One of the earliest examples of this took place in 1840 when a New York cricket team came to play Toronto. The Americans however had been the victims of a hoax because the Toronto club had not extended an invitation, yet the latter readily agreed to play and afterwards had their guests to dinner at the Ontario House with the Toronto Bowling Club also present.\(^7\) The dinner was enjoyed despite the fact that the hosts were the
losers in the match as they were again in 1847 with a new victor, the Hamilton club and a new dinner site, the North American. Hosting foreigners was not restricted to cricketers as evidenced by the dinner given at the Queen's Hotel in 1868 in honour of the visiting Caledonian Curling Club of Buffalo after a six hour match with the Toronto club. Numerous other instances could be cited, all evincing the fine sporting spirit of these clubmen, displayed by the use of the social facilities of the better hotels as a final, yet important portion of the day's activities.

Mention should be made here again of the Caer Howell Hotel which was uneasily presented as an example of the locational function of the tavern with the various grounds around the hotel being used quite extensively by the sporting clubs of the sixties. While to present the Caer Howell as serving as the locale of club sport might be stretching a point there need be no doubt about its social function in this regard.

Toronto historian Robertson states that

"Henry Layton, the proprietor, kept a little hotel nearby where players and spectators might get refreshments and perhaps no spot is more dearly cherished in the memory of the old residents of Toronto...."

With cricket, bowls, racing and rackets, being just some of the sports engaged in this was invariably a busy location.

Intra-club interests were also served with the hotels acting as the location for annual celebrations usually marking the end of a season of sport. The Toronto Cricket Club's first
annual affair was held in 1871 at the American Hotel which was also the headquarters for their meetings. Some groups not normally located in a tavern for their meetings were forced to move to one for their closing feast as was the case with the Toronto Lacrosse Club. Regularly based at the Mechanics' Institute, the members converged on the Terrapin for their final fling in December of 1867. Many examples of this custom are present allowing for the conclusion that the use of taverns for club dinners was a widespread and persistent occurrence which would only desist with the development of improved and permanent club houses. Almost exclusively the first class hotels were used in this respect with the Queen's, the American and the Rossin being the prime beneficiaries of the social wants of sport club enthusiasts as might be expected considering their excellent facilities and the class of person involved in the activity.

The social function of the tavern was present for both non-club and club activities finding expression as the target of sleighing excursions, as the beneficiary of nearby sporting facilities or as the host for team dinners. Employed in these instances were the suburban inns and the major hotels of the city, making the sporting scene a social one also. What should perhaps be repeated here is that for club sport the nature of the activity was such that conjugative social affairs between competitive teams were not antithetical. The tavern dinner could be an integral portion of the day because the sport was played largely for its own value.
ORGANIZATIONAL

One final role that the tavern had in the sporting life of Toronto concerned its organizational function. Many of the non-club events which were singular in nature or perhaps carried out on an annual basis needed a base from which they could inform the public and make preparations for the activity, and once again taverns performed the service. In August of 1841, for example, the Transcript announced the holding of the Toronto Regattas with rowing and sailing matches of various descriptions. In preparation for this "all boats with the names of the crews and pullers (were) to be entered with the secretary at Stone's Hotel, Market Square." In subsequent years this practice continued with the North American eventually taking over in 1843 and 1844. The fashioning of regattas continued to employ tavern facilities right into the sixties when it was decided to hold one following a meeting at James McGuire's Hotel, King Street West. With sport gaining increased prominence by the early 1870's, the scope of the competition had developed to the point where an international sailing regatta was being organized, but in this instance at least the tavern remained the centre with the meeting being held at the Queen's Hotel.

Other activities already noted as common tavern sights were also originally developed at the house with the "Dog and Duck" being one where entries for pigeon shooting matches were to be made. The other major employer of the tavern
however was once again horse racing which used this institution for entries and for selling pools. The North American which had given analogous service to the regattas was pressed into duty here also. In the late spring of 1843 entries had to be made there by "the owners of race horses (who) intended to run at the approaching meeting at the St. Leger Course." 90 Similarly the next year, this hotel was the site for receiving entrances on a Saturday afternoon in April between one and four o'clock when the stewards for the spring meeting congerated. 91 This tavern-racing relationship was not only a phenomenon of the early part of the era under investigation but was similarly found to be existent in Toronto's later years. Besides entries, pools on various races were also sold, the Revere House being used by Messrs. Boyle and Mitchell to vend them for the Newmarket Races in 1869. 92 It seems that individuals of this sort became fairly prominent (perhaps indicating the volume of trade) with the Daily Telegraph reporting that "the well known auctioneer will open his box this evening, 8 p.m. at Carson's...and sell pools on the various races." 93 Thus the organizational function of the tavern in non-club activities was largely associated with the running of racing activities on water and on land.

Clearly the greatest use of the tavern for club sports was evidenced in the organizational function it served in the development of the clubs and in the execution of their business. Part of this was the place of the tavern in the
regular foxing excursions that the Toronto Hunt Club undertook. Their chases would of course take them out of the city proper into the suburbs and often as not they would first congregate at taverns to begin the hunt. Many times the lead item of a daily paper's city news column concerned the meeting for the hounds, such as the Thursday afternoon congregation at Porter's Hotel on the corner of Bloor and Bathurst in October of 1866. This particular spot must have had some special inducement (proximity to a good trail perhaps) since it served as a rendezvous at least as late as 1873. Other fringe taverns were also visited by these gentlemen with the Todmorden and Norway Houses proving as popular as Porter's. The nature of the function served by these establishments is not specifically documented and thus must be left to conjecture. They would obviously be convenient meeting places for the particular hunt about to unfold but did anything of a more substantial nature occur? Perhaps the huntsmen actually made use of the house to hold an organized assembly or possibly it served a social function. Middleton states in his Toronto history that in the seventies the hunt club had its headquarters "at one or other of the countryside hotels" adding more credence to the thesis that there was some actual organizational procedure carried on at the tavern.

Other clubs did not have to conduct their business outside the city but still found themselves situated at taverns. As early as 1840 the Ontario House was the site of a meeting
of the Ontario Turf Club's stewards intending to settle their accounts for the year in the wake of some apparently shoddy dealings.99 Another of the early Toronto clubs was the Canadian Yacht Club which was formed in 1852100 and would become the Royal Canadian Yacht Club with a Queen's charter two years later. Lacking better facilities, these sportsmen pursued their affairs in a room over John Seel's Saloon101 although this relationship did not endure as they soon moved to an old scow near Rees' and in 1858 purchased the steamer, Provincial, as a home.102 The following year Seel's was again the scene of club activity with the Globe announcing that "the annual meeting of the Toronto Cricket Club for the election of officers...will take place this evening at half-past seven."103 This particular group had been in operation for a quarter of a century yet it still had not escaped the tavern environs, nor would it in the sixties and early seventies. The cricketers remained at Seel's through at least 1866 but into the eighth decade of the century relocated to better class establishments such as the American in which they met on April 12th, 1872.104 The next month a general meeting of all cricketers (likely inspired by the clubmen) was held there to discuss "the impending visit of the English eleven to this country."105 The scene switched the following years however as the Rossin House became the locale for the club gatherings in March, 1873106 and April, 1874.107 The cricket club therefore was a very
regular employer of tavern facilities as a means of administering its affairs.

A group with a similarly extended tavern relationship was the Toronto Curling Club. In 1866 the Queen's Hotel hosted the curlers\textsuperscript{108} as they also did the following year when the club somewhat incongruously held two annual meetings.\textsuperscript{109} By 1872 they had followed the lead of the cricket club by adjourning to the American\textsuperscript{110} for what had become more frequent assemblies which were in fact termed "regular monthly" meetings by March of 1873.\textsuperscript{111} Following a return to the Queen's\textsuperscript{112} they finally decided upon the Walker House as meeting place by the end of these years.\textsuperscript{113} At least two clubs then found their organizational functioning dominated by local hotels from the middle sixties on while others though not so completely related did on occasion resort to tavern surroundings to deal with their affairs.

Among these was the Ontario La Crosse Club, one of several clubs in the city devoted to the pursuit of the revised and revived game of "baggataway." Late in 1870 a meeting of this group was held at the American Hotel at which "officers for the year were appointed."\textsuperscript{114} In subsequent years however they convened at places other than hotels with the Mechanics Institute\textsuperscript{115} and the Temperance Hall\textsuperscript{116} proving valuable until 1874 when the meeting was described as being held in the club rooms\textsuperscript{117} although their location is not mentioned.
Baseball was a late bloomer in comparison to other club sports but by the mid-seventies several organizations were in operation some using taverns as centres of business. The Aetna Base Ball Club gathered at rooms in the Mansion House in 1874\(^{118}\) after previously residing either at the cricket grounds\(^{119}\) or the ever popular Temperance Hall.\(^ {120}\) By 1875 however they were based at Shaftesbury Hall\(^ {121}\) in preparation for the year's play. With this club, as with others, a constant changing of rooms has been witnessed which is not completely explainable, although some evidence exists which indicates a certain amount of competition among clubs for facilities may have occurred. An 1872 meeting of the Toronto La Crosse Club was "for the purpose of arranging financial matters and taking steps to engage a room for the summer"\(^ {122}\) signalling the fact that renewal of facilities was not automatic and that bases of operation remained subject to change. Thus the Aetna Club found itself migratory in the pursuit of a home and likely only the lack of pertinent data prevents the same from being said concerning the other base ball clubs, with one possible exception. The Union Printers Base Ball Club, apparently "in a prosperous position" in 1875 met at the Trades Assembly Hall\(^ {123}\) presenting the possibilities of a lasting relationship if working class consciousness was at all present. Of the other base ball clubs, only the Dauntless was tavern stationed as it met at the Caer Howell Hotel in 1875, a location very convenient to the cricket grounds which was also
Other isolated examples of clubs having tavern headquarters are present with the 1872 meeting of the Argonaut Rowing Club which took place at the Rossin House being one. That same year in that same hotel, a new rowing club was begun in order

"to give all who desire to practice rowing the opportunity of doing so by providing for the use of members as well as racing boats based on the same system as that adopted in the English rowing clubs."  

Finally, riflemen, a group well represented in the city held a meeting "at the Globe Hotel for the purpose of taking steps to form a rifle club" and thereby organize their activities.

Thus the organizational function of the tavern was most prevalent when examined in terms of club sport with the better hotels once again proving to be the prime recipients of this business. With facilities capable of handling these gatherings and a natural relationship with the class of citizen involved with clubs already established, this development was quite logical. When compared with non-club activities the difference lies with the essence of these two areas of sport themselves. Both organized in taverns, club sports for their regular meetings and non-club sports for the arrangement of there particular event of that moment.
FOOTNOTES


11. Petition of Thomas McHaffie for Permission to Open a 9-Pin Alley, April 1, 1832.


17 The Toronto Herald, April 3, 1845.

18 The Globe, January 3, 1849.

19 James Bovell, A Plea for Inebriate Asylums (Toronto; Lovell and Gibson, 1862), p. 38.


21 The Daily Telegraph and Evening Journal, July 26, 1867.

22 Ibid., December 10, 1867.

23 The Daily Telegraph, December 17, 1867.

24 The Daily Leader, August 13, 1866.

25 The Daily Telegraph, September 11, 1868.

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27 The Daily City Press and Commercial and General Advertiser, January 21, 1871.

28 By-Laws of the City of Toronto (1834-1869) Toronto: Henry Rowell, 1870), p. 473


30 John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1821), p. 27.

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33 The Daily Leader, May 6, 1867.

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35 John Ross Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto (Toronto: Republished from the Toronto Evening Telegram, 1908), III, p. 300.
41. The Daily Leader, July 26, 1866.
42. Ibid., November 29, 1867.
43. The Daily Telegraph, September 26, 1870.
44. Ibid., October 27, 1871.
45. Ibid., September 7, 1870.
47. Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto, II, p. 750.
48. The Morningstar and Toronto Transcript, April 12, 1842.
49. The Daily Telegraph, February 17, 1869.
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55. The Globe, May 2, 1867.
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65 Ibid., December 18, 1872.

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68 The Daily Leader, February 10, 1866.

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71 Ibid., February 16, 1866.

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110 *The Mail*, December 9, 1872.
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118 *Ibid.*, April 7, 1874.
123 *The Mail*, April 5, 1875.
127 Ibid., September 4, 1863.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study sought to focus on the function of the tavern in Toronto between 1834 and 1875, specifically as to its role in the sporting life of the region. The tavern was found to be a diverse institution in terms of its form and general function, meeting the varied needs of a wide cross-section of the populace. Similarly it had several functions when applied to the sport of Toronto throughout the years under investigation.

Besides its natural role as a provider of lodging and refreshment, the tavern was discovered to serve in three other broad capacities when examined under its general function. These included meetings, municipal affairs and entertainment with the common thread of temporary tavern involvement running through all. For much of all three categories there was an initial lack in places which could successfully host these activities and in this absence the tavern proved useful. With the vigorous development of the city, however there was substantial growth of these previously missing institutions which were created with specific functions in mind. Thus the urban process by the seventies had divested the tavern of much of this general function leaving it primarily a drinking and lodging centre.

Regarding the sport scene in Toronto, one finds a range of four functions which the tavern served in its existence: locational, entrepreneurial, social and organizational.
These four were involved with two levels of organized sport: club sport which was concerned with any sporting clubs of the time and its opposite, non-club sport, which was the remainder of this activity; and from the examination of this data separate conclusions for each sporting function of the tavern were arrived at.

1. Though the tavern served as the locale for various non-club activities this was a rare experience in club sport.

2. Sponsorship by taverns was a non-club sport phenomenon.

3. The social function of the tavern was both a non-club and a club sport occurrence.

4. The organizational function of the tavern was present in both levels of sport.

These may serve as basic guidelines for the findings of this thesis in a comparison of the tavern's function on two levels of sport yet they must be bolstered with additional information to more clearly define that function in terms of club sport and non-club sport.

The FORM OF THE TAVERN attempted to describe a stratification from the lowest drinking house to the first class hotels of the city and this proved an important difference in a comparison of club and non-club sport. Almost exclusively, club sport functioned through the best hotels of the city, socially and in organizational matters, while its counterpart
was substantially more divergent. The one commonality here was the suburban inn which catered to the sleighing outings of both forms and the fox hunts of club sportsmen. This development was of course difficult to escape since these types of activity would necessarily be forced to leave the city proper. If judged solely by these facts however it could be concluded that club sport was very much an activity which developed later in this period and was mainly supported by the middle and upper classes.

The conclusion that club sport was dominated by the "better" of society (more so than non-club sport) leads into discussion over what has been described as the nature of both forms. The tavern's function was also affected by this, especially as concerns a lack of involvement with club sport. Being team games between gentlemen, there were some differences when compared to non-club sporting activity. For club sport, tavern sponsorship was unnecessary because these individuals could themselves afford the time and expense of the competition especially since visits were often reciprocated by the opposition with hosting being part of the whole scene. The sport was largely important for its own benefit (although wagers were often present) and there was no necessity to be motivated by the lure of prizes. Spectator admissions were also collected by club teams presenting another major difference with non-club sport and one which affected the tavern's role. Team games with increased crowds needed special areas
for the proper execution of the action and comfort of the fans, both factors which made tavern surroundings lacking. Non-club sport on the other hand was generally individual sport not needing large playing areas or regular ones and it could adapt to most environments. Bowling and billiards of course needed specific locales and here the taverns provided the outlets themselves.

The urbanization process which is involved throughout this thesis had varied effects when regarded in a comparison of the tavern's function in club sport and non-club sport. The latter seemed to be less affected although the development of more and better facilities did occur. Even by the end of the era however tavern locales were still in use for some non-club activities with horse racing being an exception here. Club sport on the other hand took complete advantage of the new developments in the city and was a continuous occupant of the better facilities. Here too there was a difference however as the clubs in very few instances had developed specific club rooms for their organizational purpose but were still located in city hotels or city halls.

This discovery leads into a discussion comparing the effects of urbanization on both the sporting function of the tavern and the general function. The tavern's general role in the community underwent quite marked change as specific buildings took over the functions that the tavern had temporarily taken care of. In contrast it seems that in terms
of Toronto's sporting life there is some holdover and the change is not nearly as complete. The tavern remained by 1875 as still a centre of some organizational activity by club sports, playing activity by non-club activities and social activity by both. This obviously indicates a time gap, with the development of sport (especially club sport) not having reached the stage of development that the more basic aspects of city life had reached and thus still being dependent upon temporary accommodations. The fact that some clubs had arranged for their own facilities for play and meeting demonstrates that sport was on its way to an individuality and that the urbanizing process was having its effect. The tavern's virtual eclipse from the sporting life would indicate the maturity that portion of life had achieved, but by 1875 this had not occurred in Toronto.
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