

**BECOMING NATIVE IN A FOREIGN LAND:  
VISUAL CULTURE, SPORT, AND SPECTACLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF  
NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MONTREAL, 1840-1885**

**GILLIAN POULTER**

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Graduate Programme in History  
York University  
North York, Ontario**

**December 1999**



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file* *Votre référence*

*Our file* *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-56261-1

**Becoming Native in a Foreign Land:  
Visual Culture, Sport, and Spectacle in the  
Construction of National Identity in Montreal,  
1840-1885**

by **Gillian Poulter**

a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of York  
University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

© 1999

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF YORK UNIVERSITY  
to lend or sell copies of this dissertation, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF  
CANADA to microfilm this dissertation and to lend or sell copies of the  
film, and to **UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS** to publish an abstract of this  
dissertation.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the dissertation  
nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced  
without the author's written permission.

## ABSTRACT

Between the 1837/8 Rebellion in Lower Canada and the 1885 Rebellion in the North-West, there occurred a transformation in Canadian identity. In 1840, Lord Durham assumed 'Canadians' were French-speaking farmers, but by 1885 British colonists in the newly created Dominion of Canada had claimed the term 'Canadian' for themselves. This dissertation traces the discursive practices by which the transformation from *canadien* to 'Canuck' was effected. Using visual images as primary documents, this study looks at the ways in which British colonists represented themselves as native-Canadians in sport, visual culture and public spectacles in order to construct and define a national identity which would distinguish them from both British and Americans.

The central argument made is that Native and French-Canadian cultural activities such as snowshoeing, tobogganing, lacrosse, and hunting were appropriated and transformed by the professional and commercial middle classes in mid-Victorian Montreal. By appropriating these indigenous activities, and imposing on them British ideologies of order, discipline and fair play, English-speaking Montrealers not only claimed distinctive visual attributes for themselves, but, in addition, the performance of these activities indigenised them through physical interaction with the environment, thus legitimizing their claim to be 'native-Canadian'.

Since identity is not just embodied and enacted by individuals, but needs to be performed and acclaimed, the means by which the proposed national identity was transmitted and displayed in public spectacles, are also examined. Through the display of

hunting photographs at international exhibitions, through tours abroad by lacrosse teams, illustrations of the North West Rebellion, and owing to the central role played by the snowshoe clubs in the Montreal Winter Carnivals in the 1880s, a particular image of Canadian identity was widely propagated. However, this image of an elite, white, male who possessed the robust physical health conferred by a pure, northern climate and love of vigorous outdoor sports, effectively marginalised women and working people. Moreover, it is suggested that the snowshoe and lacrosse clubs created 'a myth of origin', which linked members back to 'their' history in Canada, but in the process, effectively erased the histories of the real Canadian natives.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Fernand Ouellet's enthusiastic encouragement provided the impetus for my entry into the history department at York, where John Saywell's acceptance of my art history background allowed me to pursue my interest in visual culture. To them, and to Ramsay Cook, I am indebted for my early forays in the discipline. My thanks are also due to Marlene Shore, Viv Nelles and Kathryn McPherson for their guidance throughout the writing process. Their input and advice pushed me to make each draft better, and to struggle with problems I too easily set aside. I would particularly like to thank Nora Hague and Annette McConnell at the Notman Archives, the very obliging research librarians in the Baldwin Room at the Metro Toronto Reference Library, and the kind assistance of the History Department staff at York, particularly Diane Jenner.

I am grateful to acknowledge that I have received financial support from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Ontario Graduate Scholarship programme. York University has also been generous with research grants and other funds. However, this long undertaking would not have been possible without the unfailing support of my parents, Betty, Albert, and Pat; my children, Katie and Ellen; and the rest of my family. They are as glad as I am that this phase of my life is finally over, and I hope that they think it was worth the wait. Most of all, I want to thank Les for never doubting I could and should write this thesis, and for being the most wonderful, loving partner through life's chances and changes.

## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT . . . . .	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xv

Chapter:

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
1. "NORTHMEN OF THE NEW WORLD": THE MONTREAL SNOW SHOE CLUB . . . . .	44
Indigenous Canadian Identities	
Canadian Character	
Images of Canadians	
Conclusion	
2. COLONEL RHODES' HUNTING PARTY: "A STORY RIGHTLY TOLD" . . . . .	121
William Notman: Artist and Business Man	
Colonel William Rhodes: The 'Great Northern Hunter'	
Hunting in Canada	
The <i>Hunting and Trapping</i> series	
Conclusion	
3. PLAYING LACROSSE: THE NATIONAL GAME OF CANADA . . . . .	209
<i>Baggafaway</i> to Lacrosse: The game transformed	
Players and Audiences	
W. George Beers and The National Game	
The Decline of Lacrosse: A Limited Identity	
4. THE MONTREAL WINTER CARNIVALS: AN "EMINENTLY CANADIAN" SPECTACLE . . . . .	277
The Context of Winter Festivals	
The Two Poles of Canadian Identity	
Audiences and the Limits of Identity	
Social and Ethnic Rifts Exposed	

Conclusion

5.	"NO TIN SOLDIERS": CANADA'S FIRST WAR . . . . .	335
	<i>The Canadian Illustrated War News</i>	
	More than Decoration: Critical Analysis of Visual Images	
	The Battle Scenes	
	-The Battle of Fish Creek	
	-The Battle of Cut Knife Hill	
	-The Capture of Batoche	
	Constructing an 'Official' Narrative of Nation	
	CONCLUSION . . . . .	418
	BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	436



## ILLUSTRATIONS

*Unless otherwise stated, all figures are photographs produced by the William Notman Studio, and all other artists are unknown.*

Figure	Page	
1.1	"A Hearty Welcome," illustration. <u>Graphic</u> (London), December 28, 1878. Reproduced in Robert M. Stamp, <u>Royal Rebels: Princess Louise &amp; the Marquis of Lorne</u> (Toronto: Dundurn, 1988) 127.	47
1.2	Dr. W. George Beers, 1881. NPA: 60469-B11	62
1.3	Millicent Mary Chaplin, "Canadian Farmer," c.1840, watercolour. NAC: C-866	65
1.4	Frank Blackwell Mayer, "Winter dress of Red River half-breeds," 1851, drawing. Newberry Library, Chicago: Frank B. Mayer Papers, Sketchbook 44. Reproduced in Jennifer S.H. Brown, <u>Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country</u> (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980) Plate 16.	67
1.5	"Our Winter Sports. How they are Becoming Popular in Uncle Sam's Domains," c.1886, illustration. NAC: MAAA, Scrapbook 3, 83.	83
1.6	Alexander Henderson, "Snow-shoeing. Indian-file." Members of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club descending Mount Royal, c.1878. NAC: C-22233. Reproduced in Don Morrow et al., <u>A Concise History of Sport in Canada</u> (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989) 7.	90
1.7	Montreal Snow Shoe Club, 1872. Composite photograph. NPA: 73685-I	97
1.8	Montreal Snow Shoe Club, 1877. Composite photograph. NPA: 44798-II	98
1.9	Col. Hawkes and Capt. Howe, 1867. NPA: 24948-BI	101
1.10	General Wyndham and Family, 1867. NPA: 30495-BI.	102
1.11	"Young Canada" (W. McFarlane Notman), 1867. NPA: 24438-BI	105
1.12	Livernois Studio, "Blanche and Minette Fauteux," 1885. NPA: 89005014.	107
1.13	"Old and Young Canada," illustration. <u>Winter Carnival Illustrated</u> , (Montreal: George Bishop & Co., 1884), frontispiece.	108

1.14	"Grand Concert of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, at the Academy of Music", illustration. February 9, 1878. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 24.	114
1.15	William Bengough, "The True State of Her Feelings," cartoon. <u>Grip</u> , January 19, 1889. Reproduced in Carmen Cumming, <u>Sketches from a Young Country: The Images of Grip Magazine</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 187.	117
1.16	"Lord Lansdowne, In his new Canadian costume adapted to remaining for some time out in the cold," cartoon. <u>Punch</u> , June 2, 1883, 262.	118
2.1	"The Hunter," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 19361-I	124
2.2	"The Guide," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA; 19362-I	125
2.3	"Going Out," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 19357-I	126
2.4	"Exhausted," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: V602	127
2.5	"The Arrival at Camp," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. Coloured photograph. NPA: No. 14/81.	128
2.6	"Game in Sight," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: V600	129
2.7	"A Chance Shot," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 19323-I	130
2.7a	"Hunters Resting," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , Small Set, 1866. MTL	131
2.8	"Around the Campfire," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: V596-A	132
2.9	"Sunday in the Bush," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: V598	133
2.10	"Returning," <i>Cariboo Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 19359-I	134
2.11	"The Old Hunter," <i>Moose Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 20501-I	136
2.12	"The Three Guides," <i>Moose Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 20490-I	137
2.13	"Night—Asleep in the Cabane," <i>Moose Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA 20497-I	138
2.14	"Early Morn—The Surprise," <i>Moose Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 20599-I	139
2.15	"The Breakfast," <i>Moose Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 20491-I	140

2.16	"The Death," <i>Moose Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 20492-I . . . . .	141
2.17	"The Return," <i>Moose Hunting</i> , 1866. NPA: 20494-I . . . . .	142
2.18	Sample page from Notman Studio Picture Book. NPA: 19312-19217.	144
2.19	Colonel Rhodes and Guide, 1866. Tipped-in to W. Notman, <u>Portraits of British Americans</u> , Vol. 2, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1867). NPA: 19310-I .	165
2.20	"Now Published: Cariboo Hunting, Two Sets," advertisement in W. Notman, <u>Portraits of British Americans</u> , Vol 2, (Montreal: J. Lovell Printer, 1867), endpaper. . . . .	182
2.21	"Moose Hunting, consisting of Seven Photographs from Nature," advertisement in W. Notman, <u>Portraits of British Americans</u> , Part 7, (Montreal: J. Lovell Printer, 1867) n.p. . . . .	184
3.1	George Catlin, "Ball Play of the Choctaw," c.1844, coloured lithograph. Reproduced in Harold McCracken, <u>George Caitlin and the Old Frontier</u> (New York: Dial Press, 1959) 143. . . . .	217
3.2	J. G. Parks, "The Shamrock Lacrosse Club, 1867," composite photograph, NAC: C-5567. Reproduced in Don Morrow et al., <u>A Concise History of Sport in Canada</u> (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989) 53. . . . .	218
3.3	Detail from "Champions of the World, Montreal, 1881," used in a photographic collage entitled "Canada Whom We Love and Prize." NAC: 64973-II . . . . .	219
3.4	The Caughnawaga Lacrosse Club, 1867. NPA: 29099-BI . . . . .	224
3.5	The Montreal Lacrosse Club, 1867-8. NPA: 29210-I . . . . .	225
3.6	The Caughnawaga Lacrosse Team, 1876. NPA: 41679-BII . . . . .	227
3.7	Wishe Tasennontie (Michael Dellebault), 1876. NPA: 41675-BII. . . . .	228
3.8	"The Canadian lacrosse team at Kennington Oval, London, 1876," illustration. NAC. Reproduced in J.A. Mangan, ed., <u>The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society</u> (London: Frank Cass, 1992), fig. 14. . . . .	230
3.9	Detail of frontispiece, W. George Beers, <u>Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada</u> (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869). . . . .	235
3.9a	Detail of frontispiece, W. George Beers, <u>Lacrosse: The National Game of</u>	

	<u>Canada</u> (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869).	236
3.9b	"Key to the Photographs," W. George Beers, <u>Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada</u> (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869), accompaniment to frontispiece.	237
3.10	"The Championship Match, Shamrocks vs. Toronto Club, 1873," illustration. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 27.	244
3.11	"Lacrosse--The Struggle for the Ball," c.1877, illustration. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 133.	245
3.12	A female lacrosse player, altered sketch. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 469.	250
4.1	"Carnival. Montreal, 1885," composite photograph, painted by Eugene L'Africain. NPA: V1478	278
5.1	"On the Fly,' Or, 'All Up' with 'Poundmaker!!!" advertisement, <u>Toronto Globe</u> , May 18, 1885.	345
5.2	"Veni, Vidi, Vici!" advertisement, <u>Toronto Globe</u> , May 20, 1885.	346
5.3	"The looting of the old town of Battleford," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , Souvenir Number Part I, July 4, 1885, 18.	361
5.4	"Prairie Church Parade of General Middleton's Command. (From a sketch by Lieut. Irving, Royal Grenadiers)," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , Souvenir Number Part I, July 4, 1885, 19.	362
5.5	"The North-West Rebellion. Half-Breed and Indian Prisoners Brought Before General Middleton," and "The Troops in the North-West," illustrations. <u>Family Herald and Weekly Star</u> , May 20, 1885.	364
5.6	"Gallant attack on Big Bear's Band by a handful of Mounted Police under Inspector Steele and Squadron Sergt.-Major Fury," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , July 11, 1885.	366
5.7	"Mr. Larmour's Portable Rifle Pits in Action," and "Big Bear, the last of the Rebels," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , June 6, 1885, 80.	367
5.8	"Colonel Otter's Brigade approaching the South Saskatchewan," illustration. <u>Illustrated War News</u> , April 25, 1885.	370
5.9	"A Canadian Wife: Take your discharge? Certainly Not!" cartoon.	

	<u>Illustrated War News</u> , April 4, 1885 . . . . .	372
5.10	"Departure of the 'Queen's Own' and 'Tenth Royals' for the North- West, March 30 <sup>th</sup> ," illustration. <u>Illustrated War News</u> , April 4, 1885. . . . .	373
5.11	"Toronto Ladies Receiving and Packing Contributions for Volunteers at the Front", illustration. <u>Illustrated War News</u> , May 9, 1885. . . . .	374
5.12	"Arrival of the Presents from the Ladies of Toronto in the Camp of the Royal Grenadiers," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , July 18, 1885, 124. . . . .	375
5.13	"Canada's Sacrifice," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , Souvenir Number Part 1, July 4, 1885, supplement. . . . .	376
5.14	"The Reception at Winnipeg," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , July 25, 1885, 140.. . . .	378
5.15	"Indian TeePee and Rebel Half Breed", illustration. <u>Illustrated War News</u> , April 11, 1885 . . . . .	380
5.16	"After the Battle. Families of dead rebels appealing to General Middleton. He contemplating their wretchedness reassures them, they are in no danger of injury," illustration. <u>Family Herald and Weekly Star</u> , June 10, 1885. . . . .	381
5.17	"Noble Women on the Defensive; The Misses McLean show great courage, each one, Rifle in hand, Stands at a Loophole," illustration. <u>Family Herald and Weekly Star</u> , June 8, 1885. . . . .	382
5.18	"The Battle of Fish Creek," illustration. <u>Illustrated War News</u> , May 2, 1885, 37. . . . .	389
5.19	W. D. Blatchly, "The Attack on the Rebels at Fish Creek," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , Souvenir Number Part I, July 4, 1885, 10. . . . .	390
5.20	"Battle of Fish Creek. Founded on the Dominion Lands Map of Township 41, Page 2, west of the Third Meridian, Sketches by Mr. F. W. Curzon, special artist of 'The Illustrated War News,' with General Middleton's Expedition, and personal information furnished by members of corps who participated in the engagement. Published by Grip P.P. Co. Toronto. Toronto Lithographing Co." Coloured lithograph. MTL: T 14580 . . . . .	391
5.21	W. D. Blatchly, "The Battle of Cut Knife Creek," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , May 16, 1885. . . . .	395

5.22	John D. Kelly, "The Battle of Cut Knife Creek," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , Souvenir Number Part II, August 4, 1885, 28-29.	396
5.23	W. E. Blatchly, "Battle of Cut Knife Creek. From topographical sketches by Capt. Rutherford, of "B" Battery, and Lieut. R. Lyndhurst Wadmore, "C" Company, Infantry School Corps; supplemented by personal information furnished by Sergt.-Major Spackman and members of the Queen's Own who participated in the engagement. Published by Grip P.P. Co. Toronto. Toronto Lithographic Co." Coloured lithograph. MTL: T14579.	397
5.24	W. D. Blatchly, "The Bayonet Charge at Batoche," illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , May 23, 1885, 63.	401
5.25	"The Capture of Batoche, (From topographical map by Messrs. Burrows and Denny, Surveyors' Intelligence Corps, sketches by Mr. F.W. Curzon, special artist of the 'Illustrated War News' with General Middleton's expedition; and personal information by members of corps which participated.)" illustration. <u>Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News</u> , Souvenir Number Part II, August 4, 1885, 36.	403
5.26	W. D. Blatchly, "The Capture of Batoche. From sketches by F.W. Curzon, Special Artist of the 'Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News,' Sergt. Grundy and others. Published by Grip P. & P. Co. Toronto Lithographing Co." Coloured lithograph. MTL: T14578.	404
C.1	Souvenirs in store window, St. Catherine Street, Montreal, 1996. Author's photograph . . . . .	432
C.2	Manikin in store window, St. Catherine Street, Montreal, 1996. Author's photograph. . . . .	433
C.3	"The Incredible Mr. Freeze," <u>PC Answers</u> 65 (March 1999) 58. Uncredited photograph. . . . .	434

## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Archives:*

MTL	Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, Toronto
NAC	National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
NPA	Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

### *Publications:*

CHR	Canadian Historical Review
CIN	Canadian Illustrated News
CJHS	Canadian Journal of History of Sport
CJHSPE	Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education
DCB	Dictionary of Canadian Biography
ILN	Illustrated London News
IWN	Illustrated War News/Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News
JCS	Journal of Canadian Studies
JSH	Journal of Sport History

### *Organizations:*

CHA	Canadian Historical Association
MAAA	Montreal Amateur Athletic Association
MLC	Montreal Lacrosse Club
MSSC	Montreal Snow Shoe Club
NLA	National Lacrosse Association

## **INTRODUCTION**

The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?

Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation* <sup>1</sup>

In 1840, Lord Durham reported on the state of affairs in the British North American Colonies, where he had found "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state."<sup>2</sup> Those two 'nations' were English-speaking immigrants who had arrived in the colony since 1760, and the French-speaking descendants of the original settlers of New France. Durham's solution to the problems which had precipitated the recent armed rebellions was to assimilate the French-speaking population by overwhelming and submerging it politically and demographically. In order to "elevate" French-Canadian inhabitants from what he perceived as their inferior language, laws and character, Durham sought "to give the Canadians our English character."<sup>3</sup> Thus, for Durham, Canadians in 1840 were the French-speaking inhabitants of British North America.

Within a generation this understanding was changing; English-speaking immigrants and their offspring came to think of themselves as Canadians, and took on that designation. Increasingly, French-speaking inhabitants were referred to by English-speakers as 'French-Canadians' or *canadiens*. A dispute arising from a public

---

<sup>1</sup> Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation. The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) 12.

<sup>2</sup> John George Lambton Durham, *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America*, 1839, 3 vols., edited with an Introduction by Sir Charles Lucas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) 2:16.

<sup>3</sup> Durham 3: 292.



meeting held in 1860 by a group of Torontonians illustrates this change.<sup>4</sup> The meeting was called in order to arrange the participation of “Native Canadians” in the welcoming parade planned for the visit of the Prince of Wales. The organizers were anxious to differentiate the group of “Native Canadians” from contingents of the English, Scottish and Irish fraternal societies. The emblem chosen to signify their identity was the maple leaf. The meeting gave rise to a dispute over the criteria which qualified “Native Canadians”: opinions varied as to whether Canadians were only those born in the Province of Canada, or could include those who had been resident in any of the British North American Provinces since their youth. Thus the exact qualifications of Canadian citizenship were disputed around the eligibility of English-speaking immigrants, and little, if any, thought was given to the status of French-speaking inhabitants, who were clearly no longer considered the Canadians.<sup>5</sup>

By 1869, an image of Canadians as a distinctive race in their own right was coming into focus and attempted to incorporate both French and English. Robert Grant Haliburton characterized the inhabitants of the newly created Dominion of Canada as the ‘Men of the North’, “a healthy, hardy, virtuous, dominant race” of men whose toughness, strength and vigorous energy had been instilled and maintained by the country’s climate and geography.<sup>6</sup> According to Haliburton, the inhabitants of the new Dominion manifested this

---

<sup>4</sup> “Native Canadians”, The Daily Globe, [Toronto] Wednesday, 22 August, 1860.

<sup>5</sup> Until Confederation the term ‘Canadians’ was frequently used by British colonists to designate French-Canadians, although they also used the terms ‘Canadiens’ and ‘habitants’. After 1838 the term ‘French-Canadians’ was used increasingly, from which we can infer that English-Canadians were applying the term ‘Canadian’ to themselves.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Grant Haliburton, The Men of the North and their place in History: a lecture delivered before the Montreal Literary Club, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1869 (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1869) 1. Thomas D’Arcy McGee, an outspoken nationalist and member of the legislature of the United Canadas, also characterized Canada as a ‘Northern Nation’ in his May 2, 1860 speech to the Assembly. Quoted by Alvin Finkel & Margaret Conrad, History of the Canadian Peoples, Vol. II, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1998) 27.

particular character because they were all descended from Northern races, whether they were Celtic, Saxon/Teutonic or Norman. Northernness was, therefore, a unifying factor which would allow all the inhabitants of Canada to share a common national identity. This identity was performed and displayed in a variety of ways: through literature and poetry, through the explorations and collections of natural scientists, and, as is argued here, through sports and public spectacles.<sup>7</sup> To be sure, this putative national identity was not universally accepted. It was contested and rejected by those French-Canadians who asserted their own history, culture and religious identity, and by those British immigrants who clung to their native identity and allegiance, and disdained being considered 'colonial'.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, thanks to the multiple forms of publicity and public display received by indigenous sports activities such as hunting, snowshoeing and lacrosse, and the interest these aroused abroad, within two decades of Confederation a Canadian identity distinct from that of Britain or America had been established. The Montreal Winter Carnivals and the 1885 Riel Rebellion provided a national arena in which to show it off. Although the Rebellion lasted only a few weeks, men from disparate parts of the Dominion

---

<sup>7</sup> Examples of early English Canadian nationalist writing include the work of Charles Mair, discussed by Norman Shrive, Charles Mair, Literary Nationalist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). The significance of the landscape to the poetry of Archibald Lampman and others is considered by W.E. Collin, The White Savannahs. The First Study of Canadian Poetry from a Modern Viewpoint with an introduction by Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975). See also, J.D. Logan, Songs of the makers of Canada and other homeland lyrics: with an introductory essay on the genius and distinction of Canadian poetry (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1911). For the connection between national identity and exploration and natural science, see: Suzanne Zeller, Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the idea of a Transcontinental Nation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), and Edward J. Parkinson, From there to here: exploration and the colonizing of the Canadian landscape (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> Young French-Canadian intellectuals took Lord Durham's accusations as a challenge not just to imitate French models, but to demonstrate the existence of a French-Canadian national culture. This resulted, for instance, in the publication of F.-X. Garneau, Histoire du Canada, depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours (Quebec: N. Aubin, 1845); novels set in French Canada, such as Pierre Chauveau, Charles Guérin (1846); and the patriotic poetry of Octave Crémazie. For a full discussion of the efflorescence of French-Canadian culture in this period see, La Vie Littéraire au Québec: "Un peuple sans histoire ni littérature", dir. by Maurice Lemire and Denis Saint-Jacques, 6 vols. (Sainte-Foy: Laval University Press, 1996) vol. 3.

came together to work as a team on the field of battle. It was the first time Canadian soldiers fought together as a national army, and this acted as a powerful symbol and confirmation of cultural nationhood.

Lord Durham's vision had not, however, been totally fulfilled. Canadian character had certainly been redefined as a combination of Anglo-Saxon cultural traits and the vigorous, northern outdoor physique of the Canadian-born male, accented by a *soupeçon* of French-Canadian "genial hospitality and domestic joy...the gay heart that never tires and the love of song."<sup>9</sup> But French-Canadian identity had not been submerged, nor had the French population been overwhelmed politically. Haliburton's pan-Canadian formula failed to reconcile French and English, or to win the struggle between Canadian nationalists and British Imperialists. Even so, a transformation in Canadian identity did occur between 1840 and 1885, and this thesis attempts to trace the process by which this was effected, and looks especially at the contribution of sport, visual culture, and public spectacle in the construction of this 'new nationality'.

How do we define national identity? Do we define it as the *perception* of identity (the expressed sentiments of the citizens), by *describing* the socio-political circumstances of the inhabitants (through deductions made from observation), or by how we *represent* ourselves as Canadians (the activities we label as being 'Canadian')? Until recently, most historical studies have taken the second approach, and claim that the primary factors of national identity harnessed by nationalists in their political programmes have been the land, religion, ethnicity and history.<sup>10</sup> Describing the nation in terms of the land and

---

<sup>9</sup> W. George Beers, Over the Snow or The Montreal Carnival, (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co. and J. Tho. Robinson, 1883) 11.

<sup>10</sup> A spectrum of approaches is represented in Geoff Eley & Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., Becoming National: A Reader (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), and John Hutchinson

landscape has been particularly prevalent in Canada. With three founding peoples, each with their own religions, ethnic identities and histories, it might be argued that only the land is left as a common element.<sup>11</sup> Yet, even this is debatable, for, in such a vast country as Canada the landscape changes dramatically from region to region, as does the experience and population density of those living there. Furthermore, since the Canadian landscape is shared in great part by that found in geographically contiguous parts of the United States, how useful a distinguishing marker can it be?<sup>12</sup>

Despite such observations, commentators on the nature of Canadian identity have been in general agreement that the northern character of the country's landscape and climate has contributed to the shaping of Canadian identity. This argument can be found, albeit with slight variations, in the work of some of the most distinguished English Canadian historians, including Harold Innis, Arthur Lower, Donald Creighton, George Woodcock and W. L. Morton, as well as in the work of scholars from other disciplines.<sup>13</sup>

---

and Anthony D. Smith, eds., Nationalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>11</sup> Some authors lament the lack of Canadian identity, or go so far as to argue that we are only "Imaginary Canadians," with a "purely fictional" national identity because Canada is not a nation but merely a British-American colony: George Grant, Lament for a Nation (Toronto, 1965); Tony Wilden, The Imaginary Canadian (Vancouver: Pulp Press, 1980) 2.

<sup>12</sup> This argument is made by Ramsay Cook, The Maple Leaf Forever. Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada, 1971, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977) 160.

<sup>13</sup> Cook, Maple Leaf 159. The best known work exploring the link between Canada and the idea of the north is Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free", Nationalism in Canada ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1966) 3-26. Notable historical examples include: Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian economic history, 1930, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Arthur R.M. Lower, Colony to nation: a history of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Donald G. Creighton, The commercial empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850 (Toronto: Ryerson, 1937); George Woodcock, The Canadians (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1979) and W.L. Morton, The Canadian Identity (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961). Canada's northern character has also been a defining feature in literary studies. See, for instance, Margaret Atwood, Survival: a thematic guide to Canadian literature (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), and Strange things: the malevolent North in Canadian literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Ian H. Angus, A border within: national identity, cultural plurality, and wilderness (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Morton calls the place of the land in Canadian identity our "Northern destiny", whereby the wilderness character of the Precambrian Shield, combined with the imperatives of the staples-exchange economy, created a strong seasonal rhythm. Morton contends that, since the fur trade, lumbering and mining all required workers to migrate seasonally: "this alternate penetration of the wilderness and return to civilization is the basic rhythm of Canadian life, and forms the basic elements of Canadian character, whether French or English."<sup>14</sup>

Many historians have attempted to come at the problem of reconciling French and English Canadian identity from another direction. Much of the literature on Canadian identity addresses the central problem of English- and French-Canadian nationalism, but the worldwide revival of ethnic nationalism which began in the 1960s, and the political policy of multiculturalism and growing awareness of regional differences in Canada, led historians to examine more and more "limited identities".<sup>15</sup> Ramsay Cook, for instance, conceived of identity as multiple, "based on smaller communities of affiliations: region, ethnicity, class, and, increasingly, gender...". The problem has been, though, that the result of this approach was a bundle of disparate particularisms which defined themselves in opposition to the rest of society. As Cook commented, "limited identities" ended up "competing with 'the Canadian identity' rather than existing harmoniously under its broad umbrella."<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Morton, Canadian Identity 5. Similar sexual imagery of male penetration of the female landscape will also be apparent throughout this study.

<sup>15</sup> The term was coined by Ramsay Cook in "Canadian Centennial Celebrations," International Journal 22 (Autumn 1967) 663, although it has often been attributed to J.M.S. Careless, "'Limited Identities' in Canada," CHR 50 (March 1969) 1-10.

<sup>16</sup> Ramsay Cook, Canada, Québec and the Uses of Nationalism, 1986, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995) 230.

An only slightly less controversial unifying element for Canadian nationalism has been the desire for Canada and Canadians to maintain a distinction between themselves and the United States. Morton argued that the Canadian nature was different from the American because we had never had to fight the British for our rights since the Americans did it for us.<sup>17</sup> This lack of a revolutionary past has been claimed as a characteristic of the Canadian psyche, responsible for our proclivity for peacekeeping, and our willingness to accept colonial status.<sup>18</sup> Northrop Frye echoed this argument, adding that the American Constitution was a unifying force for the United States, whereas the 1774 Quebec Act separated French and English by providing for separate languages, legal traditions and religions.<sup>19</sup> As Lower concluded: "the one determining motive that runs through Canadian history, in both French and English Canada, is simply never to become part of the United States".<sup>20</sup>

There has been much discussion of the political aspects of Canadian identity. In reviewing the work of W. L. Morton, for instance, it is apparent that he conceived of identity as "a matter of allegiance, citizenship, [and] the sharing of political values."<sup>21</sup> That is not to say the cultural aspects of Canadian identity have been ignored. George Woodcock and Ramsay Cook have both distinguished between the nation as a political state, whose object is to achieve political and economic ends such as stability, prosperity,

---

<sup>17</sup> Morton, Canadian Identity 33.

<sup>18</sup> Pierre Berton, Why We Act Like Canadians. A personal exploration of our national character (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982); Morton, Canadian Identity 86; Seymour Martin Lipset, North American Cultures: Values and Institutions in Canada and the United States, Borderlands Monograph Series 3 (1990) 4.

<sup>19</sup> James Polk, ed., Northrop Frye, Divisions on a Ground. Essays on Canadian Culture (Toronto: Anansi, 1982) 47.

<sup>20</sup> Welf H. Heick, History and Myth. Arthur Lower and the making of Canadian Nationalism (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975) 116.

<sup>21</sup> Cook, Uses of Nationalism 225.

and, in Canada, social welfare; and as a cultural community, whose achievement "belongs to the realm of the activity of the human spirit", namely the arts, literature, philosophy and religion.<sup>22</sup> Both historians assume that the individuality of the nation is expressed in its culture, and hence seek evidence of the emergence of national schools of painting and literature as "the first reliable sign" of the nation coming to maturity.<sup>23</sup> Historian Mary Vipond, and art historian Denis Reid, have taken a similar approach.<sup>24</sup> The assumption behind this argument is that culture is epiphenomenal - a reflection of a more basic identity - it has no role in actually *constituting* national identity, it just produces elite goods which are an expression of an already existing identity.<sup>25</sup>

This study attempts a different approach. I take the position that culture is not just reflective, but is itself a realm in which meanings are constructed and contested. As Raymond Williams points out, 'culture' is one of the most complex words in the English language, and has three major usages, regarding the intellect, way of life, and artistic activity. Combining all three usages, culture is the result of complex relationships between "general human development and a particular way of life, and between both and the works and practices of art and intelligence."<sup>26</sup> Culture is the forum in which a society's

---

<sup>22</sup> Cook, Maple Leaf x-xi.

<sup>23</sup> Woodcock 300; Cook, Maple Leaf 158-179; Cook, Uses of Nationalism 17.

<sup>24</sup> Dennis Reid, Our own Country Canada: being an account of the national aspirations of the principal landscape artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1978); Mary Vipond, "National consciousness in English-speaking Canada in the 1920s: seven studies" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1974). See also Maria Tippett, Making Culture: English-Canadian institutions and the arts before the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> While recognizing the visionary nature of Paul-Emile Borduas's Réfus globale, for instance, Cook hesitates to claim "that his career symbolizes the transformation of a whole society", or assign it any role in the groundswell of change leading up to the Quiet Revolution. Cook, Uses of Nationalism ch.8.

<sup>26</sup> Raymond Williams, Keywords, a Vocabulary of Culture and Society (London: Fontana/Croom Helm, 1976) 80-81.

discourses are realized, and, at the same time is the product of those discourses. I use the term 'discourse' in the sense of a coherent body of ideas and statements which produce "a self-confirming account of reality by defining an object of attention and generating concepts with which to analyse it" (for example, nationalist discourse, sport discourse, the discourses of class, race and gender).<sup>27</sup> When discourses are put into practice, they materialize and institutionalize those bodies of knowledge within a social, political and economic context. Thus, the persons or institutions which dominate a discourse are dominant socially.<sup>28</sup> In such a manner, E.P. Thompson redefined social history to include culture as instrumental in the 'making' of class identity.<sup>29</sup>

I attempt to incorporate the insights of social anthropology and cultural studies to analyse nationalist and other related discourses, and to discover the way people defined themselves as Canadians through representation and cultural practices.<sup>30</sup> This approach

---

<sup>27</sup> Chris Baldick, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 59.

<sup>28</sup> Hence Foucault's contention that knowledge is power. Foucault's 'genealogical' method is given an illuminating critique by Larry Shiner, "Reading Foucault: Anti-Method and the Genealogy of Power-Knowledge," History & Theory 21 (1982): 382-397. See also, Patricia O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's history of culture," The New Cultural History, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 25-46.

<sup>29</sup> E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: 1984): preface.

<sup>30</sup> A similar argument is made by Carla Hesse and Thomas Laqueur in their introduction to a special issue of Representations 47 (Summer 1994): 1-11, rejecting the focus of study on determining ideologies of nationalism and presenting instead a series of essays illustrating diverse ways of making national cultures. Research which has focussed on cultural practice in the Canadian context includes: Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk. Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Cecilia Morgan, "Of Slender frame and delicate appearance: the placing of Laura Secord in the Narratives of Canadian Loyalist History", Journal of the Canadian Historical Association 5 (1994): 195-212 and her Public Men and Virtuous Women; Keith Walden, "Speaking Modern: Language, culture, and hegemony in grocery window displays, 1887-1920", CHR, 70.3 (1989): 285-310, Visions of Order (Toronto: Butterworths, 1982), and Becoming Modern in Toronto. The Industrial Exhibition and the shaping of a Late Victorian Culture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Kay Anderson, Vancouver's Chinatown. Racial Discourse in Canada 1875-1980 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Stephen Kenny, "'Cahots' and Catcalls: An episode of popular resistance in Lower Canada at the outset of the Union", CHR 45.2 (1984): 184-208; Daniel



recognizes that identities may be multiple and shift with time, with context, and according to the position of the observer.<sup>31</sup> They are intangible; identities do not exist outside their social representation, or unless in relation to other identities. Identity is always a classification of 'Us' in contrast to 'Them'; furthermore, it is a complex process of how the group sees itself, how it identifies itself collectively, and how it is portrayed by others. Identity is therefore "contextual, oppositional and relational".<sup>32</sup> My study is an attempt to show that cultural products such as visual images, and cultural practices such as sports and public spectacle, are themselves "fields of cultural practice and cultural production."<sup>33</sup> Participation in these activities was meaningful to the participants, and by analysing the strategies of representation employed we can discover something about the mentalité of the period, namely, the "collectively shared mental practices or structures of a society" which organized and categorized people's perceptual and cognitive faculties.<sup>34</sup>

Identity formation is a multi-phased process in which the individual is both actor and spectator; and identity itself is always multiple because the identities of, for example,

---

Francis, The Imaginary Indian, the image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992); David-Thierry Ruddel, "The Domestic Textile Industry in the Region and City of Quebec, 1792-1835", Material History Bulletin 17 (1983): 95-126.

<sup>31</sup> Cris Shore, "Ethnicity as Revolutionary Strategy: Communist Identity Construction in Italy," Inside European Identities Ethnography in Western Europe, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1993) 36; Eric J. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality, 1990, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 11.

<sup>32</sup> Sharon Macdonald, "Identity Complexes in Western Europe: Social Anthropological Perspectives", in Macdonald, Inside European Identities 6; Shore 36.

<sup>33</sup> Cultural practices are "a primary determinant of historical reality, because mental structures cannot be reduced to material elements. Economic and social relations are not prior to or determining of cultural ones; they are themselves fields of cultural practice and cultural production...All practices, whether economic or cultural, depend on the cultural or mental representations or codes that individuals use to make sense of their world." Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, Telling the Truth about History (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994) 219.

<sup>34</sup> Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History," Modern European Intellectual History Reappraisals and New Perspectives, eds. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982) 285.

class, race and gender, are not discrete entities—one does not precede the other. Rather, they are affected by and dependent upon each other. My interest is to foreground national identity, but, additionally, to point out how other identities are implicated. I suggest that the process of national identity formation involves certain behaviours or attributes becoming identified as, say, Canadian, through being performed by individuals and acclaimed as such by spectators. Others emulate these performances, and modify them, often appropriating cultural activities from cultures indigenous to the land. In colonial situations such as Canada, the ideology of the home country may also be imposed upon these behaviours in order to 'regulate' or 'civilize' them. Members of the audience enact the performance themselves in order to take on the identity. These performances are meaningful for the audience and for the actors, who feel internally what it is to be 'Canadian' through embodying that identity. When the individual's performance is made available as a public performance, the identity is further confirmed through the recognition it receives from the audience. In fact, the audience authorizes and constrains the performance because the limits of what is acceptable behaviour are established by the audience's reaction. Thus the construction of identity is a dialectical process which oscillates between actor and audience, embodiment and display. So, although the nature of identity might be posited on an ideological or intellectual level, it does not become an identity until it is made real through cultural practices, which in turn construct identity.

The central argument of this study is that Native and French-Canadian cultural activities were appropriated and transformed by the Montreal professional and commercial middle classes to construct a particular Canadian national identity. Snowshoeing, moose and caribou hunting and lacrosse were initially indigenous activities,<sup>35</sup> exotic enough to

---

<sup>35</sup> Although hunting is common to many societies, moose and caribou hunting was the distinctive form indigenous to the Northern Colonies. To this list of indigenous activities could be

provide a distinctive identity when borrowed, yet amenable to the organization and regulation which would render them sufficiently respectable and 'civilized'. Canadian identity had two poles: on one hand, what was distinctively Canadian was actually Native, whether indigenous or French-Canadian, and on the other, British values and the ideology of order, discipline and fair play were crucial in counteracting the negative connotations of emulating 'primitive' and 'barbaric' indigenous cultural activities.<sup>36</sup> The loyalty of the members of the sport clubs to the British monarchy and British institutions was unquestioned,<sup>37</sup> and the British pole of Canadian identity provided British immigrants with a sense of continuity with the Imperial past, continued social status, commercial contacts, and so on.<sup>38</sup> But, the indigenous pole allowed colonists to connect with the North

---

added canoeing, fishing, tobogganing and Native crafts and designs. My discussion of hunting in chapter 2 applies equally well to fishing, but canoeing deserves its own study since it was a significant attribute of Native culture and was adopted by hunters and as a leisure activity. Similarly, Native crafts were important national signifiers because of their ubiquity as tourist souvenirs, and should receive their own study. Tobogganing was very popular in the last two decades of the century as an inner-city leisure activity available to all classes. I include it in my discussion of the Montreal Winter Carnivals, and discuss its popularity with various governors general. Ice skating and ice hockey are activities which were not of specifically aboriginal origin; however, since ice hockey was a 'native Canadian' innovation and eventually superseded lacrosse, it has already received attention elsewhere.

<sup>36</sup> I have used the term 'British' throughout, but the English-speaking professional and commercial middle classes of Montreal were from all parts of the British Isles, especially Scotland. However, there is some justification for using this covering term since Linda Colley argues that by the early decades of the nineteenth century the idea of being British had been popularized quite successfully. Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1701-1837 (New Haven and London, 1992). Although he initially contended that the term 'British' had no value, Donald Harnen Akenson now also accepts there was a 'British' consciousness in the colonies: discussed by P.A. Buckner, "Making British North America British, 1815-1860," *Eldridge* 42 n.66.

<sup>37</sup> The British character of English Canadians and their devotion to the monarchy and British traditions had already been noted by early travellers. For instance: George Heriot, Travels Through the Canadas (London: R. Phillips, 1807); John Lambert, Travels through Canada and the United States in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808 (London: 1810); Alfred Hawkins, Picture of Quebec with Historical Recollections (Quebec: Neilson & Cowan, 1834); N.P. Willis, Canadian Scenery Illustrated in a series of Views by W.H. Bartlett, 2 vols, (London: James S. Virtue, 1842).

<sup>38</sup> George Lipsitz, among others, contends that industrialization and state building disrupted traditional forms of collective memory and disconnected people from the past. History and commercialized leisure emerged in the nineteenth century as a way to smooth over "the ruptures and dislocations of modernity." George Lipsitz, Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990) 6.

American landscape and past, and by its difference distinguished Canadians from the British, and from the American inhabitants of the emerging empire to the south, leaving Canadians somewhere in-between.<sup>39</sup>

In 1840 Lord Durham conceived of Canadians as peasants with no culture; in 1869 Haliburton envisioned them as dominant, physically robust Men of the North, and in 1885, representations of the Rebellion lauded Canadian stamina, pluck and initiative. Throughout this study I have used sources which show the strategies of representation which effected this transformation and propagated a new Canadian identity. My analysis focusses on snowshoeing, hunting and lacrosse as three key indigenous activities appropriated by British colonists. In addition, I examine how indigenous winter sports became essential signifiers of Canadian identity in the Montreal Winter Carnivals, and how this new nationality was performed and fulfilled in the North-West Rebellion.<sup>40</sup> Visual images and material artifacts in general have become increasingly important sources for historians. When there are 'gaps' in the archives, and when a historian wishes to tackle issues of representation, voice, or the forging of identities, they become essential.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> John Plamenatz notes the two contradictory rejections: of the Mother country, which must "nevertheless be imitated," and of native culture, which is an obstacle to progress, "yet cherished as a mark of identity." John Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism" Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea, ed. Eugene Kamenka (London: Edward Arnold, 1976) 23-36, quoted by Partha Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World - A Derivative Discourse (London: Zed Books, 1986) 2. Gellner also agrees a choice has to be made between imitation (of the western culture) and identity (indigenous tradition): "Ultimately the movements invariably contain both elements, a genuine modernism and a more spurious concern for local culture". Ernest Gellner, Thought and Change (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964) 147-148, quoted by Chatterjee 4.

<sup>40</sup> 'Signifiers' are the recognized material attributes of Canadian identity (e.g. snowshoes, physically activities); the 'signified' is the idea (which may have no existence in reality) indicated by the signifiers (the native-Canadian).

<sup>41</sup> On the value of images as historical sources, see Heather Dawkins, "Politics of Visibility, Domestic Labor and Representation. The diaries and photographs (1853-74) of Hannah Cullwick," Parallelogramme 10.4 (1985): 47-50.

Consequently, I sought visual images and representations of public spectacles which claimed to celebrate national identity, and those which provided the visual vocabulary upon which Haliburton and other nationalists could draw for their verbal rhetoric. I found a rich source of imagery in photographs and representations of snowshoeing, hunting, and lacrosse - all activities which historically 'belonged' to aboriginal and French-Canadian culture, but which were taken up with great enthusiasm by English-speaking Montrealers. Furthermore, snowshoeing and lacrosse were frequently employed as crowd-pleasing highlights of public spectacle, advertised as 'Canadian' national events, and performed for visiting royalty or vicerojal representatives, thus indicating the significance with which they were credited by organizers.

The nation was defined visually in other ways too. For instance, in 1865 the Livernois Photographic Studio in Quebec City produced a series of historical photographs which emphasized the military, religious and agricultural history of French Canada;<sup>42</sup> Paul Kane's series of paintings of the Prairie tribes focussed on the Native 'pre-history' of Canada, since Native people were assumed to be in the last years of their existence;<sup>43</sup> and, late in the nineteenth century, the landscape of the west became a signifier of Canada in the work of photographers and artists.<sup>44</sup> However, none of these different

---

<sup>42</sup> National Archives of Canada: Jules-Ernest Livernois Collection 1963-157. This series of over 20 photographs of plans, sketches, paintings, illustrations and extant buildings constitutes a narrative of the history of French Canada. Included are images of the discovery of New France, the history of its early settlers and missionaries, their battles against the British, and architectural achievements. The role of the Church in the French Regime is heavily represented by numerous plans, illustrations and photographs of church buildings.

<sup>43</sup> See: Paul Kane's frontier: including Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America, Edited with a biographical introduction and a catalogue raisonné by J. Russell Harper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971). Frederick Arthur Verner's work also featured native subjects. See, Joan Murray, The Last Buffalo: The Story of Frederick Arthur Verner, Painter of the Canadian West (Toronto, 1984).

<sup>44</sup> Reid, Our Own Country 6-8. See also, E. J. Hartt, The Selling of Canada. The CPR and the beginnings of Canadian Tourism (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983).

visual definitions explain the particular transformation in identity which I have outlined above, and none of them focussed on the experience of the native-born or British immigrant who wanted to become native in a foreign land.

The William Notman Photographic Studio in Montreal was the most famous Canadian photography studio of its day. By great fortune, an immense archive of over 400,000 images still exists, and furnished many of the visual sources used in this study. Notman's work was representative of the best commercial photography of the time—he watched international trends carefully and won many prizes at international exhibitions. Within the Canadian context, his business was by far the largest, and he made innovations in format and style which were copied by others. His work may, therefore, be considered representative of other contemporary Canadian photography, and the size of the Notman Archive and the fact that it is well documented, means it is possible to assess the relative importance of one type of image in the context of all the others, thereby avoiding the problem of arguing from an unrepresentative sample.

The men who posed for Notman for team photos often appeared in other portraits made by his studio in their formal attire, with their wives and children. They were arguably no less 'Canadian' in the latter photographs than in the ones I examine, but the ones I chose were associated with claims about national identity. Other photographs or events in this period may have celebrated Britishness or Frenchness, as did the St. Jean Baptiste Day celebrations, but my focus is on the manifestation and representation of Canadian identity, even if it cannot be claimed to have been hegemonic.

The search to define a Canadian national identity was not necessarily, however, a

conscious quest. To be sure, nationalists like Dr. W. George Beers, an avid promoter of snowshoeing and lacrosse, and Robert Grant Haliburton, a member of Canada First, specifically called for a 'new nationality', but for the average snowshoer or lacrosse player, the sporting ethos promulgated by the sport clubs was as much a demonstration of personal status, respectability, and manliness as of national identity. The Victorian era was characterized by its emphasis on strenuousness, industry, personal discipline, polite manners and the desire to be considered 'civilized'.<sup>45</sup> Hence, the purpose of leisure activities was to elevate and refine one's moral standing; the object of sport was as much to produce good citizens as it was to provide an outlet for 'base' emotions and energies. Sport was also a vehicle by which the nation might define itself in opposition to its colonial parent and the neighbouring American empire. Sport was a way to demonstrate the civility, autonomy and distinctiveness of its subjects, and a practice which might develop a popular consensus regarding national identity. There were a number of sports which instilled Victorian values (notably, of course, cricket) but it was the indigenous sports—snowshoeing and lacrosse, in particular—which demonstrated Canadian distinctiveness, and it was these which were displayed at parades, winter carnivals and on international tours.

The term 'Canadian' is somewhat slippery when used in the context of the nineteenth century. Before Confederation in 1867 it referred to the United Province of Canada, which consisted of Canada East (formerly Lower Canada) and Canada West (formerly Upper Canada). After 1867 it applied to the whole of the new Dominion of Canada, which consisted of the Canadas plus Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and, by 1873,

---

<sup>45</sup> There is a large literature on Victorian culture, although mostly in the British or American context. For a discussion of Victorian values associated with the body, see Bruce Haley, The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1978).

Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island and the lands in the North West acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company. Thus, what had been a Canadian identity in the original sense was later used as an umbrella term for a much larger territory. The effect was to impose rhetorically a central Canadian identity on provinces which in actuality already had, or were developing, their own identities. This ambiguity was evident even before 1867, as witnessed by the aforementioned dispute over the qualification of a "Native Canadian". In the interests of economy, the term 'Canadian national identity' is employed in this study, but with the understanding that what constituted 'Canada' and what constituted the 'nation' was often in formation. The actors in this study were foreshadowing the attempts to create a Canadian national consciousness which occurred after World War I, by attempting to forge for themselves a sense of belonging to a new nation in its own right, a nation on a par with that of Britain or the United States. This was, then, a claim for status as citizens of a progressive, modern, civilized nation linked to the British Empire (in a way yet to be determined), but repudiating the subordinate status of colonist or emigrant.

This claim for nationhood emanated from the largest anglophone centres, which were located in Montreal and Toronto. Canada First was formed in 1868 by a group of young nationalists who sought to promote a sense of national purpose following Confederation.<sup>46</sup> Although most of the members were from Toronto, I argue that the group drew on a visual and performative vocabulary already produced in Montreal. Montreal is,

---

<sup>46</sup> Initially, the group sought independence from both the U.S. and Great Britain, and promoted British emigration as a means to create the vigorous, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, northern nation envisioned in the writings of Robert Haliburton, Charles Mair, William Foster and George Denison. In 1874 the group founded the Canadian National Association, a political party whose anti-Catholic stance and lack of internal unity had little appeal outside Ontario and quickly collapsed. See, Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), and Norman Shrive, Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).



therefore, central to this study, not only because Notman was there, but because it was in Montreal that indigenous sports were taken up and became tremendously popular. Enthusiasm for these sports spread from Montreal to Toronto and many of the other major towns in central Canada and the eastern provinces, carrying with them a particular sporting ethos.<sup>47</sup> In addition, branches of clubs formed in Montreal and Toronto were opened by ex-patriot members who moved to the west, particularly to Manitoba. Although central Canadian proponents of the growth of a 'new nationality' appear to have taken it for granted that their vision of national identity would be eagerly adopted throughout the Dominion, it remained the construct of a select group from central Canada rather than a universally accepted identity.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, this study shows that the 'national' identity constructed in Montreal during the nineteenth century became the Canadian identity recognized internationally by 1885. This was owing to the efforts of certain individuals, and to the publicity given to indigenous sports in international journals and publications, through foreign tours, and various public spectacles.

Analysis of the sources employed in this study shows that class, gender and race were inextricably part of Canadian national identity. The people who were involved in the definition and propagation of this identity were members of a particular class, but defining that class is difficult because its constituency changed over the course of the period of

---

<sup>47</sup> The most comprehensive account of Canadian sport in the nineteenth century is Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play, The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987). A series of Ph.D. dissertations written at the University of Alberta are key resources for Canadian sport history. These include: Peter Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867" (1969); Allan E. Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900" (1869); and Kevin G. Jones, "Sport in Canada, 1900-1920" (1970).

<sup>48</sup> J.M.S. Careless argues that metropolitan centres in Canada have both shaped the identities of their surrounding regions, and played a role in the development and diffusion of 'the national idea'. J.M.S. Careless, Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities and Identities in Canada before 1914, The Donald G. Creighton Lectures, 1987 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

study. In 1840, the number of men who participated in the early sports clubs was quite limited. Members of the wealthiest, most powerful and most well-connected families belonged to exclusive clubs such as the Montreal Hunt Club, the Montreal Curling Club or the Toronto Yacht Club. In a sense, these men were the equivalent of an aristocracy, and their interests and allegiances were often oriented toward Britain rather than Canada. The men who joined the Montreal Snow Shoe Club after 1843, on the other hand, were either the young sons of wealthy families, such as the Molsons or Allans, or on a lower social and economic rung, but still able to command respect for their positions as professionals, businessmen, merchants, shop owners and contractors. With circumstances ranging from wealthy to moderately comfortable, they might be termed the emergent urban middle class. However, part of the reason why the Montreal version of Canadian national identity became increasingly widespread is that the sport clubs which promoted indigenous Canadian sports proliferated tremendously in the nineteenth century. More and more men participated in these sports and adopted the behaviours and values they promoted. Therefore, over time, the membership of this group widened to encompass men from the lower ranks: bookkeepers, clerks, sales personnel and other salaried employees who joined sport clubs, often thanks to the sponsorship of their employers.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, its appeal expanded because, although the sports clubs catered to and promoted this middle-class constituency, men from a wider social spectrum who did not share their class interests, could still identify with the gendered and racialised dimension of national identity which they constructed.

---

<sup>49</sup> A quantitative class analysis is made by Alan Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840-1901," Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, eds. Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson (Don Mills, Ont: Addison-Wesley, 1976): 77-101, and his "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895," Histoire Sociale/Social History 11 (May 1978): 144-166. Although the methodology of Metcalfe's study has been criticized by Robert Wayne Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto, 1827-1888" (Ph.D. diss. University of Alberta, 1987), Simpson's own study of Toronto sport clubs largely confirms Metcalfe's findings and conclusions.

There is no one term which signifies this wide spectrum of employment and financial status: 'middle class' is too vague, and salaried employees could hardly be called 'bourgeois' in this period. I have attempted to resolve this problem of terminology by employing the covering term "professional and commercial middle classes." Although it is somewhat cumbersome, the advantage of this description is that it indicates the employment status of the elite members of the group, while hinting at the existence of a lower rank which includes salaried employees through the use of the plural. In addition, in each chapter I have described and given examples of the membership of the groups concerned in order to highlight their changing composition over time.

This study examines the leisure lives of sportsmen in Montreal. They were overwhelmingly English-speaking. Many were born in Canada; some were immigrants from the British Isles. Few French Canadians belonged to the Montreal sports clubs, and even fewer belonged to clubs outside Montreal. A very small minority of clubs were formed specifically for the French-Canadian community, but it was only after 1890 that French Canadians participated in organized sports in numbers comparable to their English-speaking counterparts.<sup>50</sup> Consequently, the national identity constructed by the professional and commercial middle classes in Montreal had no direct input from French Canadians, although it did draw on aspects of French-Canadian culture and history. The effect of this was to marginalise French Canadians and to create the perception amongst English Canadians that French Canadians were somewhat of a 'dying', or at least an increasingly assimilated race.

---

<sup>50</sup> Sport club membership in Montreal during the period 1840-1885 was almost exclusively drawn from the English Canadian community. The only two French-Canadian snowshoe clubs with any permanence were Le Canadien (founded 1878) and Le Trappeur (founded 1884). It was not until after 1890 that the French-Canadian community participated in sports in a large way. Metcalfe, "Evolution" 152, 159. See also, Gilles Janson, Emparons-nous du sport: les Canadiens français et le sport au XIXe siècle (Montreal: Guérin, 1995).

The other 'dying' race was, of course the Native peoples.<sup>51</sup> The existence of cross-cultural exchange between Native and European has long been recognized, but the emphasis is often on the impact of European tools and technology on traditional native culture.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, the problem of assimilating indigenous people to white culture has been discussed in many different contexts.<sup>53</sup> However, the cultural appropriations made by Europeans of indigenous cultural activities and the assimilation to Native culture by the colonizer have rarely been discussed.<sup>54</sup> My interpretation is that what Montreal colonists

---

<sup>51</sup> The notion that colonized indigenous populations were members of a 'dying' race, doomed to extinction, emerged in the late eighteenth century as a response to eyewitness accounts of the deleterious effects of contact on aboriginal populations, and to contemporary theories of racial hierarchy. See, Brian Dippie, The Vanishing American: white attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982) and Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1985). The topic is explored in terms of visual representations by Maureen Ryan, "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape: Colonial Expansion, National Identity, and the Image of a 'Dying Race'," Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review 17:2 (1990)138-149.

<sup>52</sup> This was particularly true in the fur-trade literature, such as Harold Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian economic history 1930, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), and E.E. Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870, 3 vols. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960). Even though recent work, such as Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), has given more agency to Native peoples, the focus is on economic relations rather than cultural values or identity. For a review of this literature see Bruce G. Trigger, "The Historians' Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present," CHR 67:3 (1986): 315-42. The effect of the Conquest on French Canada has its own large literature and schools of thought. A provocative argument is made by Jean Morisset, who charges that the British colonists stole the name 'Canada' and the *canadien* identity in their "pathological quest" to construct an identity. Whereas his focus is on the fact that this "national rape" was blindly accepted by French Canadians, and on the contemporary consequences, my study analyses closely the practices which constituted the theft in the first place. Jean Morisset, L'Identité Usurpée: L'Amérique Écartée (Montreal: Nouvelle Optique, 1985) xiii.

<sup>53</sup> For instance, J.R. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens. A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Sarah Carter, Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farms and Government Policy (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Karen Anderson, Chain Her By One Foot. The subjugation of women in seventeenth century New France (London: Routledge, 1991).

<sup>54</sup> Robert M. Pirsig has made a similar observation about American culture, arguing that cowboy culture owed much to Native culture: Lila An Inquiry into Morals (New York: Bantam Books, 1991). Philip Deloria and Daniel J. Herman both address the question of how American identity was formed, but come up with different answers. Deloria argues it was through 'playing Indian', while Herman contends it was through playing 'Indian hunter': Philip Deloria, Playing Indian (New

claimed as 'their' national identity was in fact greatly indebted to the very culture they were at pains to erase - that of Canada's aboriginal peoples. Furthermore, from the British point of view, Canada had another set of 'natives', namely the French Canadians, and I will argue that in the colonialist act of imagining a British history of Canada the '*habitants*' became elided with the 'Indians', thus marginalising both.<sup>55</sup>

---

Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Daniel J. Herman, *The Farmer, the Naturalist and the Hunter in the Genesis of an Indigenous Identity* (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995). In Canada, Denys Delâge has addressed the influence of Native peoples on French settlers before the Conquest: Denys Delâge, "L'influence des Amerindiens sur les Canadiens et les Français au temps de la Nouvelle France", *Lektou* 2.2 (Autumn 1992): 103-291. Intellectual and cultural appropriation has been seen as part of the process of displacement of aboriginal peoples by the colonizers: Harmut Lutz, "Cultural Appropriation as a Process of Displacing Peoples and History," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 10.2 (1990): 167-182. Changing European perceptions of native peoples and the cultural stereotypes which coloured their understanding are discussed by Olive P. Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), and Francois-Marc Gagnon, *Ces Hommes dits Sauvages. L'histoire d'un préjugé qui remonte aux premiers découvreurs du Canada* (np: Editions Libre Expression, 1984). Interaction between Natives and French settlers is discussed by Cornelius Jaenen, *Friend and Foe. Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Historical Sites Branch, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1976); attitudes toward Native Peoples in historical writing is surveyed by Donald B. Smith, *Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France* Mercury Series (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1974). A more popular approach is taken by Jack Weatherford, *Indian Givers. How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1988, and Louise Côté, Louis Tardivel & Denis Vaugeois, *L'Indien Généreux. Ce que le monde doit aux Amériques* (Quebec: Boréal, 1992). None of these works, however, focus on the effect of contact on European settler society. A similar approach to mine is found in a recent study of contemporary Birmingham which surveyed the effect of British Asian and Afro/Caribbean immigrants on British national culture. The author argues that immigrants do not simply adapt to places, they also transform them: Darini Rajasingham, "The Afterlife of Empire: Immigrants and the Imagi(nation) in post/colonial Britain" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1993), abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International* 44-05A (1997) 1856.

<sup>55</sup> I use the terms Native, aboriginal or indigenous peoples interchangeably to refer to First Nations peoples, but the contemporary sources invariably used 'Indians', 'red-skins' and other names we now recognize as derogatory and racist. On the politics of naming Natives in the American context, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Captured Subjects/Savage Others: Violently Engendering the New American", *Gender & History* 5.2 (Summer 1993): 177-195. For a discussion of the problem of terminology and the difficulty of finding viable alternatives for western culture's generalized notion of the primitive, see Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 18-23. Note though that Torgovnick has herself been criticized for ignoring history: Marjorie Perloff, "Tolerance and Taboo: Modernist Primitivisms and Postmodern Pieties," Elazar Barkan & Ronald Bush, eds., *Prehistories of the Future: the primitivist project and the culture of modernism* (Stanford: Stanford University

Despite the cultural borrowings which facilitated the construction of this ideal Canadian identity, Native peoples were virtually excluded from the records of the sports clubs and public spectacles. When they were present, it was to demonstrate the mastery which native-Canadians had gained over indigenous activities, or to act as exotic spectacles for commercial purposes. Like women, Native people's inferior and subordinate status bore witness to the 'natural' superiority of the middle-class white males. To be sure, a few Native people garnered attention in the press because of their race and superior athletic abilities, but this popularity was often short-lived and did nothing to challenge the power hierarchy.<sup>56</sup>

The identity constructed was a very particular creation.<sup>57</sup> It was particular in the ways it was identified, imagined and manifested, and also because, even though it claimed to be 'national', it was the identity envisioned by a particular class, at a particular time and place: it was the identity the professional and commercial middle class of Victorian Montreal sought for itself and spread to other central Canadian cities and towns. It envisioned an idealized image of what I term a 'native-Canadian' - an overwhelmingly masculine figure of robust health who delighted in rugged, outdoor physical activity and espoused British ideals of order, hierarchy and fair play. I derive the term 'native-Canadian' from the 1860 meeting of "Native Canadians" cited above, and use it to refer to Press, 1995) 344.

<sup>56</sup> Like the super-star black athletes of today, they were admired by the public for only as long as their health and strength lasted.

<sup>57</sup> Nicholas Thomas, a social anthropologist, calls for the examination of particular identities. He acknowledges that this might lead to extremes of "endless mapping of particular, local phenomena", yet wants to avoid global theorizing which results in useless generalization: Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 66. This is reminiscent of J.M.S. Careless's complaint that after calling for more regional studies in an article in 1969, ten years later he felt like a "farmer in a flood: 'Lord, I know I prayed for rain, but this is ridiculous". J.M.S. Careless, "Limited Identities—Ten Years Later", Manitoba History 1 (1980) 3-6. The problem is that particular or regional identities mitigate against the existence of a unifying Canadian identity.

British colonists who became indigenised - a transformation in identity which I argue occurred through participation in certain cultural activities. This ideal Canadian was white, male and conformed to contemporary definitions of middle-class respectability and moral rectitude. Consequently, the performative acts and visual representations which are the subject of this thesis were agents in the making of this class.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, the ideal Canadian was not neutral, but gendered male, and, although women did not participate greatly in the sports activities I examine, it is precisely because they did not that 'masculinity' could be defined in opposition to 'femininity'.<sup>59</sup> Women are largely absent from the narratives of nation-building, and few women appear in this study.<sup>60</sup> When they did participate, it was usually as privileged spectators.<sup>61</sup> For instance, according to

---

<sup>58</sup> For a discussion of the 'making' of the middle class in the British and American contexts see: Leonore Davidoff & Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); in the American context: Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Stuart Blumin, The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900 (New York, 1989) and "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and some Proposals", American Historical Review 90.2 (April 1985): 299-338. Canadian studies examining middle-class formation include: Andrew C. Holman, "'Cultivation' and the Middle Class Self in Two Victorian Ontario Towns: Personal Conduct, Masculinity, and Class Expression", paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association Conference, Brock University, May 1996; Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Small Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); and Nancy B. Bouchier, "Idealized Middle-Class Sport for a Young Nation: Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns, 1871-1891," JCS 29.2 (1994): 89-109.

<sup>59</sup> Studies of masculinity in Canada have largely focussed on a later period, and often on the working class rather than the middle class, for instance: Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Steven Penfold, "'Have You No Manhood in You?' Gender and Class in the Cape Breton Coal Towns, 1920-1926," Acadiensis 23.2 (Spring 1994): 21-44. Sport historians have worked on this issue, but often without the benefit of a feminist analysis: for example, J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); M. K. Mott, "Manly Sports and Manitobans: Settlement Days to World War One" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, Kingston, 1980).

<sup>60</sup> Cecilia Morgan, Public Men and Virtuous Women The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) 10-11.

<sup>61</sup> It was not until the 1880s that women snowshoed and tobogganed in any number, and the only women who ever participated in the races were Native - for which they were disparaged and insulted by the press. Skating was popular with women from the 1860s, when the first indoor rinks

contemporary reports, women's presence was desired at the annual snowshoe races in order to witness (and hence memorialize) their men's exploits. Their femininity accentuated the men's masculinity; to encourage their attendance, club rooms and spectator stands were built to provide 'the ladies' with shelter from the very elements which their menfolk took pride in braving.<sup>62</sup>

Montreal is the geographic focus of my study since it was there that indigenous sports were first appropriated and transformed by native-born and British immigrants on a large scale. Montreal remained the hot-bed of organized sport until the end of the century, largely owing to the activities of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, although similar organizations with the same ideologies quickly sprung up in Toronto and other major cities and towns. Montreal is also a necessary place to look for the formation of national identity since it was there that the cultural and political tensions among British, French and Native societies were most directly felt.<sup>63</sup> The self-contained English-speaking community was in close contact with its French-speaking counterpart and two nearby Native reserves at Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) and St. Regis (Akwesasne). The Montreal region had been the area in which the 1837-38 Rebellions were most vigorously pursued, and the area in which industrial production was most advanced.<sup>64</sup> In addition, Montreal was an

---

were opened in Montreal, and was construed as a safe and respectable activity - more artistic than athletic - and held safely indoors.

<sup>62</sup> Although recent feminist scholarship has questioned the veracity of the concept of public and private spheres, it is a useful heuristic device and acts as a reminder that even when women are not present in the sources, their historical presence cannot be discounted.

<sup>63</sup> This is what Mary-Louise Pratt calls "the contact zone": Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992) 6. The contact zone is where transculturation (or cross-cultural exchange) happens, but Pratt considers this only as an exchange from colonizer to colonized, or in terms of the ways the colonized contest the colonizers' representations. My purpose is to discover the ways in which the culture of the colonized determined colonial culture.

<sup>64</sup> The proximity of the two linguistic groups is considered a determining factor in the Rebellions: Allan Greer, The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1993) 42-51. Being the most industrially advanced area,



immigration centre, so the need to differentiate oneself from 'others' was therefore much more pressing for Montrealers than for urban centres with a more homogeneous population. Nevertheless, the desire for a distinctive identity was apparently felt elsewhere too, as witnessed by the objectives of the meeting held in Toronto which was cited above. The illustrated periodical which is the primary source for chapter 5 also demonstrates the connection between Montreal and Toronto because many of the reports and images reproduced by the Toronto publishers were taken from Montreal newspapers. As railway communications increased, Montreal sport teams travelled to other cities, and hosted out-of-town teams, and this promoted the spread and acceptance of similar standards and values amongst the urban professional and commercial middle classes in various provincial centres.<sup>65</sup> Montreal is the focus of this study because it initiated and manifested these ideologies and tensions on a much larger and more varied scale than any other city.

In terms of the temporal boundaries of this study, I argue that the history of Canadian sport began not in 1807 with the formation of the Montreal Hunt Club as some sport historians argue, but in 1840 with the first tramps of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, which I see as initiating the construction of a native-Canadian identity.<sup>66</sup> It is no coincidence, in my interpretation, that this was immediately after the 1837/8 Rebellion and

---

Montreal also manifested the earliest dislocations caused by industrialization. See, Gerald J. J. Tulchinsky, The River Barons (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) ch. 12. Institutional changes and new state regulations implemented after 1841 are discussed by Brian Young, "Positive Law, Positive State: Class Realignment and the Transformation of Lower Canada, 1815-1866," Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada eds. Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 50-63.

<sup>65</sup> Hroch points out that national consciousness does not develop evenly among social groups or geographic regions, and that historians have generally neglected this regional diversity. Noted by Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism 12.

<sup>66</sup> Competing periodizations are discussed by Barbara Schrod, "Problems of Periodization in Canadian Sport and History", Canadian Journal of the History of Sport 21.1 (May 90): 65-83.

on the eve of political Union.<sup>67</sup> The tramps were colonizing expeditions - symbolic acts of possession of land 'won' by the British during the Rebellions.<sup>68</sup> By reaching back into the pasts of both French-Canada and Native peoples, the British colonists aggressively appropriated for themselves an historical continuity with the Canadian landscape in order to construct a native-Canadian identity which could counter emerging French-Canadian nationalism.<sup>69</sup> By the time Confederation had become a political fact, a sense of the "new nationality" called for by D'Arcy McGee was already under construction.<sup>70</sup> The raw materials for a nationalist program were ready to be taken up by groups such as Canada First.

Similarly, I argue that the successful defeat of the Métis and Native peoples in the North West in 1885 marked an important moment in Canadian history because it was

---

<sup>67</sup> Hegel and Marx theorized that every nation has a single founding revolutionary event (Balibar 2). For French-Canada this would be the 1837/8 Rebellions, whereas for English Canada the rejection of the American Revolution by the Loyalists came to be a significant moment. Despite the fact that the Loyalists only accounted for a small percentage of the population by mid-century, their response to the American Revolution was one of the foundational 'myths of origin' of British Canada after Confederation. The real influence of the Loyalists on the character of British North America was, however, far less important than the British influence: Philip Buckner, "Making British North America British, 1815-1860", Kith and Kin: Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War, ed. C.C. Eldridge (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997) 22. Related arguments are made by James Sturgis, "Learning about Oneself: The Making of Canadian Nationalism, 1867-1914", Eldridge 96-97, and Allan Smith, "Old Ontario and the Emergence of a National Frame of Mind," in F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson and J.D. Wilson, eds., Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) 194.

<sup>68</sup> Thus the Conquest of 1859 was won anew in symbolic form. For a discussion of the colonizing role of scientific expeditions, see Suzanne Zeller, Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

<sup>69</sup> After 1840, the French-Canadian intelligentsia strove to counter Lord Durham's accusation that they were a people with no history or literature (Durham 3:294), and this resulted in the foundation of scientific and literary societies, and the establishment of several journals and newspapers. In tandem with this was a conservative religious revival, marked by the resumption of the St.-Jean-Baptiste Society (1842), and the reinvigoration of the Catholic Church led by Bishop Ignace Bourget. See also note 8.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas D'Arcy McGee was a fervent and prolific advocate of national unity and Canadian identity, and considered as one of the Fathers of Confederation.

Canadian rather than British officers who were credited with leading the troops to victory. The fact that the Canadian state was able to raise an army of its "own" soldiers signified its status as a nation, for one of the key criteria of nationhood is considered to be the emotive power of the state to mobilize citizens to die for their country.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the last vestiges of British Colonial rule and control were shed. In addition, the Rebellion was a symbolic conquest of the North-West which established the external and internal boundaries of the new Canadian nation. The new nation had been born; it had established geographic boundaries, political autonomy and a putative cultural identity. This moment was, however, short-lived. In the upsurge of French-Canadian nationalism which erupted after Riel's execution, the national identity which had come into focus in Montreal proved ephemeral and unsuited to the task of reconciling English and French Canadians, and would be challenged and re-formulated.<sup>72</sup> The year 1885 was also a watershed since it saw changes in the sporting sphere, as well as coinciding with the initiation of activities by the Imperial Federation League, both of which gave rise to new identity issues.

A study of this nature calls for an interdisciplinary approach in order to provide the theoretical frameworks required for an analysis of nationalism, cultural performance, sport, class and gender. The vexed question of Canadian national identity, and nationalism in general has inspired a large literature.<sup>73</sup> Although most people have some sense of what a nation is, and how they feel about their own nationality, defining 'nation' and 'nationalism' in scholarly terms has been notoriously difficult. Theorists of nationalism are in general

---

<sup>71</sup> Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism 79; Balibar 94.

<sup>72</sup> Arthur I. Silver, The French-Canadian idea of Confederation, 1864-1900, 1982, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) ch. 8.

<sup>73</sup> Apart from a large bibliography, journals devoted to the topic include Nations and Nationalism, and Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism.

agreement that nationalism creates nations, not the other way round;<sup>74</sup> but answering the question 'what is a nation?' is much more problematic.<sup>75</sup> This dilemma was summed up by

Ramsay Cook:

a nation may be described in a number of ways--juridically, ethnically, geographically, religiously, politically or economically. But it is not defined by such objective criteria.<sup>76</sup>

Subjective criteria are said to be impossible to pin down - how can scholars measure or define 'national consciousness', or even know that it existed?<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, as Eric Hobsbawm points out, "defining a nation by its members' consciousness of belonging to it" is tautological.<sup>78</sup> Instead of assuming a definition, he looks at the historical development of nationalism and how it conceives 'the nation'.<sup>79</sup> To this end Hobsbawm and co-editor Terence Ranger developed the concept of the nation as a product of a collection of 'invented traditions' which inculcate particular values and norms of behaviour.<sup>80</sup> Through repetition of these ritual or symbolic practices, continuity with the past is implied and

<sup>74</sup> This view is articulated by Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism 10.

<sup>75</sup> Hobsbawm, Nations & Nationalism 5.

<sup>76</sup> Cook, Maple Leaf 191. For instance, Smith defines nation in terms of its historic territory, common myths and memories, public culture, single economy and common rights and duties for all members. Anthony D. Smith, "The Nation: Real or Imagined?" The Warwick Debates on Nationalism, with Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism 2:3 (1996) 359.

<sup>77</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Some Reflections on Nationalism", Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences: Essays in Memory of Peter Nettl, eds. T.J. Nossiter, A.H. Hanson, Stein Rokkan (London: 1972) 385. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism 11, 48, notes the difficulty of discovering how ordinary people viewed the nation, given that official ideologies or statements made by the elite cannot be assumed to speak for them.

<sup>78</sup> Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism 7-8.

<sup>79</sup> Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism 9. Other approaches have been taken. For instance, the role of warfare is discussed by C. Tilly, ed., The Formation of National States in Western Europe (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); Nationalism as a political instrument is discussed by John Breuilly, Nationalism and the State (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982); Socio-demographic processes setting in motion 'nation-building' are discussed by Karl Deutsch and William J. Foltz, eds., Nation-Building, (New York: Atherton Press, 1966).

<sup>80</sup> Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, eds., The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Although most of the examples presented concern the imposition of 'invented traditions' from the top-down, Hobsbawm does attempt to show the process working from the bottom-up in his discussion of football rituals.

constructed. Invented traditions bring people together in a shared symbolic performance. Both the actors and the audience members are part of the performance of the invented tradition, and a shared identity is conferred on all the participants. The concept of invented traditions, therefore, is a very fruitful way of analysing sports activities and public spectacles.

Benedict Anderson argues that 'imagined communities' are realized through the agency of Protestantism and print-capitalism, and his work is useful because it can be extended to include the constitutive role of visual imagery.<sup>81</sup> If nations are 'imagined', they are also 'envisaged', because mental imagery combines both visual and verbal representational systems.<sup>82</sup> Debate has raged back and forth in the disciplines of philosophy and cognitive psychology between those who liken mental images to pictures, and those who liken them to linguistic descriptions. What is significant for my argument is that, whatever happens subsequently in the mind, the raw materials of mental imagery are sensory percepts, namely, data supplied by the senses, of which 'the visual' play a crucial part.<sup>83</sup> Recent writings about an 'anthropology of the senses' suggest that we 'know'

---

<sup>81</sup> Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, 2nd ed. 1983, (London: Verso, 1991) 15.

<sup>82</sup> For a discussion of the dual-coding model, which posits the interconnectedness of the two systems, see Allan Paivio, Images in Mind: The Evolution of a theory (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991) 343.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Tye, The Imagery Debate (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991) ix-1. Whether mental images are primarily visual or verbal, both sides agree that they "are internal representations that 'stand-in' for (re-present) the corresponding objects:" Stephen M. Kosslyn, Image and Brain: The Resolution of the Imagery Debate (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 1994) 3. "At the level of perception alone, it seems that the world does not simply present itself to us finished, as if our eyes were merely windows that allowed images to enter and pass on, unchanged, into the brain." Rather, "a substantial portion of our experience of 'reality' is self-created." Ervin Laszlo et al, Changing Visions. Human Cognitive Maps: Past, Present and Future (Westport, Con.: Praeger, 1996) 5. In other words, our perception and understanding of what we see is always a representation of reality which has been produced through the filter of our mentalité [the historically specific "collectively shared mental practices or structures of a society:" Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History," Modern European Intellectual History Reappraisals and New Perspectives,

things about the world in more ways than one. Anthropologists have begun to recognize that some cultures elaborate and combine the senses as conveyors of meaning rather than by privileging the visual, as we tend to do in the west. Traditional Chinese philosophy, for example, privileges 'the act' as opposed to 'the gaze', and the Songhay of Niger believe that sound itself carries powerful forces.<sup>84</sup> So, whereas Anderson and others have examined the construction of national identity through literature and print, I propose to show how it was also realized (represented visually, and enacted) through visual images and corresponding performative acts.<sup>85</sup>

Hobsbawm and Anderson both explain how people are able to feel themselves as part of a national group through activities enacted in the present, but Anthony D. Smith takes a different approach which seeks a shared identity rooted in the past. He argues that language and ethnic culture are two key elements in the formation of a nation. Neither of these are 'invented' or 'imagined', but both have a long history which can be appropriated by "modernising nationalists".<sup>86</sup> Smith places much emphasis, too, on the role of the '*ethnie*' and cultural memory:

---

eds. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982) 285.]

<sup>84</sup> David Howes, ed., The Varieties of Sensory Experience. A source book in the anthropology of the senses (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 7-11. Michael Taussig, Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses (London: Routledge: 1993) 46.

<sup>85</sup> The significance of 'realizing' representations will be discussed further in chapter 2. The role of literature in 'imagining' communities is explored by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism", Critical Inquiry 12 (Autumn 1985): 243-261; Timothy Brennan, "The National Longing for Form", Nation and Narration ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990): 44-70; and Terry Goldie, Fear and Temptation.

<sup>86</sup> Anthony D. Smith and Ernest Gellner, "The Nation: real or imagined? The Warwick Debates on Nationalism," Nations and Nationalism 2.3 (1996) 381, 361. This would suggest that Smith holds the position that nations, at least in their essential, original form, pre-exist nationalism. This runs counter to the understanding of most other theorists, such as Ernest Gellner, who see the origins of nations as being an invention of the late eighteenth century, specifically the French Revolution. See also Anthony D. Smith, Theories of Nationalism, 1971, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Duckworth, 1983), and The Ethnic Origins of Nations (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

Memory is bound to...a homeland. It is also crucial to identity. That is why nationalists must rediscover and appropriate shared memories of the past. Identification with a past is the key to creating the nation, because only by 'remembering the past' can a collective identity come into being. The very act of remembering together...creates a bond between citizens whose self-interest often brings them into conflict. Hence the constant need to reawaken public memories, to engage in commemorative rites and remembrance ceremonies.<sup>87</sup>

Although he comes from a completely different epistemological tradition, Homi Bhabha also stresses the role of history and memory in the construction of a 'narrative of nation'.<sup>88</sup> He argues that the nation is imagined through the construction of myths of origin, which legitimize nationhood by claiming historical roots and continuity. He proposes studying "narratives and discourses that signify a sense of 'nationness'" by drawing attention to their language and rhetoric. Etienne Balibar concurs with Bhabha, conceiving of the narrative of nation as a "retrospective illusion" of an essential nationality fulfilling its destiny.<sup>89</sup> I extend this analysis to include visual 'narratives', and take up the significance of history and collective memory, particularly the self-interested creation of a 'British' history of Canada.

Whether it is through the communal act of remembering a 'real' past, or through the construction of myths of origin for an 'imagined' nation, history is a constituting element of the Canadian national identity which evolved in the period under study. Both explanations are fruitful in showing, firstly, how aboriginal culture was rediscovered and appropriated to

---

<sup>87</sup> Smith and Gellner, "The Nation: real or imagined?" 384.

<sup>88</sup> Smith dismisses what he calls the 'deconstruction' school, seeing analysis of meaning as no substitute for causal explanation. Anthony D. Smith, "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20.3 (1991) 362.

<sup>89</sup> Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology", *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, eds. Etienne Balibar & Emanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991) 86. This is echoed by Partha Chatterjee, who argues that every nationalism has to create a past for the nation to demonstrate "the rise, progress and efflorescence of its own particular genius": Chatterjee 9.

provide a distinct character - an essential native element - to be combined with the civilized and superior British character so admired by Lord Durham, and, secondly, how the histories of Native peoples and the French Regime were co-opted in order to construct a new British narrative of the Canadian nation.

The aim of this study is not to enter into the debate over the "rise, content, form, timing, intensity and scope" of the nation and nationalism, but to illuminate particular cultural practices which were agents in the construction of national identity.<sup>90</sup> There is some consensus amongst scholars of nations and nationalism, who include historians, sociologists and anthropologists, on the chronology of the development of nationalism. In the first phase, the intelligentsia, often from "the (foreign) ruling class or elite," and with no particular national or political agenda in mind, rediscovered literary, folkloric and "popular traditions".<sup>91</sup> These furnished the raw materials of a "national tradition" for the next phase, in which nationalist doctrines were formulated by "a body of activists devoted to the political agitation in favour of 'the national idea'." <sup>92</sup> The third stage of development was reached when these nationalist doctrines were disseminated using the organs of the state and received mass support.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> Anthony D. Smith disparages such an approach, claiming "it is a short step to relegating causal analysis for the more exciting and apparently rewarding task of revealing how the nation has been/is 'narrated' by its devotees": Smith, "The Nation: Invented," 362.

<sup>91</sup> Hobsbawm suggests the motivation for this phase was essentially a Romantic desire for purity and simplicity, exemplified by the uncorrupted peasantry. Nations and Nationalism 103, 104.

<sup>92</sup> Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism 104. Gellner agrees nationalism requires "some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on": Chatterjee 4. Hobsbawm dates this 'proto-nationalist' stage to the period 1830-1880, and sees the third stage beginning around 1870.

<sup>93</sup> This three-stage process described by Hroch, forms the basis of Hobsbawm's understanding: Miroslav Hroch, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, 1968 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Elaborations on Hroch's three-part model include Hugh Seton-Watson's distinction between 'old' and 'new' nations. The 'old' nations (such as the English, Scots, French, and Dutch) acquired their national identity before the nineteenth-century nationalist movements. Hugh Seton-Watson, Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism (London: Methuen, 1977). In the 'new' nations, such as



The importance and agency of performance in the construction of national identity must also be addressed. For my understanding of cultural performance and performative acts, I draw on readings of phenomenological theory made by Judith Butler, and, to a lesser extent, John MacAloon and Tom F. Driver.<sup>94</sup> Butler's work is particularly apposite since she is concerned with the construction of identity, albeit gendered rather than national. Hers is a radical reading of phenomenological theory, combining both the ritual theory of Victor Turner, which sees social dramas as a means for settling internal conflicts and creating social unity, and of symbolic actionists such as Emile Durkheim or Michel Foucault, who focus on the creation of political authority and legitimacy.<sup>95</sup> In her words: "an account of... [identity] as ritualized, public performance must be combined with an analysis of the political sanctions and taboos under which that performance may and may not occur within the public sphere free of punitive consequence."<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, she goes beyond the theatrical phenomenological model which considers the self as existing prior to the act, or the act as reflecting or contrasting with 'the real', instead understanding performative acts as *constitutive* of the actor's identity as well as "constituting that identity as a compelling illusion, an object of *belief*."<sup>97</sup> Although she does not differentiate between

---

Canada, national identity was formed by a "small educated political elite" at the same time as they created nationalist movements: Chatterjee 30 n.4. Gellner also saw nationalism as the imposition of an elite culture on the lower classes: despite the pretense that "a culture of the people is being stamped upon the character of the nation...it tends to be the 'great ladies' who go to town in what is claimed to be a peasant dress." Sturgis 98.

<sup>94</sup> Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre, ed. Sue Ellen Case (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990): 270-282; John J. MacAloon, ed., Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle, Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance (Philadelphia: ISI, 1984); Tom F. Driver, The Magic of Ritual: Our Need for Liberating Rites that Transform Our Lives and Our Communities (San Francisco: Harper, 1991).

<sup>95</sup> Butler 277 n. 9. Key texts include: Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields, and Metaphores: Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

<sup>96</sup> Butler 277 n. 9.

<sup>97</sup> Butler 271.

acting in public spectacles and being a member of the audience Anne McClintock also recognizes the productive work of performance and spectacle. She argues that nationalism "is experienced preeminently through spectacle." Whereas print culture was only available to a small portion of the nineteenth-century population, mass national spectacles were mobilized by nationalists to "organize a sense of popular, collective unity."<sup>98</sup> Thus, performative acts are social acts, shared with the collective, requiring an audience in order to produce meaning, but constrained by the limits of respectable behaviour. I examine each facet of this process, namely, the performance of indigenous activities as physical acts, as visual spectacles observed by audiences, and as representations in photography and journalism.

Sport historians have not until recently turned their attention to sport as a cultural performance, and most of the work on this has been done by those influenced by the British cultural studies school.<sup>99</sup> British sport historians tend to work from the Gramscian, neo-Marxist theoretical position, which sees sport as reflecting the power relations of capitalism, yet tries to avoid the economic determinism of Marxism and the repressive alienation of Althusserian structuralist Marxism. It does this by employing the Gramscian concept of 'cultural hegemony' which seeks to explain why societies with inequalities of class, gender and race still hold together. Cultural hegemony is the process by which a dominant culture seeks to establish as common sense (and as 'the national interest')

---

<sup>98</sup> Anne McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven': Nationalism, Gender and Race," Becoming National: A Reader, eds., Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 273.

<sup>99</sup> American sport historians have been more influenced by Weberian modernization theory and anthropology. Useful reviews of the literature include: David L. Andrews and John W. Loy, "British Cultural Studies and Sport: Past Encounters and Future Possibilities," Quest 45 (1993): 255-276; Steven A. Riess, "From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport," JSH 21.2 (Summer 1994): 138-184; S.W. Pope, "Introduction", The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives, ed. S.W. Pope (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

"systems of meanings and values that apparently justified these inequalities" and effectively exclude alternative meanings and practices.<sup>100</sup> Hegemonic control is not just domination; there is a reciprocal quality to hegemony because it works by eliciting consent from subordinate classes. A Gramscian approach therefore allows for individual agency and for the contestation of social practices.<sup>101</sup>

Richard Gruneau, a Canadian cultural theorist working from within the Gramscian Neo-Marxist cultural studies school, positions sport within the realm of popular culture, drawing on the tools of cultural studies to consider sport as a social practice which "can meaningfully dramatise the reality that subordinate groups actually experience" and can be "a vehicle for the expression of subordinate group aspirations."<sup>102</sup> This is an approach which has been used to varying extents by other Canadian sport historians, and which I attempt to employ here, although my focus is on the professional and commercial middle classes rather than the working class.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, some Canadian studies of sports have accepted the metaphoric connection between sport and national identity without analysing in detail how it was made, and have been concerned with the period after 1880.<sup>104</sup> In contrast, my project is to uncover the strategies of representation which made

---

<sup>100</sup> Arron Hall, Trevor Slack, Garry Smith and David Whitson, Sport in Canadian Society (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991) 44-45.

<sup>101</sup> On the implications of a neo-Gramscian position, see Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk. Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) 295-307; and T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," American Historical Review 90 (1985); 567-593.

<sup>102</sup> Alan Ingham and Stephen Hardy, "Sport: Structuration, Subjugation and Hegemony," Theory Culture & Society 2.2 (1984) 87. Gruneau's approach is also set out in his, "Power and Play in Canadian Society," Power and Change in Canada ed. Richard J. Ossenberrg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980): 146-194.

<sup>103</sup> A very accessible survey of the whole terrain of Canadian sport historiography is provided by Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities, and Cultural Politics (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993) chs. 1 & 2.

<sup>104</sup> For example: Bruce Kidd, The Struggle for Canadian Sport (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Don Morrow, "The Canadian Image Abroad: The Great Lacrosse Tours of 1876 and

certain sports and certain sport behaviours the symbolic equivalent of national identity between 1840 and 1885. Consequently, the performance and representation of those sports are the subject of my analysis, rather than the history of the sport itself. More particularly, I detail the contribution of aboriginal 'sport' culture to Canadian national identity.

I approached this study from the point of view of a cultural historian, seeking to discover how society constructs meaning and how society, in a reciprocal movement, is constructed by its own structures of meaning. The subject of this investigation is cultural products - photographs, paintings, illustrations, performances and institutions - and the objective is to isolate not just the meaning of the cultural product, but *how* it meant, or how it represented meaning to its audience. Cultural performances are not reflections of reality, but enactments of discourses, the performance of a negotiated script for a knowing audience. These acts are represented in visual images or in text. As representations they are mediated twice - once by the actor and again by the recorder.

---

1883," Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, University of Toronto, August 1982: 11-23 and "Lacrosse as the National Game," A Concise History of Sport in Canada, eds. Don Morrow et al. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989): 45-68. Studies outside Canada include: S.W. Pope, Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Pope also provides a useful overview of the literature on sport and American identity: Steven W. Pope, "Negotiating the 'Folk Highway' of the Nation: Sport, Public Culture and American Identity, 1870-1940," Journal of Social History 27.2(Winter 1993): 327-340; David L. Andrews, "Welsh Indigenous! and British Imperial?—Welsh Rugby, Culture, and Society 1890-1914," JSH 18.3 (Winter 1991): 335-340; Alan Baimar, "Sportive Nationalism and Nationalist Politics: A Comparative Analysis of Scotland, The Republic of Ireland, and Sweden," Journal of Sport and Social Issues 23 (August 1996): 314-334; Gertrude Pfister, "Physical Activity in the Name of the Fatherland: Turner and the National Movement (1819-1820)," Sporting Heritage 1.1 (1996): 14-35; M. Cronin and D. Mayall, eds., Sporting Nationalisms: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation (London: Frank Cass, 1998). Articles published in The Sports Historian 18.2 (November 1988) on the connection between sport and nationalism in Cornwall, Scotland and Ireland are available online from [http://www.umist.ac.uk/UMIST\\_Sport/](http://www.umist.ac.uk/UMIST_Sport/)

The new cultural history has made us aware that *all* cultural products are susceptible to historical inquiry, including material objects such as clothing, household items or paintings, and cultural performances such as parades, theatre or exhibitions.<sup>105</sup> In this study, my historical sources include photographs, carnival brochures, archival papers, newspaper reports, and illustrated periodicals.<sup>106</sup> Since sports events, parades, theatrical presentations and civic celebrations are ephemeral, I rely on newspaper reports, trying always to remember that they are representations. Recognition of the role of representation in constructing social reality underlines the growing awareness amongst scholars that even seemingly value-free sources such as census records and court documents are themselves representations. In order to 'see through' the representational strategies employed in these texts, whether they be written or visual, we must analyse the structures within them which create meaning. Visual images must not be considered as objective records to be evaluated in terms of their 'accuracy' as reflections of society, but as re-presentations mediated through the co-operative efforts of the producer and the subject.<sup>107</sup> It is therefore necessary to subject visual sources to the same rhetorical and

---

<sup>105</sup> Skepticism about such an approach is discussed by Peter Burke, ed., New Perspectives on Historical Writing (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991) 13-14.

<sup>106</sup> Visual images have received little attention as historical sources. They are generally employed as illustrations rather than as objects of analysis. Even in picture histories, this is the approach taken. For example: The Pioneers: the picture story of Canadian settlement, with an introduction by J.M.S. Careless, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1968); George Woodcock, The Canadians (Don Mills: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1979), and Rude Wiebe & Bob Beal, eds., War in the West: Voices of the 1885 Rebellion (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1985). In other cases, the history of the arts (usually restricted to fine art rather than popular art) is given perfunctory coverage in a separate chapter, and the agency of culture in general is ignored.

<sup>107</sup> This is discussed in detail by John Tagg, The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories (London: Macmillan Education, 1988). His contentions are supported by the work of cognitive psychologists. For instance, Comoldi notes "there is an abundance of evidence that we perceive objects not as they are, but as we interpret them", Cesare Comoldi et al, Stretching the Imagination. Representation and Transformation in Mental Imagery (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 9. See also Laszlo et al. 4-5. The tendency of photographs to be held in archives and museums and catalogued for their supposed anthropological and historical value, rather than being recognized as products commissioned for specific purposes, aggravates the assumption that photographs are documentary records: Eva Major Marothy, "The Place of Art

textual examination we would apply to the analysis of written documents. Issues of genre, context, authorship, production, circulation and reception all have to be considered for visual images, as they do for textual ones.<sup>108</sup> I construe 'the visual' widely to include cultural performances since these are representations enacted or realized as visual spectacles.

In order to analyse the meanings constructed by visual culture, I have worked in an interdisciplinary manner, bringing the tools of other disciplines to bear on historical sources. From art history I have taken the process of formal analysis which pays attention to all the decisions and mediations made by the producer of the image. These include composition, use of light, colour and line, representational style, genre, pose, and scale.<sup>109</sup> However, I was not interested in the aesthetic evaluation of the image, or where it fits in the art historical canon.<sup>110</sup> Instead, I used formal analysis to answer questions about the iconography of the image and thus determine the representational strategies employed in its construction, and trace the way similar strategies operate in other spheres of practice.<sup>111</sup>

Iconology, the act of reading the image meaningfully, and iconography, the rhetoric

---

in the Study of History," *Archivaria* 38 (Fall 1994): 131-138.

<sup>108</sup> This argument is made by Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1991) 19; and Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice*, 1980 (London: Routledge, 1988) 137.

<sup>109</sup> An excellent 'how-to' article for visual analysis is David D. Perlmutter, "Visual Historical Methods: Problems, Prospects, Applications," *Historical Methods* 22.4 (Fall 1994): 167-184.

<sup>110</sup> This is the traditional purview of art history, although many art historians reject purely aesthetic evaluations in favour of an historical approach; this has done much to break down the barrier between high art and popular art.

<sup>111</sup> This is a similar strategy to that employed by Elaine Scarry, who analyses the syntax and rhetoric of "participial acts" at the sentence level and then shows how the same strategies operate at the macro level. Elaine Scarry, *Resisting Representation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

of creating the image, are two other useful art historical analytical techniques. Iconology has to consider not just how the image looks, but also ask questions about its historical context, the ideas which went into its making, the motivation of its patron, the experience of its maker, its circulation and its reception.<sup>112</sup> An iconological reading of images cannot stop at the image itself, but must turn its gaze outward and ask what knowledge(s) the audience(s) brought to the act of looking and how they were in turn instructed (or 'interpellated') by the image.<sup>113</sup> I use these tools from art history to analyse five sites where Canadian national identity was created.

Chapter 1 begins by arguing that British colonists in the 1840s appropriated aspects of the culture of both French-Canadian and indigenous 'Canadian' natives, particularly snowshoeing. I argue that the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, and the many other snowshoe clubs which emerged in the period between 1840 and 1885, were in effect engaged in emulating the Nor'Westers and, through them, the *voyageurs*. By appropriating snowshoeing from Native and French-Canadian culture, English-speaking Montrealers not only claimed for themselves a visual attribute which had a long history as a signifier of Canada, but in addition, the very act of snowshoeing indigenised them through their physical interaction with the environment, thus legitimizing their claim to be

---

<sup>112</sup> However, of the twelve articles in a special edition of Journal of Interdisciplinary History 17.1 (1986), purporting to use visual images as historical sources, only one asked historical rather than purely art historical questions. Simon Schama's article on royal family portraiture was the exception, looking beyond the image to consider the genre as "an active agent shaping the historical self-consciousness of monarchy.": Simon Schama, "The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850," Art and History, Images and their Meaning eds. Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 159.

<sup>113</sup> This understanding of the interpellation of viewing subjects is now widely accepted in many disciplines. The concept is expressed particularly well by Michael Leja, "Modernism's subjects in the United States," Art Journal 55.2 (Summer 1996): 65-72; and Suzanna Danuta Walters, Material Girls: Making Sense of Feminist Cultural Theory (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1995) 14, 26-27.

'native-Canadian'.<sup>114</sup> I suggest that the snowshoe clubs created 'a myth of origin', linking the snowshoers back to 'their' history in Canada, effectively pushing aside the French-Canadian and Native histories. In addition, I consider how club rules and expectations established and enforced an ideal middle-class, masculine model of deportment and values.

Through consideration of a series of studio photographs of hunting trips, chapter 2 highlights the appropriation of Native hunting skills and the construction of an idealized figure of the Canadian Sport Hunter which can be considered as the visual vocabulary forming the basis for Haliburton's vision of the Canadian 'Men of the North'. Owing to Notman's efforts at self-promotion, these particular images were seen by a huge international audience and thereby propagated widely a particular image of Canadian identity - namely, an elite, white, Protestant, male who possessed the robust physical health conferred by a pure, northern climate. This image effectively marginalised women and the lower classes, since it imposed on hunting the British ideology of sportsmanship as the prerogative of the elite male. Furthermore, the visual attributes of Native guide and *habitant* farmer are elided in the photographs, denying both marginalised groups the specificity of their own histories.

The appropriation and transformation of the Native ritual of *baggafaway* into the modern game of lacrosse, is the subject of chapter 3. Lacrosse was a 'primitive' game which was organized and modernized through the imposition of the British ideology of discipline and fair play. It was also the means by which the male body was restrained and

---

<sup>114</sup> Terry Goldie uses the term 'indigenization' to denote the European colonists' task of becoming native in a foreign land, which he suggests was accomplished, in part, by incorporating the Other through literature. I propose to expand his project to examine indigenisation through the appropriation of aboriginal cultural activities. Goldie 13.



trained in accordance with dominant notions of middle-class respectability. In his crusade to create a distinctive Canadian identity around indigenous sports, Dr. W. George Beers worked to publicize and enshrine lacrosse as Canada's National Game. Through analysis of his 1869 treatise on lacrosse, I illustrate the ways in which the game was regulated, and how, from being integral parts of indigenous daily life, snowshoeing and lacrosse were transformed into competitive sports from which Native participants were eventually excluded.

Since identity is not just embodied and enacted by individuals, but needs to be displayed and acclaimed, the means by which the proposed national identity produced through hunting, snowshoeing and lacrosse was transmitted and displayed through public spectacle, are examined in chapter 4. I argue that Canadian identity had two poles: on one hand, what was distinctively Canadian about Canadians was actually Native, whether indigenous or French-Canadian, and on the other, British values and the ideology of order, discipline and fair play were emulated since they were considered the hallmark of a civilized nation. The repertoire of public spectacles invented by the snowshoe clubs in the 1870s formed the basis for the programme of the five Winter Carnivals held in the 1880s. These were civic festivals designed to attract tourists from Europe, America and the rest of the Dominion, and were opportunities for the professional, commercial and middle-class members of the Montreal sport clubs to counter the prevailing image of Canada as a snowy, inhospitable wilderness, and to enact and display the Canadian national identity which had been under construction for the past four decades, distinguishing it from both the United States and Great Britain. Turning from the visual record to textual representations of public spectacles, I show that, while the organizers strove to convey the impression of social and cultural unity for foreign visitors, different, sometimes conflicting

meanings were constructed by performers and local spectators.

The 1885 Riel Rebellion can be read as the culmination of the transformation in Canadian identity from being associated solely with French Canadians, to the idea that the inhabitants of the new Dominion were members of a new nationality. For the first time a Canadian Field Force was mustered rather than relying on British troops. The commanding officers were British, but it was the Canadian officers who were remarked upon in newspaper reports. Analysis of images of the Rebellion published in the illustrated press in chapter 5 shows that it was represented as a Canadian venture, and that victory was achieved through Canadian leadership. The hero of the Rebellion was the Canadian officer who precipitated the charge at Batoche which defeated both Natives and Métis as viable 'other' nations. I argue that, as a result, a dominant centre was created and the national boundaries were re-drawn.

## CHAPTER 1

**'NORTHMEN OF THE NEW WORLD': THE MONTREAL SNOW SHOE CLUBS**

Colonialism, one might say, does not operate through principles of 'exchange'. Rather it appropriates, decontextualizes, and represents the 'other' culture, often with the complicity of its colonized subjects. It legitimates its authority only by asserting its cultural superiority.

Ruston Bharucha, *Theatre and the World*<sup>1</sup>

It was raining on the evening of Wednesday, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1878; members of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club (MSSC) who had turned out for their regular weekly tramp over Mount Royal were disappointed, for there would be no outing tonight. Some of them adjourned instead to the new Club Rooms they shared with the Montreal Lacrosse Club (MLC), and held a meeting there.<sup>2</sup> Although the season was only just underway, interest in snowshoeing was high this year, and membership was increasing, but the Club admitted only those men proposed and vouched for by two existing members.<sup>3</sup> Since there were no objections to the names nominated at the last meeting, they were duly elected, and a trio of prospective members were put forward for ballot at the next. The only other business on the agenda that evening was the proposal that, in cooperation with the MLC, the MSSC should erect an arch to honour the arrival of the newly appointed Governor General of Canada, His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne, and his wife, Her Royal Highness Princess

---

<sup>1</sup> Ruston Bharucha, *Theatre and the World: Performance and the Politics of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1990) 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> NAC: MSSC Minutes 1878-9, (407). The records of the MSSC are found with those of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association [MAAA] (NAC: MG 28, I 351), of which the MSSC became a member organization when the MAAA was founded in 1881. The MLC and MSSC rented premises jointly in the Montreal Gymnasium building at the corner of what is now Mansfield and de Maisonneuve: Don Morrow, *A Sporting Evolution. The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, 1881-1981* (Montreal: MAAA, 1981) 22-25.

<sup>3</sup> The MSSC had 300 members in 1878: Don Morrow, "The Knights of the Snowshoe. A Study of the Evolution of Sport in Nineteenth-century Montreal", *Journal of Sport History* 15.1 (Spring 1988) 5 n.5.

Louise. To finance this patriotic endeavour, a subscription list was opened.

Triumphal or commemorative arches were a familiar feature of public celebrations and processions in nineteenth-century Canadian cities. Their use drew on traditions dating back to antiquity, when they were symbolic demarcations of the border of foreign territory that had been conquered; in passing through the arch, the ruler claimed the territory anew.<sup>4</sup> Arches featured in elaborate medieval and renaissance royal progresses and entries into cities, and by the nineteenth century were often built on the initiative of specific groups.<sup>5</sup> In Montreal, arches were regularly erected at significant sites along the route of the annual St. Jean Baptiste Day Parade, and were potent political symbols for the Orange Order.<sup>6</sup> Elaborate arches decorated with evergreen boughs, flags, royal emblems and crests had been positioned at significant sites along routes taken by both the Prince of Wales in 1860 and Prince Arthur in 1869 during their visits, but this was the first one built specifically by snowshoers.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> L.M. Bryant, "The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris," Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual, ed. James M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 90. David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c.1820-1977," The Invention of Tradition, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 101-164.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the arch of the Scottish Societies was built at the corner of Dominion Square for Lord Lorne's reception. It is illustrated in W. Stewart MacNutt, Days of Lorne. From the Private Papers of the Marquis of Lorne, 1878-1883 (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, [1955]) 155.

<sup>6</sup> On the St. Jean Baptiste parades, see Alan Gordon, "Inventing Tradition: Montreal's Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day Re-examined." Paper presented to CHA Annual Conference, Brock University, June 1996. For the political significance of Orange Arches see Ian Radforth, "Royalty and Orangeism: Political Confrontation during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Upper Canada, 1860." Paper presented to the CHA Annual Conference, Memorial University, June 1997, and Scott W. See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John," Acadiensis 13.1 (Autumn 1983): 68-92.

<sup>7</sup> Some of these are recorded in photographs held in the National Archives of Canada. For example: a lumber arch in Ottawa: C-11/12; an evergreen arch with the cross of St. George: C-2183; an evergreen arch decorated with flags and the words "God Save the Queen" built by the town of Aylmer: C-29335; a plain evergreen arch built for Prince Arthur's landing in Halifax: PA-112188. See also Chuen-yan David Lai, Arches in British Columbia (Victoria, B.C.: Sono Nis Press, 1982).

With dazzling efficiency, work began on the arch at the corner of Beaver Hall Hill and Dorchester the next morning, and it was ready in time for the Governor General's arrival the following day.<sup>8</sup> Since the design for the arch was prepared by Hutchison & Steele, an architectural company which later designed the ice palaces for the Winter Carnivals, it seems probable that the plans had already been drawn up before the MSSC meeting, perhaps at the instigation of the MLC. This would also explain how dozens of members of both clubs could be notified in time to take part in the event.<sup>9</sup> For this was not just a flimsy little structure: it was a tri-partite triumphal arch, covered with green boughs, with a circular arch in the centre and a tower on either side. "A Hearty Welcome" was emblazoned on the top around a rosette of snowshoes, dozens more snowshoes and lacrosse sticks decorated the surface, and the Union Jack and Red Ensign flew overhead [Figure 1.1]. The novel aspect of the design was that members of the MSSC and MLS were arranged on the structure dressed in their snowshoe costumes, creating a "living arch". As the royal carriage passed under the arch, cheers and applause filled the air, and the snowshoers burst into a rousing rendition of the national anthem.<sup>10</sup>

In subsequent years, snowshoe arches, as they were usually called, became a regular feature of major Montreal civic celebrations, because they were a satisfying solution to the problem of displaying Canadian identity. In 1840 Lord Durham had sought to impose English character on the French-speaking inhabitants of the United Province of Canada, and to swamp them politically and demographically in a sea of British settlers. This presented the British colonists with a challenge - how to become Canadians

---

<sup>8</sup> NAC: MSSC Annual Report 1878-79, 6; MSSC Minutes, 27 November 1878, newspaper clipping.

<sup>9</sup> The contractor was L. Paton & Co, builders, the family business of James Paton, who had been an MSSC member since 1875.

<sup>10</sup> Gazette [Montreal] November 27-29, 1878.



Fig. 1.1: "A Hearty Welcome," *Graphic*, December 28, 1878. Reproduced in Robert M. Stamp, *Royal Rebels: Princess Louise & the Marquis of Lorne*, (Toronto: Dundurn, 1988) 127.

themselves, without losing their British character and heritage. In the political realm this embroiled provincial politicians in a struggle against the British Colonial Office for the right to responsible government - a struggle which was, nevertheless, in line with British beliefs in the principles of parliamentary democracy. In asserting the right of provincial legislatures to self-determination and rule by elected representatives, British colonists were asserting their identity as a special type of Briton, and, in contrast to the United States, as a special type of North American. In the cultural realm, British colonists also sought to create an identity for themselves as native-Canadians. They evidently made this transition successfully, because by 1877, W. George Beers, a Montreal dentist and sports aficionado, could compare the lack of interest shown in sports by "French Canadians" to the "deep personal interest of the "Canuck" of English descent."<sup>11</sup>

National identity may be 'imagined' and 'invented' through a variety of means, as has been shown in the proliferation of studies which followed the disciplinary 'turn' from political ideology as the site in which nationalism and national identity are constructed, towards the cultural realm.<sup>12</sup> Given the strong contemporary connection between sport and nation, it is not surprising that historians have looked at the role of sport in the formation of national identity, although most have focussed on sport in the twentieth

---

<sup>11</sup> W. George Beers, "Canadian Sports," *Scribner's Monthly* (May-Oct, 1879): 506-527. John Robert Colombo claims that the figure of Johnny Canuck appeared in newspaper cartoons in the 1860s. He was a personification of Canada, depicted "as a wholesome, if simpleminded young man wearing the garb of a habitant, farmer, logger, rancher or soldier...often drawn resisting the blandishments or bullying of John Bull or Uncle Sam." *Canadian Encyclopedia*, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988) 1112.

<sup>12</sup> This trajectory was initiated by Richard Hoggart, E.P. Thompson, and Raymond Williams and led to the foundation of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in 1964. An insightful discussion of the linkage between cultural studies and the history of sport is provided by Andrews and Loy op. cit.

century.<sup>13</sup> Sport historians have commonly considered the nineteenth century as the period during which there was a transition between 'folk games' and organized sport. Modernization theorists maintain that this transition occurred in response to social and economic changes precipitated by industrialization, while, from a Marxist viewpoint, sport has been considered an "opiate of the masses," which acted as a social safety valve, allowing the labouring classes some healthy exercise after a day of toil. More recently, some sport historians have adopted a Gramscian approach and have reconceptualized sport as a site or arena in which values, ideologies and meanings are actively constructed and contested.<sup>14</sup> From this understanding, sport is not just a neutral activity, because in the organization and playing of sport, social hierarchies and relationships are produced and negotiated, and identities are formed and transformed.<sup>15</sup> Sport in the nineteenth century was, therefore, a means by which participants internalized values and behaviours promoted by the sport clubs, which were fraternal societies providing a place in which new social and class identities could be negotiated. In addition, participation in organized sports redefined gender by contrasting masculinity and appropriate manly behaviour with femininity, thus prescribing and delimiting both. These clubs were not state-run "apparatuses", because the dominant Canadian political ideology favoured the promotion of voluntarism in order to maintain a *laissez-faire* stance. Nor can sports be seen as the imposition of middle-class values on subordinate classes because, as we shall see, the labouring poor had little access to organized sport in Victorian Montreal, and in any case were actively excluded. Organized sport can more accurately be seen, then, as part of the

---

<sup>13</sup> Two examples which deal with the late nineteenth century are, Pope, Patriotic Games, and Andrews, "Welsh Indigenous! and British Imperial?"

<sup>14</sup> For example, Richard Gruneau and Whitson, Hockey Night in Canada: Colin D. Howell, Northern Sandlots: a social history of Maritime Baseball (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

<sup>15</sup> Peter Donnelly, "Sport as a Site for 'Popular' Resistance," Popular Cultures and Political Practices, ed. Richard S. Gruneau (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988): 69-82.



process of creating a consciousness of kind which produced and reaffirmed class and gender values and identity.<sup>16</sup>

In addition, through analysis of the strategies by which clubs and members represented themselves to the public and to each other, we can see that they also participated in the construction of a Canadian national identity. Mingled together on the snowshoe arches were visual attributes which signified 'Canadianness', and by distinguishing the different streams of referents, we can determine how these predominantly British colonists envisaged themselves as native-Canadians. The snowshoes and lacrosse sticks constituted one type of stream, and referred to the indigenous or aboriginal culture of the continent, while the evergreen boughs referred to its natural environment. The winter uniform worn by the club members (many of whom belonged to both the MLC and the MSSC), was a combination of Native and French-Canadian dress. Lastly, flags and royal emblems referred to the British heritage of the members, and their loyalty to the monarchy, while the concept of erecting a triumphal arch to welcome royalty was a European import. Thus the components of Canadian national identity were British, French Canadian and Native, and the sports club members were performing or enacting this new composite identity as they stood waving from the arch. In being "truly representative of our national sports," as a press report claimed, the snowshoers were also representing the character of the nation and its inhabitants.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> A similar argument is made in regard to the social purity movement by Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991) 29. .

<sup>17</sup> NAC: MSSC Minutes, November 27, 1878, newspaper clipping. The connection between sports and national character was well-established in the nineteenth century. See, J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

This chapter will examine the discursive process by which a distinctive Canadian identity was created by the members of the Montreal snowshoe clubs between 1840 and 1880.<sup>18</sup> The activity of snowshoeing, the presentation of self through clothing and behaviour, the ideology espoused, and the history 'remembered' by the snowshoers were all strategies of representation which constituted identity. However, this was a particular and exclusive identity which spoke only for the white, male, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon/Celtic membership of the sport clubs. Nevertheless, it was an identity circulated widely at home and abroad as 'Canadian' identity, and well recognized by 1880.

### **Indigenous Canadian Identities**

How could British colonists become native in a foreign land? In order to become naturalized they could either choose to incorporate the real indigenous inhabitants into their own culture and worldview, or reject this Other entirely, but both avenues were problematic.<sup>19</sup> The perceived primitiveness of Native peoples would undermine the colonists' claim to be a civilized nation, while rejecting Native people entirely would cut colonists off from acquiring their natural affinity with the landscape. In the nineteenth century it was widely believed by white colonists that, as an inferior and primitive race, Native people were doomed to extinction in the face of a more advanced civilization. Aboriginal peoples were also viewed through the lens of European stereotypes which imagined Natives as either 'noble' or 'barbarous' savages. British colonists therefore attempted to become native-Canadians by incorporating the idealized image of the former, while rejecting the perceived irrationality and uncivilized character of the latter.<sup>20</sup> The

---

<sup>18</sup> I will take snowshoeing up again in chapter 4 to discuss the important role it played in the Montreal Winter Carnivals in the 1880s.

<sup>19</sup> These are the options envisioned by Goldie, *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> It was important to retain the barbarous savage in order that their negative qualities would highlight the positive qualities appropriated from the noble savage by the colonists. Situated outside the boundary of national identity, the barbarous savage defined its limits. Deloria 20-22.

attributes and activities of the noble savage provided colonists with the indigenising experience of contact with the landscape and climate of North America which was essential to feeling themselves at home in a new land. Snowshoeing, canoeing and hunting for moose and caribou were activities learned from Native peoples, and mastering them gave white colonists the skills required to navigate and survive in the North American natural environment.<sup>21</sup> Taking the appropriation of Native culture one step further, the British colonists 'improved' Native skills by imposing their own notions of science and order upon them. These were not imperative life skills for British colonists living in the urban environment, but were strenuous physical activities akin to the manly sports popularized by British public schools, and so were transformed into uniquely Canadian organized sports, governed by rules which ensured discipline and 'fair play'. This intervention justified the colonists' claim to have invented the sports, and legitimized their claim to be native-Canadians.

The British were not, of course, the first colonists of North America, and in appropriating Native culture, they were also appropriating aspects of French-Canadian culture. For, if we look back in the history of snowshoeing in Canada, we find a succession of erasures. Early explorers who arrived in the New World were at first startled by the strange "guttled shoes" worn by Native peoples, but quickly realized what an efficient method of transportation they had devised. During the French Regime, the

---

<sup>21</sup> There are two streams of thought about the appropriation of Native peoples in the struggle to create American national identity. Deloria points to the recurrent propensity for Americans to "play Indian" in order to claim themselves as native Americans, while others have argued that white Indian-hunters such as Daniel Boone or Buffalo Bill Cody were the desired patriotic role model. For the latter see, Daniel J. Herman, "The Farmer, the Naturalist and the Hunter in the Genesis of an Indigenous Identity" (Ph.D. diss. University of California at Berkeley, 1995). Aboriginal culture was a theme of the initiation rituals for the American Improved Order of Red Men fraternal societies: Mark Carnes, "Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual," Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990): 37-66.

military, *habitant* farmers, *engagées* in the fur trade, and the unlicensed *coureurs de bois* all used snowshoes as a matter of course. So, when British merchants and settlers arrived after the Conquest, snowshoes in their eyes were as much an attribute of French-Canadian culture as they were of Native peoples, and they considered both groups as 'native'. By learning snowshoeing and other 'native' skills, the British merchants, clerks and factors connected with the fur trade - the Nor'Westers - were able to live in the *pays d'en haut* during the winter season, and could thus themselves claim to be 'North Men' and therefore native.

The men who formed the MSSC in 1843 were of the generation of the sons and grandsons of the original Nor'Westers, and some, like Col. Ermatinger, had worked in the North West themselves.<sup>22</sup> But by that time the era of the fur traders was dying and their merchant successors had become 'river barons' who led a far less active and adventuresome life. At this time too, the valley of the St. Lawrence was becoming increasingly settled, with a network of roads making the cart or sleigh a popular and viable means of transport. Snowshoes, the indispensable winter tool of the Nor'Westers, were already becoming an anachronism in the developing urban areas, and were no longer a necessity but a *divertissement*.<sup>23</sup> Yet, we can imagine that the young men of the newly united Province of Canada who read about the life of traders like John Jacob Astor may

---

<sup>22</sup> Nor'Westers was the nickname of members of the North West Company established in 1776 as an umbrella group of predominantly Scots Montreal traders. The last two surviving partners of the Company, Simon Fraser and John McDonald of Garth, were alive in August, 1859: Carolyn Podruchny, "Festivals, Fortitude and Fraternalism: Fur Trade Masculinity and the Beaver Club, 1785-1827," New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995, eds. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith and William C. Wicken (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1998) 31, 42. Sir George Simpson, the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, died at Lachine in 1860: Lawrence J. Burpee, "The Beaver Club", The Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1924, 81.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Carpentier, La Raquette à neige (Sillery: Boréal, 1976) 96.

have yearned to share the thrill and adventure of the early fur trades and explorers, to participate in the same heroic activities, and earn respect and renown.<sup>24</sup> Physical prowess as demonstrated through sport was an avenue by which young Montrealers could show their worth, but only the British games of cricket and football were played in the private schools, and these hardly fit the bill. The earliest sporting clubs formed in British North America promoted the favourite sports of the newly arrived Scottish, English and Irish colonists. For instance, the Montreal Curling Club was established in 1807, and this was joined in 1829 by the Hunt Club. In addition, cricket was played wherever the military were garrisoned.<sup>25</sup> But, beginning in 1840, a new type of sport club emerged - initially in Montreal, but quickly spreading to other major cities and towns.<sup>26</sup> These clubs promoted *indigenous* Canadian activities such as snowshoeing, lacrosse, and later tobogganing, and were the preserve of the growing numbers of merchants, businessmen, professionals, and managers. These clubs valorized endurance, strength, steady nerves and fair play, and through them members constructed class and gender identities, as well as coming to see themselves as members of a new nation with characteristics which differentiated them from the British and Americans. Foremost amongst them were the Montreal snowshoe clubs.

---

<sup>24</sup> Washington Irving's biography of Astor, Astoria, was published in 1836 and vividly depicted life in Fort William during the North West Company era and compared the fur traders to Highland Chieftains. See Patricia Jasen, Wild Things. Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 83. The influence of Thomas Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship should not be underestimated, and is especially significant since he advocated men of "strength, energy, and action". This was taken up and elaborated by Charles Kingsley in advocating 'muscular Christianity'. See Haley, ch. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play. The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1867-1914, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987) 17. Other histories of sport in Canada which include accounts of snowshoeing in Montreal, but are not otherwise cited, are: Allen E. Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada - 1868 to 1900." Ph.D. diss, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969.

<sup>26</sup> A Quebec club was formed in 1845. Jean-Paul Massicotte, "Rôle ethno-historique de la raquette," CJHS 17.1 (1986): 1-10.

Within the next two decades, Montreal was emerging as an industrialized city and her citizens were re-grouping to form new alliances along ethnic and class lines in order to fit changing working and living conditions. Before industrialization, land and old wealth had legitimized social dominance, but the growing group of men made wealthy through business enterprises now challenged the old hierarchies. Professional men -lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects - who had once served and identified with the aristocracy, now saw their interests shared more closely by the new entrepreneurial classes, and formulated their own ideal of service as justification for working for a living.<sup>27</sup> The smaller entrepreneurs - merchants, storekeepers, contractors and businessmen - as well as salaried managers, accountants and clerks, saw themselves as distinct from both the landed elite and the working poor. It was this middling group, which I describe as the professional and commercial middle classes, who made up the bulk of sport club membership in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Club membership was a way for these men to publically claim and display their status. The members jealously guarded their reputations as respectable, hard-working citizens. They distinguished themselves from the ultra-rich, who belonged to clubs promoting British rather than indigenous sports, and were much less interested in asserting their Canadian identity than they were in

---

<sup>27</sup> Robert Wayne Simpson, The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto 1827-1881 (Ph.D.diss, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1987) 67-73: Simpson claims the influence of professionals as a group has been underestimated. He argues that the professional class attitude toward philanthropy, benevolence and working-class organizations was "instrumental in regulating participation in numerous urban activities" (39).

<sup>28</sup> As already noted in the Introduction, there was a lower range within the membership, since it also included store-clerks, bookkeepers and cashiers (usually sons of members, or worthy young men sponsored by their employer), and the proportion of members who were salaried workers increased over time: Metcalfe, "Organised Sport" 18, 83. Metcalfe shows that many of the club members "rose to the most responsible positions in the commercial, financial and educational world of Montreal": "Evolution" 158 n.43. For a discussion of the difficulty in defining and quantifying this "new middle class," see John Lowerson, Sport and the English Middle-classes, 1870-1914 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993) 6-15.

maintaining their ties and allegiances to England.<sup>29</sup>

Snowshoeing began, then, as an organized sport in 1840, when a group of twelve young Montrealers began meeting together on Saturday afternoons in order to tie on snowshoes and go out together on a ten or twelve mile tramp in the environs of the city.<sup>30</sup> On their return they celebrated at Tetu's Cafe at the corner of St. James and St Peter Streets. Snowshoeing was not only an activity the Nor'Westers would have engaged in, but tramping expeditions were also a simulation of their journeys. In symbolic terms, the tramping expeditions can be seen as ritual journeys: the participants mustered their brigade within the city, then set off into the bush charting their own course across country. Once the tramp was over, or at the half-way point, it became part of the ritual for club members to socialize and make merry, just as their British and French-Canadian predecessors had at the trading forts and at Beaver Club meetings held in Montreal in the winter season.<sup>31</sup> The connection between the MSSC and Nor'Westers, (and their abilities

---

<sup>29</sup> This was also true of Toronto sport clubs. See R. Wayne Simpson, "Toronto's Early Sporting Clubs: A 'Compact' History", Proceedings of the 5th Canadian Symposium on the history of Sport and Physical Education University of Toronto, August 1982: 199-204. Simpson shows that the Jarvis and Robinson families were involved with cricket, curling, lawn bowling, and yachting - all imported rather than indigenous sports.

<sup>30</sup> Although there are no records of the early years of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, familiarly known as 'the tuque bleu', it was claimed by a Club history written in 1882 that the founders were young men from some of the oldest families in Montreal: Hugh W. Becket, The Montreal Snow Shoe Club. Its history and record with a synopsis of the racing events of other clubs throughout the Dominion. from 1840 to the present time (Montreal: Becket Bros., 1882) 4-6. Becket was a long-standing member of the club and served as an officer for many years. This book and the records of the MSSC, which include Minute Books, annual reports, scrapbooks and newspaper reports, are the evidentiary basis for this study. The first President of the MSSC when it was formally organized in 1843 was Col. Ermatinger, a fur trader and magistrate; other members were his brother, the Chief of Police; E. Lamontagne, later a New York wine merchant; C. J. Coursol, judge, mayor and M.P.; and bank managers, lawyers and colonial aides: Alan Metcalfe, "Organized Sport" 79. Metcalfe claims that "the members were drawn from the highest social strata of Montreal society", however the MSSC and the MLC never attracted more than a small handful of young men from the ultra-rich families such as the Molsons and Allans.

<sup>31</sup> It was the custom for those Nor'Westers who were not wintering in the *pays d'en haut* to meet at various hotels or taverns in Montreal during the off-season from December to April for

as native-Canadians) is illustrated by an 1863 article, entitled "Canada in Winter". In discussing snowshoeing, the author claims that "the old Montreal Club, the pioneer organization, a Nor'West family of Murrays, Hughes, Coffin and other notables of twenty years ago, proved equal to the beating of the fleetest Indians..."<sup>32</sup>

In taking up snowshoeing and organizing sporting fraternities, Montrealers were engaging in a Native activity which dated back further than the recorded history of the continent, and had strong links to the French Regime, as well as to the history of the British in North America. In the act of snowshoeing, they were constituting themselves as a new type of native-Canadian, and in the process writing a *British* history of the nation. Over the years, the memory of these 'first' snowshoe club members of 'olden times' was repeatedly evoked in official Club histories, in newspaper reports, at the annual dinners and weekly Club get-togethers. Nicholas Hughes was particularly revered as the living remnant of the Club founders. He was for many years President, and was subsequently accorded the title 'Honorary President', along with the nickname "Evergreen" which he probably earned owing to his considerable height as well as his longevity. The exploits of other Club members in 'days gone by' were memorialized too in oft-repeated stories, verse and song. In 1868, for instance, George Parys was reported as having written of them, and another long-time and active member, W. George Beers, contributed several popular snowshoe songs to the Club which glorified past deeds.<sup>33</sup> Besides the men themselves,

---

"winter bacchanalian feasts". These revelries were held under the auspices of the Club, founded by the fur traders in 1785 as an elite dining club, whose membership was restricted to active and retired fur traders and their colleagues who had wintered in the north. These 'North Men' or 'Nor'Westers' were mostly connected with the North West Company, but honorary members and guests were also invited.

<sup>32</sup> This article was written by W. George Beers and originally published in British American Magazine 2 (Dec 1863): 166-71.

<sup>33</sup> NAC: MSSC Minute Book 1861-1869, 93.



certain snowshoe expeditions, or 'tramps', gained mythical status in Club lore. The famous tramp to St. Vincent de Paul in the early days of the Club when the participants were caught in a blizzard and 'went fifteen miles astray' was a favourite: "Such hair-breadth escapes and wonderful adventures as belong to it were surely never matched by any other excursion".<sup>34</sup> Another famous outing was the race to St. Hyacinthe when one group made three miles in twenty-five minutes, while another "found themselves, after half an hour's hard running, farther from the "Mountain House" than at the start."<sup>35</sup> Other tramps were remembered as examples of athletic prowess, such as "the expedition to St. John's when five men ran fourteen straight miles, and others to Lachine, in which the club raced for the whole distance"<sup>36</sup> Beers commemorated in song the time when a group of snowshoers overtook a train held up by snow drifts:

Men may talk of steam and railroads,  
 But too well our comrades know  
 We can beat the fastest engine  
 In a night tramp o'er the snow.  
 It may puff, sir, it may blow, sir,  
 It may whistle, it may scream,  
 But lightly dipping, gently tipping,  
 Snow shoes leave behind the steam.<sup>37</sup>

What seems to have appealed particularly to the snowshoers' imaginations in these stories was the ability of their members to navigate the 'wilderness', and to endure and conquer the worst conditions that nature could throw at them. They prided themselves on their pluck, their stamina, and, consequently, their manliness; attributes which were part of what

---

<sup>34</sup> Newspaper clipping appended to MSSC Minute Book for February 15, 1868, 93. A very lyrical description of another tramp to St. Vincent is given in a newspaper clipping in MAAA Scrapbook 1, 132.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* 93.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* 93.

<sup>37</sup> Becket 79.

Don Morrow has termed 'the snowshoe ethos'.<sup>38</sup> Tales of horrendously difficult tramps were valued because they demonstrated the admirable qualities of the men. This was also one of the attractions of the mountain steeplechase races introduced in 1869, and of the annual race meetings, for at these competitions individuals and clubs could demonstrate their athleticism. Through repetition, these stories became part of the history of the club as well as of the new nation, especially since they linked snowshoeing back into the history of the fur trade. This was a strategy of representation which was used again in connection with lacrosse.

In the history of the fur trade and its British, French-Canadian, and Native peoples, the snowshoers found a model to emulate in constructing a native-Canadian identity for themselves. Physical prowess was one aspect of this identity, and sociability was another. Sociability was always a principal feature of MSSC routine. The destination of every tramp was an inn or restaurant.<sup>39</sup> Once arrived, the snowshoers would enjoy a meal punctuated by toasts, then someone would start up a tune on a piano or other musical instrument, and the members would join in with songs and dancing. Great hilarity would ensue, with some of the men taking the ladies' place in the dance, their sex signified by a handkerchief tied around their arm.<sup>40</sup> Similar stories of sociability are told about the *voyageurs* in their winter camps, and about the Beaver Club, whose meetings began at

---

<sup>38</sup> Morrow claims that in 1860 the ethos included manliness, skill, vigour and a pronounced devotion to the activity. During the 1870s "snowshoeing became an ethic, symbolic of right values, moral purity and all that was right and good for society": Morrow, "Knights" 16, 29.

<sup>39</sup> Taverns traditionally served as venues for games and gambling, and one of the problems faced by clubs was the need to overcome their scurrilous reputation. See Howard A. Christie, "The Function of the Tavern in Toronto 1834 to 1875 with special reference to Sport" (M.P.E. thesis, University of Windsor, 1973).

<sup>40</sup> Frank Oppel, ed., Tales of the Canadian North (Secaucus, N.J.: Castle, 1984).

four o'clock in the afternoon and often went on into the small hours of the morning.<sup>41</sup> The Beaver Club was one step closer to aboriginal culture than the snowshoe clubs, and a calumet or peace pipe was passed around to mark the beginning of the Club's formal rituals, which included speeches and toasts. After the meal, the more informal activities began: singing *voyageur* songs, reminiscing about life in the fur trade, dancing and re-enacting canoeing adventures.<sup>42</sup> Snowshoers had a similar approach to music. Singing was important on the tramp; it helped the men keep in step and passed the time enjoyably. Songs were written specially for the clubs by their members and were often the means by which club histories were passed on and club identity created.<sup>43</sup> Besides club songs, they adopted and adapted English and French songs at will. "*En roulant ma boule*" was a particular favourite, as it had been at Beaver Club dinners, and many of their songs ended with a 'snowshoe call' modelled on an "Indian shriek".<sup>44</sup> At the first Montreal Snow Shoe Club Concert given in February, 1873, 'Evergreen' Hughes sang "*En roulant ma boule*" while the chorus of 50 snowshoers imitated the paddling of *voyageurs* in canoes.<sup>45</sup> This parallels the description of a Beaver Club soir e:

They met at Dillon's Hotel to drink toasts in madeira, sing the old songs of the *voyageurs*, the "sonorous" voice of James McGill was mentioned—and do a little play acting: sitting on the floor and pretending they were paddling

---

<sup>41</sup> Colonel Landmann, *Adventures and Recollections*, (London: Colburn, 1852) describes a dinner which included 120 bottles of wine and dancing on tables. Quoted by Burpee 86.

<sup>42</sup> Podruchny argues that reminiscing was an important part of the Beaver Club culture, facilitating fraternal bonding and self-affirmation. Further, "Reminiscing was an essential method in teaching and revering masculine values of strength, courage, fortitude, and perseverance gained in fur trade experience": Podruchny 45.

<sup>43</sup> For example, the reminiscences in "In the Days when we went Snow Shoeing", Becket 100.

<sup>44</sup> John J. Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe, or Pictures of Travel in the Canadas...*, [1850], vol. 1, (New York: Paladium Press, 1969) 119, quoted by Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur*, 1955, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1972) 155. John Palmer, a traveller in 1817, noted that "Indian manners, customs and language, especially war whoops, were closely imitated at Club dinners": Podruchny 44.

<sup>45</sup> NAC: MAAA, Scrapbook 1, 145.

*a canoe de maître up river.*<sup>46</sup>

In other words, there was a striking similarity between the activities of the Nor'Westers and the snowshoers; and French Canadians had a similar reputation for their hospitality and love of merry-making. Hence, in developing these traditions of physicality and sociability, the snowshoers represented themselves as the natural heirs of the fur traders, French colonists and Native peoples.

The clothing worn by snowshoe club members also combined references to Natives and French Canadians and further highlighted the historical connotations of snowshoeing. During the 1850s and 1860s ten or so new clubs were formed, many having a fleeting existence of only a few seasons, as for example, the Beaver, Aurora and Dominion clubs. Every club adopted the same uniform of white blanket coat tied with a long sash, complemented by a wool tuque, plus leggings and moccasins.<sup>47</sup> However, by the 1870s each club had its own distinctive colours, used for epaulets or trim on the coats, and for the tuque. W. George Beers, for instance, was photographed in the Notman Photographic Studio wearing the uniform of the St. George's Snow Shoe Club: white coat with distinctive membership badge, purple epaulets and purple and white tuque [Figure 1.2].\* Since the snowshoe clubs from time-to-time made rules regulating the colour, style

---

<sup>46</sup> Donald MacKay, The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987) 14-15.

<sup>47</sup> In chapter 4, I argue that in the late 1870s French-Canadian clubs adopted different coloured coats as a distinguishing marker. The blanket coat is the subject of a forthcoming M.A. thesis by Eileen Stack, Department of Textiles, Fashion Merchandising, and Design, University of Rhode Island. For a detailed discussion of clothing as a form of communication, and a discussion of the role of uniforms as a means of legitimating membership and "maintaining rigorous adherence to norms" even in leisure time, see Nathan Joseph, Uniforms and Nonuniforms. Communication Through Clothing (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986) 3.

\* Unless otherwise stated, all figures are photographs produced by the William Notman Studio, and all other artists are unknown.



Fig. 1.2: "Dr. W. George Beers," 1881. NPA: 60469-BII

and detailing of their uniform, and stipulated when it should be worn, it is clear that these clothes were not just everyday winter wear, but actually a special set of clothing which one wore when snowshoeing. In putting on this uniform, the snowshoe club members were dressing up as a 'composite native': the moccasins and leggings were aboriginal, the sash was a French-Canadian *ceinture fléchée*, the tuque was a French liberty cap, while the blanket coat resembled typical *habitant* winter clothing.<sup>48</sup> The figure of the *habitant* was an historical stereotype of the French-Canadian *consitaire* from the French Regime, but French-Canadian farmers and rural dwellers were still frequently referred to as *habitants* or *habitans* by English colonists.

Evidently, the snowshoe uniform was regarded as 'picturesque,' and constituted a distinctively Canadian 'look'. Time and again, contemporary newspaper reports remarked upon the novel and picturesque sight of snowshoers in their blanket coats with snowshoes slung over their shoulders, trudging through the streets to their club rendezvous.

'Picturesque' was a term associated with painting and drawing which was popularized by William Gilpin in the late eighteenth century, and persisted throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> It was a system of composition by which a landscape was made 'pleasing' through a careful combination of 'rough' and 'smooth' elements. Rustic figures were positioned in specific areas of the composition in order to provide interest and indicate scale. When nineteenth-century newspaper writers recorded the 'picturesque sight'

---

<sup>48</sup> The blanket coat was a version of the French *capote*, a mid-length, hooded coat made from wool blanket cloth: Eileen Stack, "The Significance of the Blanket Coat to Anglo-Canadian Identity," paper presented at 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Symposium, The Costume Society of America, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 22-25, 1999, 1. See also, Francis Back, "The Canadian Capote (*Capote*)," The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly 27 (1991): 4-15.

<sup>49</sup> William Gilpin, Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty: on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting, 1792 (Westmead, England: Gregg, 1972).

created by snowshoers, it implied that the figure of the snowshoer evoked rustic connotations, namely that these were figures reminiscent of a rural idyll from days gone by.<sup>50</sup> Thus, if the snowshoers were considered picturesque and rustic, it meant that they were seen, and saw themselves as, engaged in historical activities closely linked to the rural landscape.<sup>51</sup>

Moreover, in paintings produced in Canada in the nineteenth century, there were two types of rustic figure: the Native and the French-Canadian *habitant*, and these figures became increasingly conflated in the paintings made in Quebec by British artists after c.1830.<sup>52</sup> As illustrated by a watercolour entitled "Canadian Farmer" [Figure 1.3] produced in 1840 by Millicent Mary Chaplin, a British visitor, the clothing of a typical rustic figure no longer made it possible to distinguish between Native, mixed-blood or French

---

<sup>50</sup> Art historians John Barrell and Ann Bermingham have persuasively demonstrated that, since picturesque paintings were carefully constructed to produce an ideal view, they were not innocent descriptions of an existing reality; rather, they were normative ideological prescriptions imposing the viewpoint of the dominant classes. For example, in England the use of increasingly indistinct rustic figures by painters such as John Constable functioned as an apologia for rural dispossession: John Barrell, Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Ann Bermingham, Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). See also, Malcolm Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1769-1900 (Aldership: Scholar Press, 1989). Kim Ian Michasiw has argued that "Canadianists increasingly have come to see the picturesque as an essential determinant in the dehumanization of native peoples and in the exploitation of the environment." Kim Ian Michasiw, "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," Representations 38 (Spring 1992): 76-100.

<sup>51</sup> For example, Becket 388. Snowshoe costumes were considered to be a nostalgic reminder of 'Old Quebec' by commentators in the 1890s: Frank Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894", Canadian Historical Review 69.2 (1988): 167-202.

<sup>52</sup> Even during his travels in 1750, Peter Kalm remarked on the fact that Natives dressed like the French (560), but also claimed that the French "dressed much like the Indians." (460, 558). The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America/ the English version of 1770, trans. A.B. Bensen, Vol. 1 (New York: Dover, 1966). W.J. Eccles also argues that the *canadiens* acquired their dress and way of life - trading, living in the bush, and carefree spending - from Native peoples. W.J. Eccles, "Society and the Frontier," Readings in Canadian History, Vol. 1, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. eds., R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1994) 95-98. It has also been claimed that the fear of being mistaken for Natives is a fundamental aspect of French-Canadian identity: Del age 116, 110.



Fig. 1.3: Millicent Mary Chaplin, "Canadian Farmer," c.1840, watercolour. NAC: C-866



Canadian; a generic native/woodsman/farmer figure stood for all.<sup>53</sup> Extensive trans-cultural borrowing had occurred between *voyageurs*, *coureurs de bois*, *habitants* and Native peoples since the sixteenth-century.<sup>54</sup> Both *habitants* and *voyageurs* had adopted elements of aboriginal clothing, particularly in foot and leg wear, both used pipes and beaded tobacco pouches, and, of course, both had adopted aboriginal means of transport - birch-bark canoes, snowshoes, and toboggans. The uniform chosen by the snowshoe clubs was remarkably similar to the winter clothing worn by these 'Canadians of old'. Paul Carpentier agrees that snowshoe club uniforms referred to rustic and romanticized figures: "L'image type de l'habitant canadien fut reprise et ranimée par les fondateurs des clubs de raquettes...certains d'entre eux prétendaient être les derniers de la race des voyageurs."<sup>55</sup> The outfit also bore a close resemblance to the winter dress of the other 'composite natives', the Red River Métis, as depicted by an 1851 traveller [Figure 1.4]. Thus, snowshoers were enacting a cultural fiction: their clothing invented memories of Canada's olden days, linking British colonists to the aboriginal and French-Canadian past of the continent. As a further step in this discursive process, this visual image of 'Canadians' was reinforced by, and may well have been an influence on, the 'happy *habitant*' images

---

<sup>53</sup> This statement is not, of course, true of paintings produced in the West to document the last remnants of a dying race. The expectation for these paintings was that Native people would appear in paint and feathers. It was also not true of images produced by French-Canadian artists. For an more extended discussion of the visual conflation of these figures, and the way in which this conflation of attributes confirmed and helped to constitute the discourse of Native peoples as a 'dying' race, see my "Visual Representations of Native Peoples in Quebec 1760-1840", M.A. thesis, York University, 1992. The difference between French Canadian and British artists' representations is examined in my "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric. The image of 'the Native' and 'the habitant' in the formation of colonial identities in early nineteenth-century Lower Canada," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 16.1 (1994): 11-29.

<sup>54</sup> Washington Irving, 1810 commented that the dress of the *voyageurs* was "half civilized, half savage," being a blanket coat, trousers or leggings, moccasins and woven belt. He considered them full of gaiety and fun, obliging and civil, as well as prodigiously hard working. Quoted by J.E. Foster and D.R. Richeson, comps., *The Fur Trade in Canada since 1787*, vol. 73 (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada) 20.

<sup>55</sup> Carpentier 102. Unfortunately, the author does not develop this comment or provide any evidence for the statement.



Fig. 1.4: Frank Blackwell Mayer, "Winter Dress of Red River half-breeds," 1851; drawing, Newberry Library, Chicago: Frank B. Mayer Papers, Sketchbook 44. Reproduced in Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980) Plate 16.

produced by illustrators for the popular press and painters such as Robert Todd, Cornelius Krieghoff and William Raphael.<sup>56</sup> By taking on the rustic persona of the Nor'Westers, *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*, snowshoe club members displayed themselves as sons of the soil, closely linked with nature and the land. They positioned themselves within an invented mythological national past and appropriated the visual attributes of both 'real' Canadian natives in order to do so. Organized club snowshoeing functioned to usurp and erase the Native and French-Canadian histories of snowshoeing, obscuring the fact that snowshoes were not just part of the *British* history of Canada, but were also part of the French-Canadian and Native histories of Canada. When John Mercier McMullen published the first history of Canada as a single province in 1855, he had little regret that Native people were disappearing, or that French rule was over. He saw the latter as an authoritarian regime which had retarded the development of agriculture and industry. Significantly, though, he recognized the *coureurs de bois* as worthy ancestors, the only French Canadians who had any vigour, self-reliance or initiative.<sup>57</sup> Cultural performances like snowshoeing allowed colonists to link themselves with selected aspects of the history of the continent, and, since the activity itself was indigenous, performing it naturalized them as 'native-Canadians', whether they were Canadian-born or not.

---

<sup>56</sup> Consider, for example, Robert Todd, "The Ice Cone, Montmorency Falls" c.1845, Cornelius Krieghoff, "Merrymaking" 1860, and William Raphael, "Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal" 1866. It was not until 1880 or later that the 'empty' landscape itself was employed to signify the nation in painting and photography. See Reid, Our Own Country Canada 6-8, and Jonathan Bordo, "Jack Pine - Wilderness Sublime or the erasure of the aboriginal presence from the landscape," JCS 27.4 (Winter 1992): 98-128.

<sup>57</sup> John Mercier McMullen, History of Canada, from Its First Discovery to the Present Time (Brockville, 1855) discussed in M. Brook Taylor, Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans, Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989) 154-156. *Coureurs de bois* were unlicensed traders who defied French mercantilist rules by trading with the English.

### Canadian Character

The British contribution to snowshoeing was in providing an institutional framework which ensured the sport was organized exclusively in terms of race, class, and sex, and that the members' behaviour was disciplined and regulated. It also ensured that the clubs were at the forefront of public displays of imperial loyalty. Montreal was the hot-bed of organized sport in British North America in the second half of the nineteenth century, and this was entirely due to the initiative and enthusiasm of English-speaking citizens. French Canadians were either uninterested in participating in these sports, rejected them because they were dominated by anglophones, or were respectful of the Catholic Church's disapproval of organized sports as being a morally dubious and subversive force.<sup>58</sup> It was not until the late 1870s that specifically French-Canadian snowshoe clubs were formed; the rosters of the major clubs before that time include only a handful of French-Canadian names. French Canadians were not actively discouraged from joining, although the need to be sponsored by two existing members mitigated against this, as did the fact that there were far fewer francophones than anglophones in the professional and commercial middle classes. The Canadian Snow Shoe Club was established in 1870 "in the hope that it might encourage the practice of the sport among young French Canadians," and by 1873 half of its 50 members were French-speaking. However, it is clear from a newspaper account of the annual dinner in that year that, francophone membership notwithstanding, the leadership and conduct of the club was dominated by English-speaking members.<sup>59</sup> Exclusively French-Canadian clubs did not emerge until the end of the decade, when *Le Canadien*, *L'Union*, *Le Trappeur* and *Les Patriotes* were formed. By the time the Winter Carnivals were being held in the 1880s, French-Canadian clubs were growing quickly, and

---

<sup>58</sup> Donald Guay, *La Conquête du Sport: Le sport et la société québécoise au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Montreal: Lanctot, 1997) ch.5.

<sup>59</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 33.

Beers hoped that snowshoeing "with other sports...will draw the nationalities together, and do as much as any other thing to make us all Canadians, in the strict sense of the word."<sup>60</sup>

Although Canadian identity was being constructed from French-Canadian and Native signifiers, the snowshoers did not necessarily want the 'real' natives involved. What the British colonists sought to do was to utilize their *image* of the noble savage and the happy *habitant* in constructing Canadian identity, but often the living version of these cultural fictions got in the way.<sup>61</sup> This is what happened in 1885 when French-Canadian members of the snowshoe clubs became involved in organizing the Winter Carnival, with results which were inconvenient and uncomfortable for their anglophone counterparts. This is also what happened with Native participants in snowshoeing and lacrosse. Native people initially participated in the snowshoe club annual races, but were increasingly excluded after the number of snowshoe clubs grew dramatically after 1868. Whereas, in the early years, Native people had competed with whites in all the events, a few 'Indian Races' became the norm, retained largely because they were a crowd-drawing spectacle. Native people resisted their exclusion and took whatever opportunities they could to turn the situation to their advantage. For instance, at the 1873 Maple Leaf Snow Shoe Club races the white contestants protested when the race was won by Peter Thomas, a Native snowshoer. The protest was decided in favour of Thomas since the race had been advertised as "open", although the race organizers had intended this to mean open to members of other clubs. Thomas had challenged this understanding by entering the race,

---

<sup>60</sup> Winter Carnival Illustrated (Montreal: George Bishop & Co., February 1884) 10.

<sup>61</sup> Pratt calls this the "impossible necessity of becoming indigenous" - impossible because our image of the indigene is a European construction, or cultural fiction. Hence, we can never get back to the 'real' indigene, because Natives have only ever been seen as images. Mary-Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992) 13.

and the principle of fair play overrode racism in this case.<sup>62</sup> It was not a coincidence, therefore, when shortly afterwards the Montreal Pedestrian Club became the first Canadian sport club to adopt a definition of amateur status. This excluded anybody who had ever competed for money, or had ever been paid for any reason in connection with athletics, "or is a labourer or Indian." This disqualified all the celebrated Indian runners, snowshoers and lacrosse players.<sup>63</sup> There was further controversy at the 1875 Caledonia Club races over the running of the 'Indian race' owing to a rumour that the first and second contestants had shared the prize money. White members were "outraged", but mostly through fear that this would have a deleterious effect on the viability of the races, because, they claimed, the "Indian races form one of the attractions of a snowshoe race, and should be contested fairly and honestly."<sup>64</sup> More blatant still was the running of the Indian race at the 1875 Grand Military races, when the leading snowshoer fell and the next runner waited for him and let him overtake and win the race.<sup>65</sup> Since the increased popularity of snowshoeing in the 1870s as a spectator sport reflected the increased emphasis on competition and, more importantly, gambling, protestations made by white commentators in the latter two cases were probably the result of concern over fair gambling rather than fair play.<sup>66</sup> At times, though, as when Thomas and Keraronwe entered the 'open' race, Native people refused to be complicit in their own oppression. This, for instance, led white commentators to complain that the war costume worn by Natives in the Ottawa Snow Shoe

---

<sup>62</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 33.

<sup>63</sup> Frank Cosentino, Afros, Aborigines and Amateur Sport in Pre World War One Canada, Canada's Ethnic Group Series, Booklet No. 16 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998) 18.

<sup>64</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 292

<sup>65</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 292

<sup>66</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 17. The increased participation in snowshoeing reflected the influence of Beers and the popularity of lacrosse, since snowshoeing was winter training for lacrosse: Lindsay, "History of Sport" 71.

races of 1873 "was not calculated to strike awe into the hearts of strangers".<sup>67</sup>

The "English character" that Durham sought to impose on French-speaking Canadians was an ideology of manliness, discipline, hard-work, temperance and moral virtue. Although industrialization did not get underway fully in Montreal until the 1860s, there is evidence to suggest that even by the 1840s ideas about class, gender and race had created a masculine, white, colonial, bourgeois identity based on the belief that hard work was its own reward, and moral conduct rather than material wealth was a measure of success and usefulness in society. As recent scholarship shows, this was a profoundly gendered identity in which the male was the measure of all things, and women considered the subordinate repositories of moral virtue.<sup>68</sup> This growing group demonstrated their virtue in the fraternal associations and networks which gave their lives meaning and conferred status.<sup>69</sup> Since historians rarely find evidence of the middle class acknowledging a sense of class consciousness, they have been forced to infer bourgeois awareness of belonging to a class from observation of a shared life style. For instance, Stuart Blumin found consumption practices, occupational category and residential location differentiated classes in Philadelphia; and Mary Ryan found that similarities in religion, family practices and domestic values identified the middle class in Oneida, New York.<sup>70</sup> In

---

<sup>67</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 33.

<sup>68</sup> Morgan, Public Men and Virtuous Women 162. I use the term 'bourgeois' and 'middle class' here as virtually interchangeable, since it was not until the 1860s that the category of salaried employee became a factor in the social hierarchy. Until then, the middle class *were* bourgeois, ie. they owned property and the means of production.

<sup>69</sup> The achievement of responsible government has usually been interpreted as "an advance for democracy and for Canadian autonomy", but recent scholarship emphasizes instead the strengthening of executive powers after 1850 and the active role taken by the colonial bourgeoisie in reshaping society through professional bodies, voluntary associations and social reform: Allan Greer & Ian Radford, eds., Colonial Leviathan. State Formation in Mid-nineteenth-century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992) 7-8.

<sup>70</sup> Blumin Emergence of the Middle Class ; Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class.

the Canadian context, Andrew Holman has looked for the ways status was expressed through display of the self in Galt and Goderich.<sup>71</sup> He argues that the discourse of 'cultivation' and taste was a gendered ideal which included locally constructed norms prescribing personal appearance, body management, personal demeanour and institutional affiliations. This accords with the connection Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall found in their seminal study of the English middle class, between domestic life and professional and business success, where a strict code of behaviour and properly ordered household were crucial ways to signify status.<sup>72</sup>

Sporting clubs, and associational life in general, were a place outside the home in which this code of behaviour was formulated and inculcated. The snowshoe ethos complemented the values of temperance and polite manners taught within the sphere of the respectable middle-class family. It was the cultivation and display of moral superiority which distinguished the middle class from both the elite and the lower classes. Sporting clubs are, therefore, a profitable place in which to explore the formation of a middle-class consciousness, and the means by which it was represented to the public, whether through photographic portrait, press report, or the sport itself.

While French Canadians were not actively discouraged from joining the clubs, Natives were actively excluded, as were undesirable anglophones. Most clubs adopted the organizational structure developed by the MSSC, which was run by a hierarchy of club officials and committees, and employed the "blackball voting system" by which new

---

<sup>71</sup> Holman op. cit.

<sup>72</sup> Davidoff and Hall, op. cit. See also, John Tosh, "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class. The Family of Edward White Benson," Manful Assertions. Masculinities in Britain since 1800, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh (London: Routledge, 1991) 45.



members had to be proposed, seconded and voted in almost unanimously.<sup>73</sup> This ensured that, although the yearly subscription was actually reasonably priced (e.g. \$2.00 for the 1872-73 season) and within the range of the lower ranks of clerks and bookkeepers, only the 'right' people could join, especially since the uniform, snowshoes and meals increased the cost.<sup>74</sup>

Although membership was carefully controlled, clubs did provide an opportunity for social mobility. When the snowshoers mustered and formed up for a tramp, they cast off their everyday social and class standings, and were re-ordered into their club hierarchy. The tramp itself was a liminal state in which mundane rules did not operate: individual prowess had to be subordinated in order to maintain an orderly single file, social position had no precedence over club ranking, and economic success was subordinate to discipline, manliness and other aspects of the snowshoe ethos. Men whose status was relatively low outside the club, might therefore accrue extra status through their club activities.<sup>75</sup> Club membership would bring them into contact with wealthier and more successful members who might provide them with opportunities to enhance their social and economic status.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 30, n.88. Morrow explains that "one negative vote in ten was sufficient to prohibit membership to a proposed candidate".

<sup>74</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 33. In comparison, Curling Clubs were for a more elite membership since they cost \$8-10 per season: Samuel Edward Dawson, Montreal Winter Carnival, February 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup>, 1884. Supplement to Dawson's Hand-Book for the city of Montreal ([Montreal]: Montreal Gazette Printing Co., [1884]) 10. Snowshoes cost between \$1.50 and \$3.50 in the 1880s. See also note 26.

<sup>75</sup> Evergreen Hughes was a prime example. He was a life-long government clerk with relatively little social status outside the MSSC, but had tremendous social standing because he was an athletic hero and long-time Club President. Another example was a young grocer called Charles Radiger who is mentioned in the MAAA records as having won many victories against Native opponents. He re-appeared later as a successful Winnipeg trader who was an honoured guest at club dinners in Winnipeg and Montreal. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 35.

<sup>76</sup> Simpson's study of Toronto sporting clubs concludes that the elite used clubs to further business interests and "develop, maintain and nourish social interlocking relationships": Simpson,

The club officers - President, Vice-President(s), Secretary, Treasurer, heads of committees etc. - became minor celebrities in Montreal society. Their names were always prominent in advertising, programmes and newspaper coverage, and they were special guests at the annual meetings of other clubs, at which they proposed congratulatory toasts and were toasted in return. These dinners were a time when all the members proudly displayed their medals, proving both their own prowess and that of their club.<sup>77</sup> For instance, the February 1880 annual dinner of the MSSC was attended by the Presidents of the Montreal Golf Club, the Montreal Lacrosse Club, St. George's Snow Shoe Club, the Quebec Snow Show Club and guests from New York. In this last regard, it is evident from the Scrapbooks that Becket was also a member of, or at least in touch with, a variety of American sport and athletic clubs. No doubt contact with American clubs facilitated business even further. Membership lists show that many of the professional and merchant companies in Montreal were represented by their owners or employees in one club or another, and often in several. Hugh Becket, for instance, was a printer, and a member of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, Lacrosse Club, Base-Ball Club, Pedestrian Club, and the Fish & Game Protection Society of Montreal.<sup>78</sup> W.George Beers was a dentist, and at one

---

"Elite and Sport Club Membership" 484.

<sup>77</sup> At the March, 1873 Canada Club annual dinner Mr. Maltby, the 2nd Vice-President of the MSSC was an invited guest and "sported some three or four dozen medals, being literally covered with such trophies": NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 33. Even so, the display of uniforms and badges at such dinners was "probably less powerful than their presence in the office, drawing room or study where clients, neighbours, pupils and parishioners could reflect on the worth of their holders." Lowerson 23.

<sup>78</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, p. 41, 300. No doubt members were also freemasons and member of other fraternal societies. The 'blackball' voting method was used by freemasons, and one of their initiation rituals called "riding the goat" was similar to the "bounce", adopted by the MSSC. The masons' version had the initiate blindfolded and tossed in the air from a blanket, while the MSSC version was for a group of members to toss a new member up in the air manually. The latter became well known because a Notman photograph of the bounce was used on a variety of advertising posters and programs for the winter carnivals. For a discussion of the culture of fraternalism, see: Christopher J. Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony," (Ph.D. diss, University of Western Ontario, London, 1992).

time or another a member of the MSSC, MLC, Beaver Snow Shoe Club and St. George's Snow Shoe Club.

The sport clubs formed a business network that was advantageous to both the clubs and their members,<sup>79</sup> although not immune from criticism by other members of the business community. Mr. Maltby replied to one of these complaints in his toast to "Our Winter Sports" at the MSSC annual dinner of Feb 15, 1873. He was reported as saying that:

The great point in these winter sports was that they gave health and strength to those who partook of them, and so fitted them for their ordinary duties. There was he was sorry to say opposition among the merchants of Montreal to these sports, on the ground that they took up too much of the time of the young men.<sup>80</sup>

This allegation must have provoked some controversy in the community because it was taken up again by Mr. A.W. Ogilvie of the MSSC during speeches at the Canada Snow Shoe Club's annual dinner in March of the same year. It was reported that he said "he was certain employers largely benefited by giving their employees every opportunity to indulge in such healthful exercises." He then pointed to Mr. Maltby, a champion snowshoer and Montreal manufacturer, "a young manufacturer of whom the manufacturers of St. Gabriel Locks were reasonably proud," as a perfect illustration of the benefits of the sport to business.<sup>81</sup> Mr. Maltby's reply is interesting because it illustrates how athletic analogies justified the concept of government regulation of the economy:

In the course of his reply Mr. Maltby expressed his conviction that this Province was destined to become the manufacturing centre of the Dominion, but said a Fair Play tariff was absolutely necessary, and

---

<sup>79</sup> This was particularly true after a number of sporting clubs merged to form the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association in 1881.

<sup>80</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 7.

<sup>81</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 33.

instanced his own experience as "a hard struggle to maintain headway".<sup>82</sup>

'Fair play' in snowshoe races and other competitive amateur sports was achieved through handicapping the most able competitors, in just the same way that the National Policy was later designed to work to the benefit of Canadian manufacturers.<sup>83</sup> By 1880, at least one dry goods company had recognized the possibilities of sport as a business management tool, for it formed its own athletic club "to increase 'friendly feeling' between employers and employees".<sup>84</sup>

The business network also ensured special club needs would be met, and that any profit to be made would go to club members. For instance, when Hugh W. Becket's history of the Club was written, it was published by Becket Bros., a printing company started by his father when he emigrated from Scotland in 1832; and when club uniforms became mandatory, they could be purchased at Gardner's or Lanes' stores. Gardner was certainly a member, and Lane probably was too.<sup>85</sup>

Controlling membership and excluding mechanics and labourers both inculcated certain behaviours and ensured that undesirable behaviour would not occur. Manliness, for instance, was conceived and displayed differently by different classes, which was manifested particularly clearly by middle-class attempts to control what they perceived as working-class violence in field sports. Snowshoeing was repeatedly referred to as 'manly'.

---

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.* 33.

<sup>83</sup> The link between political activism and playing-field rhetoric is explored by Mark Dyreson, "Regulating the Body and the Body Politic," in Pope *New American Sport* 137.

<sup>84</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 300 (764).

<sup>85</sup> J.K. Gardner and J.L. Gardner were both active on MSSC committees organizing events for the winter carnivals. See Sylvie Dufresne, "Le Carnaval d'hiver de Montreal (1883-1889)," (M.A. thesis, University of Quebec at Montreal, 1980) 205.

An early 1842 report referred to it as "manly exercise",<sup>86</sup> a term reiterated countless times over the next five decades. Over the years its status became more and more elevated. In 1868, snowshoeing was "the manliest and best of all" sports;<sup>87</sup> in 1872 it was "a healthful and manly exercise, besides being a purely national pastime".<sup>88</sup> However, it was a particular type of manliness, a term which had several connotations for the snowshoe clubs. The ideal snowshoer was 'plucky' with a 'never-say-die' attitude, he had tremendous stamina, a healthy constitution, was loyal to his nation and the Empire, and ready to fight when called. In the rhetoric of the time, all these qualities were encouraged and imbued by vigorous outdoor exercise and the exclusive company of men.<sup>89</sup> Snowshoeing improved Canadian men's physical development and that, in turn, "brought with it cultivation of the mind."<sup>90</sup> At the dinner given for Lord and Lady Dufferin on January 16, 1873, after a torchlight procession of snowshoers had tramped over Mount Royal in their honour, the Governor General's speech acknowledged these connections:

In studying the characteristics of Canada he had been impressed by the enthusiastic devotion of the people to manly sports and exercise. The importance of these could hardly be overrated. They contributed in a great measure to the civility of the nation's temper and the independence of the national spirit...Perhaps no people could boast of a greater variety of sports than Canada. In the choicest and most appropriate language, he instanced, among others, snow-shoeing, toboganing, skating and lacrosse, the last of which he characterized as the gayest, liveliest and manliest of games.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Montreal Gazette, 8 Jan. 1842 [subsequently referred to as Gazette] quoted by David Brown, "The Northern Character Theme and Sport in Nineteenth-century Canada", Canadian Journal of the History of Sport 20.1 (May 1989) 47.

<sup>87</sup> NAC: MSSC Minute Book (1861-1869) 93: February 15, 1868 report on annual races.

<sup>88</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays, 1857, (London: Macmillan, 1958) had tremendous contemporary influence in popularizing the concept of 'muscular Christianity'.

<sup>90</sup> NAC: MSSC Minute Book (Jan 1870-Mar 1884) 362: newspaper clipping of report on annual dinner held at Windsor Hotel, 9 Feb. 1878.

<sup>91</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, January 1873.

In singling out snowshoeing, tobogganing, skating and lacrosse, Lord Dufferin had clearly been influenced by the distinction between imported and indigenous games made by Beers and others. If it is surprising that he showed a preference for lacrosse, it must be remembered that this was considered the summer equivalent to snowshoeing, and that many of the members of the MSSC were also members of the Montreal Lacrosse Club, therefore the ethos of snowshoeing was directly transferred to the game of lacrosse. Reports of the dinner for the viceregal couple were carried in newspapers abroad, and Becket clipped an article from the Boston Journal which commented on the torchlight procession:

...a curious and eminently Canadian scene was presented in Montreal last Wednesday night...There were hundreds of loyal and strong-limbed Canadians in the lines...and the torchlights, reflected by the snow, made a very brilliant spectacle...It is a hardy race whose sports are of such a sturdy sort as this.<sup>92</sup>

The connection between Canada, Canadian character, physique, climate and outdoor sports was clearly understood, even abroad.

What was also clear was that Canadian national identity was constructed as a male preserve. Endurance, 'pluck' and 'courage' were essential elements of the snowshoe ethos and served to emphasize its manly qualities because they were qualities only recognized through public, outdoors activities not available to women.<sup>93</sup> Generally, adult ladies were restricted in their participation in snowshoeing. They were not accepted as members of the original snowshoe clubs and their participation was confined to 'strolling' or spectating rather than racing. Lindsay reports the brief existence of the Prince of Wales

---

<sup>92</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, Journal [Boston], 22 January, 1873.

<sup>93</sup> All-male associations also "embody men's privileged access to the public sphere, while simultaneously reinforcing women's confinement to household and neighbourhood": Tosh, "What Should Historians do" 186.

Ladies Snow Shoe Club in 1861, but it was not until the 1880s carnivals that women in any number actually participated in the sport.<sup>94</sup> Later clubs did allow women as guests, and the MSSC instituted a "Ladies Night" dinner once a year, but not until 1884. It should be pointed out, however, that despite the fact that snowshoeing was almost always reported as being an exclusively male activity, women did actually snowshoe, whether for practical reasons or for exercise, sometimes even with snowshoe clubs. A letter in the Montreal Gazette indicates that they were snowshoeing in small parties, albeit "accompanied with a protective male friend," as early as 1842. The writer was decidedly against this practice, however, on the grounds that it was not exercise "fitted for ladies, even as matter of healthful amusement, nor...affording the most advantageous display of the graces on their part."<sup>95</sup> It is unclear when women began snowshoeing with the clubs. Beers' article "Canada in winter," first published in 1863, mentions that there were "in the aristocratic clubs many lady members who are proficient in the sport." An 1868 portrait of Colonel and Mrs. Wolseley shows them both dressed in blanket suits, although she is posed with a toboggan rather than snowshoes;<sup>96</sup> and a cartoon in Canadian Illustrated News, April 6, 1872 shows Canadian women as proficient snowshoers while an American man fails miserably, which indicates that nationality could transcend gender when a comparison with Americans was concerned. A clipping of an illustration from the London Graphic (c.1873-78)<sup>97</sup> shows men and women on a moonlight outing, and Beers' 1879 article "Canadian Sports" remarked that "A few years ago a party of Quebec ladies tramped on snowshoes

---

<sup>94</sup> Gazette, February 9, 1861, cited by Lindsay, "History of Sport" 68. The MSSC invited ladies to join in Wednesday night tramps on February 19, 1878. NAC: MAAC Scrapbook 1, 36 (93).

<sup>95</sup> Gazette, March 12, 1842, quoted by Lindsay, "History of Sport" 367.

<sup>96</sup> Louisa Wolseley's blanket coat is particularly interesting since, judging from the cut and fit, it appears to have been her own rather than one of Notman's studio props. The beaded fringe of her woven sash, and the embroidery on the cuffs of her sleeves combine Native and French-Canadian references. Stack 6.

<sup>97</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 31.

into the bush with their husbands, camped for two nights in the snow, and returned better than ever."<sup>98</sup> By the 1880s women were increasingly accepted as active snowshoers. An illustration from Dominion Illustrated Monthly, 1889, depicts women snowshoers mustering at the McGill Gates, while N.M. Hinshelwood in 1903 reported that "The ladies are as enthusiastic as the men."<sup>99</sup> .

At other times, women were represented as desired spectators, especially at the annual club races when efforts were made to make them comfortable by spreading the stand with tarpaulin.<sup>100</sup> Most clubs, however, only grudgingly made room for women. For instance, ladies were only invited to dinner by the Winnipeg branch of the St. George's Snow Shoe Club after the annual steeplechase;<sup>101</sup> and the Emerald Club held ladies' nights when dozens of ladies wearing the blanket costume "mingled with manly forms" only once a month.<sup>102</sup>

As noted above, while women were generally excluded from the sport and club activities, they could be included for rhetorical purposes, in order to prove the vigorous nature of Canadians as a race. Hence, at times, the stereotype of Canadians as a physically vigorous, hardy people was extended to the female sex. The souvenir booklets for the 1880s Winter Carnivals frequently referred to the healthy, rosy cheeks of young Canadian girls:

faces are ruddy from exercise, and eyes are flashing with healthful excitement. A Canadian belle in white blanket suit, gaily trimmed, and with

---

<sup>98</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 138.

<sup>99</sup> N.M. Hinshelwood, Montreal and Vicinity being a history of the old town, a pictorial record of the modern city, its sports and pastimes... (Montreal: Desbarrats & Co., 1903) 90.

<sup>100</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 4: newspaper clipping, February 1873.

<sup>101</sup> Manitoba Daily Free Press, January 15, 1885, p.1.

<sup>102</sup> Gazette January 27, 1885, p.5.



pale blue tuque jauntily set upon her head, stepping springingly along with mocassined feet is a sight worth going to Canada to see.<sup>103</sup>

The pluck and courage of Canadian girls was also remarkable:

nothing astonishes our winter visitors more than the indifference to danger, and the genuine delight in hard, rough pleasure shown by our Canadian girls.<sup>104</sup>

When women were active in written and visual images, it was often to afford men the opportunity to display gallant and manly behaviour. Hence in the image accompanying the article "Our Winter Sports" the woman is the recipient of male assistance - a dependent foil against which to contrast the autonomous male [Figure 1.5].<sup>105</sup>

To be sure, there was also an element of sexual titillation involved in women participating in the manly sport of snowshoeing, and later tobogganing. In fact, by the 1880s sports activities had become an opportunity for young people to mix socially. This was the purpose of the skating parties initiated by Lady Dufferin at Rideau Hall in the 1870s, and W. George Beers commented that the skating rink "has become a sociable club for both sexes, where they may meet and enjoy a chat, etc, as well as skate."<sup>106</sup> A snowshoe club was even formed to facilitate social intercourse for young Montrealers - the policy of the Mary Bawn Club was apparently to enrol brothers and sisters jointly so that every girl would have an escort on the weekly tramp, but this did not always turn out to be her brother.<sup>107</sup> A less favourable view was expressed by the Catholic clergy, who vehemently opposed the mixing of the sexes, particularly on the toboggan hills, on the

---

<sup>103</sup> Dawson's Supplement, 1884, 4.

<sup>104</sup> W. George Beers, Over the Snow or The Montreal Carnival (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co. and J. Tho. Robinson, 1883) 40.

<sup>105</sup> NAC: MAAC, Scrapbook 3, 83 (1886)

<sup>106</sup> Beers, Over the Snow 40.

<sup>107</sup> John C. Martin, "A Montreal Winter Glimpse," in Opper 263.



## OUR WINTER SPORTS.

How they are becoming  
Popular in Uncle Sam's  
Domains.

### Snowshoeing and Tobogganing.

An American Picture of Our Leading  
Pastimes—Their Early History and  
Their Present Condition—How to  
Direct a First Class slide—Some  
Account of the Toboggan's  
Popularity Across the Line.

BY NEWELL E. WOODWORTH OF THE SARATOGA  
TOBOGGAN CLUB.

(From Advance Sheets of the January Outing.)  
Snowshoeing has always been one of the  
winter features of Canada. Outside of con-

Snowshoe club in 1840, snowshoeing as a  
sport may be said to have commenced; and  
a limited or more associate club, with its  
membership of several thousand, now mark  
the growth and popularity of the sport which  
has rendered about Montreal the snowshoe  
meeting place of Coates, Dulgas, Lachlan,  
and Sault-au-Rouelle, almost synonymous  
with jollity.

### THE SNOWSHOE.

This is made of a stick of lightash or hick-  
ory about half an inch in diameter and  
several feet in length, bent in the form of a  
long ellipse that sharply contracts where  
the ends of the stick are brought together  
and fastened, and which forms the bill of  
the shoe. This elliptical frame varies from  
two to four feet in length and two to eight  
two inches in its greatest width. The in-  
terior of the frame, with the exception of a  
space of about four inches wide back of the  
front cross-piece, is filled in by weaving  
across strong deer-skins or raw hide be-  
tween the cross-pieces, and floor skins and  
meshes in the remaining spaces. The shoe  
is fastened to the accustomed foot by a  
deer thong. The thong forms a loop into  
which the front part of the foot is placed  
and by drawing on the ends of the thong  
the slack loop is pulled tightly down, over

Fig. 1.5: "Our Winter Sports. How they are becoming Popular in Uncle Sam's Domains," c.1886  
NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 3, 83

grounds that such contact was immoral.<sup>108</sup> Perhaps their fears were well-founded since the writer of Bishop's Winter Carnival Illustrated had no such qualms, positively revelling in the titillating possibilities snowshoeing presented for publicly touching female flesh:

the foot of feminine gender looks its prettiest in a well-fitting moccasin. It is more attractive, and tying on the snowshoe the thongs pass over the arched instep and around the neat ankle; and the strings get loose so often, and the shoe comes off at the fences. Thus the gallantry of the stern escort is called forth very often. In this kind of snowshoe tramp, needless to say, they do not walk in Indian file, they saunter along two by two, and very often continue to do so through their after life.<sup>109</sup>

Needless to say, men never needed help with their laces!

The code of manliness espoused by the professional and commercial middle classes assumed its members would be models of moral virtue. Thus, when an article appeared in the Montreal Daily Witness on February 6, 1873, condemning the presence of "an unlimited supply of champagne" at the dinner given for the governor general by the snowshoe clubs, and claiming it had disastrous effects on the young boys present, it was considered a serious black mark. An editorial a few days later informed readers that the "presidents of two of the snowshoe clubs" denied there was any "uproariousness as the result of the use of champagne"; but the criticisms were apparently deemed so damaging that a libel suit was taken out against the Witness. A subsequent letter dated February 27th published in the Gazette from "an old snow-shoer" indicated that the suit had been decided against the Witness. The writer claimed that most of the snowshoers at the tramp were married men, and not 'lads'. He affirmed:

Snow-shoers are proverbially small drinkers, and do not look to intoxicating

---

<sup>108</sup> Dufresne, (1980) 133-134. Mgr. Fabre, Archbishop of Montreal, issued a *mandement* condemning toboggan slides and snowshoeing clubs "where women were allowed to appear wearing the costumes of the snowshoe clubs - leggings and blanket coat - which he regarded as exclusively male attire. He accused the women of indulging in transvestism": Carpentier 102-3.

<sup>109</sup> Winter Carnival Illustrated 10.

drinks for that strength of wind and limb so necessary to carry them over our tough mountain track, our weekly tramp to Lachine, or elsewhere.<sup>110</sup>

This incident illustrates the gravity with which the snowshoe clubs viewed accusations impugning their moral propriety.<sup>111</sup> The MSSC was particularly jealous of its reputation, and its executive asserted that the Club was not an excuse for intemperate drinking. For instance, an entry in the MSSC Minute Book for January 29, 1862 records that six members came out for the Wednesday evening tramp and sang songs afterwards, and specifically adds that there were no toasts and most of the members drank coffee.<sup>112</sup> This was not the first time snowshoeing had been linked to drinking, for a newspaper report on the annual steeplechase held in January of 1873 had noted that "a tramp across the mountains is not, as some think, an excuse for liquor drinking, a cup of good hot coffee being all that the boys desire".<sup>113</sup> In March, after another steeplechase up Mount Royal, a reporter noted "the frugal meal snowshoers affect."<sup>114</sup> In fact, liquor and wine were always forbidden from MSSC meetings, and even malt beer was prohibited in the mid 1870s.<sup>115</sup> The St. George's Snow Shoe Club rules also prohibited "card playing and the

---

<sup>110</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 7. The speed with which this case came to court is breathtaking and indicates the influence of the sporting club network.

<sup>111</sup> The Temperance Movement was strongly supported in Canada East, where half of the population were teetotalers in 1850. Jan Noel, Canada Dry. Temperance Crusades Before Confederation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 169.

<sup>112</sup> NAC: MSSC Minute Book, January 19, 1862, 551. The Wednesday evening tramp was started in 1850. Members met at the McGill Gates and then tramped up McTavish Street and across the mountain through the Côte des Neiges Cemetery to a tavern or hotel on the Côte des Neiges Road. NAC: MAAA Souvenir Booklet, 1905, p. xix.

<sup>113</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 3.

<sup>114</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 6. The same phrase was used in a report dated January 29, 1874: Scrapbook 1, (132).

<sup>115</sup> Morrow claims that this was not the case at the Montreal Lacrosse Club annual dinners. Perhaps the reason for this would be that the MLC did not have social gatherings on a weekly basis like the MSSC, and for that reason did not run the same risk of being considered disreputable. Morrow, "Knights" 30, n.90.

use of spiritous liquors in the Club room".<sup>116</sup> However, complaints continued to plague the clubs from time to time, and Beers came to their defence again in an 1877 article. He claimed that at the weekly club house suppers there was "never a breath of vulgarity, perhaps too much smoking, but never any drinking; always the restraint of gentlemen with the *élan* of healthy athletes..."<sup>117</sup> Notwithstanding these avowals of temperance, there were again complaints about drinking and misconduct, and the firing of rifles on the streets after an annual MSSC dinner held at the Windsor Hotel in February of 1878, at which drinks were allegedly available to youths.<sup>118</sup>

It has been argued that the Beaver Club fulfilled the dual function of being a transition from life in the bush to polite society, while also being a private outlet for hard drinking and rowdy behaviour which would contravene the respectable standards of polite, urbane society.<sup>119</sup> The snowshoe clubs can be seen as providing a similar service for their members. They facilitated indigenising forays into the wilderness, as well as being a space in which the newly emerging professional and commercial middle classes could construct and rehearse their class and gender identities. In James Scott's terms, it was in the clubs that the members wrote the public and hidden transcripts of their class.<sup>120</sup> However, they

---

<sup>116</sup> NAC: Records of St. George's Snow Shoe Club, 1874-1890, Article 9, p. 3.

<sup>117</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 127, cutting from Beers, "Canadian Sports" op. cit.

<sup>118</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 93.

<sup>119</sup> Podruchny 42-44.. See also, Jennifer Brown op. cit.

<sup>120</sup> James Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1990). 'Hidden transcripts' are the critique of power developed by both the powerless and the powerful within their own social circles.(xiii) They contain not only speech acts but a whole range of practices, eg. poaching, tax evasion and shoddy work, or, for the dominant: patronage, hired thugs or tampering with land titles.(14) The public transcript is a performance of deference and loyalty by the oppressed, or the flattering mask of the dominant, which shows them as they want themselves to be seen, thus affirming their power and concealing or euphemizing their misdeeds.(17-18) Scott's emphasis is on discovering new ways to understand subaltern resistance to domination; my interest is focussed more on understanding the public transcript of the middle class and the ways in which its performance constructed class and national identities.

were also a place where members could safely transgress these identities. Since their values eschewed drinking and excess, the public transcript proclaimed by the snowshoe clubs officially proscribed such behaviour; but the hidden transcript sedulously concealed from certain others (women, the working class, Natives) the struggle these men had with sobriety. The clubs may have been a refuge in which they could from time to time indulge in alcohol privately, without compromising the public transcript of their class by being seen drinking by subordinate others. Scott argues that the powerful have a vital interest in keeping up the appearances appropriate to their form of domination; since moral virtue was one of the bases of this group's claim to social status, being seen inebriated by their subordinate others would have undermined their claims to respectability.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, these clubs were also the consumers of their own performances, and the whole range of practices which the snowshoe clubs invented were part of the public transcript which proclaimed and maintained their social status - although not always apparently with total success.

Apart from appealing to the courts and newspapers for redress, the clubs contested accusations of immorality or intemperance in their songs, which might have had the effect of convincing the members, if not the general public, of their innocence, and was a mechanism by which a middle-class ideology was promulgated. One popular ditty was sung to the tune of "Camptown Races". The last four verses ran:

Moralists who disesteem  
 The joys that in snow shoeing teem  
 Let the moral in our race  
 Draw the snicker from your face

Perseverance is our word  
 "Giving in" is never heard,

---

<sup>121</sup> Scott 70.

Men can't follow in our track  
With beer in belly or crime on back.

We require no stimuli,  
Our tramp's a substitute for rye  
Men who love our mountain track  
To shoulder rifle are never slack.

Canada wants plucky men,  
Able with arm, as well as pen,  
In the tramping on snow shoe,  
There's a national work to do.<sup>122</sup>

As is apparent in these lyrics, patriotism and loyalty were part of the special character of snowshoers. At every dinner toasts were raised for the Queen and the Empire. Whether or not the cheers and patriotic speeches were as genuinely heartfelt as the newspaper reports suggest, they were part of the established ritual of snowshoe gatherings - an element that *had* to be included in order to complete the 'performance'. From very early on in their existence, snowshoers had always showed themselves ready and willing to fight. In 1861, as a result of the Fenian threat, the Victoria Volunteer Rifle Regiment 3rd Battalion was formed by members of the MSSC, the Aurora Snow Shoe Club, and the Beaver Lacrosse Club, and so preoccupied did members become with their Volunteer duties that snowshoeing activities declined badly during the first part of the decade.<sup>123</sup> Not infrequently protestations of readiness to fight - the "Ready! Aye Ready!" - were made. For instance, in February 1878 one of the speakers at a dinner pledged "the lacrosse and snowshoe men of the Dominion, should they at any time be called upon to

---

<sup>122</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 6 (33) c.1873. Reprinted in Becket 260.

<sup>123</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 14. The decline was also partly blamed on the fashion for skating at the newly opened Victoria Rink. The Fenians were members of an underground Irish-American movement founded in 1857 and dedicated to securing Irish independence from Britain. The American wing was organized into military clubs made up of Civil War veterans, some of whom supported an invasion of Canada in order to provoke war between Britain and the U.S. and thus facilitate an Irish uprising.

defend that empire whose integrity was their pride".<sup>124</sup>

Quasi-military discipline was part of the snowshoe ethos. The clubs were organized by a hierarchy of officials, and single-file tramps were enforced with a leader at the head and a whipper-in at the rear. A photograph taken c.1878 of a party of snowshoers making their way down Mount Royal through the serpentine path illustrates this orderliness [Figure 1.6].<sup>125</sup> To be sure, it made sense to stay in 'Indian-file' because it made travelling easier, and was safer when the party was large, or the weather or going bad. However, more significantly, tramping in 'Indian-file' was also part of the *performance*, an acting out of what was thought to be something characteristic of Canada. Indian-file was hierarchical, disciplined but also an acting out of being 'primitive' males conquering the landscape. The leader of each tramp was usually the senior club officer present and his "authority was absolute as to route etc., none daring to 'head' him and 'follow the leader' was a law adhered to with a zeal 'worthy of no better cause'".<sup>126</sup> In fact, there were rules against breaking ranks unless participants were told to 'go as you please'. Thus the 'primitive' connotations attached to the concept of 'Indian-file,' were overwritten by the 'civilized' British ideology of order and discipline.<sup>127</sup> Although social status was undermined by this performance, gender hierarchies were confirmed by the absence of women, thus muting that dislocation. In the hands of the snowshoe clubs, snowshoeing was not just an enjoyable activity; it defined masculine, national identity, built stoicism, and taught men the skills and discipline they might need in the event of war.<sup>128</sup> Technical

---

<sup>124</sup> NAC: MSSC Minute Books 1870-1884, 364.

<sup>125</sup> See Morrow, "Knights" 9, n. 19, for a discussion of the term "whipper-in".

<sup>126</sup> Becket 29.

<sup>127</sup> It is possible to see this in reverse. The snowshoers had to be disciplined by the whipper-in to make them stay in single file, so the 'primitive' activity of tramping in single file 'civilized' them.

<sup>128</sup> Montreal Herald, 19 Feb. 1864 reported that 130 men of the Victoria Volunteer Rifles were going to Chambly with snowshoes for the weekend, indicating that snowshoeing was considered a





Fig. 1.6: Alexander Henderson, "Snow-shoeing. Indian file" Members of the MSSC descend Mount Royal , c.1878. NAC: C-22233. Reproduced in Don Morrow et al., *A Concise History of Sport in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989) 7.

'improvements' in snowshoe design also made it a more 'civilized' and 'scientific' activity, completing the transformation of snowshoeing from utilitarian to leisure activity. The club members favoured the new lighter weight and narrower shoes which facilitated competitive racing, but were inadequate for hunters or lumberers.<sup>129</sup>

Many aspects of club membership signified the military nature of the organization: the single-file tramps, the uniform, the ribbons and medals awarded in competition, the exclusively male membership, and the homo-social gatherings. But it was always a specifically Canadian activity. The British Garrison is generally considered by historians to have been responsible for much of the early history of sport in Canada, but they were British troops and promoted British games - cricket and football in particular.<sup>130</sup> Whenever Garrison troops entered snowshoe competitions great sport was made of their comic ineptitude on snowshoes. Garrison races were as much a figure of fun as novelty races like the barrel race, the 'squaw' race or potato race.<sup>131</sup> Even though some of the troops undoubtedly did become proficient at snowshoeing, and even formed their own club, the public transcript maintained that they were not good snowshoers because they were not Canadian; Canadian lads were the best snowshoers. This became a critical issue when a Canadian Field Force was raised to combat the rebellion in the North-West in 1885.<sup>132</sup>

---

martial art in Canada. A composite photograph of the "Officers of the Rifle Brigade, Montreal 1870," features Prince Arthur, who was stationed in Montreal for two years of officer training, and confirms that snowshoes were part of military training: Stanley G. Triggs, The Composite Photographs of William Notman (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1994) 47.

<sup>129</sup> Winter Carnival Illustrated, n.p.

<sup>130</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 14 n.34.

<sup>131</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 14-15.

<sup>132</sup> This will be discussed at length in chapter 5.

### **Images of Canadians**

Through repetition, the connection between indigenous sports, sport clubs and Canadian character was forged into a national identity which may have been particular to Montreal and may have excluded a significant proportion of the population, but was powerful nevertheless because it had high visibility and circulation. This definition of essential Canadian characteristics had a visual component, evident in the countless 'winter portraits' reproduced in photographic studios, club portraits and periodical illustrations, and a performative counterpart, acted out repeatedly by hundreds of snowshoers on the streets of the city.<sup>133</sup> Combined together and publicized by members of the press who were also advocates or participants in indigenous sports, these constructed a powerful and pervasive discourse of Canadian national identity, which became thoroughly embedded in the mentalité of both participants and spectators - understood, but not necessarily consented to, by all members of society.

The spectacle of the snowshoe tramp was indeed a common sight during the 1870s and 1880s. Every night of the week different snowshoe clubs mustered for a tramp over the mountain; every Saturday afternoon clubs met to go off in various directions on longer tramps out of town; every season a sequence of events was repeated - the nightly and weekly tramps, the annual mountain steeplechase, the annual club races and the annual club banquets. For those who were excluded, but could afford the time and money required - ladies, infants, the old, the infirm - the act of spectating was considered the next best thing. The snowshoe club concerts of the 1870s, and the 1880s Montreal Winter

---

<sup>133</sup> Butler, "Performative Acts" 270. Carl Berger points out the interest in Norsemen and the north, but none of his sources for this interest are earlier than 1869. Photographic portraits and snowshoe clubs predate this verbal expression by over two decades. Berger, *Sense of Power*, and "The True North Strong and Free," *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1966) 3-26.

Carnivals were planned specifically to supply their audiences with a simulacrum of a typical snowshoeing experience, in order that they too would know what it was like to perform the activity. Conversely, the witnessing gaze of the audience validated the narrative of nation being portrayed, and authorized the identity constructed. Ultimately, then, the performers and spectators alike knew what it was to be Canadian, because they all learned the same script, rehearsed over and over again on the streets of Montreal in a ritualized manner. Furthermore, the seasonal pattern of weekly tramps was in continuity with the rhythm of life known to Europeans since contact with the New World. Using unconsciously masculinist imagery, W.L. Morton called this "alternate penetration of the wilderness and return to civilization" our "Northern destiny", and saw in this "the basic element[s] of Canadian character".<sup>134</sup>

Inspired by scientific developments in geology, botany, meteorology, climatology, and terrestrial magnetism, expressions of nationalism and expansionism flourished in the nineteenth century.<sup>135</sup> As a result of the Hind and Palliser expeditions, for example, the North West began to be viewed as habitable, agricultural land, and 'inventory science' gave birth to the vision of Canada as a transcontinental nation.<sup>136</sup> If we conceive of the snowshoe tramps as symbolic journeys into the wilderness, journeys which conquered the terrain, mapped it and possessed it, the snowshoers can be seen as performing a 'national' task. Becoming proficient in navigating and surviving in the 'wilderness' around Montreal, gave the colonists the confidence and desire to conquer new lands in the North West and to conceive of a transcontinental nation. American and Canadian sport historians usually assume that the survival skills of the frontier -hunting, canoeing,

---

<sup>134</sup> Morton, Canadian Identity 4-5.

<sup>135</sup> Zeller, Inventing Canada 178.

<sup>136</sup> Zeller, Inventing Canada 257. See also Douglas Owsram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West (Toronto: 1980).

snowshoeing - became leisure activities in the emerging cities, and were imbued with the survival skills required in industrialising societies, namely, time-discipline, team work, physical fitness etc.<sup>137</sup> In a nice twist, it seems that Montreal snowshoers did indeed make a survival skill over into a rational pursuit, but then used it as a springboard to success on the frontier, because the example of the expeditions and the opportunity of learning the art of snowshoeing must also have provided immigrant colonists and city dwellers with the knowledge and confidence required to imagine the possibility of settling the North West, where frontier conditions required a more intimate connection with the land. Branches of eastern snowshoe clubs opened in Winnipeg and other western cities, and facilitated the establishment of settlers from the east. Members of the St. George's Snow Shoe Club, for instance, opened a branch in Winnipeg, and the Montreal club provided departing members with a big send off, while the new branch welcomed them on their arrival in Winnipeg. Seventy-seven members moved from Montreal to Winnipeg in 1882 alone, taking with them the ideals of character and behaviour which they had learned in the Montreal club. In this way a common identity and national ideal was spread across the country.<sup>138</sup> Since all the snowshoe clubs organized similar activities, espoused similar values, saw each other at annual races and dinners, and read about each others' exploits in the newspapers, they had a set of common interests and a common culture and were readily able to imagine themselves as a larger, national community, one which shared the

---

<sup>137</sup> For example, this is the assumption made by, Lindsay, "History of Sport" 2.

<sup>138</sup> Morris Mott takes a different view, and argues that British pioneers from Upper Canada were influential in shaping western culture through importing British sports and values. He overlooks the existence of an embryonic Canadian identity, because he fails to see the important distinction between indigenous and imported sports : "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886," *JSH* 7:3 (1980): 25-36. The activities of the Winnipeg clubs was recorded by local newspapers and followed very closely the pattern of events and rituals established in Montreal. See, for instance, the activities of St. George's Snow Shoe Club recorded by the Manitoba Daily Free Press in January of 1885. These included weekly tramps, with a regular rendezvous and supper with songs, dances, etc. Steeplechases were held at regular intervals, and ladies were invited to supper on special occasions.

interests of snowshoers in Winnipeg, Brandon, Toronto, Ottawa, Quebec City, Saint John, Halifax and other cities and towns which formed clubs.<sup>139</sup>

This consciousness of kind was regularly realized in material form by group portraits. Notman's studio was very active in producing composite club photographs for which members posed individually in his studio, and their portraits were then assembled *en masse* against an appropriate painted background.<sup>140</sup> This was a very cumbersome and technically demanding method of production, the benefit of which was that the end product provided a sharply focussed, unobscured portrait of each and every member. Everyone was given his due, but together they made up the corporeal body of the snowshoe club; and, given that the snowshoe costume had become a visual identifier, they also represented Canada, Canadians and Canadianness. Inversely, although each portrait was individualized, the member's position within the composite composition indicated their position in the club hierarchy. Since snowshoeing was the preserve of the professional and commercial middle classes, and since women and Natives were excluded from the portrait, the image which emerged of ideal Canadian citizens was white, male and middle-class.

The setting of the club composites invariably conveyed a narrative message: members were posed either at the muster before the tramp, at the mid-point of the tramp, or on the lower slopes of Mount Royal, at the end of the tramp.<sup>141</sup> One of the earliest

---

<sup>139</sup> By 1881 snowshoe clubs had been founded from Newfoundland to Manitoba: Becket 384.

<sup>140</sup> The Notman Studios made composites for the MSSC, St. George's Snow Shoe Club, Red Cap Snow Shoe Club, Halifax, Terra Nova Snow Shoe Club, and others.

<sup>141</sup> For example: the St George's Snow Shoe Club is shown mustering at the McGill Gates in an 1880 composite: Triggs, *Composite* 66. Composites with members assembled as if at the end of the tramp are the most common type, eg. MSSC groups 1877, 1884, 1890 and a night tramp 1886; Terra Nova SSC 1875; Red Caps, Halifax, 1885.

composites of the MSSC, from 1872, shows members assembling outside Lumkin's Hotel, a log building on the other side of Mount Royal, which was the destination of the Wednesday night tramps [Figure 1.7]. Great care went into the planning of such a composite, and its numerous scenes-within-a-scene. The individual studio portraits were taken with backlighting, to create the illusion of moonlight; and the small group seated around the campfire were photographed with strong front lighting to give the illusion of fire light, thus enhancing the truth claims of the photograph.<sup>142</sup> Although urban development had not spread this far, the Côte des Neiges was a well trodden toll route and Lumkin's Hotel was not situated in quite such a remote wilderness as the picture purports to show. However, the setting suited the image and story the Club wanted to tell of intrepid snowshoers penetrating the 'empty' snowy wilderness.

Notman was not motivated to create these composite club portraits solely by the promise of profit from sales. The 1877 MSSC composite, which features Lord Dufferin in the foreground, was created to send to the Paris World Exhibition and was later donated to the Club [Figure 1.8]. The subject was apparently sufficiently novel, and the technique sufficiently demanding, for Notman to consider it worthy of international exhibition; as a result, the image of distinctively dressed Canadians as physically vigorous lovers of winter sports received widespread international circulation.<sup>143</sup> The presence of Lord Dufferin added tremendous recognition to snowshoeing as a respectable pursuit, and increased public interest in the portrait.<sup>144</sup> Notman attempted to solve the problem of composing a

---

<sup>142</sup> Triggs, Composite 62.

<sup>143</sup> Exhibitions were believed to be powerful educational tools: "one vast and combined experiment of visual education". Canadian Journal 3 (1854) 9, 65. Quoted by Elsbeth A. Heamon, "A Commercial Leviathon: Central Canadian Exhibitions at home and abroad during the nineteenth century" (Ph.D. diss, University of Toronto, 1996) 27.

<sup>144</sup> Royal visits are unifying events which allow people to imagine themselves as a national community, but are also moments when society is sorted out into a hierarchy of those who have



Fig. 1.7: Montreal Snow Shoe Club, 1872; composite photograph. NPA: 73685-1





Fig. 1.8: Montreal Snow Shoe Club, 1877; composite photograph. NPA: 44798-II

picture with so many figures by dividing them into several circular groupings, foregrounding key figures such as leading MSSC members Nicholas Hughes and Angus Grant, and highlighting Lord Dufferin by placing him in a relatively empty space between two groups, framed on either side by snowshoes. The landscape included a fence and brick house, indicating the meet was taking place in a less remote area than the 1872 version, thus portraying snowshoeing as a leisure activity suitable for tourists rather than as a quasi-expedition.

The visual image of Canadian winter sports as a defining characteristic of the nation, was also disseminated abroad by souvenir portraits taken for visitors and residents to send back to England. An advertisement for the services of the Notman Studios dated April 10, 1867 indicates that elements of the snowshoe costume became the winter costume (at least for urban dwellers), as well as a national signifier:

Portraits in Winter Costume

This style is very effective, and has the additional advantage of affording to friends at a distance an excellent idea of our Canadian winters, and of the following Canadian sports and out-door amusements:

Snow-Shoeing  
Tobogganing  
Sleighing.....<sup>145</sup>

The Notman archives contain hundreds of portraits taken of individual club members in their snowshoe outfits.<sup>146</sup> These were sold to the sitter as well as being used to construct

---

more or less social power and status. "The minor royal event...makes manifest the aspirations towards gentility on the part of the middling sort." Ilse Hayden, Symbol and Privilege: The Ritual Context of British Royalty (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987) 9. Four of the five governors general serving in Canada in the period 1872-1898 were photographed, depicted, or reported as wearing a blanket coat: Stack 3. Vice-regal support for sports helped unify the new nation and strengthen the link to the Empire: Gerald Redmond, "Imperial Viceregal Patronage: The Governors-General of Canada and Sport in the Dominion, 1867-1909," The International Journal of the History of Sport 6.2 (Spring 1988): 193-217.

<sup>145</sup> Gazette, April 10, 1867.

<sup>146</sup> Over 450 photographs of sitters wearing blanket coats were taken by the Notman Studio between 1860 and 1900: Stack 5.

the huge club composites which Notman became famous for. However, many other portraits in his collection show his advertisement struck the right chord, and that visitors and non-club members desired to be photographed as if they were in an outdoor Canadian winter setting.<sup>147</sup> Military men posted in Montreal often sent home their portrait taken in outdoor winter clothing. The photograph of Capt. Hawkes and Capt. Howe suggests that an outdoor setting, a *ceinture fléchée*, and snowshoes was enough to signify the scene as 'Canadian' [Figure 1.9]. Families also chose the outdoor setting and snowshoe 'theme' for their souvenir portrait. General Wyndham and Family, for instance, are posed in an outdoor winter setting [Figure 1.10]. Mrs. Wyndham and her daughter hold snowshoes, and the youngest child sits on a sleigh wearing a miniature snowshoe costume - blanket coat with epaulets and sash. The strength of the equation between winter costume and Canadian identity is demonstrated by the fact that the *ceinture fléchée*, a synecdoche for the whole costume, was a very popular national signifier in photographic portraits during the 1870s. As Jana Bara has shown in her study of photographic portraiture:

It hung from the furniture, it was bundled on the top of bookcases, it streamed from the chairs, it cascaded from the tables. Pensively fingered by women, tolerated by men, it was to be seen everywhere, except in the portraits of clergymen.<sup>148</sup>

When the sash was worn and used in combination with snowshoes and sleds, they became powerful visual attributes of Canada and Canadians.

The ultimate way in which identities may be reproduced and confirmed is, of course, through children. Every age is concerned for the upbringing of its youth, so finding evidence of concern with proper education and socialization is no surprise. What is

---

<sup>147</sup> It is apparent from the Notman files that many of these winter portraits were taken during the summer months, so the setting, clothing and props were chosen to create a specific image.

<sup>148</sup> Jana Bara, "Through the Frosty Lens: William Notman and his Studio Props, 1861-1876", *History of Photography* 12:1 (Jan-Mar 1988) 28.



246-2

Fig. 1.9: "Col. Hawkes and Capt. Howe," 1867. NPA: I-24948



Fig. 1.10: "General Wyndham and Family," 1867. NPA: 30495-BI

significant is what each age deems 'proper' in terms of childrearing. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the professional and commercial middle classes in Montreal pictured themselves as hardy, plucky Canadians and consequently brought their children up to fit that image. Since the discourse of national identity was based on interaction with the climate and geography, from an early age children were taken outside. As one visitor commented on his 1871 visit to Montreal:

...we proceeded to Montreal to enjoy a little of the Canadian winter...Montreal is a merry place in winter...Every vehicle is on *runners*, from the most stylish sleigh or characteristic hay-cart down to the tiny things used to give Young Canada its daily rations of fresh air.<sup>149</sup>

The writer of an 1884 carnival souvenir brochure claimed further of snowshoeing that "the happiest hours of life with Young Canada are those he spends in this glorious and healthy exercise."<sup>150</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century childrearing, and by extension social stability itself, had been considered the primary responsibility of the mother, whose job it was to arm her sons with the manly attributes of Christian virtue and patriotism.<sup>151</sup> But the increasing influence of women in the lives of young boys, as mothers and teachers in public schools and Sunday school, led to fears later in the century that boys were overly feminized.<sup>152</sup> Sports were seen as a masculine corrective to this cultural feminization.<sup>153</sup>

At mid-century many newborns might be the first in the family born on Canadian

---

<sup>149</sup> Philadelphia Photographer, Vol. VIII, No. 89, May 1871, p.151.

<sup>150</sup> Souvenir of the Montreal Winter Carnival... (Montreal Railway News, 1884) 22.

<sup>151</sup> Morgan, Public Men and Virtuous Women 152, 155.

<sup>152</sup> Michael Kimmel, Manhood in America. A Cultural History (New York: The Free Press, 1996) 121.

<sup>153</sup> These fears were themselves founded on gender stereotypes since women were no less supporters of temperance and patriotism than men. Sturgis 111-112.

soil - the first truly native-Canadians who did not need Haliburton's ingenious rhetoric to claim the title. And what better way is there to display nationality and class status, than to encourage children to take part in quintessentially Canadian activities? Most of the snowshoe club annual races, therefore, included a Boys' Race, with entrance determined by age or by height, and by the 1870s a High School Snow Shoe Club had been formed and held annual races. A newspaper report dated February 1873 praised the boys for their well-organized races, and particularly for their punctuality.<sup>154</sup> In essence, these boys were rehearsing the public transcript written by the adult snowshoe clubs, thus learning and claiming their identity and being trained for future business and civic responsibilities.<sup>155</sup> For instance, one of the boys singled out for praise from the High School Club was the Secretary-Treasurer, Robert D. McGibbon, son of the Mr. & Mrs. Alexander McGibbon who offered their home to the snowshoe clubs to entertain Lord and Lady Dufferin. McGibbon Snr.'s reply to the vote of thanks given by the MSSC for his hospitality, indicated that he saw participation in outdoor sports as a prime parental duty.<sup>156</sup> His son was later the man who was credited with suggesting the idea of holding a Winter Carnival.

"Young Canada" was a visual and literary trope often portrayed in snowshoe outfit. For instance, William Notman's 1866 portrait of his son, William McFarlane Notman [Figure 1.11], is entitled "Young Canada," and he was photographed in a snowy outdoor setting

---

<sup>154</sup> Punctuality was often noted and admired by newspaper writers in these decades. (For example, NAC: St. George's Snow Shoe Club, Annual Report, 15 November 1881, 8.) Any deviation from the published starting time of events was remarked upon with disapproval. This growing concern with punctuality reflects the transition to industrial time. The effort the clubs made to keep 'on time' and the increasingly 'scientific' way they measured time and distances for the snowshoe races also illustrates the way in which sports in general were active ideological agents.

<sup>155</sup> For a discussion of the ways in which private schools imbued ideologies of Christianity, Darwinism and Imperialism, see: David Brown, "Sport, Darwinism & Canadian Private Schooling to 1918", *CJHS* 16.1 (May 1985): 27-37.

<sup>156</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, February 1873, 7.



Fig. 1.11: "Young Canada" (W. McFarlane Notman), 1867  
NPA: 24434-B1



wearing snowshoes and dressed in a blanket coat tied with a woollen sash, leggings, mittens and moccasins. Studio portraits of children dressed in winter garb in a winter setting became popular in the 1870s and later. A portrait of Blanche and Minette Fauteux taken by the Quebec City Livernois studio shows the two siblings dressed in miniature snowshoe club blanket coats complete with faux club colours, sash, and tuque. One is seated on a toboggan and the other holds snowshoes [Figure 1.12]. This portrait was taken in 1885, and indicates that the trope of Young Canada had an extended existence, and had gained favour amongst French Canadians by this time.

The figure of Young Canada was often included in connection with snowshoe activities, and connoted the history and the future of the club and the nation in general. At the first Montreal Snowshoe Club Concert given in March of 1874, the audience and newspaper reporters were amused by the inclusion of a young boy on the stage to personify Young Canada:

Mr. John Murray, who is a tall, powerful looking fellow, every inch like a sturdy Canadian hunter...[was accompanied by his son] who has reached the considerable height of three feet nothing, and looked charmingly funny with a pair of snow shoes almost as long as himself strapped on his back.<sup>157</sup>

A large coloured Notman portrait of Charles Peers Davidson and his son in full costume was considered a fitting gift for the retiring MSSC President in 1878.<sup>158</sup> The cover of a souvenir programme for the 1884 Winter Carnival, entitled "Old and Young Canada" [Figure 1.13], shows two figures standing in the fields at the foot of Mount Royal; one is the tall, elderly Angus Grant, a long-time member and officer of the MSSC, identified by his

---

<sup>157</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 145.

<sup>158</sup> NAC: MSSC, Minutes 1870-1884.



Fig. 1.12: Livernois Studio, "Blanche and Minette Fauteux," 1885.  
NPA: 89005014



Fig. 1.13: "Old and Young Canada," *Winter Carnival Illustrated*, (Montreal: George Bishop & Co., 1884)

well-known dog, Chimo, and the other is a young boy.<sup>159</sup> They face each other dressed in snowshoe attire. The young boy's stance is upright and proud, apparently listening while the older man explains the finer points of snowshoeing. Both are visual epitomes of native-Canadians, but the young child is Canadian born and personifies the new nation. He is "Young Canada": the nation imaged as the body of a young boy.

While Montrealers worked at the task of identifying themselves as a group, the Canadian national identity they had constructed was disseminated abroad through visual images, and also through text. From the 1860s and right into the 1890s, articles about 'Canada in Winter', 'Canadian National Sports' and 'Canadian Sports' appeared in abundance in popular newspapers and magazines. Through these the notion of Canadians as a hardy, northern race given to outdoor winter sports, became familiar to American and British readers. The repetition of these themes is striking, and all are basically variations on those first articulated by W. George Beers in an 1863 article for The British American Magazine in which he distinguished between imported sports like skating, and curling, and Canadian sports like snowshoeing, tobogganing, ice-boating, and moose and bear hunting.<sup>160</sup> The distinction between imported (British) and Canadian (indigenous) sports was reiterated by subsequent newspaper and magazine articles for both Canadian, British and American audiences.<sup>161</sup> The existence of such insistent repetition of the linked

---

<sup>159</sup> Chimo was the successor to Monday, who had been poisoned in 1878. Morrow reports that Grant would constantly forget his compass, preferring to rely on his dogs for direction. Morrow, "Knights" 35 n.103.

<sup>160</sup> Beers, "Canada in Winter" 166-171.

<sup>161</sup> For example: Frederick G. Mather "Winter Sports in Canada" in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Feb 1879, 391-400 notes the "peculiarly Canadian" pastimes of tobogganing, sleighing and snowshoeing. A similar comment is made in Illustrated London News, Sept 11/86, 289-290. Charles Dudley Warner recognized "a Canadian type which is neither English nor America" in "Comments on Canada", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXVIII March 1889, 520-548. All quoted by David Brown, "Northern Character Theme 49-51.

themes of climate, geography, distinctive sports and character with national identity indicates that these had become the distinguishing characteristics of Canadianness. By 1886, American readers had evidently accepted this formula. Under the heading "Our Winter Sports. How they are Becoming Popular in Uncle Sam's Domains...An American Picture of Our Leading Pastimes..." was published an article by Newell B. Woodworth of the Saratoga Toboggan Club:

the hardships and physical exercise of early Canadian life gave little time or inclination to the people to use the snowshoe and toboggan for pleasure. It was not until some forty years ago that a leisure class having developed, the Anglo-Saxon element, with their Norseman blood and natural love of out of doors sports, seized upon the Indian snowshoe and toboggan wherewith to utilize for sport the deep snows of the long Canadian winter--climate conditions which the French habitant long considered on the darkest side.<sup>162</sup>

Implicit in this history is a link between the present and the long distant past, and the assumption that snowshoeing was an indigenous activity improved and modernized by the innately predisposed British colonists.

The *performance* of snowshoeing was vital to members because it was a demonstration of the desired qualities of the snowshoe ethos - endurance, pluck, stamina, discipline, and fair play. Hence, as club membership continued to climb in the 1870s and 1880s there was some disapproval of the "driving members" who joined the club for its social benefits, and did not actually participate in the weekly tramps. They were gaining the status of membership and attendant social opportunities, without having to develop or demonstrated these virtues. Some veteran snowshoers were so disgruntled with this state of affairs, that they formed Our Club in 1874 and organized a forty five mile cross-country tramp to St. Andrews. This was an epic tramp which would be recalled for years to come.

---

<sup>162</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 3, 1886, 83.

Apparently snowshoeing had been getting too 'soft' in "these days of light shoes and well-beaten tracks". One reporter commended the members "for their pluck, and trust that the example they set will be worthily followed, and that before long we may return to the days of **legitimate** snow-shoeing." Another reporter noted that the object of this new club "is the practice of **genuine** snow shoeing."<sup>163</sup> Evidently, there was the feeling that snowshoeing was not what it had been, and that without actively snowshoeing, members should not, and could not, claim the honoured title of snowshoer.<sup>164</sup>

However valiant the club members were on the tramps, however, their only audience for this performance was fellow snowshoers. A series of concerts given by the MSSC provided a new opportunity to show off members' prowess to an outside audience. If the concerts had received a critical reception, the snowshoe clubs would no doubt have modified their values and practices in the same way they responded to allegations of drinking. In the event, they received rapturous reviews from the audience and newspaper reporters - who, of course, were of the same social class and predisposed to praise them anyway. The desire to proselytize the snowshoe ethos within the local community, and to gain the sanction of the community, was the driving reason behind the numerous snowshoe concerts given in the 1870s by the MSSC and other clubs. But, ostensibly at least, the idea of giving a concert was motivated by charitable impulses. An economic depression began in the early 1870s, and late in 1873 the MSSC members hit on the idea of staging a concert of their songs in order to raise money for the Montreal General Hospital. It was not the first time the club had donated to charity, but it was the first time it

---

<sup>163</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 145 (emphasis added).

<sup>164</sup> Club records show scorn for those who shouldered their shoes and took the road, or went to the rendezvous by carriage.

had done so publicly.<sup>165</sup> The concert was held at the Queen's Hall on February 17, 1874, and was so well received that it was repeated in March at the Mechanic's Hall. One reporter promised:

Our citizens will have an opportunity this evening to discover that our Snow Shoe Clubs are more than a mere combination of muscular Christians, whose love of vigorous exercise absorbs their entire leisure. They will, no doubt, learn that there exists also a good fund of musical and art taste...<sup>166</sup>

Judging from the rave reviews of the gala, his prognostication was correct. The program consisted of a combination of choruses, solos and readings, and all were received with extravagant praise by the Montreal press, who were mindful of the amateur status of the performers. The fact that so much talent could be found amongst the Montreal middle-class elite, was evidence of the level of cultured sophistication and civility achieved in Canada. Reviews in the various Montreal newspapers all agreed that this was a "novel" and "unique" event, largely owing to the spectacle created by the "picturesque" snowshoe uniforms, and the stage decorations.<sup>167</sup>

Over the entrance door at the back was hung Sandham's well-known picture of the Club,<sup>168</sup> surrounded with English and Canadian flags; above this was the arms of the Club, surrounded by the motto "Tuque Bleu," and above all was the emblematic cap of the Club. On the right of the stage was the motto "Our Summer Sports" and grouped in tasteful forms were a number of lacrosses, while a pair of handsome gold flags surmounted by a picture of a lacrosse field, and several little red caps sufficiently represented the summer game.

On the left of the stage was the motto "Our Winter Sports", and here were displayed a variety of snow shoes ...

On each side in front were two raised stands, surmounted by large

---

<sup>165</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 33. William Notman was a Governor of the hospital and a generous contributor. *Montreal Star* obituary, 26 Nov. 1891.

<sup>166</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 145. This is a further indication of criticisms made against the snowshoe clubs.

<sup>167</sup> "The Montreal Snow Shoe Club (Tuque Bleu) Concert," NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 136.

<sup>168</sup> This was actually a large Notman composite photograph, coloured by his employee, the painter Henry Sandham.

shields covered with dark maroon cloth, and both stands and shields were literally loaded with cups and medals, trophies of the Club. Our reporter counted 38 cups and 104 medals, and gave up in despair of ever getting to the end.<sup>169</sup>

Some favourite tales of Club history was also told at the concert: Mr. Hughes gave his poem "The tramp to Lachine" as one of the encores. Furthermore, the songs and readings not taken directly from MSSC sources were chosen for their relationship to snowshoeing and its values. Patriotism, loyalty to the Queen, hunting and the military were all alluded to in the programme, and so claimed as representative of snowshoe values.

Seven other concerts were given by the MSSC in various locations, the last being held in 1880, and other snowshoe clubs followed suit.<sup>170</sup> Concerts held in aid of poor relief were welcomed by the towns chosen, although reading the newspaper reports of these events it is clear that the concerts were enjoyed most by the local elites, who saw them as highlights of their social season. The narrative-making possibilities of the concerts were also seized upon. Carefully pasted into the pages of W. H. Becket's first scrapbook of the activities of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, is an illustration entitled "Grand Concert of the Montreal Snow-Shoe Club, at the Academy of Music." This composite of eight vignettes is emblematic of the concert and the activities of the Club, and tells the story of the concert in clockwise fashion [Figure 1.14]. It took place on January 25, 1878 at the concert hall of the Academy of Music in Montreal. It was constructed as a series of *tableaux vivants* interspersed with solos and choruses sung by members of the MSSC. The tableaux were arranged against painted backdrops and presented to the audience "as

---

<sup>169</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 145.

<sup>170</sup> For example: St. George's organized a concert to be given in Chazy for February 1876 and a benefit for the Montreal General Hospital in January, 1881: NAC: St. George's Snow Shoe Club Records, 15, 89. St. Andrew's Snow Shoe Club gave a concert in Hawkesbury in 1878, and the Independent Snow Shoe Club planned one for Sherbrooke in the 1878-79 season: NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 27, 186.



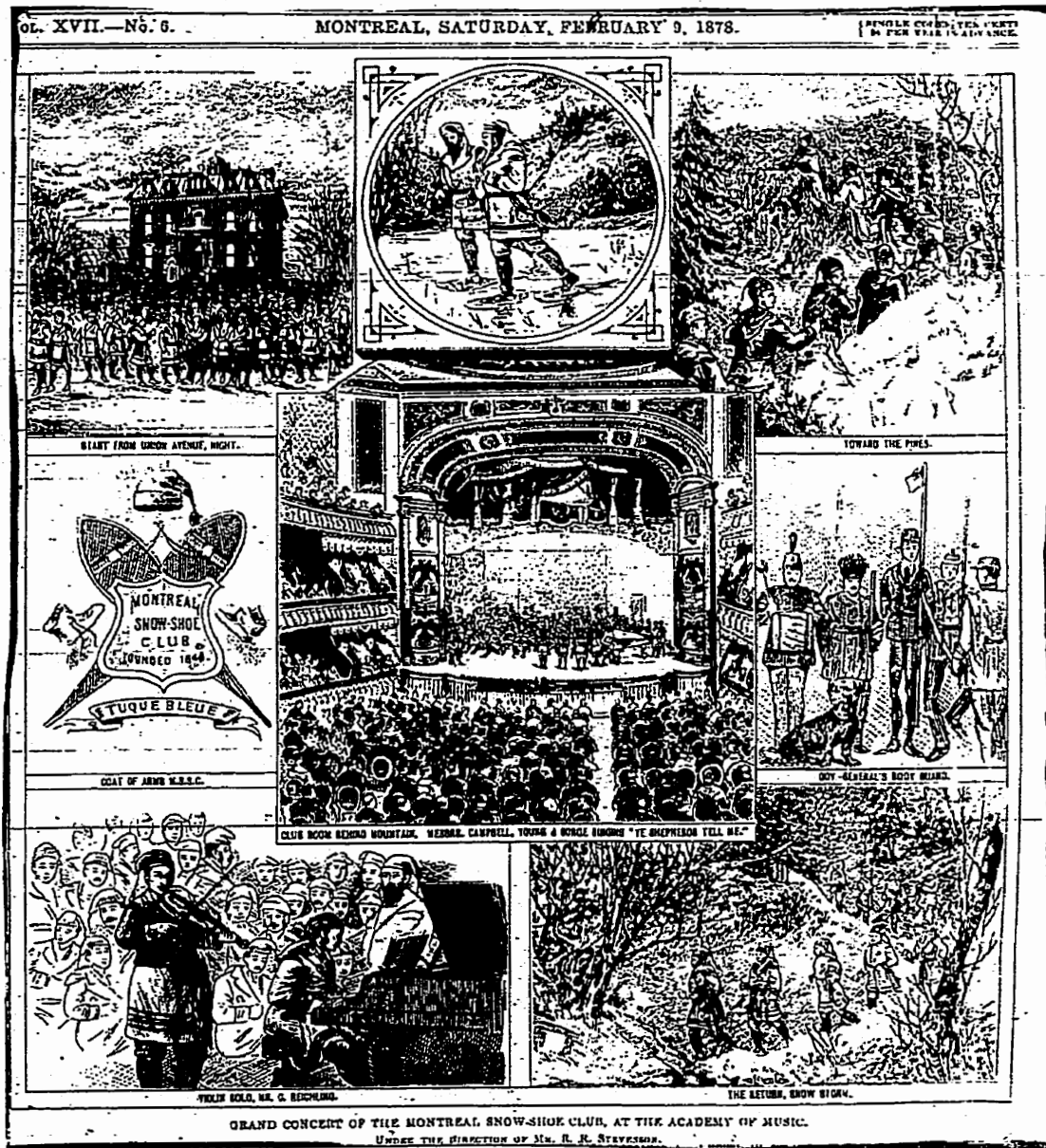


Fig. 1.14: "Grand Concert of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, at the Academy of Music," February 9, 1878. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 24

near as possible an illustration of our weekly tramps."<sup>171</sup> The first scene showed the Club members dressed in their blanket coat costumes, gathering at the corner of Union and Sherbrooke, ready to depart. After a rousing rendition of the Club song, the "Tuque Bleue", written by the ubiquitous W. George Beers, a second tableau showed the Club ascending the winding path up Mount Royal by moonlight towards a wooded area commonly known as "the Pines". Another Beers' song followed, whose chorus featured a piercing "Indian" call, and then the audience saw the stage transformed into the interior of the Club Room at Prendergast's, a hotel on the Côte des Neiges road, on the other side of the mountain. Here members of the Club performed a series of musical entertainments, including piano and violin solos, duets and choruses, and a comedic 'turn'. The final tableau showed the snowshoers returning in a snow storm down the Mountain to Union Avenue. The concert ended, as was customary, with "God Save the Queen."

The illustration commemorating the concert appeared in the Canadian Illustrated News, and is the final stage in a series of re-presentations. It represents the concert tableau, which represented the real Club tramps, which were themselves enactments of an imagined history of the new Dominion of Canada and its Canadian inhabitants. Clearly, the snowshoe clubs were as much spreading a vision and an image of middle-class deportment, and a narrative of nation with which to identify, as they were helping the poor. By the time R.D. McGibbon proposed a week-long winter carnival in the Fall of 1882, a veritable 'genre' of cultural performance had been created by the snowshoe clubs, including torchlight processions on snowshoes, triumphal 'living' arches, concerts, competitive races, picturesque costumes, songs, verse and stage decorations.<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> Becket 6.

<sup>172</sup> The carnivals are examined extensively in chapter 5.

### **Conclusion**

A political cartoon published in Grip, a satirical magazine published in Toronto, indicates how well established the connection between snowshoeing and the nation was by the 1880s. Entitled "The True State of Her Feelings", the cartoon shows Miss Canada, dressed in blanket coat, with sash and tuque, in dialogue with American Brother Jonathan [Figure 1.15]. Even in England, the snowshoe uniform signified Canadian identity, although it was anachronistic enough to be the object of ridicule. A Punch cartoon from 1883 poked fun at Lord Lansdowne, the newly appointed governor general, dressed "In his new Canadian costume adapted to remaining for some time out in the cold" [Figure 1.16]. Lansdowne's appointment to Canada was considered political exile because he had broken with Gladstone over Irish policy.<sup>173</sup> Ironically, it was his enthusiastic participation in the 1884 Winter Carnival, where he wore the blanket suit and tried out the toboggan slide, which ensured him tremendous good will from the Canadian public, or at least those members represented by the Montreal newspapers!

Understanding the snowshoe tramps and the rituals which developed from them as cultural performances illustrates the ways in which race, class and gender are inextricably linked and work together to construct social realities. Historians have paid lip-service to the idea that class is 'presented', 'demonstrated', 'exhibited', and 'displayed', but few take it seriously as an enacted performance.<sup>174</sup> Some historians have gone further toward recognizing the agency of performative acts. For instance, John Tosh stresses the importance of "public affirmations" in displaying masculine status and power at home, at

---

<sup>173</sup> R.H. Hubbard, Rideau Hall: an illustrated history of Government House, Ottawa, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967) 72.

<sup>174</sup> Even in a collection of essays promisingly entitled The Theatre of Sport, the authors fail to consider the performative act of sport, concentrating instead on 'topophilia' - the sport site. Karl B. Raitz, ed., The Theatre of Sport, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1995).



**THE TRUE STATE OF HER FEELINGS.**

BROTHER JONATHAN (*soloquizing*)—" Ah, she loves me : I know it ; I feel it in my very bones. She wants to jine me in the holy bands of political union."

MISS CANADA (*overhearing the whisper*)—" Mr. Jonathan, pray don't deceive yourself on that point. My heart is perfectly whole I assure you. I simply want to trade freely with you, that's all."

Fig. 1.15: William Bengough, "The True State of Her Feelings," cartoon, *Grip*, January 19, 1889. Reproduced in Carmen Cumming, *Sketches from a Young Country: The Images of Grip Magazine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 187.



Fig. 1.16: "Lord Lansdowne in His New Canadian Costume, Specially Adapted to Remaining For Some Time Out in the Cold," *Punch*, June 2, 1883, 262.

work and in all-male association,<sup>175</sup> and Robert S. Brown has argued recently that sport is a form of epideictic rhetoric, namely, intended for display at public occasions. In the context of American football, he argues that the public performance of sport provides messages to the community which shape national identity.<sup>176</sup> I wish to argue that the performative aspect of the sport was crucial experience for the individual sport member as well as a display of idealized behaviour for 'native-Canadians' as a group.

The snowshoe tramps were "meaningful dramatizations" by which urban dwellers became indigenised through contact with the wilderness landscape and climate and through the performance of an indigenous activity.<sup>177</sup> In addition, by emulating the heroic past of the British settlers in Canada as signified by the exploits of the Nor'Westers and Beaver Club members, and writing over the history and contributions of both French-Canadian and Native peoples, Montrealers built up myths of origin which constituted the foundation of a new British Canadian identity. Thus by 1884, an account of an historic snowshoe tramp given in Dawson's Supplement shows that snowshoeing had been constructed as an historically Canadian activity. The writer claimed that "[t]he first great snow-shoe tramp on record is the expedition under M. de Courcelles in 1666," during which "[t]he regular soldiers suffered much, but of the Canadians not a man was frozen."<sup>178</sup> By claiming this as the first 'recorded' tramp, the text erased the aboriginal origins of snowshoeing, or at least categorized them as pre-historic. In addition, the author claimed the regular soldiers, who were French, could not withstand the climate, but the Canadians

---

<sup>175</sup> Tosh, "What Should Historians do" 12-13, 184-7.

<sup>176</sup> Robert S. Brown, "Football as a Rhetorical Site of National Reassurance: Managing the Crisis of the Kennedy Assassination" (Ph.D. diss, Indiana University, 1996).

<sup>177</sup> Richard S. Gruneau, "Freedom and Constraint: The Paradoxes of Play, Games and Sports," JSH 7.3 (Winter 1980): 68-86, and "Power and Play" 146-94.

<sup>178</sup> Dawson's Supplement, 12.

could. Rhetorically, the author thereby categorized 'Canadians' as 'not-Indian' and 'not-French' - thus establishing and legitimizing the British claims to native-Canadian identity and history. In his speech at the MSSC Jubilee celebrations in 1890, Sir Donald Smith went a step further, totally erasing the history of snowshoeing before 1840 by describing the "early days of snowshoeing when there were no clubs," as if snowshoeing only began when the British colonists founded snowshoe clubs, and not centuries before that.<sup>179</sup> This is the equivalent in text, to what I have shown happened in images. The strategy of eliding both native pasts is also evident in the William Notman's *Hunting and Trapping* series which are the subject of the next chapter.

Lastly, the rules and regulations of the snowshoe clubs promoted particular characteristics and values which provided the basis of a shared group identity. They constructed a common script and choreography - a route and routine which was repeated nightly, weekly, and yearly. Through club membership and the interaction between clubs, men were able to recognize a consciousness of kind which was masculine, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and of a particular social status.

---

<sup>179</sup> NAC: MG 28 I421 Records of the St. George's Snow Shoe Club, 1874-1890, 204.

## CHAPTER 2

**COLONEL RHODES' HUNTING PARTY: 'A STORY RIGHTLY TOLD'**

A man who has lived in the Canadian wilderness, battled with its difficulties, and become practically conversant with the necessities of the country...would be 'Canadian in heart and feeling'.

*The North American*, January 3, 1851<sup>1</sup>

The snow was piled high as Colonel William Rhodes and his party arrived at their destination, on a cold January day in 1866. Loaded down with tons of hunting gear, Rhodes, his son and three Huron guides quickly unpacked. But instead of pitching their camp in the bush, they went inside the Montreal photographic studio of William Notman, to set up for what we would today call a 'photo-shoot'. Rhodes, his son, and three native guides had travelled from his home south of Quebec City. Hauling their tons of equipment via the convenient services of the Grand Trunk Railway, instead of on backs and sleds, had made this hunting trip something of a luxury. They were outfitted with a large canvas tent, numerous pairs of snowshoes, cooking pans, blankets, rifle, snares, axes, caribou heads, field-glass, rope, boulders, back-packs and clothing. Also on hand were trees, bushes, branches, underbrush, and cut wood; not to mention Notman's own supply of snowshoes and sled, plus white fur skins and bushels of salt to act as artificial snow, and magnesium to create the effect of a camp-fire.

Once the journey to Bleury Street was over, the 'scene' had to be set up in the glass-roofed studio. Living or freshly felled trees were arranged in front of a painted winter backdrop, with bushes and branches positioned as underbrush. White fur skins were placed on the floor and twigs scattered about naturalistically. The tent was set up, held in

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Zeller, *Inventing Canada* 266-7.



place with timbers and ropes held taut by boulders. Coarse salt was scattered strategically and the Rhodes' hunting party and equipment could finally be deployed for the camera in a series of views which together produce a narrative history of a Caribou hunt.<sup>2</sup>

By the time the 'shoot' was over, many hours had been spent in planning, travel and photographing, and considerable expense had been allocated by both parties to the venture. Col. Rhodes was a Director of the Grand Trunk Railway, so perhaps the journey was gratis, but he must presumably have been paying his guides. Likewise, it was probably Notman himself who took the photographs, but he was no doubt assisted in setting up the studio, preparing the plates and developing the prints by paid employees. The material cost alone for the 29 exposures taken would have been considerable. Technically, it would have been extremely difficult, but not impossible, for these photographs to be taken in the field. Notman used a cumbersome box camera and glass plates to take these images, and it was not until 1880 that photographers were freed by development of the dry-plate process from the necessity of setting up trays of chemicals with which to sensitize the plates immediately before exposure, and to develop them immediately afterwards. Nevertheless, Alexander Henderson, one of Notman's peers, did take scenes of hunting parties in the bush at this time, which suggests that in Notman's mind the photographs were portraits (and therefore must be taken in the studio where lighting and composition could be tightly controlled) rather than landscapes or genre scenes, which would have to be taken in the field.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Stanley Triggs is the main authority for information on the Notman Studios. The hunting scenes are mentioned in most of his publications, but have nowhere received a thorough treatment. See, for example, J. Russell Harper & Stanley Triggs, eds., Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photographs 1856-1915 (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Henderson's photograph collections include: Canadian Views and Studies, Photographed from Nature. His "Breakfast in Hunters Camp" (c.1865) is reproduced in Edward Cavell, Sometimes a Great Nation. A Photo Album of Canada 1850-1925 (Banff: Altitude Publishing

The first of the series resulting from these sessions was entitled "Cariboo Hunting in Canada". Notman sent a set of these photographs to Edward Wilson, who reviewed them at length in the May, 1866 issue of his magazine, The Philadelphia Photographer.<sup>4</sup> Briefly told, two of the subjects are presented first—the Hunter, Col. Rhodes [Figure 2.1] and one of his native guides, young Octave [Figure 2.2]. They set out on a hunting trip into the northern mountains [the Laurentians] pulling their arms and equipment on a heavily laden sled [Figure 2.3]. One of the party is too keen and goes ahead unwisely, but becomes exhausted and is overcome in a blizzard [Figure 2.4]. Luckily, he is rescued and reunited with the rest of the party. They make camp [Figure 2.5] and later sight some game [Figure 2.6], and bag a caribou [Figure 2.7, 2.7a]. At night they carouse around the camp fire, resting and telling stories [Figure 2.8]. Sunday is spent cleaning up around camp and observing the Lord's Day [Figure 2.9]. The last image sees them returning home, bearing their kill [Figure 2.10].

A second photo session took place three months later, at the end of March 1866, before the ice left the waters of the St. Lawrence in the Montreal region.<sup>5</sup> It, too, was reviewed in The Philadelphia Photographer in August of that year.<sup>6</sup> This time, the hunters were out for moose. Using Wilson's commentary as a guide to Notman's intentions, the story begins by presenting the native guides, who represent three generations of the Huron Gros-Louis family: the oldest is shown watching for game [Figure 2.11] and all three

---

Ltd., 1984).

<sup>4</sup> The Philadelphia Photographer 3.19 (May 1866) 9, 129. Since the titles of the photographs vary slightly in different collections, I have used the titles published in Notman's advertising and in the The Philadelphia Photographer.

<sup>5</sup> The approximate dating of the photographs is determined from a unpublished chronology compiled by Nora Hague of the Notman Archives.

<sup>6</sup> The Philadelphia Photographer, 3. 32 (August 1866) 235-6.



Fig. 2.1: "The Hunter," *Cariboo Hunting*, 1866. NPA: 19361-I



Fig. 2.2: "The Guide," *Cariboo Hunting*, 1866. NPA: 19362-1

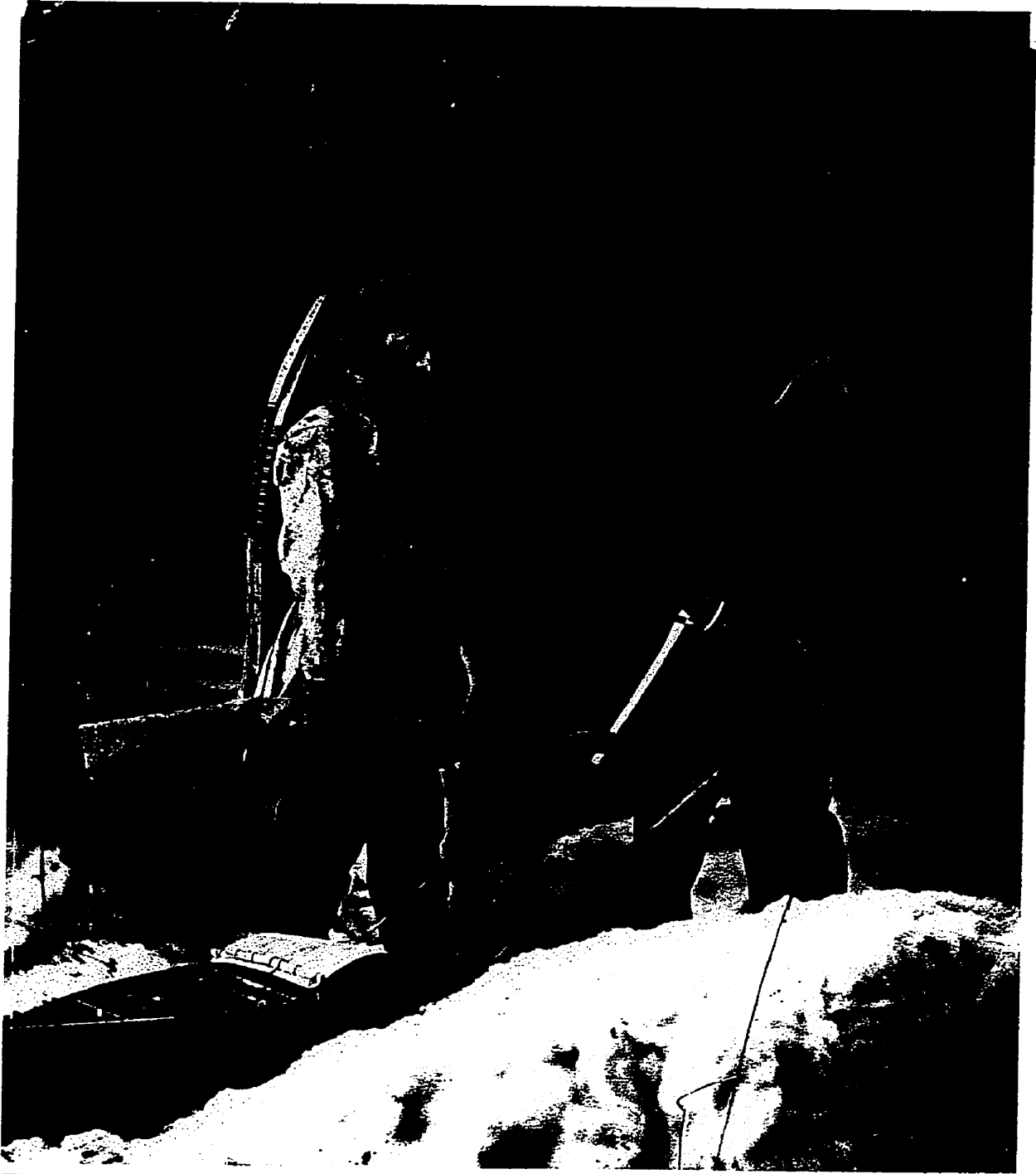


Fig. 2.3: "Going Out," *Caribou Hunting*, 1866. NPA: 19357-I



Fig. 2.4: "Exhausted," *Cariboo Hunting*, 1866. NPA: V602



Fig. 2.5: "The Arrival at Camp," Cariboo Hunting, 1866, coloured photograph. NPA: No. 14/81

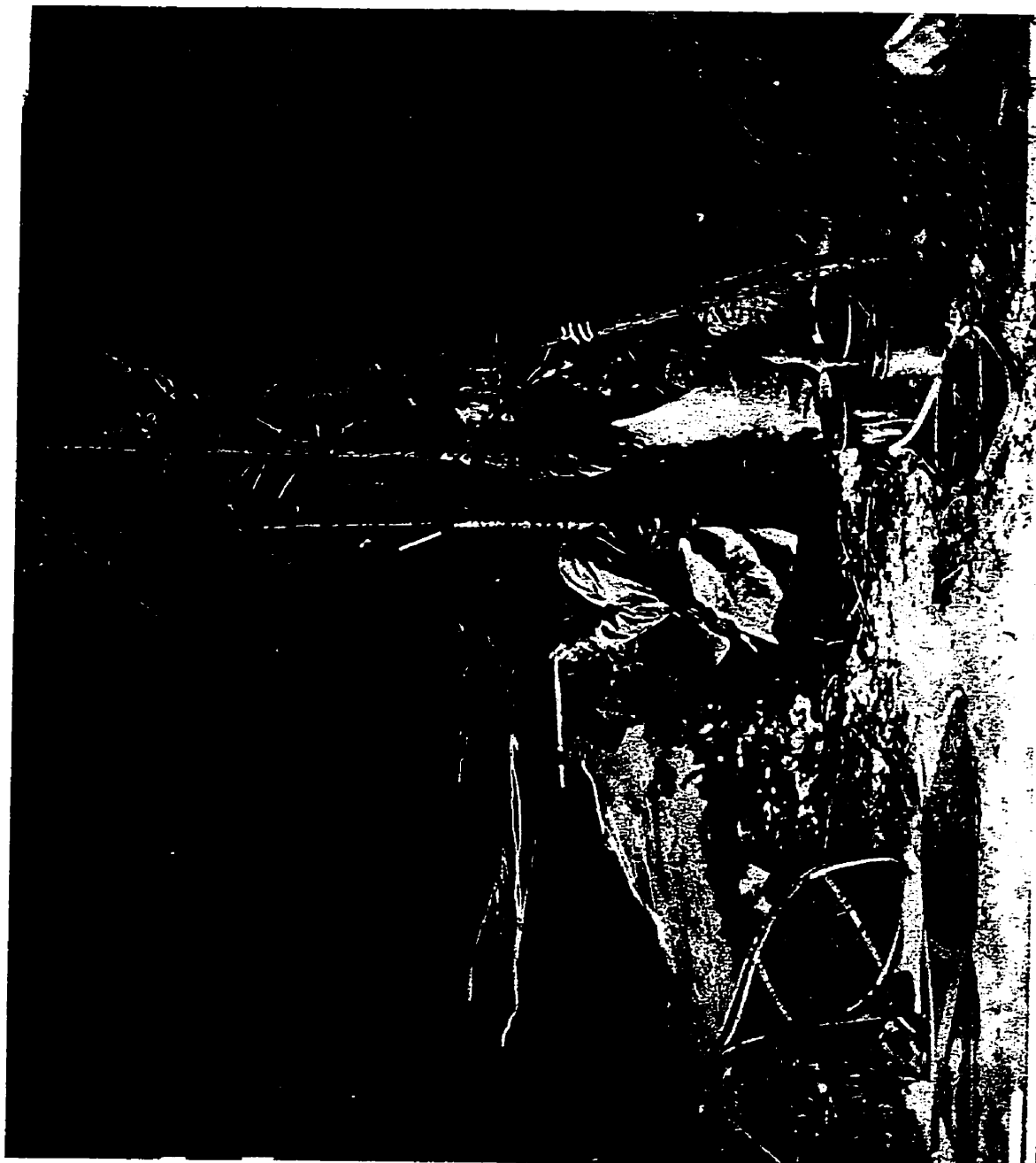


Fig.2.6: "Game in Sight," Cariboo Hunting, 1866. NPA: V600





Fig. 2.7: "A Chance Shot," Cariboo Hunting, 1866. NPA: 19323-I



CARIBOO HUNTING

*Hunters resting*

Photographed from Nature by W. Norman, Montreal, 1866

Fig. 2.7a: "Hunters Resting," *Cariboo Hunting*, 1866. Photograph mounted as part of a small set. MTL.

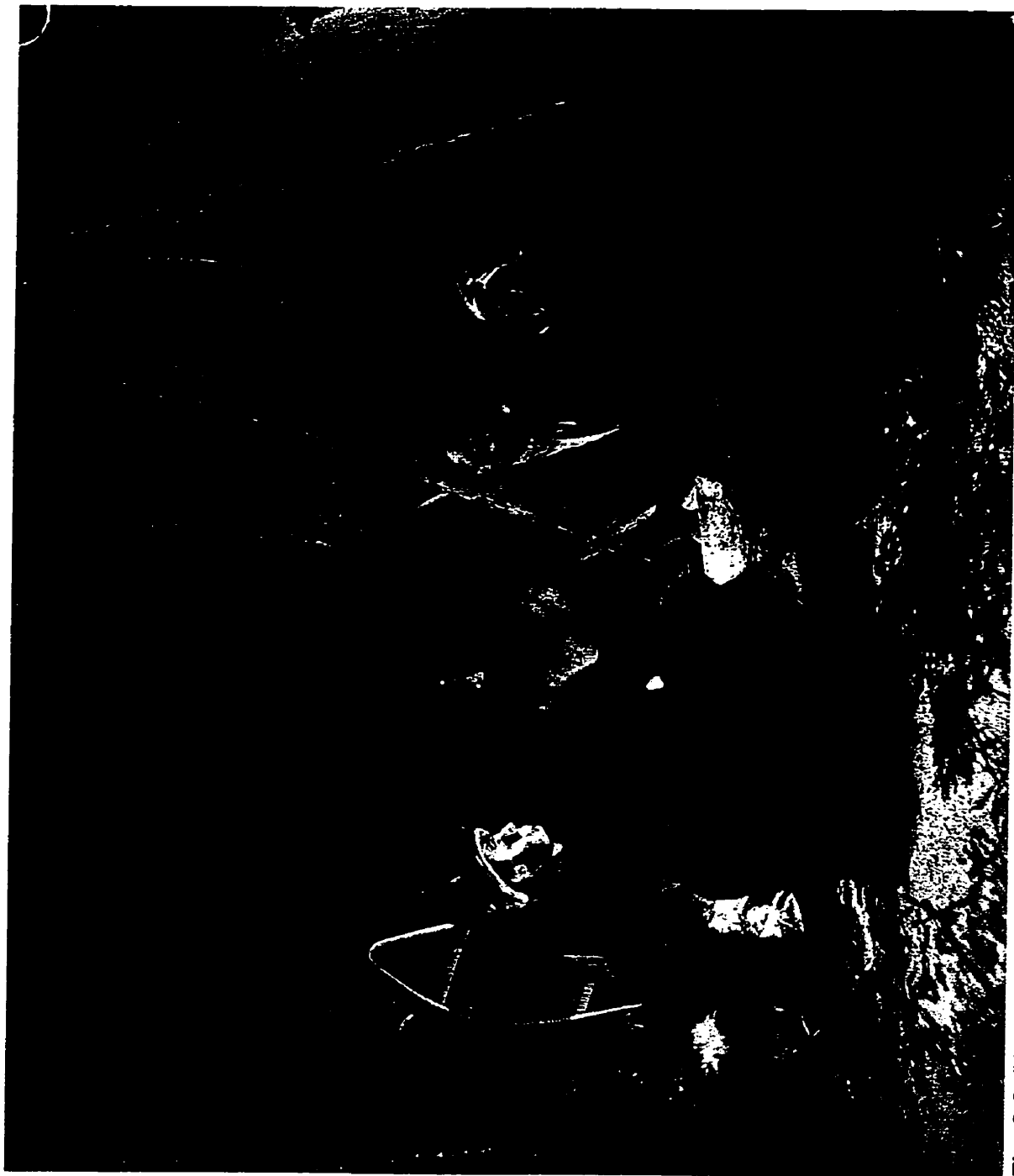


Fig. 2.8: "Around the Campfire," Cariboo Hunting, 1866. NP: V596-A



Fig. 2.9: "Sunday in the Bush," Cariboo Hunting, 1866. NPA: V598



Fig. 2.10: "Returning," *Cariboo Hunting*, 1866. NPA: 19259-I

are then seen busy setting up camp and preparing the equipment [Figure 2.12].<sup>7</sup> After a strenuous day of hunting they go to sleep in their 'cabane' or lean-to, while Gros-Louis, the son, takes the watch [Figure 2.13]. But he quickly starts to doze and in the early morning the hunters are awakened by the sound of strange noises made by "a huge black bruin" raiding their supplies [Figure 2.14]. The intruder is quickly dispatched, leaving the party with a good appetite for breakfast [Figure 2.15]. Later they witness the death of a fallen moose [Figure 2.16], and the final image sees them packing up camp and trudging home heavily laden with game [Figure 2.17].

Again, Notman took around 30 exposures, but this time he seems to have had a more specific plan in mind. Whereas the images in the *Cariboo Hunting* series were sold loose in two portfolio sets which varied in size and selection of images, the *Moose Hunting* series seems to have been more carefully planned out in advance. It was also sold in sets of two sizes, but each contained the same seven titles. A chronological sequence was established in five of the titles, and the last two were of the Huron guides. Indication of the passage of time ("Early Morn", "Breakfast", "Night") emphasized the narrative qualities of the series, and the inclusion of a "Return" image underlined the class and race of the hunters - they would return to 'civilization' rather than staying in the bush for extended periods of time like Native hunters or *habitants*. The sequence of titles in the reviewed set was exactly the same, except that the images of the "Old Hunter" and the "Three Guides" were placed at the beginning rather than the end. The close correspondence between these sets seems to indicate that Notman was capitalizing on, or developing his ideas

---

<sup>7</sup> Since all three of the Gros-Louis' were named François, I will note their relationship, i.e. Gros-Louis, the grandfather, Gros-Louis, the son, and Gros-Louis, the grandson. They were Huron from Lorette, descendants of the few remaining Huron who escaped from Christian Island after the fall of Huronia in 1640: NPA: Triggs files.

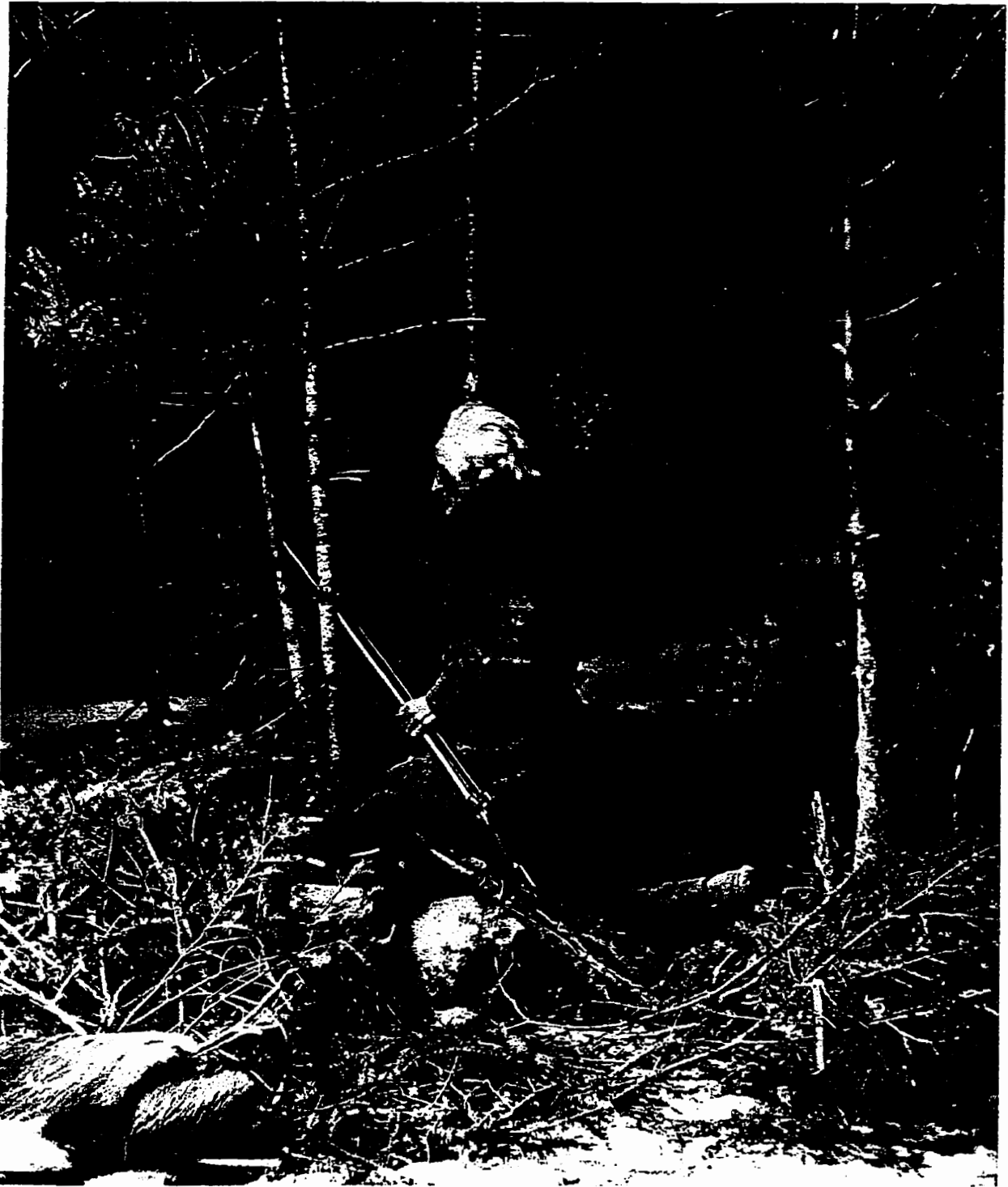


Fig. 2.11: "The Old Hunter," *Moose Hunting*, 1866. NPA: 20501-1



Fig. 2.12: "The Three Guides," *Moose Hunting*, 1866. NPA: 20490-I



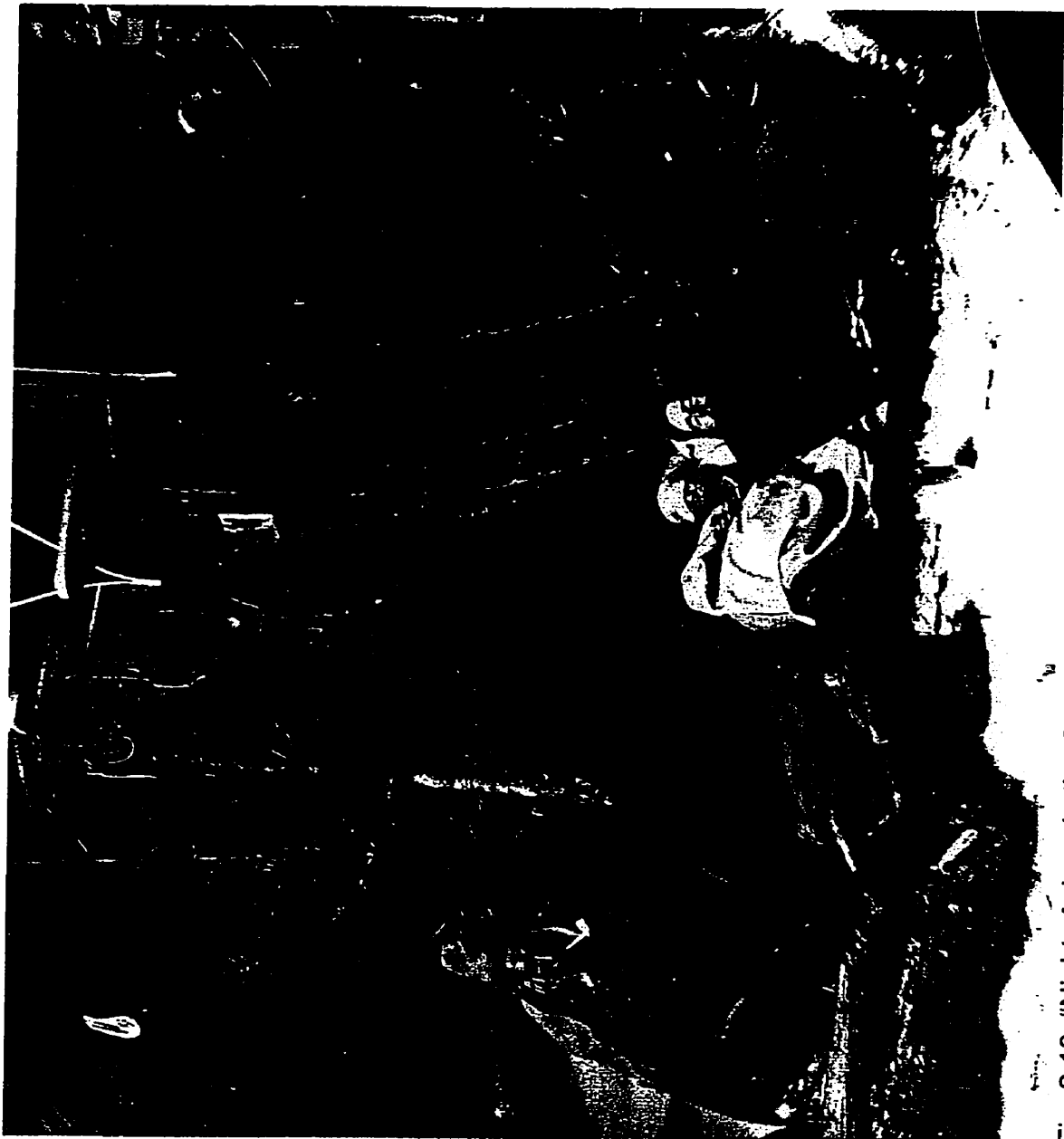


Fig. 2.13: "Night--Asleep in the Cabane," *Moose Hunting*, 1866. NPA: 20497-I



Fig. 2.14: "Early Morn--The Surprise," Moose Hunting, 1866. NPA: 20499-1



Fig. 2.15: "The Breakfast," Moose Hunting, 1866. NPA: 20491-I



Fig. 2.16: "The Death," Moose Hunting, 1866. NPA: 20492-I

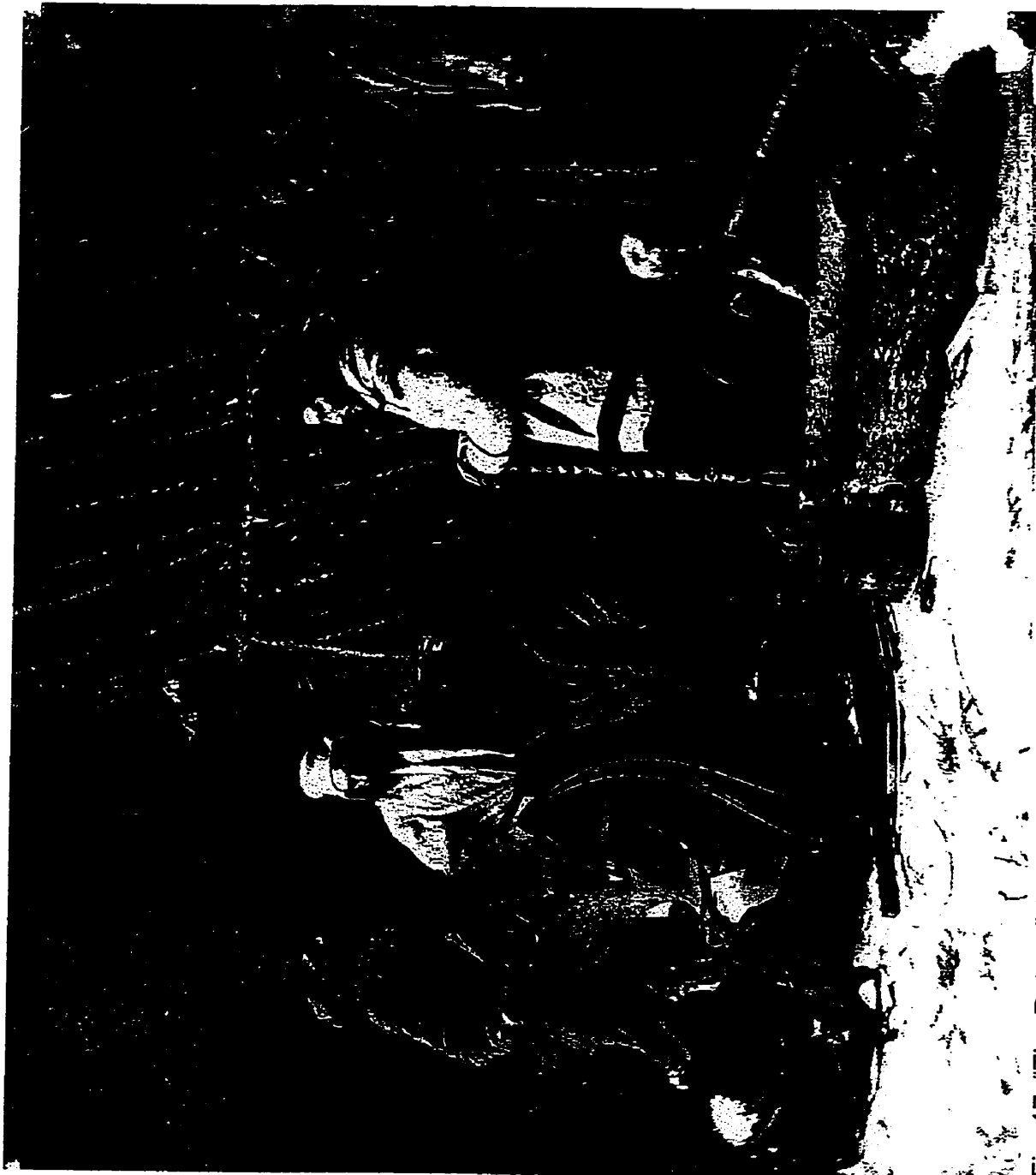


Fig. 17: "The Return," Moose Hunting, 1866. NPA: 20494-I

about, the second series based on his experience from the first. The notations in the Picture Book for the exposures for *Cariboo Hunting* are very general: "Col. Rhodes & Guide" and "Col. Rhodes" are entered for every one of the 29 poses [Figure 2.18].<sup>8</sup> However, the notations for *Moose Hunting* are the actual titles subsequently used in all three sets. Furthermore, these titles are given a numbered sequence in subsequent advertising, indicating a strongly developed narrative.

The final set of photographs illustrating "Trapping in Canada" was taken in the summer of 1866 and reviewed by Wilson the following March.<sup>9</sup> Unlike the other two series, this one does not have a narrative. It instead resembles a catalogue of Canadian wild-life available for the sport-hunter. Seals, wolverine, beaver, and lynx are shown at the mercy of the hunter's gun. An image of beavers at work, and of the old guide are included in the reviewed set.

The considerable effort and expense involved in producing these photographs indicates their significance to the parties involved, especially since a second sitting occurred in March of 1866, and a third in August. The photographs must have been of importance to both Notman and Rhodes, who was featured in the *Cariboo Hunting* set and one of the *Trapping* series, and whose son, Armitage, was featured in the *Moose Series*.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> The Picture Books held in the Notman Archives contain a record of the portraits taken by the Notman Studio in Montreal. The exposures were numbered consecutively and the sitter's name was noted. If the negatives were *carte-de-visite* size a print was glued to the page, otherwise just the size of the negative was noted. A sample page is illustrated in Figure 2.18.

<sup>9</sup> The Philadelphia Photographer, 4.39 (Mar. 1867) 79-80.

<sup>10</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I will follow Stanley Triggs' identification of Rhodes' son, Armitage, as given in his letter to Joan Morgan, dated October 6, 1978 (NPA: Triggs files). However, if Rhodes married shortly after leaving the military in 1848, as reported by J.M. LeMoine, Maple Leaves: Canadian History.—Literature.—Sport, fourth series (Quebec: Augustin Coté, 1873) 274, his son would only be a teenager in 1866, and this man looks older. Furthermore, LeMoine's

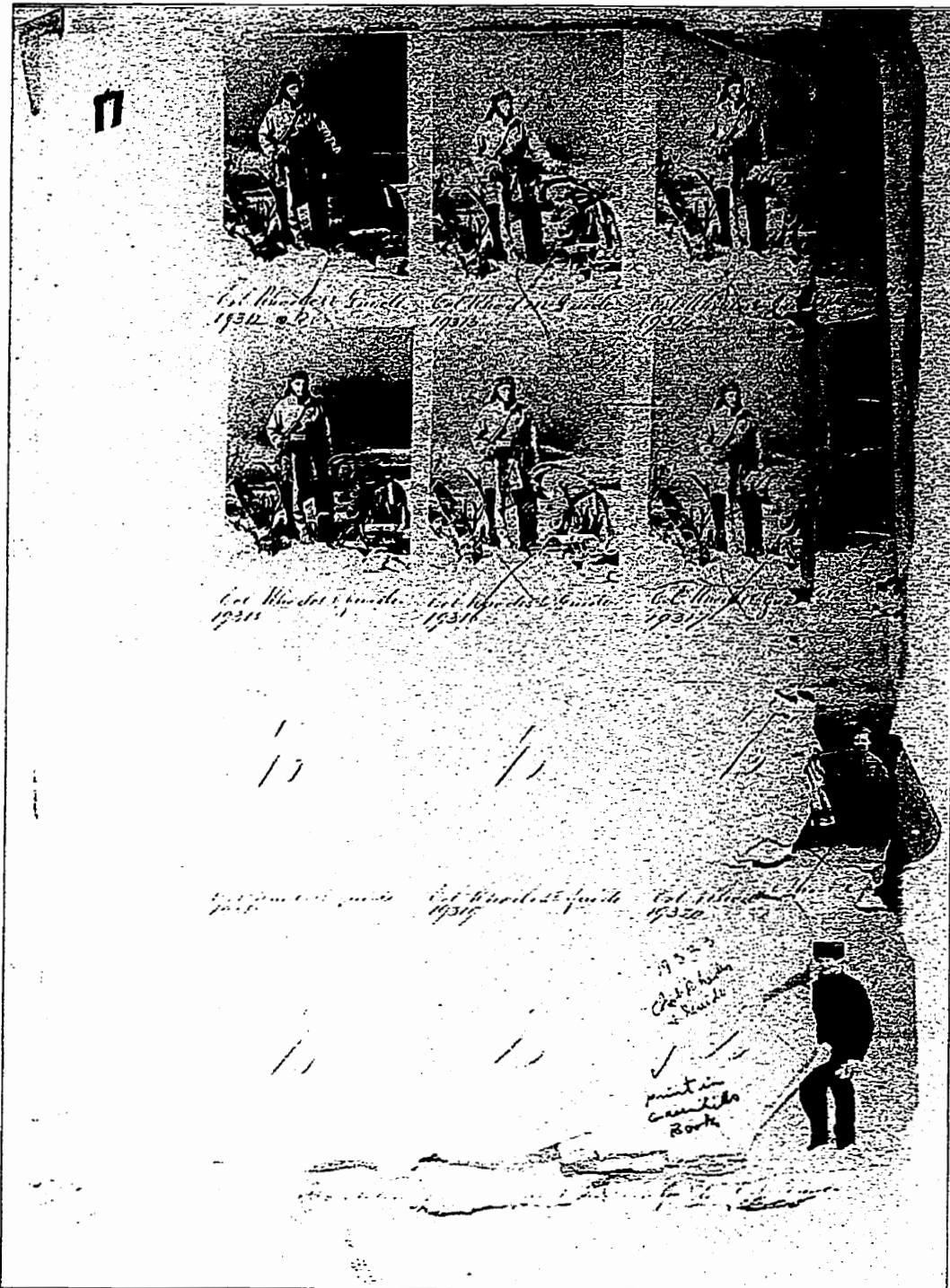


Fig. 2.18: Sample page from the Notman Studio Picture Book, 1866  
NPA: 19312-I

Through interpretation of the meaning of these images, this chapter explores the motivations for their creation, and the role they played in the developing nationalist discourse of the period. The key to understanding these photographs is an examination of the portrait of Colonel Rhodes made for a series of illustrated biographies produced by the Notman Studio, entitled Portraits of British Americans. Through this analysis, I show that, abetted by William Notman, Col. Rhodes attempted to fashion himself as a native-Canadian by imposing elite British sport traditions on the 'primitive' form of hunting which existed in Canada.

The meeting of 'Native-Canadians' in Toronto in 1860, described in the Introduction, was a manifestation of the desire of native-born or naturalized Canadians to find a way to identify themselves as Canadians rather than Britons or Americans. The American Civil War and the Fenian threat in the early 1860s further underlined the need for what D'Arcy McGee called "a new nationality". The desire to define and identify what was 'Canadian' was manifested in many ways.<sup>11</sup> It was not just in Upper Canada that citizens sought to generate a local culture through the schools, journalism, literature and learning; this desire was also evident amongst the English-speaking inhabitants of Lower Canada. The French-speaking inhabitants had their own, different vision of Canadian identity, and the stinging rebuke by Lord Durham that they were a race with inferior language, laws and character had stimulated young intellectuals to produce works of

---

description of Rhodes' home with "rosy-cheeked English boys romping on the lawns", was published in 1865 and gives the impression Rhodes' children were still young: Maple Leaves: Canadian History and Quebec Scenery, 3<sup>rd</sup> series (Quebec: Hunter, Rose, 1865) 86. I think it more likely that the moose hunter was Colonel Bell, or one of Rhodes' other hunting associates.

<sup>11</sup> Allan Smith, "Old Ontario" 194-217. While it is a rather superficial account, this article suggests the plethora of media through which the idea of creating a Canadian nation was worked out.



literature and history.<sup>12</sup> The meeting of 'Native-Canadians' proposed that they distinguish themselves by wearing the emblem of a maple leaf in the parade to welcome the Prince of Wales, but by looking at sport we can see that national identity was also being constructed, performed and displayed through physical activity. In 1866, at a moment when lacrosse and snowshoeing were about to increase exponentially, Notman and Rhodes visualized the new native-Canadian as the idealized figure of the 'Great Northern Hunter'. The series of photographs examined drew on commonly understood strategies of representation, and can be read as a narrative creating a mythic story of becoming native in a foreign land, just as the snowshoe tramps can be read as a symbolic journey of conquest and indigenisation.<sup>13</sup> Together with snowshoeing, the Notman images of the Canadian Hunter pre-visaged Halliburton's renowned "Men of the North;" both created a cultural fiction which defined and legitimized nationhood by claiming historical roots and continuity in the landscape.

The historical context of these photographs was the period between the Quebec Confederation Conference held in 1864 and the ratification of the British North America Act by the British Parliament in 1867. In other words, this was a period of highly charged debate which led up to the creation of the new Canadian state. In addition, the photographs were produced in the context of the recent St. Alban's raid and other violations of Canadian neutrality related to the last days of the American Civil War, as well as the imminent threat of Fenian raids. American determination to end the Reciprocity

---

<sup>12</sup> See Introduction, note 8.

<sup>13</sup> The imposition of the story form (a central subject with a beginning, middle, end and an identifiable narrative voice) narrativizes and thus gives the list of events meaning (11). The author does this from a certain subjective position which has already determined at the beginning what the end (the gloze or inner meaning) will be (24): Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* (Autumn 1980): 5-27.

Agreement further added to the perception of estrangement between Canada and its southern neighbour.

While the ultimate existence and political identity of the new nation was being debated in 1866, Notman's photographs can be read as attempts to envisage and embody its 'new nationality'. When national consciousness has to be forged in opposition to a dominant power - in Canada's case, Britain and the newly formed United States - the new nation seeks to assert its cultural difference, often by means of its ethnic identity or distinctive language. In British white settler colonies this was not so easy, since they shared a common ethnic and linguistic background with the Mother Country. For them, the task became locating other "markers of difference" which would define what was both distinctive and superior about the new nation. In the case of Australia, historian Marilyn Lake has argued that this was a model of masculinity: "the free, mobile, independent (yet loyal to his mates) bushworker".<sup>14</sup> Daniel J. Herman has argued that middle-class Americans identified with frontiersmen like Daniel Boone, and gained an indigenous identity through hunting, natural history, and exploration.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Canada, I would argue that the new nationality was also gendered male, and that it was similarly authenticated by experience and interaction with the peculiar characteristics of the Canadian climate and landscape. However, what was distinctively Canadian, was Native, for national identity was imagined and invented by appropriating and claiming indigenous cultural activities such as hunting, snowshoeing and lacrosse, and 'civilizing' them through imposing British notions of discipline, order and fair play. Canadian identity was not just built in opposition to indigenous culture, it was built on it. Moreover, the Canadian model of

---

<sup>14</sup> Marilyn Lake, "Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation—Nationalism, Gender and other Seminal Acts", *Gender & History* 4:3 (Autumn 1992) 312.

<sup>15</sup> Herman "American Natives"

manliness was constructed and propagated by the professional and commercial middle-classes, and based on their ideals and values. Hence, any examination of Canadian national identity, at least as constructed in Montreal between the Rebellions, has to consider the multiple discourses of class, race and gender.

The Notman hunting photographs realized (or, made real) Rhodes' indigenisation through the experience and practice of hunting, and thereby proposed him as a model of the ideal Canadian. How far Rhodes and Notman were consciously and purposefully engaged in creating a 'narrative of nation' is, of course, highly debatable. However, on an empirical level, both had motives for establishing a particular vision of Canadian identity, and their business interests were furthered by displaying this vision of Canadian identity to multiple audiences. In the process, both Notman and Rhodes participated in the broad movement led by the professional and commercial middle-classes to reform and reshape society.

Very little research has been done into the history of nineteenth-century Canadian photographic institutions.<sup>16</sup> By far the most is known about William Notman and the photographers and artists who worked for him, but the history and output of other photographic studios is very sketchy indeed.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, it is hard to estimate with

---

<sup>16</sup> The few works specifically on nineteenth century Canadian photographic history include: Ralph Greenhill, Early Photography in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), Ralph Greenhill & Andrew Birrell, Canadian Photography 1839-1920 (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1979); Lily Koltun, ed. Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada 1839-1940 (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984) and "Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto," History of Photography 2.3 (1978); Dennis Reid, Our Own Country Canada; Andrew Birrell, "Survey Photography in British Columbia, 1858-1900," B.C. Studies 52 (Winter 1981-2): 39-60, and several articles in a special edition of History of Photography 20.2 (Summer 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Hannah Maynard's work and studio in Victoria has been researched quite extensively. See: Claire Weissman Wilks, The Magic Box. The Eccentric Genius of Hannah Maynard (Toronto: Exile Editions, 1980), and Petra Rigby Watson, "Hannah Maynard's Multiple Exposures," History of

any precision how representative or exceptional his work was. The *Hunting and Trapping* series are unique in Notman's oeuvre. No other group of his photographs so clearly constitute a narrative; and they are, therefore, of particular interest. However, photo narratives and hunting scenes were not exclusive to Notman. His main Quebec City competitor, J.B. Livernois, produced a historical collection of photographs in 1865. Through this series of over 20 photographs of plans, sketches, paintings, and illustrations, Livernois traced the history of French Canada from its discovery, through the history of early settlers and missionaries, battles against the British and the Natives, and the growth of cities.<sup>18</sup> This was a very different account to that of the British history of the colony, and emphasized the role of the Church and the French Canadian struggle for survival in a similar vein to that taken by F.-X. Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, published in 1845. Another photographer in Montreal, Alexander Henderson, produced an album series in 1865 entitled *Canadian Views and Studies*, which largely consisted of landscapes, but lacked an overall narrative theme.<sup>19</sup>

There is no shortage of hunting scenes in archival collections and personal

---

*Photography* 20.2 (Summer 1996): 155-157. Other studies have examined the work of photographers documenting Native communities in the West, for example, Margaret B. Blackman, "Studio Indians' Cartes de visite of Native People in British Columbia, 1862-1872," *Archivaria* 21 (Winter 85-86): 68-86, and Daniel Francis, *Copying People: Photographing British Columbia First Nations 1860-1940* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1996). We know some of the work of other major nineteenth-century photographers such as William James Topley, George Martin, James Inglis, the Stiff Brothers, and Alexander Henderson, but there are no studies comparable to those done on the Notman studios. A collection of photographs from the Livernois studios are available in an exhibition catalogue: Michel Lessard, ed., *The Livernois Photographers* (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987).

<sup>18</sup> J.B. Livernois's Canadian Collection of Photographic Reproductions of Historical Engravings and Views of Historical Places, Quebec, April 1865. NAC: Jules-Ernest Livernois Collection 1963-157.

<sup>19</sup> See Greenhill and Birrell 51; and Edward Cavell, Sometimes a Great Nation. A Photo Album of Canada 1850-1925 (Banff: Altitude Publishing Ltd., 1984).

scrapbooks. The Peter's Album, for instance, contains a sequence of photos of a caribou hunt in New Brunswick in 1884, and another of Goat Hunting.<sup>20</sup> Hunting trips were also the subject of photographs taken by Livernois, and Henderson.<sup>21</sup> The Topley studio in Ottawa was very active in the 1890s photographing trips for hunting clubs such as the Buckskin Club.<sup>22</sup> Interest in documenting hunting trips persisted into the twentieth century, and the content and style of photographs change little over time.<sup>23</sup> A photograph of a trapping camp taken in the 1940s, for instance, is almost a replica of Notman's images - with a canvas tent pitched in the forest, a campfire, and a pair of snowshoes propped up in the bottom left-hand corner.<sup>24</sup> In fact, hunting scenes can often be found pasted into scrapbooks and photo albums in a narrative order, with captions, indicating that, by the turn of the century when hunters had easy access to Kodak cameras, the hunting trip had become a genre with a certain representational formula.<sup>25</sup> A poster advertising fishing trips at Oak Lodge, Peterborough is made up of a montage of thirteen photographs, suggesting that the typical hunting narrative of 'starting out', 'setting up camp', 'hunting', 'displaying the catch', 'packing up' and 'returning', had actually become a tourist expectation.<sup>26</sup> Various types of hunting in Canada were also the subject of illustrations in

---

<sup>20</sup> NAC: 1958-179, Capt. James Peters' Album: "Caribou Hunt in New Brunswick, 1884" vol. 1, n.p.; "Caribou Shooting" vol. 2, 24-5, "Goat Hunting" vol 2, 42-4.

<sup>21</sup> NAC: 1947-102 contains Livernois winter hunting scenes with sleds, snowshoes etc. NAC: 1947-102 includes Livernois fishing trip scenes from c.1880-90. NAC: 1983-069 contains an album of 40 photographs by Alexander Henderson, "Canadian Views and Studies by an Amateur", 1865.

<sup>22</sup> NAC: 1936-270 Topley Collection

<sup>23</sup> Examples can be found in NAC 1966-33, 1966-94, 1971-120, 1936-271, 1974-316, 1917-24, and 1962-41

<sup>24</sup> Photographer unknown, Hudson's Bay Company T-205: J. E. Foster and D.R. Richeson, comps., The Fur Trade in Canada since 1787, vol. 73 of Canada's Visual History, slides (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada) 29.

<sup>25</sup> For example: NAC 1970-249 contains a series of captioned photographs by Arthur L. Handford of a hunting trip at Bellevue Camp, Slate Falls, Ontario in November 1907.

<sup>26</sup> NAC: 1968-114 Albertype Company Collection, PA 32781.

the periodical press. The Canadian Illustrated News, the Illustrated London News, L'Opinion publique, and Le Monde Illustré were among those which reproduced hunting scenes.<sup>27</sup> "Canadian Sports Scenes," including hunting, were likewise the theme of a series of ceramic dishes produced for the Canadian market, which are commonly found in museum collections.<sup>28</sup>

Notman's hunting scenes are of interest in part because he was one of the first practitioners of the photographic medium and can be seen to have established many precedents. It must be acknowledged, however, that he, in turn, was drawing on devices and solutions already formulated in the medium of painting.<sup>29</sup> What is of particular interest about the *Hunting and Trapping* series, is that they explain how the transformation in identity from 'canadien' to 'Canuck' prescribed by Lord Durham could be achieved. Along with images and performances of other indigenous activities, they are the visual vocabulary upon which Haliburton and the nationalists of Canada First could draw in order to formulate their ideal of Canadians as 'Men of the North.' They explain how British colonists could become native in a foreign land.

---

<sup>27</sup> For instance: Canadian Illustrated News., April 29, 1871, March 25, 1872, October 5, 1872; October 24, 1874; September 11, 1875; October 6, 1877; December 22, 1877. Illustrated London News.; November 13, 1858; December 18, 1858. L'Opinion publique: vol. ix, p. 79, 130. Le Monde Illustré, vol. xvii, p.737.

<sup>28</sup> For example: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; McCord Museum, Montreal; Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa. See Elizabeth Collard, The Potter's View of Canada: Canadian scenes on nineteenth-century earthenware (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1983).

<sup>29</sup> Although hunting scenes were a small, but established genre in painting, they became a familiar 'type' in photography. For a discussion of sporting art as a genre of painting see, Stephen Deuchar, Sporting Art in Eighteenth-Century England. A Social and Political History (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988). Images of hunting are not much in evidence before c.1840 in Canada, according to Jim Burant, "La chasse, or "A-hunting we will go!" The Archivist 117 (1998) 4-9.

After describing the career and business interests of William Notman, and his motivations for envisioning a Canadian national identity, I turn in this chapter to a discussion of Colonel Rhodes and an analysis of his portrait in Portraits of British Americans. Subsequently, I provide a detailed visual analysis of the *Hunting and Trapping* series, after having first outlined the historical context of sport-hunting in Canada.

### **William Notman: Artist and Business Man**

Thanks to the work of archivist Stanley Triggs, there is extensive background information about William Notman. He was born into a prosperous, middle-class, Presbyterian family in Paisley, Scotland in 1826. He received some art training in Glasgow, and it was probably there that he learned the craft of photography. After a well-intentioned but fraudulent attempt to rescue the family textile business from bankruptcy, Notman fled to Montreal in 1856 and quickly set up a photographic studio. He met immediate success in his new profession, and by 1859 his whole family had joined him in Montreal. He quickly hired talented artists to assist him, and his studio wages book shows that by 1864 he had 35 employees working full-time.<sup>30</sup>

Notman's studio initially catered primarily to the portrait trade. In 1866, photography was still an exciting new medium and was in the process of negotiating a place for itself within the fine art/craft hierarchy.<sup>31</sup> The Notman Studio had many competitors in Montreal, most of whom were vying for the lucrative portraiture business.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Stanley Triggs, William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985). Chapters 1 & 2 describe Notman's early life in Scotland and his move to Montreal.

<sup>31</sup> Denis Reid's, Our Own Country Canada has the fullest discussion of Notman's leadership role in the art community in Montreal.

<sup>32</sup> Notman had plenty of competition, since the Mitchell & Co. Canadian Classified Directory for 1865 lists 34 photographers in Montreal: Greenhill and Birrell 44.

As an adjunct to full-size portraits, during the 1850s and 1860s there was a new fad for collecting photographs of famous people such as politicians, royalty, clergy, and entertainers in the form of *carte de visite*, which were collected in albums.<sup>33</sup> Thus, Notman not only sold *carte de visite* by the dozen as calling cards, but also sold prints of notable people to collectors.<sup>34</sup> Portrait photography, therefore, was a means by which people represented themselves to others. The quality and effect of the image (the way one 'fashioned' oneself) was important, but proffering a *carte de visite* also proclaimed one's social and economic status since it was only the prosperous middle classes and elites who could afford such evidence of cultural capital.<sup>35</sup>

Photographs were also purchased by tourists, either to be framed and hung like a painting, or to be mounted in an album. Landscapes, city scenes, and views of popular attractions were the most common subject matter, and photography drew on the aesthetic

---

<sup>33</sup> Stanley G. Triggs, William Notman's Studio: The Canadian Picture (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1992) 25. Triggs estimates that two thirds of the studio's output was portraits: Jana L. Bara, "The Image of Canada. Iconological sources of Canadian popular symbolism: nineteenth-century souvenir photographs." (Ph.D. diss, Concordia University, Montreal, 1991) 185 n.239.

<sup>34</sup> *Carte de visite*, were paper prints mounted on calling cards measuring approximately 4" x 2½". This fad appears to be related to the fashion for collecting engraved portraits in albums, which was popular a century before. See Marcia Pointon, Hanging the Head: Portraiture & Social Formation in 18th Century England (New Haven & London: Yale U.P., 1993) 54-61, and Audrey Linkman, The Victorians Photographic Portraits (London: Tauris Parke Books, 1993). Studies relating to the Canadian experience include: Alan Thomas, "Photography and the Indian: Concept and practice on the Northwest Coast", B.C. Studies 52 (1982); Margaret B. Blackman, "Studio Indians".

<sup>35</sup> 'Cultural capital' denotes the social status or currency conferred by evidence of taste. Hence Bourdieu's insight that "tastes classify". Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1984). John Tagg makes a similar argument in The Burden of Representation 37-38. Although Notman catered to a wide range of customers, it was possible to purchase *carte de visite* from other photographers for a cheaper price. J.G. Park, for instance, sold 1 dozen *carte de visite* in 1868 for \$1.50, and claimed they were "just as good as those for which you have to pay from \$3 to \$4 elsewhere": Montreal Witness, February 8, 1868. To put this into perspective: a male clerk at Toronto's Eatons store in 1869 earned \$8 per week: Robert Collins, The Age of Innocence 1870/1880 (Toronto: Canada's Illustrated Heritage, 1977) 30, 64 quoted by Bara, "Image of Canada" 20.



conventions and traditions of painting to create the image. Notman and his sons eventually documented the landscape, the people, towns, cities and public works right across the country. Canadians who saw Notman's photographs consequently got a sense of their national image long before the government took on the task of promoting national identity.<sup>36</sup>

During the 1860s Notman was very active in disseminating his photographs in various forms. Apart from publishing two volumes of Photographic Selections, which were comprised of photographs of paintings and engravings, North American Scenery, a set of photographs of C.J. Way's paintings, and The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide, in 1865 Notman initiated the publication of a series of paperback booklets entitled Portraits of British Americans.<sup>37</sup> These were sold by subscription and each contained several biographies edited by Fennings Taylor and accompanied by tipped-in *carte de visite* size photographs of well-known Canadian personages. Judging by the fact that the series ran for three years, at a time when serial publishing was a precarious business, this proved to be a successful venture.

Besides actively promoting direct sales, Notman showed himself to be an astute businessman with a flare for publicity.<sup>38</sup> For instance, at the 1860 opening of the Victoria

---

<sup>36</sup> Roger Hall, Gordon Dodds, Stanley Triggs (eds), The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth-Century through a Master Lens (Montreal: McClelland & Stewart, 1993) 26. Notman's sons carried on the business until 1934, when the remaining business records and approximately 400,000 glass negatives were deposited at the McCord Museum in Montreal.

<sup>37</sup> William Notman, Portraits of British Americans by William Notman with Biographical Sketches by Fennings Taylor, deputy clerk and clerk assistant of the Legislative Council of Canada (Montreal: John Lovell Printer) Vol. 1 (May 1865), Vol. II (1867), Vol. III (1868).

<sup>38</sup> Notman speculated in real estate and was a member of the syndicate which built the palatial Windsor Hotel. Socially, he was a member, and sometime President, of the Longueuil Yacht Club, governor of Montreal General Hospital in the 1880s and a member of the YMCA—

Bridge, Notman presented a handsome gift of photographs and stereographs to the Prince of Wales in a finely-crafted maple box.<sup>39</sup> According to Triggs, "Notman family tradition holds that Her Majesty was so delighted with the gift that she pronounced William Notman 'Photographer to the Queen'.<sup>40</sup> Although royalty was not exploited much as an advertising device before 1876, Notman proudly had this title carved on the pediment of a Grecian-style portico at the entrance of his studio.<sup>41</sup> The resulting publicity increased his business and his prestige:

It remained the fad for years among the more affluent to have their photographs taken, in carriage or sleigh, in front of the studio with the portico confirming the royal attribution serving as a background.<sup>42</sup>

The *Hunting and Trapping* series were important to Notman, and worth the trouble taken to produce them, because they were suitable for submission to the international exhibitions so popular and influential in the second half of the nineteenth century. They demonstrated his technical prowess and artistic skill, as well as being novel.<sup>43</sup> They were

---

activities which locate him as a member of the upper echelons of the professional and commercial middle-classes. Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 14 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-- ) 12:790. .

<sup>39</sup> The Maple Box, as it became known, contained "two large leatherbound, silk-lined portfolios of photographs," one labelled Upper Canada, one Lower Canada. They were bound separately, but were both contained within a finely-wrought box of bird's eye maple decorated with silver mountings. Only the addition of a beaver as decoration could have improved the symbolism! See: Hall, Dodds & Triggs, World 12; Stanley Triggs, William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985) 24; Triggs, Notman's Studio 25. Further details of the manufacturers of the box are given in Henry Hopper Miles, A catalogue of the products of Canada East at the International Exhibition, London, 1862 (London: G. Norman, 1862) 8, 19.

<sup>40</sup> Triggs, Stamp 25.

<sup>41</sup> John M. Mackenzie, Propaganda & Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960 (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1984) 3. Never one to miss an opportunity, Notman included the words "and under the patronage of the Emperor of France" to his publicity after the 1867 Paris Exhibition. (NPA: Advertisements file).

<sup>42</sup> Hall, Dodds & Triggs, World 25.

<sup>43</sup> Audrey Linkman claims that in the 1850s and 1860s it was generally accepted that photographing groups of figures "was one of the most difficult operations in photography": Linkman

also a means by which he could counter the lack of knowledge and interest about colonial life shown in English newspapers of this period.<sup>44</sup> In terms of sales, winning a medal at one of these events was apparently on a par with royal patronage because Notman took every opportunity to advertise his medals: in his advertising, in his promotional pamphlets and on his insignia.<sup>45</sup> The *Hunting* and *Trapping* scenes were medal winners for Notman at the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition, despite the fact that they were not favourably displayed.<sup>46</sup> In fact, photographs from the *Hunting* and *Trapping* series were prize winners "in every international exhibition in which they were entered."<sup>47</sup>

Notman also gained renown and respect within North American photography circles because he was a frequent contributor to The Philadelphia Photographer and other leading journals. He pioneered various technical innovations, as well as contributing articles on his own studio practices. He shared freely information about the studio set-up required for the *Hunting* and *Trapping* scenes, his innovative special effects, and the technically demanding composite pictures he produced in the 1870s. He opened at least nineteen branch studios in the new Dominion and the north-eastern United States, where the bulk of his business was in providing portrait services for the American schools and

---

129.

<sup>44</sup> English newspaper had a "frequently superior and mocking tone, a great deal of misinformation, and a strong prejudice against the Americans" in the period 1841-61: Ged Martin, "Introduction: The North Atlantic Triangle Revisited" in Eldridge xi-xxii.

<sup>45</sup> Notman made a point of submitting his work to international exhibitions and fairs, and won numerous medals and honourable mentions. These are listed in Harper and Triggs, Portrait n.p. footnote 18; a further list which also notes entries to minor exhibitions is provided in Triggs, Stamp 170 n.76. An example of Notman's use of his medals and appointment to the Queen as advertising can be found in the Montreal Herald & Daily Commercial Gazette, January 16, 1863.

<sup>46</sup> G. Wharton Simpson reported that "Mr. Notman sends a fine display of his cabinet pictures and fine hunting scenes but they are hung so high that they cannot receive any justice from inspection in the Exhibition". "Photography at the International Exhibition at Paris," The Philadelphia Photographer, 4.[?] ([?]1867) 207.

<sup>47</sup> Triggs, Notman's Studio 57.

their graduating classes.<sup>48</sup> Not only was his work available from his studios, but also from "stationery and book stores, all major Canadian hotels, the transcontinental trains, and every large railway station in the country."<sup>49</sup> It is clear from the enthusiastic reviews of his photographs, that Notman's work was highly regarded by his peers and that he was seen as one of the leading photographers of his day.<sup>50</sup>

'Ordinary' people could patronise Notman's studio because he extended his work to as wide a customer base as possible through flexible packaging and sales schemes. For example, he did not restrict sales of the *Hunting and Trapping* series to sets. He advertised the availability of single copies, and customarily offered the opportunity for customers to choose their own sets from his vast collection of images.<sup>51</sup> A portfolio collection entitled Sports Pastimes and Pursuits in Canada combined images from all three of the *Hunting and Trapping* series. Thus, he ensured the availability of his products at every price range, from the smallest single print to large, luxuriously bound, hand-signed portfolio editions. His business success ensured that images of Canada and Canadians were circulated widely at home and abroad.

In sum, Notman's overriding concern was to maximize sales. He attracted business through aggressive promotion of his studio at international exhibitions, through newspaper

---

<sup>48</sup> Triggs, Stamp 29. Triggs has recently revised this estimate, claiming that Notman had twenty four studios in Canada and the United States: Stanley Triggs, "The Notman Photographic Archives," History of Photography 20:2 (Summer 1996), 182.

<sup>49</sup> DCB 12:788.

<sup>50</sup> For example, a reviewer for the prestigious London Art Journal, New Series IV (1865) 95 called Notman's photographs "among the most brilliant *carte-de-visite* portraits we have ever examined".

<sup>51</sup> For instance the large set of seven photographs sold for \$8.75, while individual titles cost \$1.50. The small set of nine photographs sold for \$4.50, and single copies cost 75cents each. See Figures 2.20 and 2.21.

advertising, and by frequent contributions to the photographic press. This, and his success at international exhibition gained him notoriety and, consequently, he was patronized by visiting royalty and the major figures of the day. This in turn enticed the Montreal elite families, as well as those who were less wealthy, to come to his Bleury Street Studio for their family portraits:

...they all came to Notman's Studio. High Officials, cabinet ministers, heads of state, Governors General—the cream of the social establishment and the mercantile and commercial classes—plus these ordinary, "attractive" townfolk, paraded to the door of Notman's new studio...<sup>52</sup>

### **Colonel William Rhodes: The 'Great Northern Hunter'**

Colonel William Rhodes' reasons for posing for the hunting photographs are less clear-cut, but it seems that he too was interested in furthering commercial interests, and the very fact that he collaborated in the production of the series indicates he was not averse to personal promotion. When Notman chose Rhodes as his subject for the hunting series, he could hardly have done better. Rhodes had a British, military, and political background; he was the owner of a country 'seat' in Mégantic, a successful businessman, an agriculturalist and sportsman. In short, he was a self-made man, but in the British style, not the American carpetbagger model which was looked upon with opprobrium in the British North American Colonies.<sup>53</sup>

According to contemporary biographies, William Rhodes was born in Yorkshire in

---

<sup>52</sup> This passage refers to Notman's Ottawa Studio, opened in 1868: Hall, Dodds and Triggs, World 22.

<sup>53</sup> At this time the Civil War had just ended and U.S. business was associated with underhanded tactics, confidence tricksters and rude characters. The perceived avaricious character of Americans and their deteriorated health is discussed by David K. Wiggins, "Work, Leisure and Sport in America: The British Travelers Image, 1830-1860," CJHS 13.1 (1982) 30-32.

1821, the second son of William Rhodes, Esq. of Bramhope Hall.<sup>54</sup> He joined the military on 18 May, 1838 and was posted with the 68th Regiment of Light Infantry to Quebec City in 1842. When he retired from the army in 1848 as a Captain, he elected to remain in Canada and purchased "Benmore", a riverside farm in Mégantic, a county south-west of Quebec City. At this time he married Miss Anne C. Dunn, the grand-daughter of the Honourable Thomas Dunn, who had been a Provincial Administrator. Rhodes belonged, therefore, to the upper ranks of the professional and commercial middle classes as I have loosely defined them.

Assigning specific class position is tremendously difficult in this period since class boundaries shifted continuously throughout the century. I have chosen type of employment as the definition of the lower rungs of the middle class, seeing the distinction between working class and middle class as being between manual labour and salaried 'brain' workers. Although some of the latter may have had only a marginally higher income, they were employed regularly and it was in their interest to emulate the values and behaviours of their employer, whereas wage labourers became more and more conscious of belonging to a group in opposition to theirs. The upper rungs of the middle classes are even more nebulous. If he had returned to England, Rhodes would have been one of thousands of second sons of minor rural gentry who could no longer afford to live on their land holdings. Although, in theory, this would give him a relatively high social status, above the ranks of merchants, bankers and shopkeepers; in practice, he would have been forced to earn an income in similar ways to them. In Canada, he could aspire to high

---

<sup>54</sup> Rhodes' biographical details are drawn from the following sources: Notman, Portraits 2:39-50; Rev. Wm. Cochrane, ed., The Canadian Album. Men of Canada: or success by example in religion, patriotism, business, law, medicine, education and agriculture... 5 vols. (Brantford: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1893): 2:21; LeMoine, Maple Leaves (1865) 85; DCB 13:522.

status since he had military and, later, political standing and could afford to purchase a seigneurie. Hence, in imposing elite sporting traditions on hunting practised in Canada, he was claiming high social status for himself as a 'country gentleman', and providing a model for others to emulate. However, he was not one of the old landed families who made up the social elite, or one of the ultra-rich industrialists who were also at the pinnacle of Canadian society. Rhodes still needed additional income, and was able to lead a number of entrepreneurial schemes to provide this. It was, therefore, in his interest to participate in the shaping and reforming of society in order that it would benefit him and those other members of the professional and commercial middle-classes with whom he associated and identified.

Rhodes was elected to the House of Assembly for the County of Mégantic in 1854, and held that seat until 1858.<sup>55</sup> It was during his time as a Member that he was active as Chairman of the Executive Committee and member of various sub-committees responsible for choosing and purchasing exhibits for the Canadian section of the 1855 Paris Exhibition. It is evident from the promotional literature which was produced for this exhibition that the over-riding aim of the organizers was to promote emigration to Canada.<sup>56</sup> Since Rhodes was appointed provincial Minister of Agriculture and Immigration in 1887, immigration was a long-standing concern in his political career. In fact, he was known for his boosterism: "it is no matter for surprise that Colonel Rhodes should with great zest have associated himself with others to advance projects, which in a legitimate and wholesome way were

---

<sup>55</sup> The biographies differ on details. Cochrane claims he entered the Canadian Commons in 1850 and again "more than 25 years later"(21). Fennings Taylor claims that he entered the House of Assembly in 1854: Notman, Portraits 2:41.

<sup>56</sup> See for instance, the report by J. C. Taché, Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855 (Toronto: John Lovell, 1856).

calculated to develop the resources of, and attract wealth to the country."<sup>57</sup>

Misapprehensions and general lack of knowledge about Canada were a thorn in the side of those whose interests lay in increased immigration.<sup>58</sup> Businessmen, railway promoters, agriculturalists and professionals all saw the benefits which would accrue from increased land settlement, and the international exhibitions and fairs in this period provided them with the opportunity to promote Canada as a desirable destination for emigrants from Northern Europe. In order to do this, a new national image had to be constructed. The 1851 Great Exhibition held in London had been a successful first appearance for Canada on the world stage. Sixty medals were awarded to Canadian exhibits there, but the Executive Committee headed by Col. Rhodes noted that a better effort was required in 1855. They were "determined to give that national and general character to the Canadian section...which was wanting to the exhibition of 1851".<sup>59</sup>

At mid-century, Canadianness was distinguished outside and within North America primarily by climate and geography. In the popular mind, Canada was a northern land of cold and snow. The Executive Committee for the 1855 Exhibition offered a prize for an essay to be distributed at the Exhibition, and J.C. Taché's winning essay set out to correct this misconception. He expressed the hope that,

if the vast number of persons throughout Europe, who have been taught that Canada is the perpetual abode of ice and snow, can be convinced of

---

<sup>57</sup> Notman, Portraits 42.

<sup>58</sup> Information about Canada in British newspapers was both sparse and dismissive: Ged Martin, "Our advices from Canada are unimportant": The Times and British North America, 1841-1861", in Eldridge, 61-93.

<sup>59</sup> Taché, Canada at the Universal Exhibition 149. The 1855 Exhibition has been characterised as "emphatically a national display." Heaman, "Commercial Leviathon" 120. See also pp.117-142 for her full discussion of this exhibition.



their error, the aim of the author will have been attained...<sup>60</sup>

Taché went on to make the argument that the Canadian climate is "very healthy" with "no endemic disease", and that

Our winters, which Europeans believe to be dreadful, are with us the season of enjoyment, and many strangers after passing a winter in Canada have been heard to say: "Well! after all, your winter is delightful, and is not hard to bear."<sup>61</sup>

These were arguments repeated regularly over the next two decades in order to persuade the world (particularly Northern Europe) that Canada was more than just a snowy waste, and that in fact the weather was a positive attribute.<sup>62</sup> Henry Hopper Miles declared in his catalogue of Canadian products at the London International Exhibition of 1862 that winter is the 'happiest time' in Canada, not the fearful time reported by early visitors and settlers:

The misapprehensions existing on the subject have thus come down as an established tradition to the present time. They operate, it is feared, in preventing the most ancient and nearest colonies from receiving speedily such accessions of emigrants as are alone needed to place them on a footing of permanent prosperity.<sup>63</sup>

The other virtue of the cold, northern climate was, according to Edward Gibbon's theories, that it imbued its inhabitants with "special virtues of physical hardiness and

<sup>60</sup> J.C. Taché, "Sketch of Canada, its industrial condition and resources", reprinted in Taché, Canada at the Universal Exhibition 70-71. Encouraging immigration was "the principal object" of Taché's essay, so he was at pains to make it accessible all classes—short enough to make it "palatable to the people", but lacking the literary flourish which would appeal to the educated (for which deficiency he apologized repeatedly). Other essays were also selected, but Taché's was the only one printed in time for distribution.

<sup>61</sup> Taché, Canada at the Universal Exhibition 91.

<sup>62</sup> For example, the same argument was made in 1890: "Our climate, however severe at times, is bracing and healthy. No malaria here, rest assured! The sons of the soil, are a sturdy race.." Welcoming address to Congress of the Forestry Association, Quebec, September 2-5, 1890. Reported in J.E. LeMoine, Maple Leaves, 1894: Canadian history.—literature.—ornithology, 6<sup>th</sup> series (Quebec: L.J. Demers & Frère, 1894) 315.

<sup>63</sup> Miles 34.

political liberty."<sup>64</sup> This argument was made by Alexander Morris in another of the prize-winning essays for the 1855 Exhibition, all of which Rhodes may well have read in his position as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Morris "constructed a full-blown image of the British North American Provinces as a 'Great Britannic Empire of the North,' with its 'goodly band of Northmen'."<sup>65</sup> It was this latter identity that Rhodes embodied for Notman's camera.

In an 1863 article published in London, J.M. LeMoine, a well-known Quebec author who published in both French and English, tried to tempt English readers to visit Canada. He asked why so few "enterprising young Englishmen" came to "enjoy the scenery and bright summer skies of Canada", where "the whole country seems to be Nature's rich preserve for game of all sorts".<sup>66</sup> The Canadian Handbook and Tourist Guide, published in 1867 to accompany the start of Thomas Cook excursions to the new Dominion, echoed LeMoine's plea.<sup>67</sup> Thus attempts to alter the popular image of Canada were motivated by the desire to encourage tourism and, above all, immigration.

In between his periods of political office, Rhodes appears to have devoted his time to farming and business. Reportedly, he was a leading agriculturalist who experimented with improvements in farm stock and soil management, and oversaw the erection of butter and cheese factories and the opening of colonization roads. In addition, Rhodes was a

---

<sup>64</sup> Suzanne Zeller, Land of Promise, Promised Land. The culture of Victorian science in Canada, CHA Booklet No. 56, 1997, 9.

<sup>65</sup> Zeller, Inventing Canada 176.

<sup>66</sup> J.M. LeMoine, "Fin and Feather in Canada (1) reprinted from the London *Canadian News*, with corrections," Maple Leaves (1873) 239.

<sup>67</sup> H.B Small, ed. The Canadian Handbook and Tourist Guide... Photography by W. Notman, 1867, facsimile edition (Toronto: Coles, 1971) 5. The text includes an account of a moose hunting trip and camp. (86)

founding Director of the Grand Trunk Railway, and President of the Quebec and Richmond and Quebec and Trois Pistoles Railways. He was Chairman of the Quebec Warehousing Company, and instrumental in establishing the Union Bank, of which he was a Director, as well as being a partner in mining enterprises in Mégantic County.

These business interests would all have profited from increased immigration, and Rhodes' experience with the Paris Exhibition would have indicated to him that this could be accomplished through contesting the negative stereotypes of Canada held by people abroad. Participating in the Notman photographs, and proffering himself as an idealized native-Canadian, may have been a way to achieve this. The role suited him perfectly; he was already known as a sport-hunter and was the President of the Quebec Fish and Game Protection Club. Lord Monck was impressed enough with Rhodes' hunting prowess to report the results of two 1863 trips to his son, Henry,<sup>68</sup> and LeMoine mused that, after Confederation:

It will not be one of the least glories...to be able to boast of possessing the Canadian, the adopted home of a British officer of wealth and intelligence, known to the sporting world as the Great Northern Hunter. Who has not heard of the battues of Col. Rhodes on the snow-clad peaks of Cape Tourment, on the Western Prairies, and all along the Laurentian chain of mountains?<sup>69</sup>

This notoriety may explain why, despite Rhodes' commercial and political achievements, the portrait chosen to accompany his biography in Portraits of British Americans, depicted him in hunting gear in Notman's studio winter setting [Figure 2.19].

---

<sup>68</sup> W. L. Morton, Monck Letters 2, 8, quoted in Bara, "Image of Canada" 159 n.225.

<sup>69</sup> LeMoine, Maple Leaves (1865) 85. Frances E. O. Monck remembered Rhodes as "the mighty hunter" and noted that he preferred "manly sports such as cariboo shooting" in her retrospective journal, My Canadian Leaves: an account of a visit to Canada in 1864-65 (London: R. Bentley, 1891)148-9, cited by Bara, "Image of Canada" 173 n.226)



Fig. 2.19: Colonel Rhodes and Guide, 1866. Tipped-in to W. Notman, *Portraits of British Americans*, Vol. II (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1867). NPA: 19310-I

This collection of illustrated biographies first appeared in Montreal as monthly booklets c.1864. The booklets were sold by subscription, and each month readers were presented with five biographies, averaging around ten pages in length, accompanied by a tipped-in *carte de visite* portrait made by the Notman Photographic Studio. Subsequently bound in three volumes, which were published in 1865, 1867 and 1868, these booklets made up a collection of photographic portraits of the most notable politicians, clerics, jurists, professionals and business men in the British North American Provinces. The biographical texts were written and edited by J. Fennings Taylor, a senior civil servant with access to the parliamentary library and personal acquaintance with the subjects.<sup>70</sup> Ostensibly, they seem to have been yet another of Notman's sales media - a means by which to sell his *carte de visite* portraits of notable persons to a wealthy market. However, the text indicates that Taylor and Notman had a bigger, national purpose in mind.

The subjects chosen by Notman and Rhodes for their highly sympathetic biographies included the "pioneers and founders" of the state, and "men of great force and character" from the past. As indicated by the title, their objective was to create a history of the *British* in Canada as opposed to that of French-Canada.<sup>71</sup> By collecting together notes and sketches about important people and incidents in the history of the British Colonies they claimed that:

Then, perchance, we shall understand aright the principles and characters of the "United Empire Loyalists,"—of a race of men who, rather than bow down to the Republican idol which their faithless countrymen had set up,

---

<sup>70</sup> DCB 11:871.

<sup>71</sup> In his study of nineteenth-century periodicals, Fraser Sutherland comments on the search for identity: "...the source of interest is in the titles, in the competing popularity of *British* and *American* and *Canadian*. It was as if literate Canadians were trying to decide which nationality they had, and would have." Fraser Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic* (Markham, Ont: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989) 21.

abandoned their possession and forsook their kindred...<sup>72</sup>

Taylor was therefore articulating a notion of Canada as being distinct from both the United States and French-Canada. He claimed that "general history is but the aggregate of individual history," so, by constructing a narrative of great men leading to the present, namely Confederation, he would create a history of "British America", the new state which was about to come into being. By reviving memories of the shared histories of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Upper Canada, Notman and Taylor sought to unite the Provinces into a nation.

The conventions of the biographical genre of this era are most curious to the late-twentieth century reader. The biographical information is frequently interrupted with asides which muse floridly upon the meaning and morality of history, commerce, and philosophical speculations. The text of the Rhodes biography is highly opinionated, and in some ways in conflict with the photographic portrait. This conflict gives us a window into the competing identities and tensions in this period of national and class formation.

Although Taylor claimed to have been chosen for the task as an impartial writer, the piece on Rhodes is riddled with insults. For instance, Taylor jibed Rhodes for being one of the British troops in Quebec City who had 'nothing to do' but woo young Canadian women. He then insinuated that Rhodes was elected because he:

not only succeeded by purchase to Sir Dominick's landed property, but he succeeded also by election to his political property, as his seat in the House of Assembly, for the County of Megantic, was not inaptly called.<sup>73</sup>

Taylor snickered at Rhodes' enthusiasm for growing 'swedes' and then prevaricated over

<sup>72</sup> Notman, Portraits vi.

<sup>73</sup> Notman, Portraits 41.

his commercial success - subtly accusing him of exploiting "poor man's labor" for his own gain, but then back-peddling and saying that was as it should be. Referring to his commercial enterprises, Taylor insulted and complimented Rhodes in the same breath:

Commerce and enterprise, whether they mean much or little, far-reaching industry or sordid thrift, will not probably be rated with the highest virtues...He who interests himself in such projects may be moved by public considerations, but he ought to be moved by personal ones also...Thus in giving Colonel Rhodes credit for his zeal in behalf of the two enterprizes we have especially mentioned, we are not blind to the fact that his interest may have, and ought to have run in the same groove with his exertions.<sup>74</sup>

Later in the piece, Taylor was more explicitly insulting by claiming that Rhodes had been given his commercial positions "not because he was especially qualified, by experience or study" but because "friends and neighbors, for reasons of their own, have thought fit in some way to associate him with such subjects".<sup>75</sup> Behind these remarks is the growing middle-class belief in the value of 'dignified' work and the need for the middle classes to free themselves from servility or dependence on patronage, in opposition to the perceived corruption of the aristocracy. Historians who have studied the growth of the middle class have noted the importance of the belief in 'respectable' work as the expression of individuality, and masculine identity as a marker of class consciousness.<sup>76</sup> In Taylor's opinion, therefore, Rhodes had achieved his success and position due to patronage rather than hard-work and ability; to him, Rhodes' smacked of the Old World gentry more than the New World middling sort.

<sup>74</sup> Notman, Portraits 43.

<sup>75</sup> Notman, Portraits 45. This is no doubt a reference to Sir Henri-Gustave Joly, seigneur of Lotbinière which neighboured on Mégantic. Joly was Premier of Quebec in 1878, and Taylor's surmises were born out in 1888 when he campaigned for Rhodes' election "to ensure a Protestant presence in the Cabinet": DCB, 13:522. They were also both associated with the Congress of Forestry.

<sup>76</sup> For instance, Davidoff and Hall 229-34; Tosh, "What should Historians do?" 185-186. See also Holman, "Cultivation".

Despite these insinuations, Taylor was apparently genuine in his admiration for Rhodes' prowess as a sport-hunter. He copied in full the newspaper account of one of Rhodes' 1862 hunting trips, and to LeMoine's appellation of Rhodes as "the great northern hunter," he added his own recommendation that Rhodes' name be placed "conspicuously on the muster-roll of those who may fitly be called the Nimrods of the North."<sup>77</sup>

Robert Lanning has argued that, besides constructing a national history, collected biographies like Portraits acted as tools of socialization.<sup>78</sup> They presented a catalogue of 'representative' Canadians as examples and strategies for others to emulate. The subjects were chosen because of their political or financial success, and the texts pointed out the means by which such social mobility could be accomplished - through cultivating personal qualities of hard-work, initiative, self-improvement and sober respectability, and through participating in appropriate social networks, clubs and institutions. The very repetition of word and image which makes the books dull reading to twentieth-century eyes, served to create and reinforce a particular national and class identity.

Nineteenth-century photographic portraiture drew on conventions handed down from eighteenth-century portrait painting. Pose, expression, and background accoutrements were all contrived to represent the subject in a manner which befitted their conception of themselves.<sup>79</sup> Thus the merchants and businessmen, their families, and the

---

<sup>77</sup> Notman, Portraits 50. Nimrod is a Biblical appellation: "a mighty hunter before the Lord," Genesis x, 8-9. Using metaphors which linked the colonizers with Biblical mythology, and the colonized with classical myth was another representational strategy which distinguished between the two. This metaphor is visualized in "A Chance Shot".

<sup>78</sup> Robert Lanning, The National Album. Collective Biography and the Formation of the Canadian Middle-class (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996).

<sup>79</sup> For example, the head-on-view signified "a culturally unsophisticated class", whereas the three-quarter pose was considered aristocratic. Tagg 36.



social elite were active participants in choosing how they would be represented.<sup>80</sup> The calm, serious and dignified expression which is ubiquitous in *carte de visite* portraits was a matter of choice and convention, not because a smile was technically difficult to achieve.<sup>81</sup>

The eighty-four images in Portraits exemplify this cataloguing of representative Canadians. They are all three-quarter poses, either head and shoulders against a plain background, or full-length in a contrived studio setting. There are two exceptions: one is a portrait of William Logan, head of the Geological Survey, who is shown sitting beside a workbench in his laboratory dressed in everyday clothing. The other exception, the portrait of Lieutenant-Colonel William Rhodes, is a striking anomaly.<sup>82</sup> Of all the portraits accompanying dozens of biographies, Col. Rhodes is the only one represented outside and in sport clothing. Furthermore, he is not alone - he is accompanied by a kneeling figure, presumably Native, who is employed in tying his master's snowshoes. Rhodes' portrait is, therefore, outstandingly different to all the others. By analysing the terms of its 'difference' we can gain insight into the meaning which it created for the contemporary viewer.

Unlike all the other portraits, Rhodes' location is carefully established. Although the photograph was taken inside Notman's studio, he is posed as if in an outdoor snow scene, employing a painted backdrop, cut shrubbery, and fox fur and salt to simulate snow. The presence of snow and snowshoes locates the scene as Canadian, since both were well established visual attributes. And this is confirmed by the caribou head which

---

<sup>80</sup> T. H. Breen, "The meaning of 'likeness': American portrait painting in an eighteenth-century consumer society", *Word & Image* 6:4 (Oct-Dec 1990) 340.

<sup>81</sup> Linkman 43.

<sup>82</sup> Rhodes achieved the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the militia.

signifies that Rhodes has been, or is about to go, hunting for caribou --the exotic 'big game' of Canada.<sup>83</sup>

Rhodes is dressed in sporting attire--not the formal dress chosen by all the other subjects. He is wearing a blanket coat, fashionable persian lamb hat,<sup>84</sup> leather gloves and boots, and holding a sheathed rifle. At his side and on the sled are the caribou trophies. The fact that the game is in the form of trophies - heads with antlers to be mounted on a wall as 'cultural capital' - indicates that his purpose in hunting is not to kill game for food or to sell the hides, as Natives or French-Canadian *habitants* would. Instead, it indicates that he desired to present himself in line with the British tradition of gentlemen sport-hunters who valued the chase more than the kill.

The presence of the Native guide kneeling at his feet, while Rhodes stares into the distance, establishes a hierarchical relationship between whites and Natives. It confirms the subordination of Native peoples to white rule. The pose is highly suggestive: Rhodes could be a lord accepting tribute, a priest blessing a kneeling penitent, or it could be an allegory of Jesus as saviour of the Native peoples. Interpreting this as a religious *figura* is not inappropriate since historians of the nineteenth century agree that religious ideas and concepts were crucial to Victorian culture; they shaped how people thought about God and how they interpreted their world.<sup>85</sup> Protestantism, in particular, made 'the sacred' central to

---

<sup>83</sup> From the numbering in the Picture Book, it is evident that this portrait initiated the exposures taken for the Caribou Hunting series.

<sup>84</sup> "The skin of the Persian lamb seems to have come into great favor during the last few years. When properly prepared, it produces a very serviceable article..." Advertisement by Messrs. Job C. Thompson & Co, 297 Notre Dame Street, Montreal. Montreal business sketches with a description of the city of Montreal... (Montreal, 1864) 65.

<sup>85</sup> A *figura* is a type of visual metaphor, a form which is transformed and re-figured over time, giving a new meaning for a new context, but still retaining those earlier meanings, for which the

social and cultural life and infused meaning and order into education, the family, and the state.<sup>86</sup> Rhodes' demeanour is likewise suggestive since the conventions of portraiture characteristically represented famous men as if in a moment of abstraction, deep in thought and unaware of being seen.<sup>87</sup> The possibility that the Native as 'barbarous savage' might take advantage of Rhodes' reverie to attack with his hidden axe, creates an element of tension, but this is countered by the obvious absorption of the guide in his task. The double hierarchy of race and class is confirmed by the pyramidal composition which positions Rhodes and his gun as the centre and apex of the triangle: in control of both the indigenous people, the indigenous wildlife and, by means of indigenous transport (the snowshoes and sled) the land itself. Since indigenous peoples and Nature were customarily identified with the 'feminine',<sup>88</sup> the fact that the guide is in a subordinate position, performing a personal service to Rhodes, underscores the masculinity of the white hunter and the exclusion of white women from the hunt and the wilderness, and therefore too, from national citizenship.

---

subsequent meanings are a fulfilment. Any cross in a visual image, *always* ultimately points back to the Crucifixion, whatever context it is in. Of course, this figural meaning will only be understood by an audience familiar with the Bible.

<sup>86</sup> William Westfall, Two Worlds: the Protestant culture of nineteenth-century Ontario (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980) contends that religion provided a blueprint for society, although other historians have argued for a more modest appraisal of the role of religion: see review article by Chad Reimer, "Religion and Culture in Nineteenth-Century English Canada," JCS 25.1 (Spring 1990) 195.

<sup>87</sup> Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (n.p.: Hill & Wang, 1989) 46. Sontag makes a similar point: "For politicians the three-quarter gaze is more common: a gaze that soars rather than confronts, suggesting instead of the relation to the viewer, to the present, the more ennobling abstract relation to the future." Susan Sontag, On Photography (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1973) 37-38. Contemporary photographic manuals confirm this interpretation. See for instance: Marcus Aurelius Root, The Camera and the pencil of The Heliographic Art (Philadelphia: 1864): facsimile edition with an introduction by Beaumont Newhall, (Pawlet, Vermont: Helios, 1971); and Henry Peach Robinson, Pictorial Effect in Photography being hints on composition and chiascuro for photographers... (London: Piper & Carter, 1869).

<sup>88</sup> The identification between nature and femininity is explicated by Carolyn Merchant, the Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution (San Francisco: Harper, 1980).

This portrait is a visual embodiment of an idealized 'Canadian' identity.<sup>89</sup> Notman and Rhodes collaborated together to represent an aspect of what they considered to be characteristically Canadian, namely 'The Great Northern Hunter'. Bara suggests that the Canadian Mounted Police as a cultural icon was a continuation of the traditional prototype of the hunter as seeker, or hero; however, the Canadian Sport-Hunter represented in this and the *Hunting and Trapping* series is its antecedent.<sup>90</sup> The images created and reflected a race hierarchy which subordinated the primitive/Native 'lords of the forest' to the civilized/native-Canadian 'Nimrods of the North'. They confirmed the stereotypical image of the distinctive geography and climate of Canada and yet explained how it might be negotiated and enjoyed. They embraced the Britishness and masculinity of Canadian identity, all the while emphasising what was uniquely Canadian.

Through pose, visual attributes and composition, Notman and Rhodes together constructed a portrait which spoke to its audience(s) on many different levels. Furthermore it was reciprocated by a parallel narrative in Taylor's text which likewise aggrandized Rhodes' role as a sport-hunter - a Nimrod of the North - and underscored the connotations of class, race and gender that it evoked. The fact that Rhodes did not pose for the *Moose Hunting* series may be explained by Taylor's reminder that "the moose is not usually regarded by gentlemen chasseurs as a suitable object of sport...Hunting the caribou...is however quite another thing."<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> It is evident from the Picture Book that this portrait was taken at the same time as the *Caribou Hunting* series, but Rhodes is only ever identified in Portraits. In the *Hunting and Trapping* series, he stands in for the ideal native-Canadian.

<sup>90</sup> Bara, "Image of Canada" 175, 213-214.

<sup>91</sup> Notman, Portraits 47. He reiterated the point again later: "...a caribou is not an animal for a poor man to make money out of; he is emphatically a gentlemanly mark for the accomplished chasseur..." (50)

### Hunting in Canada

Hunting was an activity which bore many political and social connotations in the 1860s. It was the object of a struggle between traditional practices and traditions, and regulations imposed from outside. More fundamentally, it was enacted on the site of contested terrain, for at this time the traditional hunting grounds of the Native people were being transformed into elite leisure preserves.<sup>92</sup>

When the British military arrived in North America they began to impose British hunting traditions on their new colonies.<sup>93</sup> Hunting was transformed from a subsistence activity to a sporting activity, in total disregard of long established aboriginal and French-Canadian needs and practices. In Britain, hunting was the preserve of the aristocracy and monied elites, where viciously severe hunting and poaching laws preserved small and big game for the sport of the upper classes, regardless of the effects on the poor. In Canada all classes had been allowed to hunt, but under the British regime hunting became bifurcated: the lower classes hunted for subsistence; the monied classes hunted for sport. The activity was increasingly regulated by laws of access and use which increased the difficulty - the sporting qualities - of the hunt. In his history of hunting in Quebec, Paul-Louis Martin concludes that "hunting became refined, ritualistic, tasteful and conferred on those who practised it an aura of aristocracy from feudal times."<sup>94</sup> In the period from 1760

---

<sup>92</sup> The earliest private clubs were chartered at the beginning of the century, they appeared more after 1857, and a huge number were formed after Confederation. Paul-Louis Martin, Histoire de la chasse au Québec (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1980) 54, 78-83.

<sup>93</sup> The early history of sport in America has been traced by Jennie Holliman, American Sports (1785-1835), 1931 (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975); and, more recently, by Nancy L. Struna, People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure, and Labor in Early Anglo-America (Urbana & Chicago: U. of Illinois Press, 1996). In the American colonies a distinction was also made between backwoodsmen and sportsmen, and game laws were also enacted to protect game: Struna 16-17.

<sup>94</sup> Paul-Louis Martin, Histoire 61 (my translation). A similar interpretation is given for the history of hunting in Ontario by Francois-Xavier Ribordy, "Histoire sociologique du droit de la chasse et de la peche en Ontario", Anthropologica [Canada], 30:2 (1988) 155-173. The history of

to 1875, rules were imposed which limited hunting to two days per week, in daylight and only in certain places. Furthermore, fowl were only to be shot 'on the wing', which greatly increased the difficulty, and made access to guns and ammunition indispensable even for rural French-Canadian farmers and labourers, who more commonly used nets and other methods. The Lord's Day Act of 1845 further disadvantaged these hunters since it forbade hunting on Sunday (which was traditionally their hunting day), but the Sabbath hunting legislation was subsequently withdrawn for Canada East.<sup>95</sup> By the 1860s there was no game left in the vicinity of towns and cities and only those wealthy enough to be able to afford the time and expense of a trip to the northern regions could hunt. So, although hunting was still relatively more available to all in Canada than in Britain, the British Regime had imposed regulations which created serious class differences in terms of access and techniques.<sup>96</sup>

The Notman *Hunting and Trapping* series reflect these laws and represent Rhodes' party as exemplary sportsmen-hunters. They bag only two trophies, they are only seen still-hunting (not running down moose in deep snow, which was considered very unsporting because the moose was at such a disadvantage), they do not hunt on Sunday or at night.<sup>97</sup> This was in direct contrast to the perceived practices of subsistence hunters,

---

hunting is also described briefly by Lindsay, "A History of Sport" 244-250.

<sup>95</sup> Kevin Wamsley, "Good Clean Sport and a Deer Apiece: Game Legislation and State Formation in Nineteenth-century Canada", *CJHS* 25:2 (Dec 1994) 6. Clearly, state formation was occurring in response to specific class interests. Cox gives another example, noting that the law against playing ball and other games broke down c.1895 when a Toronto judge ruled it was legal to play the elite game of golf on Sundays: Cox 29.

<sup>96</sup> Paul-Louis Martin, *Histoire* 56.

<sup>97</sup> In 1931, Grey Owl was still complaining about the unsporting practice of: "...pseudo-bushmen, whose experience is confined to running moose down in deep snow, blundering on them in sections where they are numerous, or shooting them at the water's edge, which anybody can do." Grey Owl, *The Men of the Last Frontier*, 1931 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976) 88.

and created a distinction between Natives and the lower classes and the gentlemanly elites. Rhodes and his party were, therefore, enacting for the camera idealized versions of sport-hunting which could only be engaged in by those with the time and money to afford a trip into the 'wilderness', namely the ultra-rich, or wealthy members of the professional and commercial middle-classes. The story was didactic, a primer for the uninitiated, a narrative setting out the protocol for hunting parties. Moreover, the attractions and rewards of sport-hunting in Canada were displayed for the tourist gaze.

R. G. Moyles & Doug Owsram argue in Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities, that hunting was "part and parcel of empire building" on all continents and closely linked with the "aristo-military caste."<sup>98</sup> These writers argue that sportsmanship was training for the military. This is undoubtedly the case, and a theme which I will take up in chapter 5. However, I would suggest that there was even more to the connection: the physical act or performance of hunting was, like snowshoeing, a gesture of conquest and possession which Notman recorded in his photographs. In tracking animals in the bush, hunters like Rhodes literally became familiar with the land; they gained mastery over the skills required to navigate the terrain. Hunting accomplished the interior exploration of the nation, just as mapping and surveying expeditions did.<sup>99</sup> Grey Owl described the possessive 'controlling gaze' of the pioneer trapper:

He may climb a mountain, and look as far as the eye can reach, out over illimitable leagues of forested hill and valley stretching into the dim distance, with a feeling of ownership, and there is none to say him nay.

---

<sup>98</sup> R. G. Moyles & Doug Owsram, Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities. British Views of Canada, 1880-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) 61.

<sup>99</sup> For hunting, see Herman, "American Natives": for mapping and surveying, see; Zeller, Inventing Canada.

And to all intents and purposes it is his, therein to work his will...<sup>100</sup>

The performance of hunting also enacted mastery over the country's largest animals. Most significantly of all, it enacted mastery over, and enabled colonists to step into the place of, its aboriginal peoples. After all, Native people were the pre-eminent signifier (or visual attribute) of the New World. Since Native people were widely considered to be a dying race at this time, Notman's photographs visualize the process of colonists inheriting the role of 'native-Canadian'.<sup>101</sup> As Rhodes learned woodcraft skills from his guides, his footsteps literally and symbolically traced over and erased theirs. They went ahead of him as guides, but in terms of power relations were relegated to the role of servant. In almost every photograph, the Native guides were posed as if they were working - carrying burdens, cooking, repairing equipment or acting as a guide. They were rarely shown with a gun in hand, as if to reassure the viewer that these were 'friendly' Natives who posed no threat to the new owners of the land.<sup>102</sup> They were objectified, the exotic spectacle of our gaze, and thus reduced to a subordinate position.<sup>103</sup> The photographs demonstrated that new class and race hierarchies had been successfully established by the colonists. In the photographs *Rhodes* was the native-Canadian, the aboriginal man, demonstrating to the world what that entailed. As we will see again in the

---

<sup>100</sup> Grey Owl 20. Although this was first published in 1931, Grey Owl was describing an idealized life in the bush lived forty years before.

<sup>101</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, "The Historians' Indian". For further references to Natives as a dying race, see above, Introduction n.44.

<sup>102</sup> The assumption that 'Canadian' Natives were passive and docile (as opposed to the perceived aggression of American Natives) was challenged by the threat of violence in 1863: Douglas Leighton, "The Manitoulin Incident of 1863: An Indian-White confrontation in the Province of Canada", *Ontario History* 69:2 (June 1977) 112-124.

<sup>103</sup> The classic statement regarding the power of the gaze is Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16.3 (Autumn 1975): 6-18. The political consequences of colonial visual representation are suggested with regard to the Tutsi of Rwanda by John Bale, "Capturing 'The African' Body? Visual Images and 'Imaginative Sports', *JSH* 25.2 (Summer 1998) 234-251.



case of lacrosse, when colonists claimed ownership of indigenous expertise it was proof of their 'legitimate' dominance and authority, but expertise possessed by a Native was discounted as the natural characteristic of a primitive race.

There is a spiritual element to this colonization too. The sportsmen-hunters brought Christian ethics, morals and values with them into the bush to replace Native beliefs. The hunting party became the equivalent of an initiation ritual, where the individual pitted himself against the elements and wildlife:

...the so-called 'true' sportsman preferred to concentrate on the method, the stalking or what was frequently referred to as the 'matching of wits' between man and animal.<sup>104</sup>

The heathy air and exercise and the spiritual refuge of the bush were often described by Victorian hunters as a "beneficial antidote" to the confines of refined civilization. The northern wilderness was conceived as a New Eden.<sup>105</sup>

Protection of game in this New Eden was a growing issue in 1866, when the financial potential of tourism was becoming recognized, and depended upon providing visitors with good hunting and fishing.<sup>106</sup> Following a similar pattern evidenced in other parts of the British Empire, the perceived decrease in game was blamed on the 'wasteful practices' of the indigenous peoples.<sup>107</sup> The 1864 Report of the Quebec Fish and Game

<sup>104</sup> Moyles and Owrap 68.

<sup>105</sup> Moyles and Owrap 67.

<sup>106</sup> The growing Muskoka industry is discussed by Jasen op. cit. The popularity of hunting and fishing in the late part of the century is discussed briefly by Bill Parenteau, "Angling, hunting, and the development of tourism in late nineteenth-century Canada: A glimpse at the documentary record." *The Archivist* 117 (1998): 10-19.

<sup>107</sup> The general pattern after colonisation was the replacement of indigenous hunting techniques by European methods, along with a change in the relationship between peoples and animals. Hunting shifted from a useful survival skill to a regulated, recreational activity accessible only to the mostly European elite. Game quickly began to disappear, so pressure groups were

Protection Club, for which Col. Rhodes was President, noted the lack of government action in enforcing game laws, and complained that "it is the conscientious sportsman alone who is precluded from enjoying a brief excursion during winter".<sup>108</sup> The Report argued that it was only in the protected club reserves that fish and game numbers were increasing. In other words, the colonists could 'save' the land from the depredations of the Natives through the imposition of private ownership and restricted access.<sup>109</sup>

It was owing to pressure from clubs like this that in September 1865 a new amendment to The Fisheries Act was given assent.<sup>110</sup> This Act addressed problems caused by pollution from sawmills and directed that fish-stairs be installed at mill-dams and slides.<sup>111</sup> Spear-fishing was forbidden, as was fishing by torchlight and other native practices considered 'unsporting', basically because they were too efficient. In other words, the colonists had 'saved' the land and wildlife from the Natives through the

---

formed to 'protect' animal stocks through legislation denying aboriginals access to hunting grounds. M. MacKenzie, The Empire of Nature. Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) 298. This is also discussed by Elizabeth Vibert, "Trader's Tales: British Fur Traders' Narratives of the Encounter with Plateau Peoples, 1807-1846" (D.Phil. diss, Oxford University, 1993) 329-336. A response to MacKenzie can be found in William Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa," Past and Present 128 (1990) 162-186. The shift of orientation from the prevention of poaching to ecological management and tourism is also described by Ribordy, op cit..

<sup>108</sup> J. M. LeMoine, Maple Leaves: a budget of legendary, historical, critical, and sporting intelligence, 2nd series (Quebec: Hunter, Rose, 1864) 164, 209.

<sup>109</sup> A similar attitude was expressed at a meeting of the American Congress of the Forestry Association, which Rhodes attended when it was held in Quebec City in 1890. The Congress had recommended as early as 1882 that the government should retain public lands for forestry if they were not suitable for agriculture, and that portions should be leased to individuals in order to protect them. See: Report of the Delegation appointed to attend the American Forestry Congress held at Cincinnati, Ohio, April 25-29th, 1882 and subsequently at Montreal, Province of Quebec, August 21-23rd, 1882 (Toronto: Blackett Robinson, 1882). The 1890 Congress was reported in Quebec Morning Chronicle, September 2-5, 1890, and subsequently in LeMoine, Maple Leaves (1894) 308.

<sup>110</sup> Quebec Mercury, January 2, 1866.

<sup>111</sup> A law had existed since 1860 providing for fish-stairs, but many salmon rivers still had none. LeMoine, Maple Leaves (1865) 213-4.

intervention of the state at the behest of particular class interests.<sup>112</sup>

The colonialist attitude towards "protecting" wildlife from Native predators is ironic when we recognize that the source of environmental degradation in this period was the deleterious practices of industrial capitalism. Deforestation was caused by unregulated lumbering, new roads and railroads disrupted migration routes, forest fires were caused by careless practices, mills and dams changed water-flow, and sawdust from mills clogged and damaged river habitats.<sup>113</sup> Thus, the New Eden wrestled from the hands of the indigenous people had quickly been despoiled by the new native-Canadians.

Ironic too, is the fact that, despite the modest kill depicted in the Notman photographs, 'the great northern hunters' returned from their hunting trips with vast numbers of dead animals. The Quebec Morning Chronicle, 29th December, 1862, reported that Col. Rhodes and Col. Bell had returned from hunting north of Quebec City with 10 caribou, 4 lynxes, a porcupine, white partridges, hares etc. One of the caribou trophies was to be sent to England as a regimental souvenir. Another trip reported in the Quebec Mercury, January 10, 1866, saw Messrs. P. McNaughton, Allan Gilmour and John Gilmour return with 10 caribou, 200 trout and a few hares. Since the prevailing game laws did not fix a limit, the size of these bags was not illegal, but - to put it in the perspective of game 'protection' - when a limit was set in later years, only one moose, two caribou and

---

<sup>112</sup> In 1865, the government obtained two convictions for infringements of the Game Act, largely through the efforts of the Montreal Fishing & Game Club which had offered a reward of \$10 for information leading to a conviction. The convictions had been obtained by prosecuting people selling prohibited game in the market. Tackling the problem from the market end seemed to be a way of dealing with the problem. It had also come to the Montreal Club's attention that the menu of the St. James Club House had included out-of-season fish and game. A promise had been exacted from the Club that this would not happen again: LeMoine, Maple Leaves (1865) 215.

<sup>113</sup> Jean-Louis Martin, Histoire 73.

two deer were allowed *per season*.<sup>114</sup>

### **The Hunting and Trapping Series**

Although we do not know for certain who took the photographs for the *Hunting and Trapping* series, it is certain that William Notman at least directed the sessions, given that they were taken early in his business career, employed many of his innovative special effects and became such an important part of his promotional schemes.<sup>115</sup> The photographs were sold in a variety of guises. Initially, the *Cariboo Hunting* series was advertised for sale in two sets [Figure 2.20].<sup>116</sup> The large set consisted of 7 images (each approximately 8" x 10") mounted on heavy cards which were contained within cloth-bound covers. It is distinguished by the inclusion of the two images which were created using unique special effects. These are 'Exhausted', in which the effect of a blowing snowstorm was reproduced by passing the glass negative through a spray of Chinese lacquer atomized in the air, and 'Around the Camp Fire', a night scene photographed by using burning magnesium to create the effect of a camp fire.<sup>117</sup> The small set (image size approximately 4" x 6") comprised nine photographs, again in cloth-bound covers.<sup>118</sup> The

---

<sup>114</sup> Jean-Louis Martin, Histoire 164. Lord Monck reported to his son that Rhodes returned from a January 1, 1863 trip with ten caribou "besides a great many other things", and his February 7, 1863 trip resulted in sixteen caribou. Quoted in Bara, "Image of Canada" 159 n.225.

<sup>115</sup> Photographers like Marcus Aurelius Root and Henry Peach Robinson, who aspired to the status of artist, placed great weight on the necessity for the photographer to control every aspect of the sitting, although they were mindful of the need to keep their sitters happy.

<sup>116</sup> Figure 2.20 is an advertisement which appeared in Portraits of British Americans, Part VII, which was subsequently bound into volume 11, published in 1867,

<sup>117</sup> Notman's special effects are described in The Philadelphia Photographer 4.48 (Dec 1867) 399; Beaumont Newhall, "William Notman, 1826-1891" Images. Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House, (Nov 1955) 58, and Triggs, Stamp 35

<sup>118</sup> This was the new Cabinet size print pioneered in Canada by Notman. However, he was subsequently forced to conform with the slightly smaller Cabinet (image size 5½" x 4" on a 6½" x 4¼" mount) which became the standard in England. Linkman 76. Figure 2.7a is an example of how these were mounted.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOW PUBLISHED:

## CARIBOO HUNTING,

**TWO SETS.**

---

LARGE SET CONSISTING OF

GOING OUT,	THE GUIDE.
GAME IN SIGHT,	EXHAUSTED,
THE HUNTER,	CAMP FIRE,
SUNDAY IN THE BUSH.	

*Price of Set in Cloth, bound Covers, . . . \$8.75.*

*Single Copies, each . . . . . \$1.50.*

The above Set in covers can be sent via Book post to any part of the Province for 72 cents pre-paid by stamps, or to any part of the United Kingdom for \$1.12½ cents pre-paid by stamps.

---

SMALL SET EMBRACING THE FOLLOWING NINE PHOTOGRAPHS

GOING OUT,	ARRIVAL IN CAMP,
GAME IN SIGHT,	HUNTER'S RESTING,
THE HUNTER,	CHANCE SHOT,
THE GUIDE,	SUNDAY IN BUSH,
RETURNING.	

*Price of this Set in Cloth, bound Covers, \$4.50*

*Single Copies, . . . . . 0.75 each.*

The above Set in covers can be sent via Book post to any part of the Province for 14 cents pre-paid by stamps, or to any part of the United Kingdom for 25 cents pre-paid by stamps.

**W. NOTMAN.**  
 Photographer to the Queen.  
 17 Bleury Street, Montreal.

Fig. 2.20: "Now Published: Cariboo Hunting, Two Sets," advertisement in W. Notman, *Portraits of British Americans*, Vol. II (Montreal: J. Lovell Printer, 1867), endpaper

titles advertised for each set loosely corresponded with the order given in The Philadelphia Photographer review article by Edmund Wilson. The *Moose Hunting* series was sold in the same two sized sets, but this time each set was made up of the same seven titles, as advertised in Figure 2.21. In addition, Notman employed a wider range of sizes for *Moose Hunting*. Besides the 8" x 10" and 4" x 6" used for *Cariboo Hunting* he also took three of the Moose hunt images in the 6" x 6" format and one at 1/6 plate (3¼" x 2¾"). These smaller versions were presumably to sell at lower cost, and therefore widen his customer base.

Notman did not restrict sales of the series to sets. He advertised the availability of single copies, and customarily offered the opportunity for customers to chose their own sets from his vast collection of images. A portfolio collection entitled Sports, Pastimes and Pursuits of Canada combined images from all three of the *Hunting* and *Trapping* series.<sup>119</sup> Although it could be argued that his willingness to sell images separately undermines the contention that Notman did conceive of the series in terms of creating a chronology and a narrative, I would suggest that it is merely further evidence that one of his prime motives in taking photographs was that he was in business to make a profit. The fact that he thought these subjects would be marketable, and sold them so successfully in a range of guises adds to their significance and distribution.

The Notman Archives do not, unfortunately, contain any sales records as such. However, we know that if an image was consistently in demand, Notman's practice was to give it a new number in a 'View' series, presumably to save time and make retrieval of the

---

<sup>119</sup> W. Notman, Sports, Pastimes and Pursuits of Canada, photographed from Nature (Montreal, n.d.). Another similar portfolio entitled, The Canadian Hunting Scenes is held in Collection 1964-061 at NAC.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

**THE FOLLOWING WILL BE PUBLISHED**

IN A FEW DAYS.

**MOOSE HUNTING,**

CONSISTING OF

**SEVEN PHOTOGRAPHS FROM NATURE,**

AS FOLLOWS:

1. Night—Asleep in the Cabane.
2. Early Morn—The surprise.
3. The Breakfast.
4. The Death.
5. The Return.
6. The Three Guides.
7. The Old Hunter.

Large Set in Cloth Bound Covers, price.....	\$8.75
Single Copies, price.....	1.50 each.
Small Set    do.       do. ....	3.50
Single Copies, do. ....	0.75 each.

**W. NOTMAN,**  
 Photographer to the Queen,  
 17 Beary Street, Montreal.

Fig. 2.21: "Moose Hunting, consisting of Seven Photographs from Nature," advertisement in W. Notman, *Portraits of British Americans*, Part 7 (Montreal: J. Lovell Printer, 1867) n.p.

negative more convenient. Since several of the hunting scenes were designated as Views, it appears that these were indeed good sellers. They apparently remained popular for some decades since at least one was reproduced for the Imperial Series produced by The Ottawa Postcard Company which operated around the turn of the century.<sup>120</sup> These images also appear fairly commonly in archival collections, indicating a wide distribution.

The *Cariboo Hunting* series tells the story of the indigenisation of colonists.<sup>121</sup> The key image is "Exhausted"; the figures are difficult to identify, but it seems to be Rhodes who has succumbed to the elements. Iconographically, this image is a Biblical *figura* which evokes the parable of the Good Samaritan, who helped a fellow traveller laying by the wayside, and brought him to an inn, or the parable of the raising of Lazarus, whom Jesus awakened from death.<sup>122</sup> In either case, what is represented is a cathartic moment in which Rhodes has been overcome (in this case, by Nature), taken to the brink of death and then re-born. Thus he allegorically becomes autochthon -sprung from the land - a native-Canadian. The young tree at his head is a symbol of this new growth; the maelstrom of snow is the signifier out of which the 'Canadian' is born.

Along with attempts to improve perceptions of the Canadian climate, emphasis was placed on Canada as a northern nation. The dominant image promulgated by advocates of Imperialism and Canadian nationalism towards the end of the century was that "the

---

<sup>120</sup> A postcard reproduction of 'Game in Sight' is illustrated in Paul-Louis Martin, *Histoire* 100. It is apparently post marked November 1909. For postcards, see Jacques Poitras, *La carte postale québécoise. Une aventure photographique* (Laprairie, Qué: Éditions Broquet, 1990)

<sup>121</sup> The term "indigenization" is used by Terry Goldie to characterise the European colonists' task of becoming native. I have extended his analysis from literature to include visual culture. Goldie op. cit.

<sup>122</sup> Luke X, 33-35 and John XI, 11-13.



northern climate imparted...a high degree of energy, vigour, and strenuousness". These speakers "supposed the geographical situation of the nation must profoundly affect the character and outlook of her people." Historian Carl Berger attributes the new attitude praising the benefits of the climate, to a lecture given by Robert Grant Haliburton to the Montreal Literary Club, on March 31, 1869. Haliburton declared: "We are the Northmen of the New World"; and the distinctive character of the new Dominion "must ever be that it is a Northern country inhabited by the descendants of Northern races".<sup>123</sup> The attributes Haliburton equated with 'northern' were "toughness, strength, and hardihood," attributable to a climate which "tended to instill and maintain the strenuous attributes of the Nordic races." Thus race, climate and geography were all combined rhetorically to disenfranchise (dis-patriate) the indigenous peoples of North America and substitute instead 'the Northmen' of Europe as the legitimate natives-Canadians. Although Berger dates these attempts to promote the Canadian climate to 1869, it clearly was an idea which had existed for some time, since Rhodes had already been called "the Great Northern Hunter", and "Nimrod of the North" by LeMoine (1865) and Fennings Taylor (1867). I would contend that the metaphors used, and ideas about the characteristics of the new Canadians, must all have been nourished and made comprehensible by the visual vocabulary provided by photography and art.

Snow was one of the visual attributes of northern lands, but snowshoes and Native peoples were the pre-eminent signifiers of Canada, prominently displayed in virtually all of the photographs in these series. Most often they were positioned in the corner of the image, as a *repoussoir* which guides the eye. At times Notman highlighted them, as in "Around the Camp Fire", or made them a focal point, as in "Sunday in the Bush". In

---

<sup>123</sup> Quoted by Berger, Sense of Power 53.

"Exhausted" the improbable manner in which the discarded snowshoes were propped up in the bottom corner indicates that they were not included for the sake of realism, but because of their role as signifiers. In "A Chance Shot" they were given the same position and role.

Thus setting and visual attributes identify these hunting trips as specifically Canadian activities. They were not *English* hunting scenes for, besides the snowy setting, there were no dogs and no horses; they were not *American* hunting scenes since caribou and moose are northern game, and the American hunting costume differed considerably.<sup>124</sup> It is unlikely also that American representations would depict Native peoples in anything other than adversarial positions at this point in time.<sup>125</sup> Undoubtedly, these were British colonial scenes in which the ordered, regulated, 'civilized' British culture had been superimposed on a new landscape. The Imperial 'big game hunting' so familiar in India and Africa, had been discovered in Canada, the exotic animals here are moose and caribou; the 'great white hunter' had his equivalent in 'the great northern hunter' of the Canadian wilderness.

"A Chance Shot" is an allegory which tells how ancient knowledge is passed to the new native-Canadian. Rhodes and the young guide are shown crouching in the snow, staring ahead, presumably at a caribou according to the clue provided by the trophy at

---

<sup>124</sup> The American hunting costume worn until mid-century was a short doublet reaching to mid-thigh, with an upright collar and short cape. A few buttons or hooks held it close in front, along with a wide leather belt buckled around the waist. Often a hunting shirt was worn underneath with a red fringe around the collar and cuffs: Holliman 26.

<sup>125</sup> The largely negative images of Native peoples in the American press are examined by John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian. Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois P, 1999). Unfortunately the author restricts his discussion almost exclusively to verbal imagery.

their feet. The young guide is leaning very close to Rhodes, peering over his right shoulder. The iconographic *figura* here is of the classical Muse, literally inspiring (breathing into) Rhodes with indigenous knowledge and wisdom.<sup>126</sup> So in this image, Rhodes (after being re-born in "Exhausted") has taken the place of the aboriginal hunter; *he* is now the 'Canadian' hunter. The progressive, civilized British colonists have taken the place of a primitive, dying race. Thus Native peoples have been visually 'written-out' of the history of Canada.

This interpretation is confirmed by the subjects' activity. They are 'still-hunting', the most common technique used for hunting moose and caribou, but also one of the most difficult for non-Native hunters to learn. Grey Owl claimed that "still-hunting is an art learned from the Indian, an accomplishment in which few white men excel".<sup>127</sup> Native trackers were invariably used to find the prey, and then the hunters would approach quietly, crouching or crawling on their stomachs. In Rhodes' words, as reported by the Daily Mercury:

In some instances the caribou have to be approached by crawling on the ground. "On one occasion of this kind," says our friend, "previous to the final stalk, it being very cold weather, I had one of my men badly frost-bitten, as he dare not move for some time for fear of alarming the deer, so we had to retire, warm ourselves by running about and eating, and then recommence the attack."<sup>128</sup>

In this passage Rhodes shows he has learned the skills of the Native. In fact, he is

<sup>126</sup> This pose is repeated again in "Early Morn--the Surprise," "Trapping the Carcajou", and "Trapping the Beaver". A similar representational strategy was used by Benjamin West for his portrait of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Colonel Guy Johnson (c.1767-1776) in which a Native person in ceremonial dress stands as a shadowy figure behind Johnson's shoulder. J.C.H. King suggests West intended the Native figure to represent "civilization's antecedent". J.C.H. King, "Woodland Artifacts from the studio of Benjamin West 1738-1820", American Indian Art Magazine, 17:1 (Winter 1991) 35-47. See my comments on biblical and classical mythology above, n.77.

<sup>127</sup> Grey Owl 87.

<sup>128</sup> Quebec Mercury, 10 Jan. 1866, 6-7. Also quoted in Notman, Portraits 47-49.

better than 'his' Native men, because it is they who get frost bitten, not him. He is now the privileged possessor of knowledge which makes him the native-Canadian. He has been indigenised through appropriating aboriginal cultural activities.

The new native-Canadians' comfort in the wilderness is represented in "The Camp Fire":

After an exciting day, our heroes have seated themselves upon the ground to tell the adventures of the day's chase. The pipe is in nearly every mouth, and a happy, contented-looking group they are.<sup>129</sup>

Whereas the wilderness had always been a source of danger and anxiety for early European visitors, these men are relaxed in their environment, they know how to be warm and sheltered in the forest because they are 'real' native-Canadians who have mastered the skills necessary to survive in the bush. Furthermore, they are not out fishing by torchlight or engaged in other low class, unsporting poaching activities. This image speaks of how gentlemanly sport-hunters 'desport' themselves.<sup>130</sup>

Wilson's reference to pipe smoking is also interesting for the connotations evoked. Apart from the calumet, or peace-pipe, associated with Native culture, a clay pipe was a common visual attribute for French-Canadian *habitants* in paintings and illustrations. As discussed in chapter 1, British colonists and visitors to Canada tended to conflate Native peoples with *habitants*, relegating them both to Canadian pre-history by assuming the 'real'

---

<sup>129</sup> Wilson, *Philadelphia Photographer* 3.29 (May 1896) 130. His text is an indicator of how the contemporary audience would have understood and responded to the photographs.

<sup>130</sup> Struna 2-4. Night hunting was a popular practice in the American states; the light from burning torches reflected on the eyes of their prey and held the animals transfixed for long enough to enable the hunters to get off a shot.

history of Canada began with the British Conquest.<sup>131</sup> The *habitant* was a cultural stereotype, a sturdy French-Canadian peasant farmer dressed in homespun, pious but fun-loving, never seen without his dog or pipe. This stereotype became generalized to include French-Canadian working or lower classes in general. Thus, Octave, the youngest guide, was Octave Dandurand, a young man regularly employed by Notman in the winter months, probably to cut wood and keep the fires going.<sup>132</sup> Whether he was Native or French-Canadian in real life is unclear from the historical record; but Notman did not find it necessary to make a *representational* distinction between the two because both identities served the same purpose.<sup>133</sup> They were both historical identities, both natives in the eyes of British colonists. Through their conflation, both were subordinate to the new native-Canadian by race and class. This ready interchangeability of Natives and French Canadians as equally exotic figures is illustrated by the fact that a Notman portrait of grandfather Gros-Louis, a Huron, entitled "Old Trapper," was used as a model by Kriehoff for a painting entitled "The Habitant", and later given the title "An Old *Voyageur*" in the context of a visual history of the fur trade.<sup>134</sup> To European and colonial eyes, then, there was no particular distinction between Natives, French-Canadian farmers, or the French-Canadian urban working class. After all, the "hardy Canadian was supposed to be a cross between an Indian and a *Habitant*";<sup>135</sup> and the two could stand in for each other, thus relegating them both to a subservient position in relation to British colonists.

---

<sup>131</sup> For instance, Peter Kalm noted that the *habitants* were dressed partly French and partly Native. Kalm folio 812, cited by Delâge 116.

<sup>132</sup> Notes accompanying letter from Stanley Triggs to Joan Morgan, dated October 6, 1978. NPA: Triggs files.

<sup>133</sup> The only way Notman could have distinguished Octave definitively as a Native would have been by resorting to stereotypical visual attributes such as feathers, braids or tattoos.

<sup>134</sup> Triggs, Stamp 150; "The Fur Trade in Canada since 1787", Canada's Visual History, Vol. 73 (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada) No. 24.

<sup>135</sup> Beers, Over the Snow 5.

Since they were both made historical figures, they could also be seen as phantom presences in the images, the antecedents of the new native-Canadian.

In the *Hunting* series the guides are identified as members of the Gros-Louis family from Lorette, and in the studio records all are give the same 'Christian' name, with no regard to differentiating between them in terms of their Native names. Even their family name is racially ambiguous. In the images everything about their representation identifies them as subordinates: their homespun clothing, the fact that they are always shown performing domestic tasks, and, above all, their body language - bowed heads and backs, and gaze turned away from the camera, unable to return the scrutinizing gaze of the colonizer.<sup>136</sup> The experience of being photographed must also have had an effect on the way the Gros-Louis family visualized themselves in the social landscape of Canada East. In the imaginary history being written by Notman and Rhodes they were taught to play the role of 'natural inferiors'.<sup>137</sup> However, their refusal to engage with the camera may be a mark of consent, or a prevarication. We are unable to tell which. Yet the land between Lac St. Jean and the St. Lawrence which the photographs purported to represent was the hunting grounds of the Huron, and the hunting rights to the territory between the Rivière

---

<sup>136</sup> Tagg 11.

<sup>137</sup> My analysis of these images shows that Notman and Rhodes clearly represented the Native guides as subordinates, virtually indistinguishable from the cultural stereotype of rural French-Canadian farmers, or from some of the Montreal working class whose portraits he took for souvenir photographs. (For example, "The News' Boy" and "First Sleigh Sir"). However, on another occasion, Notman photographed the Gros-Louis men in his studio, dressed in western clothing in standard portrait poses. (NPA: 20071, 20072, 20073) This underlines even further that the *Hunting* and *Trapping* series were *tableaux vivants*, enactments of a public transcript. Few other native people were photographed in the Montreal studio, apart from the lacrosse teams and the occasional celebrity such as Sitting Bull, who was photographed with Buffalo Bill in 1885. Notman's son, William McFarlane Notman, however, produced numerous photographs of Native peoples living a traditional lifestyle on the western plains, as promotional images for the tourist trade. For a discussion of Canada as an 'imaginary nation', see Tony Wilden, *The Imaginary Canadian* (Vancouver: Pulp Press, 1980) 2.

Blanche, St. Anne and Jacques Cartier rivers as far as the head of the Batiscan belonged to the Gros-Louis family.<sup>138</sup> Thus, far from being subordinates, in European terms the guides owned the land on which the hunt occurred. In reality though, we know that indigenous concepts of land stewardship (rather than ownership) were ignored by colonists. Images like these participated in the discourse which naturalized and at the same time produced racist assumptions about the racial and cultural inferiority of Native peoples, and colonial entitlement to claim land.

"A Chance Shot" was chosen for reproduction with the review article in The Philadelphia Photographer, which indicates that it was considered special. Wilson presented it to his readers to give "them a better opportunity of judging of these pictures than any description of ours could give them. It will speak for itself...".<sup>139</sup> Clearly, Wilson believed seeing the pictures was necessary for full understanding, and that his verbal description was not enough. This implies a recognition on his part that there is a language of iconography, a visual language which is not just an equivalent to verbal language, but which 'says' something differently.

One of the most commonly used strategies employed by Notman to produce visual meanings was the creation of contrasts. This had much to do with the rules of picturesque painting, by which an artist constructed a view from a combination of sublime and beautiful elements in order to create a harmonious whole.<sup>140</sup> The effect caused by those contrasts would have implications for the meaning created in the mind of the viewer, and it was

---

<sup>138</sup> Frank G. Speck, "Indian Notes - Huron Hunting Territories in Quebec", made in 1920 and 1923. Typewritten manuscript, NPA : Triggs files.

<sup>139</sup> The Philadelphia Photographer 3.29 (May 1866) 130.

<sup>140</sup> See Gilpin op. cit.

largely through explicit and implied contrasts that the meaning of "A Chance Shot" emerged. In this image a series of contrasts was created between open and closed, light and dark, white and native. For instance, the Native guide was positioned at the edge of the bush, while Rhodes was out in the open.<sup>141</sup> His clothing was dark in contrast to Rhodes' white blanket coat. An opposition between the young Native (of a primitive and childlike race) and the mature white (of a progressive and civilized race) was also created. The class and race relationship of the two men was also opposed: the Native/servant vs. white/master. Although it did not appear in this particular image, an opposition between old technology (axe) and new technology (rifle) was also often present.

In "Sunday in the Bush", the hunting party was obeying the Christian edict which claimed Sunday as the Lord's Day, a day of rest. Since short, three-day weekend hunting trips were popular at this time,<sup>142</sup> the image explained how time was passed respectably on a Sunday.<sup>143</sup> Again, the discourse of class and race is being constructed because this 'respectability' was contrasted to those targeted by LeMoine's observation: "It is generally on a Sunday that the dissolute emerge with their guns."<sup>144</sup> Furthermore, the guides were all busy cleaning and mending equipment, while the white hunter was performing his own Spartan ablutions. This association of the Lord's Day with cleanliness expressed visually

---

<sup>141</sup> This plays on the long iconographic tradition of placing Native figures within the forest, while colonists were more likely to be shown out in the open, away from the menace of the forest and surveying the land they have cleared. For a more extended discussion, see my "Visual Representations". Northrup Frye's concept of "garrison mentality", and Gaile McGregor's reworking of the idea are in the same vein: Northrup Frye, Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture, ed. James Polk (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), Gaile McGregor, The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Landscape (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985).

<sup>142</sup> Jean-Louis Martin, Histoire 61.

<sup>143</sup> See , Barbara Schrodt, "Sabbatarianism and Sport in Canadian Society," JHS 4.1 (1977): 22-33.

<sup>144</sup> LeMoine, Maple Leaves (1865) 211.



a contemporary religious and class concept. In this context it was also an expression of manliness and muscular Christianity. In the Quebec Mercury Rhodes explained that:

...by washing the body daily in the snow, an amount of comfort and cleanliness can be obtained which few people would suppose. The snow also makes the skin cold-proof. The washing in the snow is of course a strange sight for the Indian to behold:—a nude white man rubbing himself with snow always draws forth remarks of an amusing or alarming character.<sup>145</sup>

Here we have Rhodes explaining how a white male can maintain civilized habits despite being in the primitive wilderness. Even though aboriginal hunting was unsportsmanlike, colonists have transformed it into a 'civilized' activity. He shows how the snow, which signifies Canada, is also the means by which the body is both kept white and actually transformed to better suit the climate. This civilized act of washing thus both indigenises the colonist and distinguishes him from the Native, who does not have the Christian concern with keeping the body and soul clean for God. Stereotypes were stood on their head - the bare chest associated with visual representations of Native peoples now signified the native-Canadian.

Notman uses composition to point out to the viewer what is most important. The underlying structure of all the images is based on triangular and pyramidal shapes and carefully balanced lines.<sup>146</sup> The focus in "Sunday in the Bush" is on the snowshoe propped against the tree in the very centre. A triangle is formed whose long side is parallel to the bottom edge of the photograph, on the surface of the picture plane. Its sides recede into the middle-ground, with the colonists on one side separated from the Natives on the other. The apex of this triangle, and the focal point of the composition, is the

---

<sup>145</sup> Quebec Mercury, January 10, 1866, 6-7.

<sup>146</sup> H.P. Robinson advocated this type of practice in articles published in the photographic press and reprinted in his subsequent book, Pictorial Effect in Photography

snowshoe, whose leather traces simulate the figure of Jesus on the Cross—metaphorically showing that God is imminent in the world. Notman has iconographically associated Sunday with essential characteristics of the new nation: religious observance, cleanliness, manliness, and an ordered class and race hierarchy. Furthermore, Notman again chose to pose the Natives within the cover of trees and tent, but the whites outside, looking in. The whites watch the Natives work, but the snowshoes are a link between the two because snowshoes are no longer a signifier of 'aboriginal' but of 'Canadian', and hunting on snowshoes has been the means by which the white hunter has become 'native-Canadian'.

"The Death" is an image from the "Moose Hunting in Canada" series. According to Wilson's review, Notman believed this to be the 'gem' of the series, "as a picture". By picture, Wilson meant a photograph which was more than just a record of an event, but also contained a story. Here the moment chosen was 'the kill'. The English sport-hunting code denied that the kill was the climax of the hunt and privileged the chase instead, because it was in the chase that sportsmanship was exhibited and status and class was consequently claimed. But here the kill was made heroic by setting the group up to resemble Benjamin West's famous painting "Death of Wolfe". This painting was famous for being a history painting of a contemporary (rather than ancient) subject, which suggests Notman saw this series in a similar light, i.e. as a story of the history of the nation. Since the moose was in the place of Wolfe, the meaning implied was that the moose had died after a noble battle. Attended at the moment of its death by a reverent and admiring group, the picture was not about ignominious slaughter at the hands of rude backwoodsmen, but represented a noble death accorded due ceremony after a 'sporting' chase by gentlemen hunters. "Death of Moose" is therefore the poignant moment after the climax of the hunt. To further discount the sport-hunters' interest in the kill itself, it is

one of the guides who is dispatching the wounded animal. This is the only image in which a Native is shown actively using a weapon. It is no coincidence that this be the case, since the weapon is a knife and the Native is busy decapitating the moose. Notman is playing on the stereotype of Natives as barbarous savage - it is 'natural' that they do this work in such a fashion; they are subsistence, not sport-hunters.<sup>147</sup>

By referring to the West painting, and thereby invoking the memory of the British Conquest, Notman was also commenting on events of his day. The "little Englandism" prevalent in England at mid-century had provoked anxiety and debate over the link with Britain. The threat of Britain withdrawing from its responsibility to defend the colonies was particularly potent in this period. The American Civil War ended late in 1865 and the British Colonies feared that retaliation by the Northern States for British support for the South might be carried out on Canadian soil. The St. Albans Raid in October 1865 heightened this tension. To make matters worse, shortly after the end of the Civil War, the American wing of the Fenians became a menacing threat to the Canadian border. The first raid was launched against the New Brunswick frontier in April of 1866, and others in June at Niagara and Missisquoi Bay. In this period of tension over Fenian raids and fears of American annexation, Notman was, therefore, reminding viewers of the British nature and allegiance of the Colonies, as well as symbolizing the defeat of the 'old' Canadian natives (both aboriginal and French-Canadian) by the 'new'.

In all the photographs it is fairly easy to infer the ways in which class and race are

---

<sup>147</sup> Writing in 1876, John J. Rowan described "the 'cold-blooded pursuer' who... 'comes up leisurely behind the totally exhausted quadruped, disregarding the pleading glance of the wild and beautiful eyes, and getting on its back, holds it down in the snow till he cuts its throat with his knife. Of all butchery this is the worst.'" Quoted by Myles and Owrarn 63.

implicated once the expectations and stereotypes which the Victorian audience had regarding sport-hunting and Native peoples are understood. However, it is very easy to overlook the discourse of gender which also constructed the ways in which it was 'natural' for hunting to be represented. A 'reading' of the images has to include absences, and these images clearly celebrate the absence of women and the homosocial nature of Victorian sport-hunting, which generally excluded the participation of women, and thus erased the long history of Native women's involvement in the fur trade. This exclusion is made most explicit in "The Breakfast" in the *Moose Hunting* series. Wilson's commentary gives us a clue:

This is a familiar scene to all who have enjoyed the trials and pleasures of a camp life. Our wives and sweethearts would laugh at these men as they cut bread, boil meat, and stir the omelet; but we know how good such meals taste, whether on a moose-hunt or a photographic expedition.

The subject of men cooking crossed gender lines and, therefore, had to be justified by the reviewer. According to Wilson, the spectacle of men cooking would be incongruous enough to make women laugh. In 'civilized' society, the preparation of meals was considered a task for women, but when men went out into the forest they entered 'the wild' where the normal rules of civilized society no longer applied. This is the iconographic figura of 'the world turned upside-down', a threatening state of flux and chaos, often presented as a comic episode.<sup>148</sup> Men performing a 'female' task was funny (ludic-rous) because it was perceived as a direct contrast to the rugged, tough, manly demands of the hunt, and transgressed the bounds of 'normal' masculine behaviour. In terms of the cultural meaning produced, the image reinforced the 'proper' roles and spheres of male and female; women were not just absent from the hunt, their absence was *emphasized* by the fact that men were performing 'their' domestic tasks. On the exceptional occasions

---

<sup>148</sup> See my discussion of "The Defeat of Battleford" in chapter 5.

when women *were* present, as for instance when Princess Louise went to the Restigouche for a fishing trip with Lord Lorne, she was accompanied by her ladies and aides, each with their own tent and with enough objects around them to 'civilize' the wilderness. A gravel path was even laid for the ladies' evening strolls!<sup>149</sup> The male members of the party eschewed such comforts, but the women were protected from the wild in camping, just as they were by the provision of grandstands at sports fields.

Compositionally, the two white hunters are separated in the centre of the image, divided off from their Native companions by lines created by the *cabane* support and axe, and by the 'chipoloquorgan' which holds the kettle over the fire.<sup>150</sup> Thus white and Native are separated and opposed. Since indigenous peoples and Nature itself were customarily identified with the 'feminine', this separation, and the fact that the men are performing female tasks, underscores the masculinity of the white hunters, besides, of course, being a marker of racial difference.<sup>151</sup>

Unlike the other two series, *Trapping* does not have a narrative storyline, but is a catalogue of Canadian wildlife for the information of the newcomer or tourist hunter. The set of images was not offered for sale as a series, but rather sold separately or in the Sports, Pastimes and Pursuits of Canada album. However, Notman did send a set for review to Wilson, and this was published in the March, 1867 edition of The Philadelphia

---

<sup>149</sup> NAC: MG 27 I B4, Fishing Trip to Restigouche, June 1879; Globe June 25, 1879.

<sup>150</sup> See Richard Lewes Dashwood, Chiploquorgan: or. Life by the Camp Fire in Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland (Dublin: Robert White, 1871) for an explanation of the chiploquorgan and other fascinating facts about moose hunting, how to build a cabane, what to take with you on a hunting trip etc.

<sup>151</sup> This works the other way round too - the working classes or other subordinate groups can become associated or identified with Natives: Torgovnick 18.

Photographer. Wilson particularly admired the special effects created for this series. It was shot in the summer of 1866, so it was indeed something of a feat to bring large ice blocks into the studio for "The Seals". Animals are treated as a resource to be plundered for trophies and skins in the series. In real life, Rhodes did hunt for meat,<sup>152</sup> but there is no indication in any of the *Hunting and Trapping* series that the men are hunting for meat; on the contrary, the emphasis is on sporting aspects of the hunt. There are no photographs showing the preparation of the meat or skins, only the cutting off of the moose's head, carrying the trophies home, and in "The Lynx", consideration of how to kill the animal without spoiling its fur. The images are, therefore, a carefully constructed public transcript which depict regulated, Canadian sport-hunting, not subsistence or "pot-hunting".<sup>153</sup>

Included in this series are two photographs of the eldest Gros-Louis as "The Old Trapper". The one which became a popular View shows Gros-Louis seated, leaning on his staff and smoking on his pipe, with traps hung around his waist. The other shows him standing with his staff over his shoulder and a fur hung from it. The age of the trapper, and his evident vitality, made him an object of veneration, as well as a living exemplar of the healthy, natural environment in which he lived. These photographs were not taken at the same time as the others in this series, according to the serial numbers in the Notman Studio Picture Book. They were taken a short while before the *Moose Hunting* series, but were presumably included by Notman because they show the trapper with his accoutrements, or because the old Native man is another type of Canadian 'wildlife'. At

---

<sup>152</sup> The Daily Mercury account of a caribou hunt quoted by Fennings Taylor mentions that they returned with 700 lbs of meat: Notman, Portraits 48.

<sup>153</sup> The shockingly callous attitude of some of the professional and commercial middle-classes toward the plight of the poor is demonstrated by Fennings Taylor's comment that when hunting, "a practical knowledge is acquired of what poor people call *la misère*, a state of body by no means so disagreeable, as nature provides through the appetite a splendid sauce, for the plainest food...": Notman, Portraits 47-48.

the same session Gros-Louis, the son, was photographed with snowshoes in one pose, a brace of fowl in another, and moccasins in a third. All were entitled "Indian with Curiosities".

Although Notman's photographs were well received in his own day, twentieth-century critical commentary has largely evaluated them in terms of how 'realistic' they were. This type of aesthetic judgment is too often the approach taken by historians to visual material.<sup>154</sup> It is a limited way of looking at the work, firstly because it assumes realism is what was intended and is the criterion by which to judge whether the work is 'good', and, secondly, because it assumes that the Victorian viewer expected to be fooled into believing that the photographs were taken in the field. Neither assumption is correct nor useful, and both are ahistorical.

Analysis of the strategies used to represent the landscape and the hunting party shows that Notman was drawing on techniques from many sources, including painting, drama, fiction and works of public spectacle, in order to create photographs which were not just likenesses, but told a story. Landscape painting would be an obvious source of models upon which Notman could draw, and the photographs he and his employees took in the field when advances in photographic technology made working outside more feasible, can be considered in this light. However, his studio outdoor scenes relied more on techniques of composition, props and staging suggested by traditional history painting, portrait painting, panorama and diorama painting, and the theatre.<sup>155</sup> A painted backdrop representing an empty, snowy landscape was used for all the outdoor shots, but

---

<sup>154</sup> For example, Wiebe and Beal *op. cit.*

<sup>155</sup> See for instance, R. Derek Wood, "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s", History of Photography 17:3 (Fall 1993): 234-295.

sometimes the glass negative was retouched by one of Notman's house artists. For instance, Game in Sight was particularly admired for its illusion of distance, which Edward Wilson of The Philadelphia Photographer described as "admirably effected" and "not excelled by any other in the series". To our late twentieth-century eyes, however, the retouching is extremely clumsy and crude, being merely a few lines scratched into the emulsion to suggest distant hills, and a roughly hatched cloud; but to the Victorian viewer it was apparently not only convincing but praiseworthy.

In an effort to understand how the original viewers could respond in this way, if we think about our own experience, we might remember how convincing Star Trek looked twenty-five years ago, and how staged and artificial those early episodes look now. How we evaluate 'the real' is culturally and historically specific, and we cannot assume that what looks artificial to us had the same effect on the original audience. The Victorian audience admired the technical achievement of mimesis. In fact, Notman gained some renown for his 'special effects'; so much so that he took out patents on them.<sup>156</sup>

In his review of the *Moose Hunting* series, Wilson commended Notman on the "inconceivable amount of trouble" he had taken to produce the series. Admiring the photographs for their naturalism, he wrote: "The pictures look so real that one would hardly imagine they were compositions of brains, patience, and hard work." This is a significant comment within the context of the time, when photographs were thought of as being objective records of nature, mechanically transcribed by the action of light and chemicals on glass. In contrast, 'pictures' were viewed as the subjective products of artists, employing traditional conventions and codes. As Arthur Burchett pointed out:

---

<sup>156</sup> Bara, "Image of Canada" 197. NPA: Notman's Patent, 1867.



it is not a mere transcript of Nature that we require, but a picture containing some sentiment or idea...A painting or photograph must have some reason for existing, some object or story, and this must be the one thing that all else is to be subservient to.<sup>157</sup>

However, this created a conundrum for nineteenth-century artists. On the one hand, the popular audience demanded realism, character and incident, but on the other, the demands of more refined taste required signification and symbolism:

Specification, individuation, autonomy of detail and the look and feel of the thing itself pulled one way: while placement in a larger meaningful pattern, appealing to the moral sense and the understanding, pulled another. A story rightly told satisfied both requirements.<sup>158</sup>

In recognizing the in-input of the photographer, Wilson, always an advocate of the artistic potential of photography, elevated Notman and the work to the status of painting.

Realism was *not* the exclusive criterion by which photographs were judged in the period from 1860 to 1900. Edward Wilson's magazine was the "most influential photographic journal in North America",<sup>159</sup> so his admiration for Notman's work and his call for photographs which were pictures, that is, not just 'natural', cannot be dismissed. The Victorian viewer was well aware that Notman's photographs were taken inside, but they valued the *illusion* created by the skilful manipulation of props, backdrop etc. Miles Orvell, in his study of imitation and authenticity in American culture, explains that nineteenth-century photographers and the audience understood

---

<sup>157</sup> Arthur Burchett, "Photography in Relation to Painting," Wilson's Photographic Magazine, August 6, 1892, 470.

<sup>158</sup> Martin Meisel, Realizations: Narrative, pictorial, and theatrical arts in nineteenth-century England (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1983) 12. It may be remembered that J.E. Taché, in his essay for the Paris Exhibition of 1855, repeatedly apologised for the lack of flourish preferred by the educated reader, owing to the need to present the facts plainly for the masses. He apparently felt the strains of the same paradox. Fennings Taylor, on the other hand, had entirely too much flourish!

<sup>159</sup> Greenhill & Birrell 67.

the medium as an illusion, and the realism of Victorian photography is properly understood as an "artificial realism" in which the image offers the viewer a representation of reality, a typification, a conscious simulacrum...<sup>160</sup>

The Victorian viewer evaluated the image in terms of how convincing it was, how truthfully it imitated. The conflict between the notion that photographs were 'natural' and the illusionism used to construct them was reconciled by the 'truthfulness' of the 'artifice'. Notman's staging was greatly admired because it was so truthful. He brought in *real* trees, rocks, tents and hunters and posed them in real situations; it was only the setting which was artificial. As the eminent photographer, Henry Peach Robinson, explained: "It is not the fact of reality...but the truth of imitation that constitutes a veracious picture."<sup>161</sup>

Other modern critics have complained about the stiffness of the poses. But the poses are actually remarkably relaxed and lifelike when we take into account the long exposures required.<sup>162</sup> We must remember that the participants held the pose for up to a minute, depending on the brightness of the sky. Any movement during a photographic exposure of that length would result in a blurred, ghost-like image. To Victorian audiences the stiffness and static quality may not have been evident. After all they had only seen motion represented in paintings and drawings, usually through such devices as flowing drapery, agitated line or painterly brush stroke.<sup>163</sup> In any case, Notman was not relying totally on painting for guidance, he was also drawing on media which made a virtue of the static pose, namely, panoramas, dioramas, *tableaux vivants* and the dramatic stage. In

---

<sup>160</sup> Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: imitation and authenticity in American culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) 77.

<sup>161</sup> Quoted by Orvell 82.

<sup>162</sup> Examine, for example, "Sunday in the Bush", "Around the Camp Fire" or "The Three Guides".

<sup>163</sup> Picture for instance, the Greek 'Victory of Samothrace', Leonardo Da Vinci's 'Deluge' drawings, or J.M.W. Turner's "Rain, Steam & Rail".

the nineteenth century the object of dramatic staging was to create a series of melodramatic moments of frozen action. This "pictorial" staging made an "effect" or "tableau" whose underlying principle was "sensation charged with wonder over the imitation of a difficult reality or the creation of a marvellous effect."<sup>164</sup> Notman's hunting scenes were apparently 'staged' with this 'effect' in mind, so the representation of movement was not even desired.

While fiction and visual art attempted to assimilate themselves with drama, conversely, according to Martin Meisel, drama "was under a compulsion to make itself over as picture."<sup>165</sup> For example, in *tableaux vivants* the actors arranged themselves so as to imitate a famous painting or poem. In other words, they realized a living picture.<sup>166</sup> Meisel does not include photography in this compulsion to appropriate strategies of representation from other media, but Notman was undoubtedly affected by this. His own recommendation in an article written for Photographic Mosaics in 1870 was that photographers should look to painting for guidance with composition, lighting and pose, and his use of props and dramatic pose indicate that he did this himself.<sup>167</sup> For instance, as already mentioned above, he created a photographic *tableau vivant* in "The Death". In the place of the dying Wolfe he put the dying moose; he had the young guide pose as the Native warrior in the painting, and the other figures are arranged to imitate the West composition. Wilson, in his review, seemed to take this perfectly seriously, although to our minds the substitution seems rather ludicrous. In fact, he and Notman thought it was "the

---

<sup>164</sup> Meisel 39-41.

<sup>165</sup> Meisel 64.

<sup>166</sup> Meisel gives the contemporary Oxford English Dictionary definition of realization as "To make realistic or apparently real", from Sheridan's *The Critic* (1779): Meisel 29.

<sup>167</sup> William Notman, "Study of Art Recommended to Photographers", Photographic Mosaics, an annual record of photographic progress (1870) 44-46.

gem of the lot". Asking why this might be, is the key to an historical understanding of the meanings produced by the image. Admittedly, Wilson did not claim that this was a realization of the West painting, but the compositional similarity is unmistakable. It seems unlikely that Notman was totally unaware of what he was doing, given his art training, his specific injunction to photographers to study painting, and the widespread fame of the painting itself.<sup>168</sup>

If we want to consider photographs as historical documents, we have to re-embed them in their contemporary context in our attempt to discover what meanings they produced for their original audiences. Revealing the strategies of representation used gives us clues as to what the photographer and the sitters had in mind, whether they could have consciously articulated it or not. At the same time, we must also historicize the audiences; we must try to identify the preconceptions, attitudes and bodies of knowledge with which they came to the images, rather than impose on them our own. This is why the modernist critical comments are so ill-conceived. As Orvell says, "sophisticated viewers...were well aware of the staging and in fact savored precisely the ontological ambiguity of the resulting image."<sup>169</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Although they were businessmen rather than intellectuals, Notman and Rhodes fill the role prescribed for "proto-nationalists" in Eric Hobsbawm's model of the development

---

<sup>168</sup> Jana Bara draws a similar connection with another Notman photograph which shows a hunter in a snowy scene, reclining on furs surrounded by seven moose and caribou heads and a stuffed beaver. (NPA: 81218-1) She argues that the composition is a copy of Eugène Delacroix's The Death of Sardanapalus (1828): Bara, "Image of Canada" 199-201. However, she calls these photographs "true *kitsch*", thus dismissing them as worthless pretension. (196)

<sup>169</sup> Orvell 84.

of nationalism, or for “organic intellectuals” in Gramsci’s model.<sup>170</sup> Notman’s commercial interests required that he create a unique identity for his work, and he did this, I would argue, through creating a visual identity for Canada. As the most celebrated artist in Montreal in the 1860s, there is no question that his work was influential.<sup>171</sup> Rhodes’ interests were commercial and political, and therefore likely to benefit from increased immigration. They lacked the overt agenda of political nationalists, but their concerns were similar to those of the five young men who formed Canada First in the Spring of 1868, two years after Notman had worked on the *Hunting and Trapping* series.<sup>172</sup> Carl Berger’s description of Canada First aims might just as well apply to Notman and Rhodes - they “attempted to arouse a stronger consciousness of uniqueness among Canadians and to impart meaning to the phrase, ‘new nationality’.”<sup>173</sup> Notman and Taylor’s Portraits of British Americans can also be seen as a Canada First project, even though it too pre-dated the group. Henry Morgan, one of the founding members, called for exactly this type of biography:

The great men of a nation, he said, were representative of the national character; they embodied and typified the spirit of the people which had produced them...it was through understanding them that Canadians would come to know what Canada itself represented.<sup>174</sup>

---

<sup>170</sup> Both were cultural leaders who articulated certain ideas about sports and national identity which were at times taken up as part of a political nationalist program. Pope, Patriot Games 13.

<sup>171</sup> Reid 48. An interesting comparison can be made between Notman and Mathew Brady, the most famous American photographer at mid-century. Besides being inventive businessmen, both saw national purpose in their work. The most comprehensive studies of Brady are by Mary Panzer, Mathew Brady and the Image of History (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), and Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs.

<sup>172</sup> There are some connections between Taylor and Canada Firsters: J. Fennings Taylor was married to Colonel George Taylor Denison’s aunt, and he and Henry Morgan were both highly placed civil servants. Each of them wrote biographies and took D’Arcy McGee as the subject of a publication. For information on Morgan see Berger, Sense of Power ch. 2; on Taylor see DCB, 11: 871.

<sup>173</sup> Berger, Sense of Power 49.

<sup>174</sup> Berger, Sense of Power 50.

During the middle part of the nineteenth century affluent and influential colonists were taking an active role in shaping society. Members of the professional and commercial middle classes - successful business men like William Notman, and entrepreneurial politicians like William Rhodes - began to define, articulate and visualize the 'new nationality' called for by early Canadian nationalists such as D'Arcy McGee and Robert Haliburton. Notman and Rhodes collaborated on the creation of the *Hunting and Trapping* series because the meanings they created bore significance for them. While society was reshaped through institutional innovations such as the establishment of public schools, and the formation of professional agencies to manage the poor, the criminal and the insane, the professional and commercial middle classes took up the task of refining manners and morals.<sup>175</sup> The particular identity they constructed was therefore imbued with their own class interests, and as more political positions were assumed by businessmen, legislation increasingly served the interests of entrepreneurship and private investment. Envisioning and enacting the new nation was as important in this process as political expediency, financial incentives, literary fancy or any other strand of nationalistic discourse.

The institutionalization of the practices of sport-hunting constructed and was constituted by unequal relations of power in Canadian society.<sup>176</sup> Hunting was a performance of masculine domination, requiring virile attributes of "courage, endurance, individualism, sportsmanship,...resourcefulness, a mastery of environmental signs, and a

---

<sup>175</sup> Greer and Radforth 7-8, 42-43.

<sup>176</sup> Wamsley, "Good Clean Sport" 15.

knowledge of natural history."<sup>177</sup> But, just as masculinity is established in relation to femininity, it is also shaped in relation to men's power over women.<sup>178</sup> Most theorists of nationalism have ignored gender, but Marilyn Lake argues that "the representation of male national power depends on the prior construction of gender difference."<sup>179</sup> Moreover, both gender and social power are also related to race, thus, if Col. Rhodes had been a woman, the images would be a captivity story. Hence the identity created through sport hunting was male, middle class, and white. The Notman images demonstrate all these relationships - producing, organizing and maintaining gender and power relations, they naturalize assumptions about the 'proper' place for women, Natives, and whites and propose a vision of an ideal native-Canadian. They constructed an identity and a model of deportment for citizens of the new nation, to whom they were distributed in multiple forms in order to reach a wider audience. The Nationalist and Imperialist debates of the following decades used the visual vocabulary created by Notman and other artists as the basis on which to construct their rhetoric. Furthermore, the images remind us that colonists did not just transplant British culture to the New World, but also appropriated and transformed indigenous activities by imposing upon them British forms and traditions. In this way, a distinctly Canadian identity was constructed.

---

<sup>177</sup> Mangan and Walvin 179.

<sup>178</sup> Karen Dubinsky & Lynne Marks, "Beyond Purity. A response to Sangster," Left History 3:2 (1995) 214.

<sup>179</sup> Lake 323. Anderson, Hobsbawm, and Bhabha are all equally remiss in ignoring issues of gender in 'imagining' the nation. Women played a special role in legitimating white Americans' claim to the land: Smith-Rosenberg, "Captured Subjects/Savage Others"<sup>177</sup>. Since the nation is conceptualized as a family, inequalities of power are naturalized, so that women and children are 'naturally' subordinate to men: Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest (New York: Routledge, 1995) 353.

## CHAPTER 3

**PLAYING LACROSSE: THE NATIONAL GAME OF CANADA**

It may seem frivolous, at first consideration, to associate this feeling of nationality with a field game, but history proves it to be a strong and important influence...If the Republic of Greece was indebted to the Olympian Games; if England has cause to bless the name of cricket, so may Canada be proud of lacrosse.

W.George Beers,  
*Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada*<sup>1</sup>

As the winter snows of 1844 melted away, the thoughts of some members of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club turned to summer activities. Apart from cricket, which was popular in the major cities and garrison towns of the British North American Provinces, few strenuous activities equivalent to snowshoeing were available. Horseracing attracted large crowds, but was a spectator sport, golf was almost unknown, and football, baseball and tennis yet to be popularized.<sup>2</sup> For some time, a few Montrealers had enjoyed watching lacrosse played by Native teams,<sup>3</sup> and they had apparently been practising themselves, because on August 29, 1844 a team from the Montreal Olympic Athletic Club stepped onto the field with a team of Native players during the Montreal Olympic Games. Not surprisingly, even though the Montrealers fielded seven players and the Natives only five, the latter won handily. Over the next decade, occasional lacrosse matches were sponsored,<sup>4</sup> but the game was only really taken up by whites when the Montreal Lacrosse Club (MLC) was formed in 1856 by members of the disbanded Olympic Club and the

---

<sup>1</sup> W.G.Beers, Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada (Montreal, Dawson Bros., 1869) 59.

<sup>2</sup> On golf, Lindsay, "History of Sport" 113-4; on tennis see Metcalfe, Canada Learns 43; football was not formally organized until the late 1860s, baseball began in southwest Ontario only in the 1850s; Metcalfe, Canada Learns 54,164.

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay cites evidence of exhibition matches by Native teams and suggests a growing interest in the game during the 1830s and 1840s: Lindsay, "History of Sport" 115-6.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander M. Weyand and Milton R. Roberts, The Lacrosse Story (Baltimore: Herman, 1965) 14.



Montreal Snow Shoe Club. A second club, the Hochelega, was formed in 1858, but it merged with the MLC two years later, and a third, the Beaver Club, was formed in 1859.

Snowshoeing was ideal winter training for lacrosse and there was a great degree of cross-over in membership between the snowshoe clubs and the lacrosse clubs;<sup>5</sup> consequently, the same values and ideals applied to snowshoeing were applied to lacrosse. Organized and regulated by predominantly Canadian-born anglophones, the two activities were complementary, both requiring strenuous activity, endurance and 'pluck', as well as discipline and moral character. Both were also recognized as 'indigenous' sports as opposed to the 'imported' British sports promulgated by the British Garrison. Lacrosse was, therefore, a potential Canadian signifier, a sport which would distinguish Canadians from the British and Americans.<sup>6</sup> Whereas hunting and snowshoeing were means by which colonists became indigenised through adventuring out into the Canadian landscape, lacrosse was a means by which 'the wild' was brought into the confines of the city and 'tamed'. The 'primitive' Native ritual, *baggotaway*, was transformed into an organized sport through the imposition of rules and regulations which enforced the 'civilized' British ideology of order and fair play.<sup>7</sup> Playing the regulated game took possession of a Native tradition and made its new players native-Canadians, while the spectacle of the performance was a visual representation of nationality.<sup>8</sup> W. George Beers, the person

---

<sup>5</sup> Alan Metcalfe, "Organised Sport" 87.

<sup>6</sup> David K. Wiggins shows that British visitors to America before the Civil War perceived their transatlantic cousins to be uninterested in vigorous, manly sport and therefore physically degenerated. They disparaged Americans for their incessant quest for wealth and material success: Wiggins op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> British sports were considered civilized and manly. To prove the new nation was civilized therefore required that any new sports must have the same "British" qualities. Mott shows how this belief affected the development of sport in Manitoba: Mott, "British Protestant Pioneers" 29-33.

<sup>8</sup> Americans also employed the 'imaginary Indian' in constructing national identity, but they dressed up as Indians to act out political and economic discontent, rather than appropriating Native activities as a way to become indigenised: Deloria 12.

who beyond all others was responsible for the appropriation and transformation of lacrosse, understood the result of this:

the Indians' old fierce *baggataway* has shared the fate of the Indian himself in having become civilized almost out of recognition into a more humane sport. It has lost its wild and wanton delerium, and though restless under regulations, has become tamed into the most exciting and varied of all modern field sports.<sup>9</sup>

Numerous claims have been made for the role of sport in society. The liberal modernization model sees organized sport as the result of a continuous and natural progression in society from traditional, community-based folk-games associated with festive occasions, to modern, organized sports played initially by the privileged elite, but then democratized to facilitate the participation of the masses during their leisure hours.<sup>10</sup> The Marxist view is that sport is a product of industrialization and urbanization, operating as a socializing tool of the capitalist class by imbuing workers with the skills and behaviours required for the smooth functioning of industrial capitalism. Sport thereby reproduces society ideologically. Moreover, sport acts as a means by which the tensions and anomie produced by modern society may be released: sport is therefore a safety-valve protecting social order, and a tool of social control.<sup>11</sup> Others, such as Johan Huizinga, explain sport as a cultural practice which allows for the non-purposive, life-affirming expression of fun and playfulness. He argues that culture is actually *created*

---

<sup>9</sup> Beers, "Canadian Sports" 125.

<sup>10</sup> The true extent of this 'democratization' is questionable since competitive amateur sport is still limited to those who can afford to participate and those who have access to facilities. Richard S. Gruneau "Class or Mass: Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport," Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, eds. Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson (Don Mills, Ont: Addison-Wesley (Canada), 1976): 108-141.

<sup>11</sup> The competing interpretations of sport are lucidly summarized and critiqued by Richard S. Gruneau in "Power and Play".

through the playing of sports and games.<sup>12</sup> Play, games and sports therefore have social importance beyond the epiphenomenal status commonly ascribed for them.<sup>13</sup> This latter approach takes seriously the idea that sports produce meaning; sport and games are "meaningful dramatizations of reality" in which the values of the community are represented and contested.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the performative spectacle of sport, and the experience of both performer and audience, becomes an important consideration in attempting to understand how meaning was represented and received.

This chapter will examine lacrosse as a 'meaningful dramatization of reality,' showing how the 'taming' of lacrosse, and hence Native peoples, was accomplished, and how it became a signifier of Canadian national identity which created an historical connection between the new colonists and the ancient traditions of the continent. I distinguish between the traditional, ritual game of *baggataway* and the 'modernized' and regulated version: the sport of lacrosse. My purpose is to demonstrate how an indigenous activity was appropriated in order to create national identity, but it is important to remember that lacrosse was played in the context of other regularizing and modernizing sports - cricket, baseball, hockey etc. - as well as in the context of unorganized games such as swimming, croquet, billiards, horseshoes and children's games. In addition, horseracing was an extremely popular spectator sport throughout the century, despite its 'unsavoury' connection with betting. However, it was only lacrosse which was hailed as *the Canadian game*.

---

<sup>12</sup> Gruneau, "Power and Play" 153. Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture, 1938 (London: Temple Smith, 1970).

<sup>13</sup> The distinction between play, games and sports is discussed at length by A. Guttman, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

<sup>14</sup> Gruneau, "Power and Play" 158.

Visual images are used as primary sources for this purpose, along with the writings of W. George Beers and newspaper reports collected in the MAAA Scrapbooks. Reliance on Beers as a source is not misplaced since he was crucial to the development of lacrosse in Montreal. He was the author of the rules of the game, and was the instigator of the meeting which led to the formation of the National Lacrosse Association in September 1867.<sup>15</sup> He was one of the first Canadian sportswriters, his articles were published widely, and frequently used as the basis of reports printed elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> Beers led teams on two tours of the British Isles, which resulted in lacrosse being recognized at home and abroad as the national Canadian game. His values and attitude towards the game were, hence, to a large extent those which became institutionalized within its rules and structure, and against which games and players were judged. Furthermore, his efforts to popularize the game have been credited with the huge explosion of interest which occurred in lacrosse in the new Dominion in 1867.

In the spring of 1867 there were 10 lacrosse clubs in existence; by November, 80 had been formed with over 2000 members.<sup>17</sup> These clubs were founded in Quebec,

---

<sup>15</sup> Beers was equally energetic as an innovator and instigator in his professional field of dentistry: he founded the first Canadian dental journal and proposed the formation of a National Dental Association. Peter Lindsay, "George Beers and the National Game Concept: A Behavioural Approach," Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, University of Windsor, May 1972 (Ottawa: Sport Canada Directorate, 1972) 30.

<sup>16</sup> Cox 159. Beers' articles on sport include: "Canada as a Winter Resort", Century Magazine 29.50 (Feb. 1885): 514-29; Goal-Keeper (pseud.), The Game of Lacrosse (Montreal: The Montreal Gazette Steam Press, 1860); "A Rival to Cricket," Chambers Journal 18 (Dec 1862): 366-368; "Canada in Winter," British American Magazine 2 (Dec. 1863): 166-71; "Cheek", Canadian Monthly 11 (1872): 256-62; "Canadian Sports," Century Magazine 14 (May-Oct 1877): 506-527; "Over the Snow or The Montreal Carnival" (Montreal: W Drysdale & Co and J. Tho. Robinson, 1883); "The Ocean Travels of Lacrosse," Athletic Leaves (Sept 1888). He reportedly contributed 20 articles on Canadian sports to Wilkes' Spirit of the Times, a New York publication, from 1862-3, as well as writing for a number of American periodicals: DCB, vol. xi, 75-77.

<sup>17</sup> Gazette November 14, 1867, cited by Lindsay, "History of Sport" 123-4. Many of the Montreal clubs subsequently formed snowshoe clubs for the winter (Gazette December 6, 1867). Lindsay claims Beers' publicity campaign and the founding of the NLA were the catalysts for this

Toronto, Hamilton, Paris, Brantford, Halifax and other towns throughout Central and Eastern Canada. By 1877 there were 11 clubs in Montreal, 7 in Toronto, plus over 100 in Quebec and Ontario. The first clubs in the West were started in Manitoba in 1871, in Alberta in 1883, and British Columbia in 1886. An estimated 20,000 players were registered in 1884.<sup>18</sup> Lacrosse was vastly more popular than cricket or athletics, and regularly attracted huge crowds. For instance, the July 1, 1867 game played in Montreal between the MLC and the Caughnawaga team attracted 5,000 spectators, while cricket matches attracted barely 100.<sup>19</sup> Beers' success at proselytizing the game can be judged from the report in the Montreal Gazette which referred to it "as a sort of inauguration of the national game of the Dominion".<sup>20</sup> Five thousand, five hundred spectators watched a game between the Montreal Shamrocks and the Toronto Lacrosse Club in 1873, and crowds of 8,000-9,000 were common for championship games in later years.<sup>21</sup> According to a Montreal Gazette article, lacrosse was also a popular participant sport:

Every Saturday afternoon particularly, the Parks and Commons are crowded with Lacrosse players, from the Professor who doffs the Gown for the occasion, to the little urchin who can barely scrape together 50 cents to purchase a crosse.<sup>22</sup>

Although lacrosse originated as an organized sport in Montreal, it had wide appeal in Central Canada. In 1867 44% of the 27 clubs registered in the NLA were in Montreal, but in 1884 Montreal clubs only accounted for 15% of the 54 clubs, 59% of which were in

---

explosion in interest.

<sup>18</sup> T. George Vellathottam and Kevin G. Jones, "Highlights in the Development of Canadian Lacrosse to 1931": Canadian Journal of Sport and Physical Education 5:2 (Dec. 1974) 40.

<sup>19</sup> Lindsay, "History of Sport" 126.

<sup>20</sup> Morrow, "Lacrosse as the National Game" 55. Beers was a regular contributor to the Montreal Gazette, and is thought to have been the author of many unattributed news reports, however, these have not been systematically identified.

<sup>21</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 41. Kidd 31.

<sup>22</sup> Gazette October 23, 1867, quoted by Lindsay, "History of Sport" 69.

Ontario, and 11% in Toronto.<sup>23</sup> Lacrosse was, therefore, a cultural activity through which large numbers of Canadians could learn and perform their national identity, either as players or as spectators. In the end, though, its potential as a national unifying force was hampered by internal rivalries, and the exclusionary strategies by which it was structured and represented.

### **Baggataway to Lacrosse: The Game Transformed**

The Native game of *baggataway* or *tewaarathon* was played widely, although with some variation, by Native peoples throughout the North American continent. Because of their proximity to Montreal, the game played at Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) and St. Regis (Akwesasne) became the model for the westernized version called lacrosse. The transformation of *baggataway* into lacrosse was accomplished by the formulation of rules and regulations which imposed order and imbued the game with the "gentlemanly" values already defined by the snowshoe ethos. For example, the Native game was traditionally played over fields of various dimensions and by any size of team. In addition, the game might last from a few hours to several days.<sup>24</sup> But these indeterminate and unstandardized spatial and temporal boundaries were impractical if the game was to be played in an urban environment, within the time constraints of an industrializing society. Similarly, the dictates of punctuality and standardization demanded that common rules had to be established in order that clubs could play each other without going through time-consuming pre-game negotiations.<sup>25</sup> Rules governing these aspects of the game were therefore instituted,

---

<sup>23</sup> Quebec City had 6%, the rest of Quebec 4%, and 6% in the rest of Canada: Metcalfe, Canada Learns 185.

<sup>24</sup> The best and most complete history of the Native game is provided by Thomas Vennum, Jr., American Indian Lacrosse: Little Brother of War (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1994).

<sup>25</sup> Pre-game delays of two hours were not unusual while these negotiations went on. The necessity of being aware of the time was driven home by the need for visiting teams to catch the 5

which not only provided the necessary element of fair play, but also brought the game under colonial control, and re-affirmed the importance of punctuality, standardization and private property. As Beers remarked, "The white game differs from the red, in being restricted by that mark of civilization and trespass, the fence".<sup>26</sup>

A comparison of the backgrounds in Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 serves to illustrate the increasing urbanization of the game. Figure 3.1 is the classic Catlin image, "Ball Play of the Choctaw" (c.1844) in which the game is being played on a large natural field on the slopes of rolling hills. A crowd of spectators watches from a distance, but this is a wide expanse of unsettled land with no habitations visible. Figure 3.2, "The Shamrock Lacrosse Club, 1867" is a composite photograph in which the standard twelve players (as opposed to the numberless hoard of players shown by Catlin) is posed in an orderly and symmetrical line-up in front of the new National Lacrosse Association banner, emblazoned with the words "Our Game, Our Country". The background is a painted backdrop of Mount Royal, on the banks of which can be seen Sir Hugh Allan's stone mansion, 'Ravenscrag', and the silhouettes of church spires. The banner both claims lacrosse and Canada as colonial possessions, and links the two together as signifiers of each other. The stone buildings indicate that the land is no longer a primitive wilderness. Figure 3.3 is a composite photograph from 1881 by the Notman Studio, this time showing the Shamrocks on the field as if during a break in play, flanked by officials and club dignitaries. The mountain looms over the scene, a grandstand and fence have been erected around the playing field, and the imposing edifice of the Jesuit College, along with other churches and buildings close to the perimeter, heighten the sense that the 'wild' playing field has been captured within the city landscape. Hundreds of spectators watch the match, but they are

---

o'clock train. Many a lacrosse game had to be stopped because of this.

<sup>26</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 54.

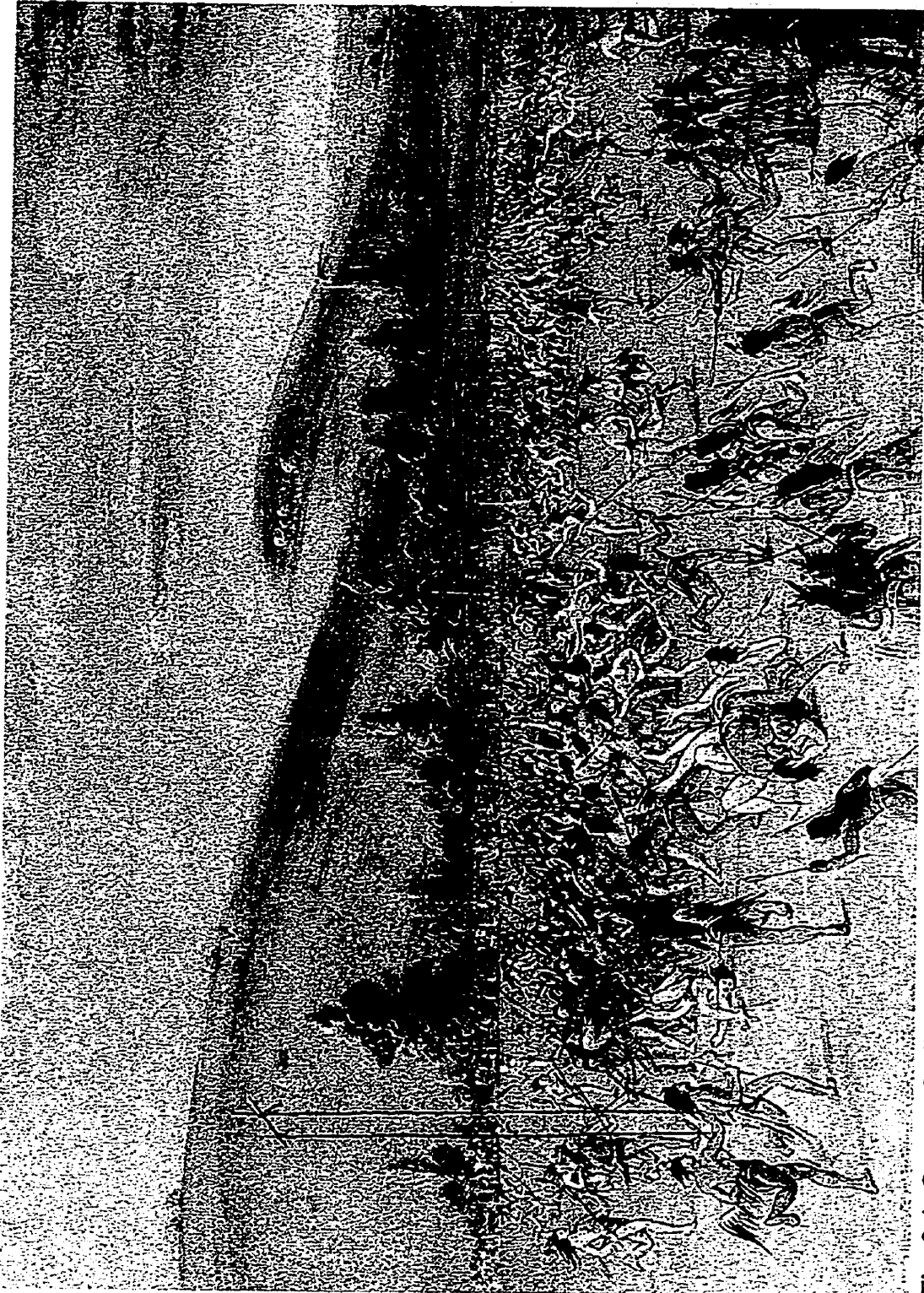


Fig. 3.1: George Catlin, "Ball-Play of the Choctaws," c. 1844. Reproduced in Harold McCracken, George Catlin and the Old Frontier (New York: Dial Press, 1959) 143.



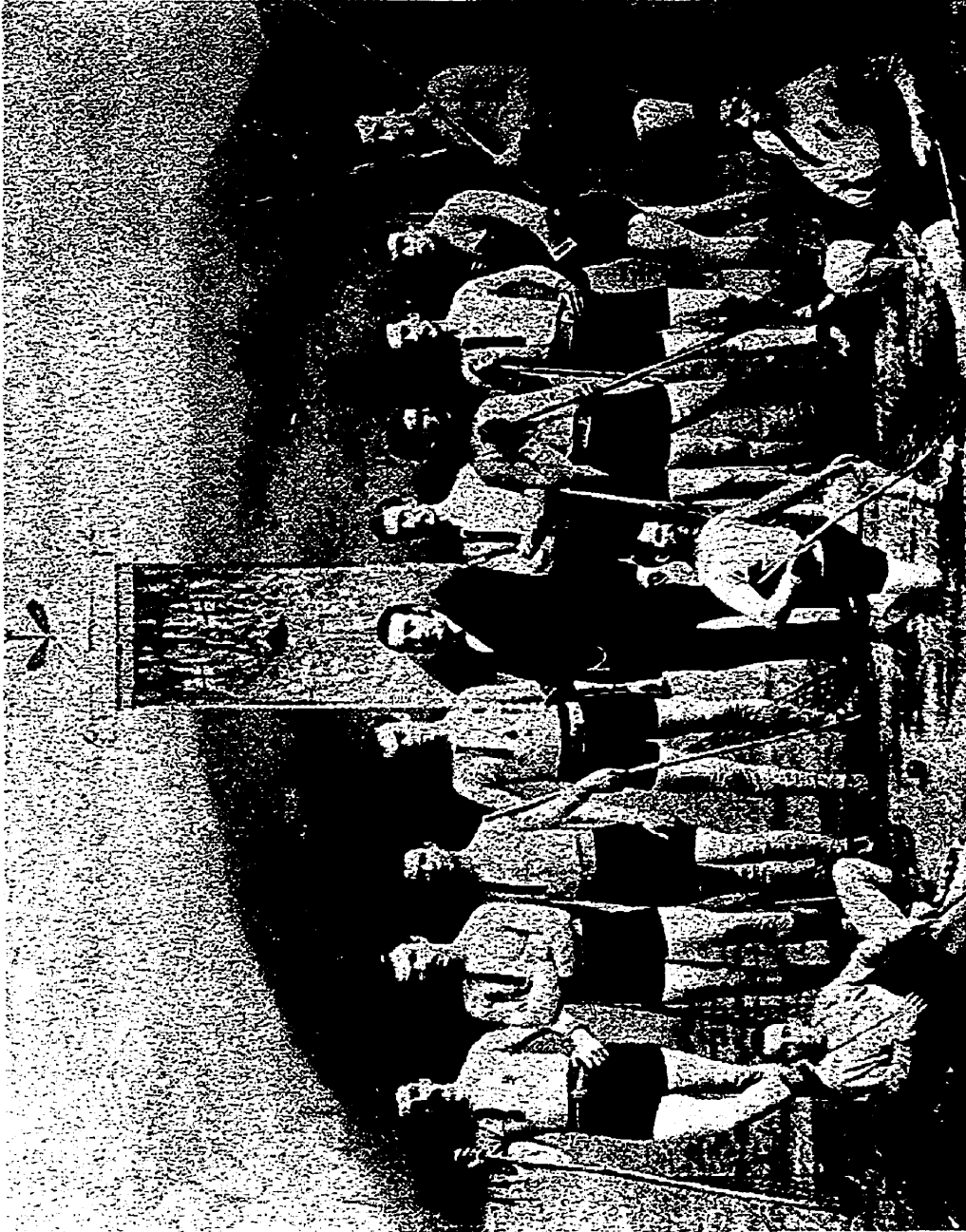


Fig. 3.2: J. G. Parks, "The Shamrock Lacrosse Club, 1867." NAC: C-5567. Reproduced in Don Morrow et al., *A Concise History of Sport in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989)53

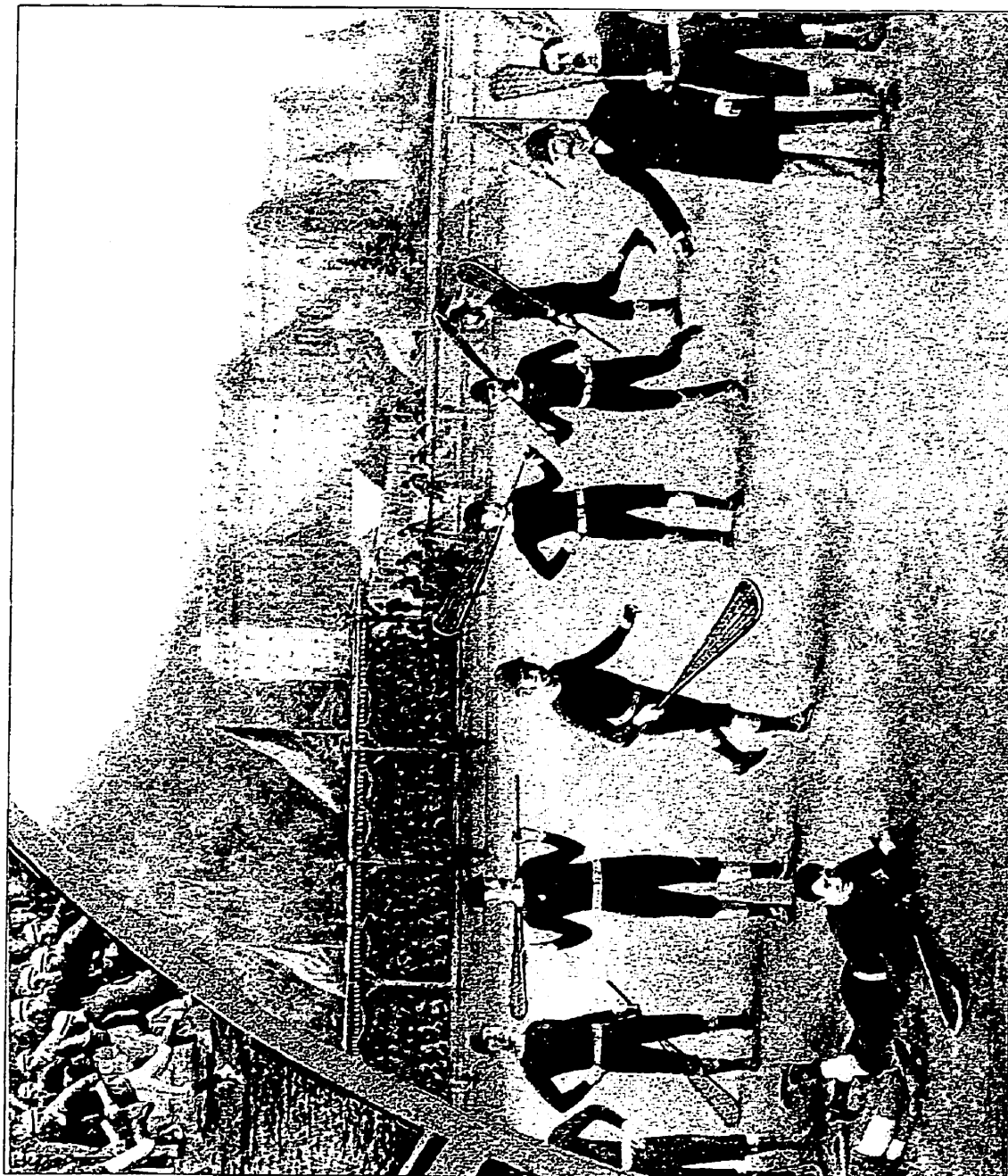


Fig. 3.3: Detail from "Champions of the World, Montreal 1881," used in a photographic collage entitled "Canada Whom We Love and Prize." NPA: 64973-II

contained safely within the confines of the Grandstand. Setting, players and spectators have all undergone a degree of domestication between the Catlin and the Notman image.

The rules of lacrosse were first published in 1860 in a pamphlet entitled "The Game of Lacrosse" by 'Goal-Keeper', a pseudonym for W. George Beers. It was published in response to the interest created by an exhibition match held between the MLC and a Caughnawaga team for the visit of the Prince of Wales.<sup>27</sup> Interest in all sports waned in the following few years, owing to the Fenian threat and participation in the militia. With the rapid growth of clubs which occurred in the late 1860s, and the formation of the National Lacrosse Association (NLA) in 1868, Beers' definitive book, Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada (1869), was an eagerly awaited description and analysis of the game, and the official version of the Laws of Lacrosse formerly adopted by the NLA.<sup>28</sup> Based on his observation of games played by Native teams on the reserves close to Montreal, and on the rules worked out by the Montreal teams over the previous decade, Beers analysed, categorized and defined all aspects of the game: from its history to fine points of technique and strategy.

Apart from establishing the size of field, standard number of players, and what constituted a match,<sup>29</sup> Beers was concerned with the moral qualities and personal characteristics which playing the game should promote. In this he was greatly influenced

---

<sup>27</sup> This match was held on the Montreal cricket grounds, making the field a palimpsest on which the playing of the lacrosse match erased the connection with British sport in favour of a new Canadian identity.

<sup>28</sup> Beers' 1860 booklet on the game was published without his knowledge, and he felt it to be very inadequate; other descriptions of the game were also in circulation before his definitive version was printed in 1869.

<sup>29</sup> A game was completed when a goal was scored. A match was decided by winning three games out of five. This resulted in matches of very variable length; after 1889, the rules changed so that the winning team was whoever scored the most goals within a two hour limit. Metcalfe, Canada Learns 50.

by prevailing notions about games and modern sports which had emerged in the English public schools.<sup>30</sup> Tom Brown's Schooldays and the tenets of Muscular Christianity popularized, at least amongst the monied classes, the value of vigorous team games played in a gentlemanly manner.<sup>31</sup> In his reply to an address from the Principal and Masters of Upper Canada College, Governor General Lord Monck noted the considerable effect public schools in England had had on "the formation of our national character". He claimed that freedom from restraint, reliance on honour rather than strict supervision, and the encouragement of athletic sports "all contribute to the development of manly qualities which are the especial characteristics of Englishmen..." Furthermore, he linked manly sports with patriotism, loyalty and military preparedness, suggesting that Volunteer Rifle companies should be formed in Canada, as they had in England - a challenge which was taken up by Beers and the snowshoe and lacrosse clubs.<sup>32</sup> What Beers' did for *baggataway* was to impose rules which fashioned the game into a performance in which players would exhibit the "English" characteristics desired by Lord Monck, and Lord Durham before him. It was these characteristics which distinguished them as a special type of Briton, and the aboriginal connotations of the game identified them as Canadians.

Like snowshoeing, lacrosse clubs were the preserve of the male professional and commercial middle classes which sought to distinguish themselves on one hand from the

---

<sup>30</sup> Christianity, Darwinism and Liberalism all saw the body as inferior to the mind and "thus, sporting activities were a means to an end and never an end in themselves". Alan Metcalfe, "Some background influences on nineteenth-century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," CJHSPE (May 1974) 64.

<sup>31</sup> The value of exercise was widely publicized through articles by "Educationalists, philosophers, literary critics, [and] physicians". The social theories of Spencer and Darwin were first reviewed in Canada in 1860 and propagated in the popular magazines of the 1870s: David Brown, "Prevailing Attitudes Towards Sport, Physical Exercise and Society in the 1870s: Impressions from Canadian Periodicals," CJHS 17.2 (1986) 59, 65.

<sup>32</sup> NAC: MG 27 IB1, Reply to address No. 33, 23 Sept. 1862.

ultra-wealthy members of the 'Family Compact' and 'Chateau Clique' who considered themselves as a type of Canadian 'aristocracy', and, on the other, from the working classes. Furthermore, there was an underlying racial struggle between the anglophone population and both French Canadians and Native peoples.<sup>33</sup> Sport was a social practice through which participants could display their ethnic, class and gender position, and from analysis of contemporary commentary and visual images, we can see that this was achieved through the same strategies of representation evident in the Notman hunting images and in the discourse around snowshoeing, namely through opposition, exclusion and subordination.

Beers was fanatically convinced of the potential of lacrosse as a distinctively Canadian game once the undesirable aspects of the Native game had been purged through the imposition of rules and regulations. In order to demonstrate that the game had been ordered and 'civilized', it was necessary for the white game and players to look different to their Native counterparts.<sup>34</sup> This was accomplished by distinguishing white players from Native players through a series of visual oppositions: the white teams wore different uniforms, they played 'scientifically' rather than 'innately', they made changes in positioning and equipment, and they restricted and regulated the amount of physical contact and violence tolerated. These changes in effect invented a new sport and justified the claim that it was "our" game. It also meant that Native players were forced to adapt their traditional style of play to suit the white game, thus 'taming' the Natives by making

---

<sup>33</sup> Perhaps 'struggle' is too strong a word to describe this situation, since the latter groups had clearly been subjugated physically. However, both continued to resist colonial efforts of assimilation. For a discussion of methods of passive resistance employed by subjugated groups, see Scott op. cit.

<sup>34</sup> Given his admiration for Native abilities, Beers no doubt feared that white players would never beat Natives 'at their own game', and this may also have fuelled the need to transform the game.

them behave according to white standards.<sup>35</sup>

Comparison of Figures 3.4 and 3.5 indicates the difference in representation between Native teams and white teams. The Caughnawaga Lacrosse Club team of 1867 was photographed in the Notman studio, as was the Montreal Lacrosse Club team, probably on the same day.<sup>36</sup> However the Native team was not wearing any club uniform whereas the MLC players were dressed identically in white caps, military-style white jackets with red cuffs, grey knickerbockers trimmed with red cord, and black stockings.<sup>37</sup> The distinction between the two teams was further heightened by the careful composition of the MLC team picture, as opposed to the more casual approach taken to the Native team. The MLC team was arranged in a tight diamond shape, with players standing in banked rows, and Nicholas Hughes, the Captain, positioned at the top between the flags. The Caughnawaga team was composed in an asymmetrical fashion. Their captain, John Baptiste Rice, was positioned at the back, but not in the dominant position of his opposing

---

<sup>35</sup> Bodily discipline is a central element in all types of social "domestication", "to make people dance" is to "possess them". Richard Gruneau, "Sport and 'Esprit de Corps': Notes on Power, Culture and the Politics of the Body," Sport the Third Millenium. Proceedings of the International Symposium. Quebec City May 21-25. 1990, ed. F. Landry et al (Quebec: Laval Press, 1991) 170.

<sup>36</sup> The Notman numbering system indicates that these portraits were taken within a very short time of each other. Since the Claxton Flags in the MLC portrait were presented to the Club in November; the photographs may date from around then. They can be compared because of their close proximity, but were not the only way Native and white teams were represented. A portrait of the first MLC team in 1858 shows the players dressed in an assortment of clothing and posed in a casual grouping: see Morrow, Sporting Evolution 16, whereas a portrait of the 1869 Caughnawaga team shows them dressed more uniformly than the 1867 portrait, and posed in a loosely symmetrical grouping: NAC: C-001959, used as frontispiece for Cosentino op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> Gazette July 4, 1867. The Caughnawaga team did apparently have a uniform, since a Notman advertisement dated 20 Nov. 1867 informed customers that prints of the St. Regis and Caughnawaga teams "in full costume" were ready. These prints may have commemorated the championship game played by the two teams in early November. More likely, the costume referred to may have been worn on the 1867 tour of England led by Capt. Johnson. Since these costumes were probably a pastiche of "Indian" attire, the team would understandably not have chosen to wear them unless contracted to do so. Vennum (ch. 11) describes traditional Native dress for *baggataway*, typically a breechclout and bare feet, and notes the adoption of "store-bought clothing somehow altered to make a sports uniform" once Native teams played white teams (172).

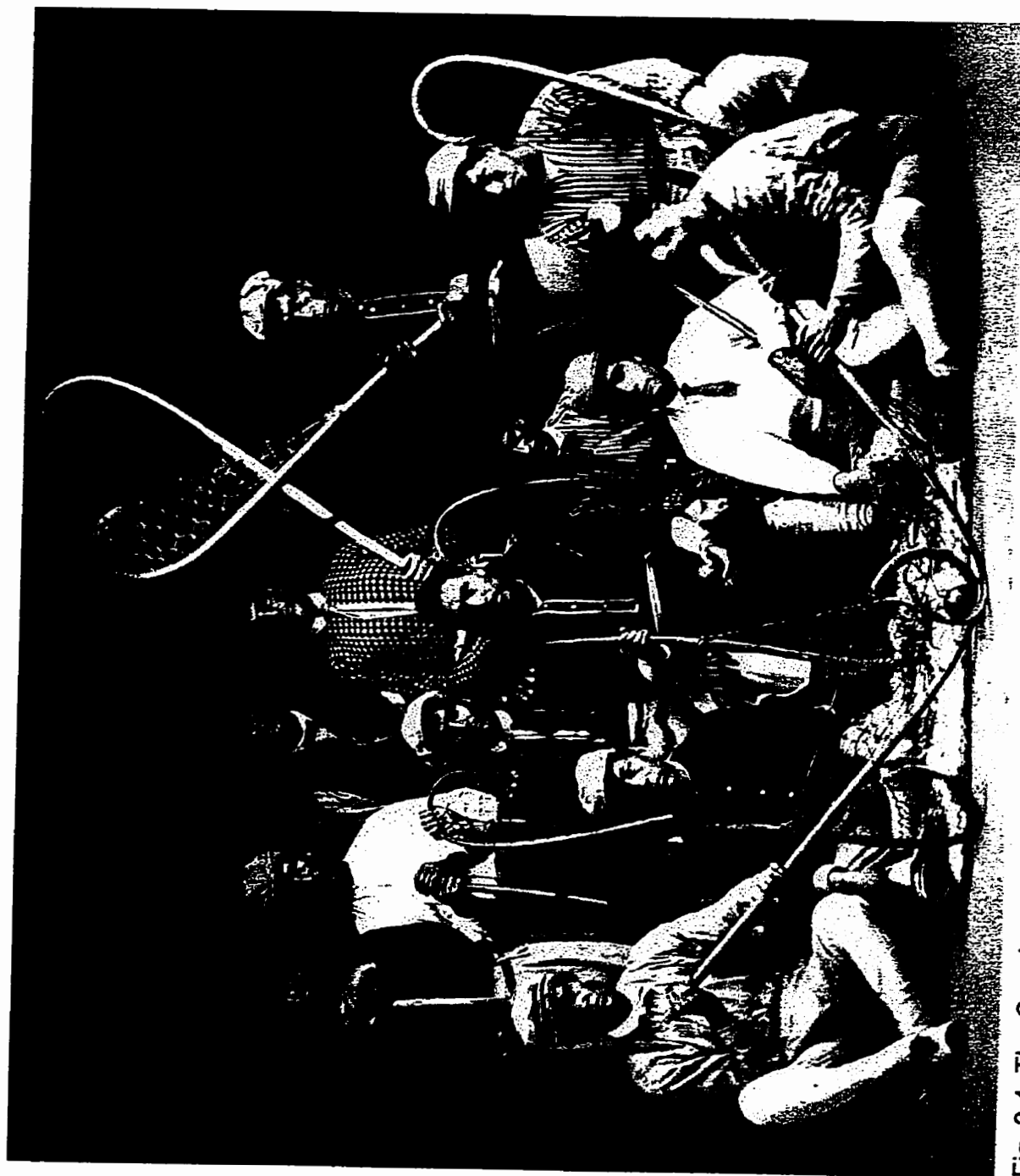


Fig. 3.4: The Caughnawaga Lacrosse Team, 1867. NPA: 29099-BI

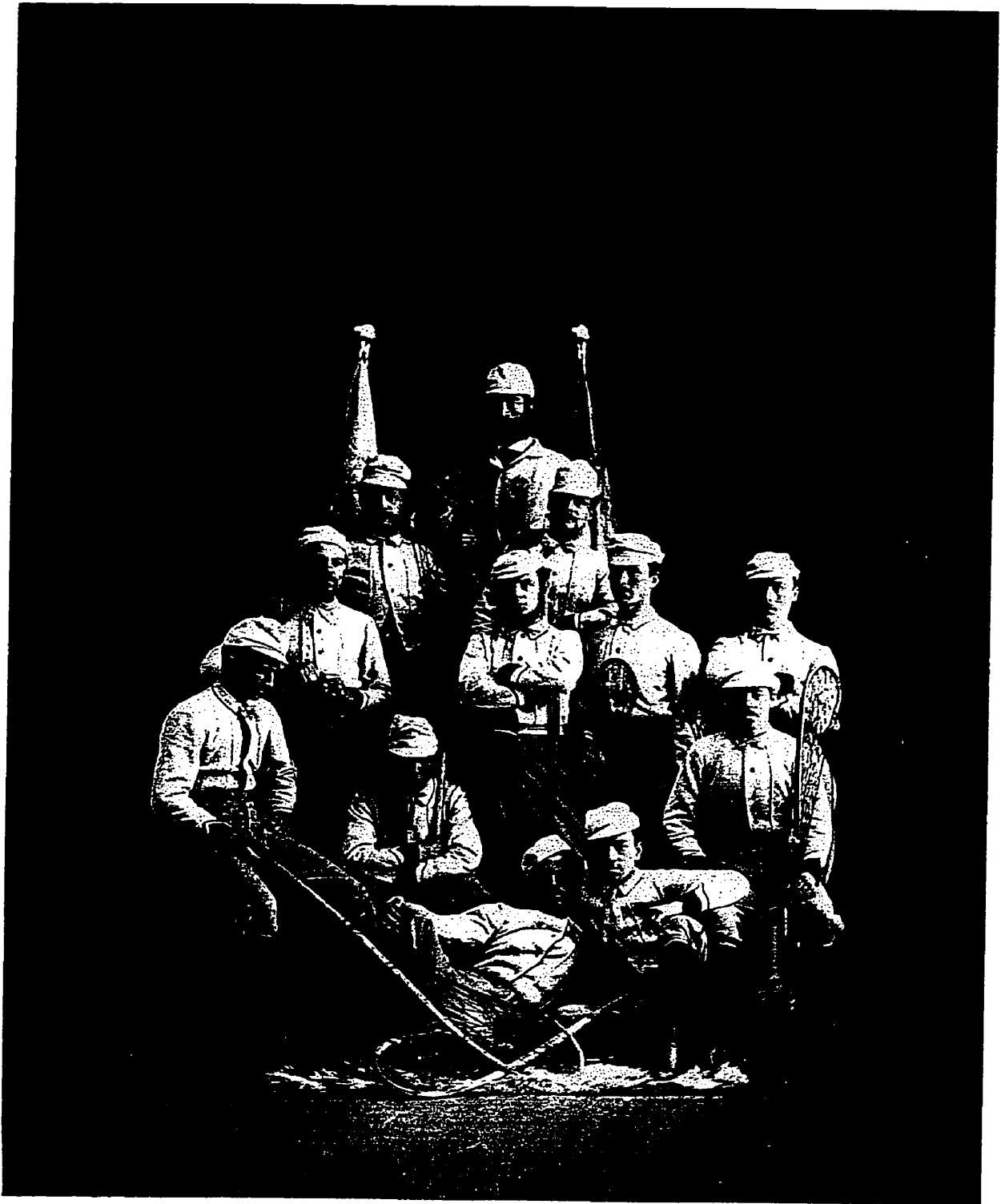


Fig. 3.5: Montreal Lacrosse Club, 1867-8. NPA: 29210-I



partner. Symmetry requires forethought; iconologically it represents hierarchy and order; asymmetrical compositions appear to occur naturally, without concern for rank or hierarchy. Thus the difference in composition speaks about the values and qualities attached to each group.<sup>38</sup> The composition of the lacrosse sticks is also distinctive in the Caughnawaga portrait; they are privileged with the symmetrical composition given to the men in the MLC portrait. This suggests that the photographer saw the subject of the Caughnawaga portrait as being the game, rather than the players.

When Beers took teams to England for a tour in 1876, the 'Indianness' of the Native players, denoted by their costume, was used as an advertising gimmick for the matches. During the game, the Caughnawaga team wore red and white striped jerseys and knickers and white hose, or red and yellow striped knickers [Figure 3.6]. For the pre-game 'war dance' they also wore blue caps overlaid with ornamental bead work and scarlet feathers, along with tight fitting sashes and waist belts of blue velvet with a large 'C' for Caughnawaga on the front [Figure 3.7].<sup>39</sup> Morrow claims the 'C' stood for Caughnawaga, which no doubt it did; but it would also have connoted 'Canada' in the minds of the English audience unfamiliar with aboriginal names.<sup>40</sup> Either way, a string of equivalents was constructed which made the link between Canada and lacrosse:

C = Caughnawaga = Indian = Lacrosse = Canada

Along with their earrings and finger rings, and the between-game antics they were required

---

<sup>38</sup> A contemporary practice today is for amateur hockey teams to be photographed formally (symmetrically) in one shot, and then encouraged to "act naturally" for a second one (in order that the photograph represent players as "having fun"—a desirable quality in present day amateur sport discourse). Inevitably, the players respond by moving out of their symmetrical positions and by assuming individual facial expressions.

<sup>39</sup> Sawatis Aiontonnis (Big John Canadian), the captain, is shown wearing the headdress, belt and sash in Figure 3.6, and Wishe Tasennontie (Michael Dellebault) is shown with the sash or belt slung over his shoulder in Figure 3.7.

<sup>40</sup> Morrow, "Lacrosse as the National Game" 60

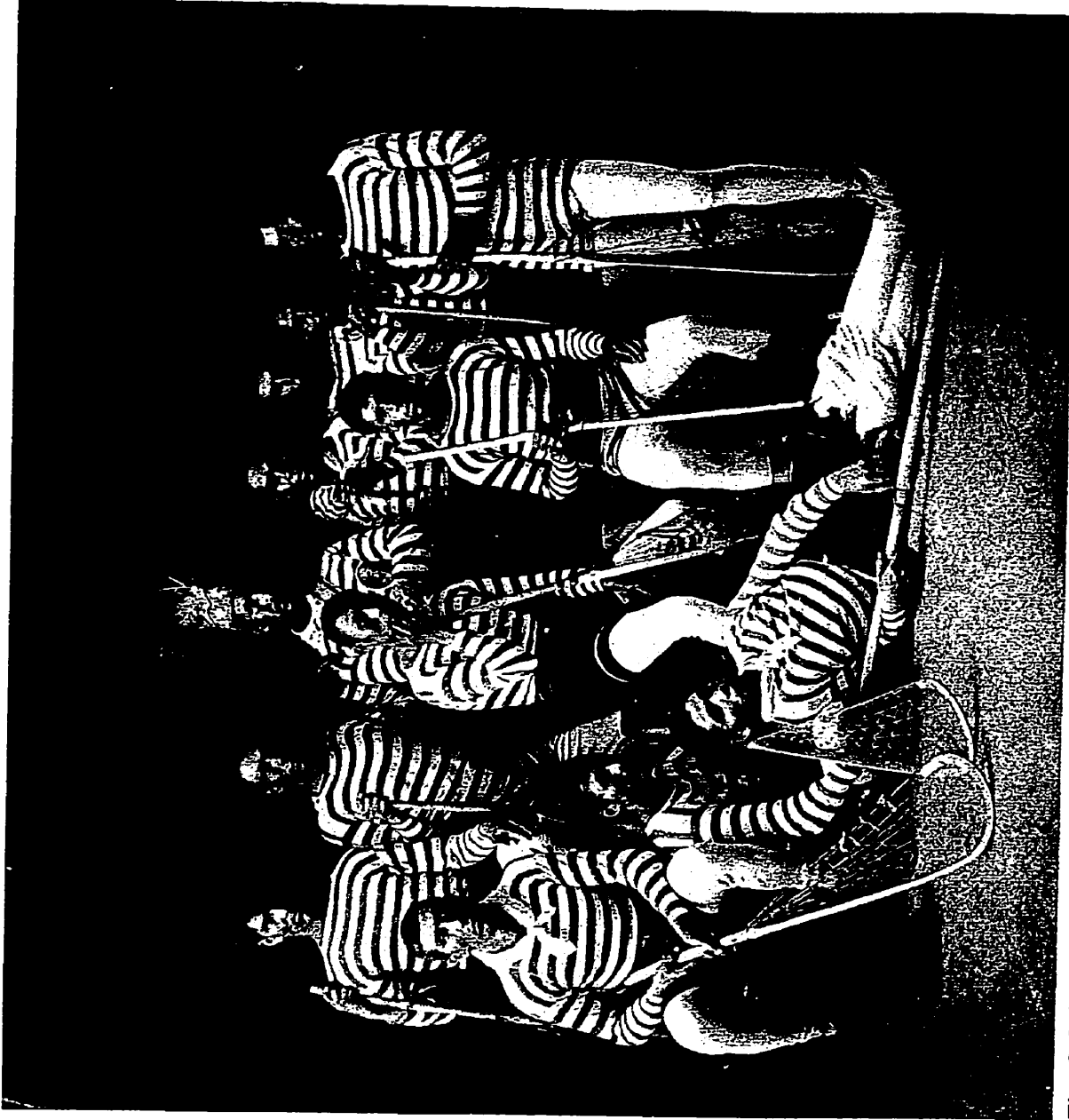


Fig. 3.6: The Caughnawaga Lacrosse Team, 1876. NPA: 41679-BII

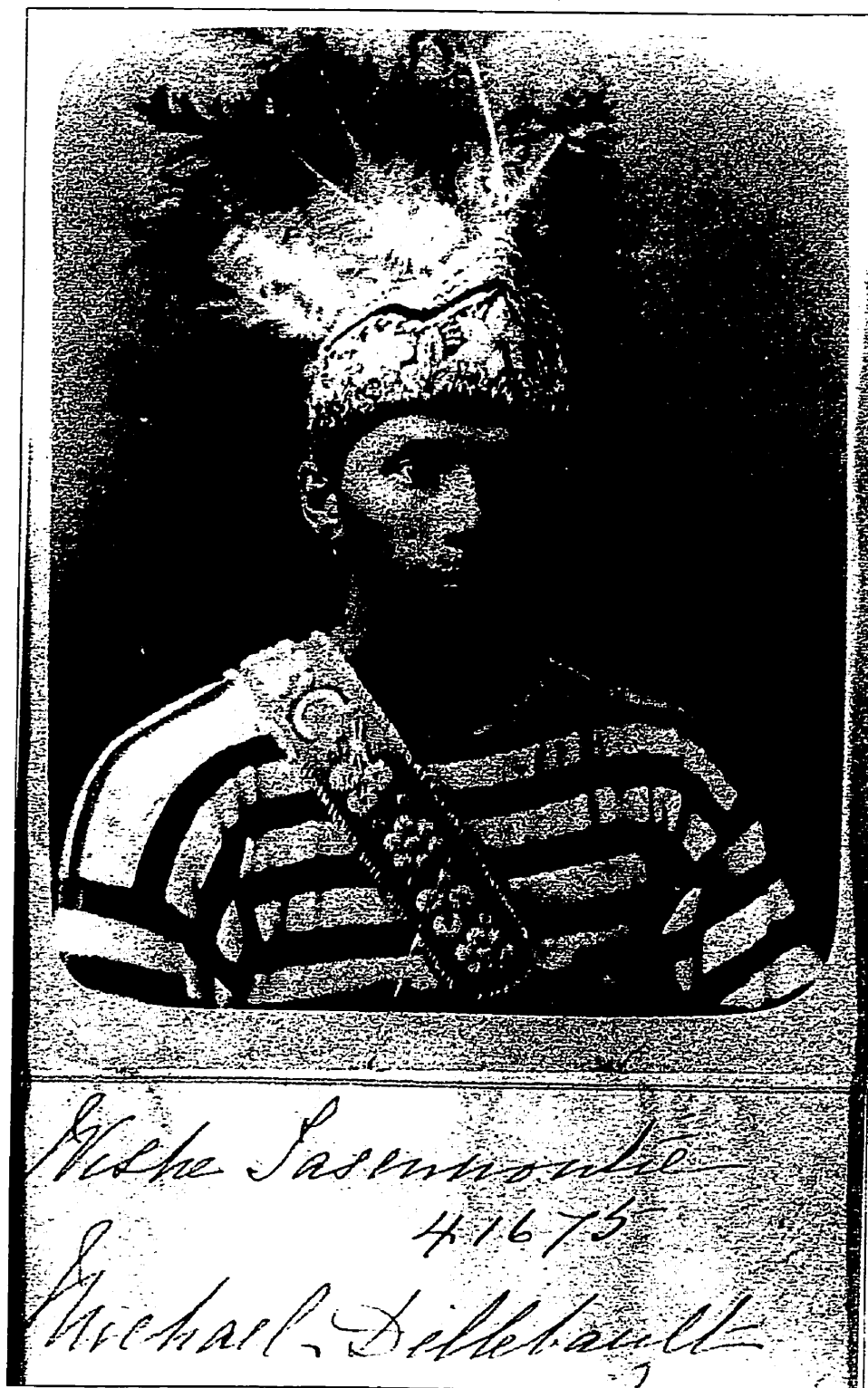


Fig. 3.7: Wishe Tasennontie (Michael Dellebault), 1876.  
NPA: 41675-BII

to perform, the Native players presented a stereotyped figure of primitive, 'Native Indians'.<sup>41</sup> In restrained and 'civilized' contrast, the MLC team wore white jerseys, grey tweed knickers and dark brown hose [Figure 3.8].<sup>42</sup> When Beers led another tour of the British Isles in 1883, the white team of 'Canadian Gentlemen' took the 'C' insignia for themselves. They dressed in bright blue with a white maple-leaf crest on their jersey, on which was emblazoned a 'C' for Canada. This time the Native players were dressed in contrasting scarlet.<sup>43</sup>

The fundamental difference between the 'primitive' Native game, and the 'modern' white game was, Beers claimed, the diligent application of 'science'. This was a crucial concept because it ultimately legitimized the gradual exclusion of Native players from the game on the grounds that it was only "the whites—who can develop its science":<sup>44</sup>

Science in a sport implies training and education of the intellect, a high use of the reasoning faculty, and a capacity to experiment and improve, and impart principles of knowledge to another...The theory of Lacrosse is its science—the practice is its art.<sup>45</sup>

Native players were admired for their skill and physical capacities, but were considered inferior to white players since these were said to be innate abilities unrelated to the

---

<sup>41</sup> "Between games," the Native team was "urged to hold snowshoe races on the grass, to dance 'war dances' or the 'green corn dance', or to hold mock 'pow-wows'." As Morrow adds, "James Fenimore Cooper could not have contrived a more colourful image of stereotypical Indianness for these early 'Harlem Globetrotters' of lacrosse." Morrow, "Lacrosse as the National Game" 61.

<sup>42</sup> The contrast can be seen in Figure 3.8. The feather headdress of the Native players was plainly an exotic spectacle amidst the built up area surrounding the Kennington Oval. However, the artist has not shown the team in the colourful striped jerseys they were reported to have worn.

<sup>43</sup> Morrow, "Lacrosse as the National Game" 60. This was the first time the maple leaf was used for sport, but recalls the desire of the Toronto meeting of 'native-Canadians' for Canadians to wear "the maple leaf as the emblem of the land of his [sic] birth." The Daily Globe [Toronto] 22 Aug. 1860, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 51.

<sup>45</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 52.



Fig. 3.8: The Canadian lacrosse team at Kennington Oval, London, 1876. Reproduced in J.A. Mangan, ed., *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), fig. 14.

intellect.<sup>46</sup> Scientific play elevated the game by heightening the mental requirements, and putting greater emphasis on the actual performance of the players during the game.<sup>47</sup> It has been argued that scientific play undercut the demands for fair play because it resulted in improved performance and hence focussed on winning rather than playing.<sup>48</sup> But the application of scientific principles and the emphasis on mental tactics can alternatively be seen as a means by which fair play could be introduced into matches between Native and white teams. It handicapped Native players, who did not have direct access to this knowledge, thereby giving white teams more of a 'sporting chance'. The discourse of scientific play was therefore a strategy of subordination.<sup>49</sup>

The emphasis on practising specific skills led white players to 'improve' Native equipment in order to make their play more scientific. The lacrosse stick used by white players from the 1860s was longer, heavier, and had a more triangular shape and more tightly woven netting than that used by local Native players. These changes indicate that emphasis was being placed on the skill and teamwork of passing rather than carrying the ball, and on underhand rather than overhand throwing.<sup>50</sup> Beers frowned on crosses with "bagged netting", namely, loose netting which formed a pocket to aid in catching and

---

<sup>46</sup> This can also be understood as an argument against the inherited advantages of the aristocratic elite.

<sup>47</sup> Elias considers this shift as a highly significant point in the transformation of pastimes into sport, and as an indicator of a 'civilizing spurt' in the state-formation process. Norbert Elias, "An Essay on Sport and Violence," Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process, Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (London: Basil Blackwell, 1986) 174. Note the parallel relationship this bears to the Game Laws.

<sup>48</sup> For example, by J. Weiler, cited by Gruneau, "Power and Play" 175.

<sup>49</sup> It also paralleled the dominance of 'head' workers over 'hand' workers.

<sup>50</sup> Vennum 258. They also indicate that white businessmen attempted to take control of the commercial manufacture of equipment in order to capture the opportunity for profit; by 1910 the Montreal Joe Lally Company had gained a stick-making monopoly: North American Indian Travelling College, Tewaarathon (Lacrosse) (Akwasasne, 1978) 106. For a discussion of sport as a business opportunity (manufacturing, investment and publishing) see Lowerson ch. 8.

retaining the ball. "To catch and play with the netting flat is the perfection of catching," he claimed, "because it makes your play scientific."<sup>51</sup>

At times, Beers' argument became ambiguous. He was not grudging with his admiration for the skills of Native players, yet at the same time he claimed Natives could not play "as scientifically as the best white players".<sup>52</sup> For instance, in advocating the use of tightly strung netting, he praised the Natives' skill in catching without bagged nets, which seems to imply that they were playing scientifically, but then he added: "Catching, however, has always been their hereditary accomplishment".<sup>53</sup> According to this way of thinking, the very fact that whites had to analyse the game intellectually, and train and practice to achieve the skills and the physical condition Natives enjoyed innately, made the whites better players than Natives. Tactical play proved the superiority of the whites and the failure of a Native team to demonstrate their understanding of strategy proved their inferiority. For instance, one commentator remarked:

It seems incredible that a team so strong as the Indians undoubtedly were did not try different tactics when they found that the drop shots would not work.<sup>54</sup>

Scientific play, then, was the product of mental analysis and physical training, and it was manifested on the playing field by a less brutal, "more beautiful" game.<sup>55</sup>

The opposing stereotypes of 'noble savage' and 'barbarous savage' are frequently at play in the Beers text, and these explain his lapses into contradiction and ambiguity.

<sup>51</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 134.

<sup>52</sup> Beers, Lacrosse vii.

<sup>53</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 155.

<sup>54</sup> Report of game between Shamrocks and Caughnawaga, 1878. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 177 (311).

<sup>55</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 183.

For instance, Beers disparaged Native players for too much emphasis on individual 'runs' to the goal, and too little emphasis on teamwork. In the section on 'dodging' Beers claimed

Dodging owes its origin to the vain individualism of the Red Skin. Long before a pale face saw the game, there were notables whose *forté* it was to carry the ball to the goal, through a crowd of opponents...<sup>56</sup>

Beers did not approve of too much dodging. He saw it as "ostentation and glitter; and though important, has been too often made a sort of saturnalia" due to the likelihood of running the gauntlet of a series of painful checks from the crosses of opposing players.<sup>57</sup> He much preferred a passing game where the ball was thrown or frisked ('stick-handled' would be the hockey equivalent), in other words, where skill and tactics were more important than brute strength. However, in the section on fielding, Beers contradicted his earlier statement, claiming that individualism at the expense of teamwork was not a Native, but a "pale-face fashion" to which can be attributed "our defeats by the Indians. They forget their individuality when hard pressed, and do not try to shine at risk of losing the ball."<sup>58</sup> In the first case Beers denigrated Native play for its lack of 'scientific' content, but in the second he encouraged his readers to learn from Native players. In this ambiguity we can see the two stereotypes at play. White players should emulate - take over - the skills of the noble savage, but must seek to banish the violence of the barbarous savage. Ultimately, the rules transformed the game so that it was 'owned' by the white teams, and so that they could be assured of victory.

Apart from innovations in stick design, the traditional stuffed deerskin ball was replaced by the much heavier India rubber sponge ball - substituting a 'primitive' product

---

<sup>56</sup> Beers, *Lacrosse* 148. 'Dodging' was where a player carried the ball up the field and managed to avoid opposing players, or where he threw the ball past the checker and then recovered it. In hockey parlance this would be the equivalent of 'deeking'.

<sup>57</sup> Beers, *Lacrosse* 146.

<sup>58</sup> Beers, *Lacrosse* 199.



for a modern, Imperial product. Two goal posts instead of one were adopted, of a standard height and distance apart, although the distance between opposing goals varied from 100 yds to a quarter of a mile depending on the space available and the size and ability of the team.<sup>59</sup> Other innovations included the method of beginning the game by 'facing' the ball in the centre of the field. Beers claimed that these features distinguished the "national game of Canada" from the Native game "seen by travelers in the United States".<sup>60</sup> Beers provided explicit how-to instructions on technique, strategy, training and practice. Leaving nothing to chance, he also arranged for a series of instructional photographs to be taken as illustrations [Figure 3.9, 3.9a and 3.9b].<sup>61</sup> These photographs featured elite white players, thereby proposing them as the authority on lacrosse. It substituted white players for the "original" experts - Native players; it claimed the sport as a white 'Canadian' game.

The analysis of player positions and strategies provided by Beers resulted in the play of white teams having a different 'look' to that of Native teams, a point which was often commented upon by reporters, and was another means by which the game was claimed from the Native peoples. As one reporter commented:

The "playing together" of the Montreal men is one more indication that science and skill, opposed to strength and endurance without either of the former attributes is, in nine cases out of ten, certain of success.<sup>62</sup>

Apart from the shift from the more individualistic style of the Native players, where running rather than passing was the key, playing the game scientifically meant that players were

---

<sup>59</sup> The Rules called for a standard team of twelve players, but this no doubt varied for practice and exhibition games, depending on who was available.

<sup>60</sup> Beers, "Canadian Sports", NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 126 (133).

<sup>61</sup> These twelve photographs and accompanying legend formed the frontispiece of Beers' Lacrosse. They featured well-known players from the top clubs.

<sup>62</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 116 (314).

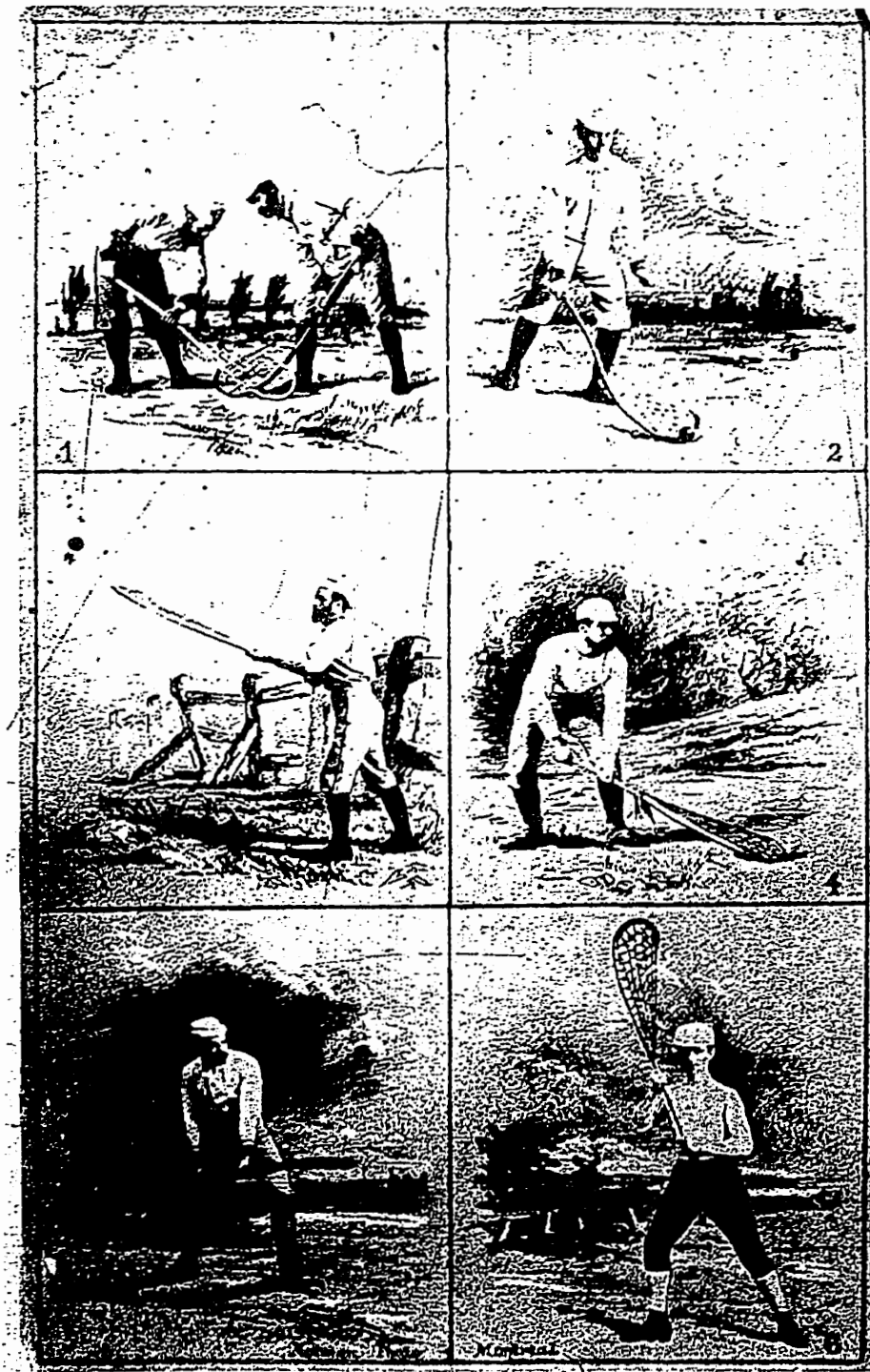


Fig. 3.9: Detail of frontispiece, W. George Beers, *Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869).



Fig. 3.9a: Detail of frontispiece, W. George Beers, *Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869).

KEY TO THE PHOTOGRAPHS.				
	Names.	Club.	Locality.	Representation.
1	{ N. H. Hughes, ....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	} Facing.
	{ L. Cushing, Jr. ....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	
2	E. Cluff, .....	Ottawa.	Ottawa.....	Picking up.
3	W. Macfarlane ....	Chebucto.	Halifax.....	Catching.
4	W. D. Otter, .....	Toronto .	Toronto.....	Flat-catch.
5	W. L. Maltby .....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	Long-throw.
6	{ J. B. Hutchison, ..	Crescent..	Montreal.....	} Checking.
	{ Alex. M. Davidson,	Crescent..	Montreal.....	
8	{ S. R. MacDonald,	Montreal.	Montreal.....	} Checking.
	{ R. Tate, .....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	
9	{ E. A. Whitehead,	Montreal.	Montreal.....	} Checking.
	{ T. Ralston, .....	St. John .	St. John, N. B.	
10	{ J. Watson, .....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	} Ditto.
	{ F. Dowd, .....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	
11	A. Grant, .....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	Throwing.
12	{ S. Stephenson, ....	Dominion.	Montreal.....	} Throwing and
	{ W. G. Beers, .....	Montreal.	Montreal.....	

Fig. 3.9b: "Key to the Photographs," W. George Beers, *Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869) frontispiece

assigned to certain field positions which each had their own particular responsibilities. The deployment of white teams on the field could, therefore, look somewhat different to that of Native teams, depending on how well teams followed Beers' recommendations for ideal play. There were certainly some perceived differences in the performance of the teams, since newspaper reports frequently remarked that Native players tended to knot or bunch-up at the goals, whereas white players remained more spread out, playing their positions in a more disciplined way. The 'Canadian' style of play hence embodied in exercise those relationships and values held in other spheres of life.<sup>63</sup> Individual achievement and self-improvement were encouraged, but balanced by the need to work together in harmony for the good of the group.

The crucial effect of establishing rules for lacrosse was two-fold. Firstly, they encouraged "invention", by which Beers meant the continuing evolution of 'improved' play, requiring new skills and strategies. For instance, playing the game on a smaller field necessitated "quick feats, and entirely different play".<sup>64</sup> Secondly, rules improved the game by reducing the amount of rough play allowed. Beers did not want to prevent "hard running" or "the occasional honest shoulder encounters", but he deplored "slashing and swiping and wounding *by crosses*".<sup>65</sup> The Rules outlawed spiked shoes, tripping, holding, pushing and fighting, and the ideal 'gentlemanly' player avoided all of these. This did not prevent verbal disputes though, and long arguments between team captains, umpires and referees often occurred despite the hierarchical procedure created to resolve them.<sup>66</sup> As

---

<sup>63</sup> A similar argument is made by Carl William Stempel, "Towards a historical sociology of sport in the United States: 1825-1875," (Ph.D. diss. University of Oregon, 1992) 191.

<sup>64</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 54.

<sup>65</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 53.

<sup>66</sup> Beers constructed a hierarchical procedure to achieve the conditions perceived as necessary for "chivalrous fair play". The players were charged with reporting fouls to their captain (Rule XX). The team captains were responsible for selecting four umpires and drawing their

"F.G." noted in an article on the pending lacrosse tour of the British Isles organized by Beers in 1883:

at lacrosse the boundary is so narrow between a lawful "check," and rough unfair play, that a shabby player may take the off-chance of a referee not looking, and rap an opponent carrying the ball over the knuckles or on the elbow, in place of the crosse.<sup>67</sup>

The rules against rough play give revealing glimpses of the game as it was played by the earliest lacrosse clubs, when players apparently relied on brute force as substitute for their lack of skill:

it was considered the height of good fielding to rush frantically over the field, upset and be upset, and come out cut and bruised. If a man had shoulders like an Atlas, and the force of a battering-ram, he was the pet of his "Twelve", and the terror of his adversaries...To be spotted with mud from head to toe, was equal to a ribbon of the legion of honor...There is more brain in the fielding and general play of to-day.<sup>68</sup>

This certainly suggests that there had been a dramatic change in sports manners between the 1840s and 1860s; it supports the argument that sports clubs were a forum in which men taught each other polite, civilized behaviour. Throughout Beers' book there is a strong emphasis on the reduction of violence, both through observing the Rules, and through the application of mental and physical training, which included leading a morally upstanding life. This was a widely held attitude: a report of the New York Lacrosse Tournament held in March 1878 remarked that some of the players seemed "in the natural

---

attention to fouls (Rule VII). The umpires each stood behind one of the four goal flags when the ball was near the goal. They were responsible for checking equipment, ensuring regulations were followed, cautioning offending players and taking the opinions of the captains to the referee (Rules V,XX). The referee was selected by the umpires as an adjudicator in the event of a dispute. His decision was final (Rule VI). In theory umpires and referees were to be impartial and disinterested parties (Rule V). Offending players were cautioned; if they persisted in fouling opposing players the match could be awarded to the other side, or the player could be removed and his team left short-handed (Rule XX).

<sup>67</sup> F. G. "Our Canadian Cousins," Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes [London] 40.277 (March 1883) 217.

<sup>68</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 200.

excitement to forget that the game was a recreation to develop manly instincts and gentlemanly play, not a fight" in which the use of violence was justifiable.<sup>69</sup> Thus manliness was demonstrated through self-control as much as through physical prowess,<sup>70</sup> but the manly ideal of gentlemanly behaviour had strong class connotations and was a way in which the middle classes, in theory at least, distinguished themselves from their social subordinates.<sup>71</sup>

Like snowshoeing, lacrosse was a cultural performance which created class consciousness and solidarity. It was also, like any other practice, a site of struggle between and within classes. Beers' text reveals the class prejudice which the professional and commercial middle classes struggled against. The counterpoint to his enumeration of the merits of lacrosse, is the problems associated with imported British sports like cricket. He argued, for instance, that compared to cricket, lacrosse was relatively cheap to play, and egalitarian in that "[i]t is not exclusive; every player has his innings, so to speak, at the same time, and no one monopolizes the best part because he happens to be an extra good player." Furthermore, it was a moral game which had "none of the debasing accompaniments, the bar-room associations of other games", and "there is no beastly snobbishness about it." These comments indicate the difficulty members of the middle classes had faced in the first part of the century. They had been unable to participate in the exclusive hunting, curling and cricket clubs monopolised by the social elite, which in any case did not promote the newly developing values of the professional and commercial middle classes. Temperance, punctuality, fair play, moral and physical training, and the

---

<sup>69</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 95 (36).

<sup>70</sup> Stempel found a similar attitude regarding baseball: "the leaders of baseball portrayed excessive strength as boyish and lower class". Stempel 242-3.

<sup>71</sup> For instance, the Toronto Club refused to play the Shamrocks in 1877 on the basis that the other team included a player charged with criminal offences. Cox 158.

value of self-improvement were all addressed in Beers' comparison of the merits of lacrosse over the snobbish exclusivity of cricket.<sup>72</sup>

This demonstrates extremely well the connection between sport and state-formation. The state-formation process involves a struggle for control between competing social groups; the degree to which a society manages to reduce and contain violent contact is, Norbert Elias claims, an indication of the level of 'civilization' attained.<sup>73</sup> Elias argues that the emergence of sport as a relatively non-violent type of physical combat is evidence of a "civilizing spurt" in society, since it promotes obedience to regulation and self-control, and controls or tempers the expression of violence. Furthermore, the effective functioning of government is dependent on its "monopoly of physical violence".<sup>74</sup> Applying this theory to Montreal, we could see this spurt beginning in the aftermath of the 1837 Rebellions, a period during which there was a political struggle to achieve responsible government and during which there was an expansion of state institutions. Allan Greer has argued that state formation should be understood as a cultural process by which the "rule of a minority was made to seem normal and proper through the efforts of agencies that shaped personalities and forestalled alternative visions." This process was facilitated by the middle classes who attempted through cultural practices like sports "to modify the outlook and behaviour of major sectors of the population."<sup>75</sup> The 1820s and 1830s were a period in which there was growing concern over the 'unruly' behaviour of the lower classes. Drinking and merrymaking were perceived as unrestrained and disruptive of

---

<sup>72</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 35-39. See also Metcalfe, "Organised Sport" 77-101.

<sup>73</sup> Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978). 'Civilization' is denoted by the adoption of stricter rules of conduct and sentiment in order to effect a new refinement of manners.

<sup>74</sup> Norbert Elias, "Introduction," Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process, Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985) 27.

<sup>75</sup> Greer and Radforth 10. Social reform arguments are reviewed by Gruneau, "Power and Play" 160-166.



business and industry. Large crowds, such as the gatherings of francophone workers who attended horse races in Lower Canada, were perceived as a threat to law and order.<sup>76</sup> The Rural Police in Lower Canada, and an array of institutions - public schools, penitentiaries, poor houses and asylums - were established in an effort to control and reshape society.<sup>77</sup> Sport clubs played a part in this social reform movement through monopolizing urban sports, and attempting to prescribe and govern the behaviour of players and spectators.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, indigenous sports were being taken over by the Canadian professional and commercial middle classes at the time when Montreal was on the threshold of industrialization and urbanization. Scientific, mental, physical and moral principles were not just being applied to sport, but to every aspect of business and commerce. Skills, discipline and self-control learned on the playing field, were applied in business, in government and the workplace, and vice versa.<sup>79</sup>

Violence was a contentious issue. Beers claimed the Native game was brutal, midway between a sport and a deadly combat, because of its serious results to limb and life",<sup>80</sup> as opposed to the regulated game in which "the worst accident yet known" was a broken arm.<sup>81</sup> He equivocated on this point though, because he later stated that "you may

---

<sup>76</sup> The regulation of leisure is examined by Kevin Bruce Wamsley, "Legislation and Leisure in Nineteenth Century Canada" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1992).

<sup>77</sup> Alan Greer, "The Birth of the Police in Canada," Greer and Radforth 42.

<sup>78</sup> Jean Harvey and Robert Sparks argue that the political management of the body was essential to the production of the modern state: "The Politics of the Body in the Context of Modernity," *Quest* 43 (1991) 165.

<sup>79</sup> John Fairs draws a further parallel between economic development and control of the body. In the nineteenth-century low-income economy requiring "high labor productivity and capital accumulation to achieve economic growth...the economic system recommends and exalts an ethic of self-denial, saving, and bodily constraint." John R. Fairs, "Sociocultural Control of the Body in Western Society: An Ethicoeconomic Interpretation," *CJHSPE* 7.1 (1976) 6.

<sup>80</sup> Beers, *Lacrosse* 7.

<sup>81</sup> Beers, *Lacrosse* 45.

occasionally see rough play," on the Native reserves, "*since they learned it from us*".<sup>82</sup>

When Native teams played white teams the level of violence was higher, he claimed, than in white only games.

It is very rare that an Indian is injured or injures ever so slightly when playing with his fellow red-skins; but when red meets white, then comes the tug of war—and we blame the latter for its development.<sup>83</sup>

Violence was not just a factor in Native-white games, since over a quarter of the games played between the senior clubs had disputes, violence and even rioting.<sup>84</sup> Judging from newspaper reports, it appears this was particularly the case when white teams played the Montreal Shamrocks - an Irish, Catholic, working-class team from Griffintown.<sup>85</sup> This team was unique until after 1885 since its identity was fundamentally Irish, and its membership crossed class and occupational boundaries. The players, and the majority of its fans, were drawn from the working class, although the executive was almost exclusively from the professional and commercial middle classes. This difference led to tremendous inter-team rivalries, which were manifested by violent and acrimonious games.<sup>86</sup> Figure 3.10 is a newspaper illustration of an incident during a championship match between the Shamrocks and the Toronto club in 1873. The Shamrock player has tripped the Toronto player and a scrum of players attempts to capture the ball,<sup>87</sup> whereas Figure 3.11 shows the legitimate use of force - opposing team members are in a shoulder-to-shoulder

---

<sup>82</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 177. (His emphasis.)

<sup>83</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 205.

<sup>84</sup> An estimated 28% of these games manifested violence. Metcalfe, Canada Learns 193.

<sup>85</sup> For discussions of the Shamrock Lacrosse team, see Metcalfe, Canada Learns 181-218; and Barbara S. Pinto, "Ain't Misbehavin': The Montreal Shamrock Lacrosse Club Fans 1868-1884." Proceedings of the North American Society for Sport History, Banff, Alberta (1990) 92.

<sup>86</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns ch. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Rule XVIII "No player shall...wrestle with the legs entwined so as to throw his opponent." Beers, Lacrosse 256.



Fig.3.10: "The Championship Match, Shamrocks vs. Toronto Club," 1873  
NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 27.



Fig. 3.11: "Lacrosse--The Struggle for the Ball," *Century Magazine*, c.1877. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 133

struggle, but not infringing the rules.<sup>88</sup> In combination with the disapproval of the newspaper reporters towards rough play, these illustrations were didactic, publicizing acceptable and unacceptable behaviours. Lacrosse was, therefore, a practice in which competing groups struggled to control "definitions of the legitimate body and the legitimate use of the body."<sup>89</sup>

The games were cultural performances which conveyed particular meanings for their players and spectators. The Native vs. white and Montreal vs. Shamrock games were more violent because they were sublimations, symbolic battles in which class and race antagonisms were fought out or diffused.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, Beers perceived the Native games as violent because he was culturally blind to the Native 'rules'. "Fair play" was, indeed, a part of Native tradition since teams were picked for traditional games in such a way that they were equal - every player had an opposite of equal ability. Furthermore, wrestling and fighting were not transgressions in Native games; if two players got into a struggle, they were left to fight it out and the referees only stepped-in if the fight became one-sided or held up play.<sup>91</sup> If Beers witnessed such fights at Caughnawaga or St. Regis, this may have been so contradictory to his concept of fair play and gentlemanly values that

---

<sup>88</sup> The figures in this illustration were copied from Illustration 10 of Figure 3.9a, thus demonstrating the pervasive influence of Beers' text.

<sup>89</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "Sport and Social Class," *Social Science Information* 17 (1978) 826, cited by John W. Loy et al., "The Body in Culture and Sport," *Sport Science Review* 2.1 (1993) 79.

<sup>90</sup> Historians have differed in their interpretations. Bruce Kidd suggests that the political struggles over the 'manhood' franchise and the right to form trade unions "inflated the representational coin of competition" between middle-class and working-class teams: Kidd 18. Metcalfe's conclusion is that the prevalence of violence in the 1870s and 1880s was not instigated by the Native teams and Shamrocks, but was due to "the change in focus in lacrosse brought on by the creation of a league and a national championship" which valued winning over playing: quoted by Simpson, "Elite and Sport Club Membership" 9. Vennum argues that *baggageaway* strengthened group identity and diffused potential hostilities (180). As surrogates for war, matches between white and Native teams channelled aggression into peaceable rivalry: Vennum 234.

<sup>91</sup> Vennum chs. 11-13, particularly 229-235.

his perception of their play forever stereotyped it as violent, despite his observation that players sustained few injuries. Similarly, the middle-class, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon clubs perceived the play of the Shamrocks as being ungentlemanly, and the behaviour of their vocal and loyal supporters as rowdy and disreputable.<sup>92</sup>

### **Players and Audiences**

The lacrosse clubs in Montreal and Toronto were run along the same lines as the snowshoe clubs. They adopted the restricted membership and polite manners of the elite clubs, such as the Hunt Club and exclusive Gentlemen's Clubs like the St. James, yet promoted middle-class values of self-improvement and sobriety. Membership was restricted through a system of sponsorship, ensuring that few French-Canadian and no working-class members were accepted. By and large, French Canadians did not take up indigenous sports until late in the century, and club rosters show only a few francophone names.<sup>93</sup> As noted previously, the membership of the snowshoe and lacrosse clubs up until the 1880s was largely confined to the English-speaking, professional and commercial middle classes. French-Canadian antipathy towards organized sports, the small size of the French-Canadian professional and commercial middle classes, and the fact that sports facilities were concentrated in the anglophone areas of the city, all mitigated against francophone participation. Beers noted the French-Canadian reluctance, saying:

It is rather a strange feature of our Canadian sports that the French population have so little taste for their indulgence...as a strange antithesis of the deep personal interest of the "Canuck" of English descent. The

---

<sup>92</sup> They were a modern team, before their time; and a focal point of their community, "providing a vehicle for the demonstration of ethnic, religious, and class identity and pride." Metcalfe, Canada Learns 202-3.

<sup>93</sup> Gilles Janson argues that French Canadians were indifferent to the organized sport movement until the 1890s. As large numbers of French Canadians moved into the city from rural areas at the end of the century interest began to grow. He suggests that French Canadians then became very active in sports because they were eager to embrace modernity and believed in a more secular society. Janson op. cit.

French Canadian is hardy and active and full to overflowing with love of amusement: but I think he prefers to look at rather than join in athletic games. I attribute this entirely to the instinct of race.<sup>94</sup>

The explosion in the number of clubs formed in 1867 opened up membership to a slightly more diverse group, which included the lower levels of commercial firms, such as clerks, cashiers and bookkeepers, but the Shamrocks Lacrosse Club was still the only high-calibre club whose players were perceived as being of different social origins.<sup>95</sup> Once a critical mass of players had been reached, junior, intermediate and senior skill levels were distinguished, and it was generally the original clubs (MLC, Ontarios, Cornwall, Prescott and Shamrocks) who fielded the best teams.

Native players were gradually excluded from the game on the basis of race and skill advantage in exactly the same way they were excluded from snowshoe competitions. In 1867, Native players were barred from playing for white teams in championship games, and in 1880 Native teams were prohibited from competing in championship matches on the basis that, since their expenses were customarily paid by the opposing club, they were classed as professionals.<sup>96</sup> However, we should beware of seeing Native peoples only as victims of white discrimination and racial prejudice because this denies their own history of struggle against such forces. Once they were barred from club play, they organized an annual tournament for Native teams instead, which had the effect of stimulating the game on an inter- and intra-tribal basis. Native players with Caucasian features were also recruited clandestinely by white teams anxious to improve their chances,<sup>97</sup> and Native

---

<sup>94</sup> Beers, "Canadian Sports" 124.

<sup>95</sup> Metcalfe, "Organised Sport" 81.

<sup>96</sup> Vennum 271. In 1880 the NLA changed its name to National Amateur Lacrosse Association to reflect the exclusion of professional players.

<sup>97</sup> North American Indian Travelling College 48-50.

people seized whatever entrepreneurial opportunities they could.<sup>98</sup>

Unlike snowshoeing, women were never represented in records or reports as having participated in the sport, even in non-competitive ways, although Beers did advocate the playing of lacrosse in Canadian schools by boys and girls, since he recognized that this would ensure its continued existence.<sup>99</sup> A Gazette report of August 15, 1867, probably written by him, suggested that goals should be extended to 14 ft. apart (rather than 6ft.) in order to accommodate crinoline skirts.<sup>100</sup> The 'lady' represented in Figure 3.12 was, therefore, somewhat of an anomaly - a figment of Hugh Becket's imagination perhaps, since her bow and arrow has been replaced with a lacrosse stick!<sup>101</sup> As with hunting and snowshoeing, the exclusion of women heightened the manliness of the game. Only sports requiring physical skill and dexterity were manly; co-ed activities like croquet and ice skating were not 'manly' precisely *because* women participated.<sup>102</sup> Manliness was the opposite of effeminacy, defined in opposition to femininity as well as being contrasted on the lacrosse field to a subordinate Native masculinity.<sup>103</sup> Efforts were made to distinguish between white players and Native players in terms of how their bodies

---

<sup>98</sup> For example, at the Bethel, Vermont State Fair (c.1879), two Native teams were hired to give exhibition matches and displays of archery. They also sold their craft products. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 275 (676). See also the account of Native attempts to maintain a stake in the manufacture of lacrosse sticks: North American Indian Travelling College 106-113.

<sup>99</sup> W. George Beers, "A Rival to Cricket," Chambers Journal 18 (Dec 1862) 366.

<sup>100</sup> Quoted by Lindsay, "George Beers" 37.

<sup>101</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 469.

<sup>102</sup> Steven A. Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of Middle-Class Masculinity in Victorian America," in Pope, New American Sport 180.

<sup>103</sup> "Manliness was the ultimate masculine quality" comprised of *thymos* - "physical energy, vitality and courage": Mott, "British Protestant Pioneers" 27. Native people were perceived as defining gender relations differently to whites: Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," Journal of American History 75 (June 1899) 19. Thus, "dominant masculinity is constructed in opposition to a number of subordinate masculinities whose crime is that they undermine patriarchy." Tosh, "What should Historians do?" 191.





Fig. 3.12: A female lacrosse player, altered sketch. NAC: MAAA  
Scrapbook 2, 469

were clad, trained and positioned, and in terms of the manly, 'gentlemanly' play of the white teams as opposed to the transgressive play of both Native and working-class teams. The opposition between Native and white was particularly important since Native people were customarily associated with feminine nature,<sup>104</sup> and lacrosse embodied many attributes which would counter fears of a feminised culture.<sup>105</sup> Beers recommended lacrosse for "whining schoolboys" because it would be good to "develop their pluck and manliness, [and] give them self-confidence".<sup>106</sup> He saw sports as a tool to promote patriotism and nationalism, especially in the young.

It has raised a young manhood throughout the Dominion to active, healthy exercise; it has originated a popular feeling in favor of physical exercise and has, perhaps, done more than anything else to invoke the sentiment of patriotism among young men in Canada...<sup>107</sup>

The exclusion of women from the game and the rigorous physical play served to counter any hint of homosexuality, although in contradictory fashion it may also have heightened the erotic appeal to both male and female spectators.<sup>108</sup>

Some historians have argued that manliness was not understood so much as a physiological quality as a moral or ethical one which incorporated desirable mental

<sup>104</sup> Merchant op. cit. shows that "In both Western and non-Western cultures, nature was traditionally feminine.(xxiii) Since Native people were perceived as close to nature ("wild and uncontrollable Mother Earth"), they were also considered feminine (127).

<sup>105</sup> Fears of a feminised culture are discussed by Nancy B. Bouchier in her study of lacrosse in Ingersoll and Woodstock: "Idealized Middle-Class Sport " 93. In his study of fraternal ritual, Carnes suggests that it too conceivably assuaged these fears "by promoting the young man's emotional transition from an identification with feminine domesticity and religious sensibilities to the relentlessly aggressive and competitive demands of the masculine workplace.": Carnes 48.

<sup>106</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 43, 44.

<sup>107</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 59. The nationalistic purpose of Beers' tours abroad is discussed in Morrow, "Canadian Image Abroad" 11-23.

<sup>108</sup> The topic of the erotic in sport is broached by Allen Guttman, "Eros and Sport," Essays on Sport History and Sport Mythology, eds. Donald G. Kyle and Gary D. Stark (Arlington: University of Texas, 1990): 139-154; and revisited in "Sports and Eros," Pope, New American Sport: 215-222.

attributes such as quick thinking, determination, loyalty and discipline.<sup>109</sup> However, the vast numbers of portraits of men in various sporting guises produced by the Notman Studios is a clue that physiology—the body—was a crucial part of men's identification of themselves as 'manly'.<sup>110</sup> Sports were a vehicle through which masculine identity could be constructed, materialized through the body, and displayed. The sports field was a safe arena in which men could demonstrate that they had the nineteenth-century equivalent of 'the right stuff'.<sup>111</sup> Testing themselves against other players, and presenting themselves as a spectacle for, and receiving the approbation of, the crowd confirmed their masculinity.<sup>112</sup> Historian John Tosh is right when he suggests that the "hapless office clerk fell between two stools: in middle-class terms his occupation was servile, while the labourer despised his soft hands and poor physique".<sup>113</sup> Yet this is exactly the reason why sports were so important: it was on the sports field that the 'hapless clerk' could improve his physique and prove his manliness. It may also explain the shifting masculine ideal in the Victorian era, from "moral earnestness" to reverence for physical strength.<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Tosh, "What should Historians do?" 182. .

<sup>110</sup> Mott, "British Protestant Pioneers" 28. See also Roberta J. Park, "Biological thought, athletics and the formation of a 'man of character': 1830-1900," Mangan and Walvin: 7-34. Rotundo notes that the human body became a focus of interest in this period; manhood was equated with the body, and competition and physical challenge were important tests of manhood even before Darwin's ideas became current: E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning about manhood: gender ideals and the middle-class family in nineteenth-century America," Mangan and Walvin 47-8.

<sup>111</sup> Victorian intellectual thought valued the spiritual life of the mind over the body, but "thought physiologically: they adopted the well-knit body as their model for the well-formed mind". Hence the concept of total health—*mens sana in corpore sano*—required a display of mental and physical prowess. Haley 4. The degeneration of physical well-being caused by urban overcrowding led to fears that physical decline was contributing to moral decline. Urban reformers were therefore advocates of organized sports and called for the state to finance their provision. Mott, "One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914," Urban History Review 12.2 (Oct 1983): 57-70.

<sup>112</sup> Competition and physical challenge were important tests of manhood: Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood" 48.

<sup>113</sup> Tosh, "What Should Historians do?" 186.

<sup>114</sup> Roper and Tosh 3. Rotundo identifies three masculine ideal types, and describes this shift as the shift from Masculine Achiever (which valued action, self-improvement and initiative) to

Although women did not play lacrosse, they were favoured spectators for the same reasons their attendance was encouraged at snowshoe races—for the imprimatur of gentility and respectability they conferred on the event. If sports clubs were a place in which men taught each other polite manners and civilized behaviour, the sports field was where they could show these off for female evaluation and approval. To encourage the participation of ladies and to separate off the monied classes from the "great unwashed", the elite clubs built grandstands and club houses in order to accommodate them more comfortably. The new Shamrocks grounds at the west end of Dorchester was opened in 1878, and was a state-of-the-art facility for its time. It featured a ten-foot high fence in front and a twelve-foot one in rear, plus a roofed Grandstand with seven tiers of reserved seats with a total capacity of 2,000. A space in the centre of this structure was reserved for bands, reporters and VIPs. On the other side of the field was a large club room. Three ticket offices took the admission fee, and a carriage parking area was provided to serve the Grandstand spectators. Flags and bunting were in abundance, to add a festive air.<sup>115</sup> Under the shelter of the grandstand roof, middle-class women were provided with a simulacrum of their domestic seclusion. Thus, even at a public event, their private experience of social, racial and gender relations was reproduced and reaffirmed; ideological values and relations were displayed and performed in cultural practice.<sup>116</sup>

The clientele were separated into classes by means of a differential admission fee. Those paying ordinary admission were not allowed to stand in front of the Grandstand, and in fact were completely separated from seated spectators, who paid 10 cents more,

---

Masculine Primitive (which respected men's physical strength and energy, and natural passions and impulses): Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood" 40.

<sup>115</sup> "Shamrock Lacrosse Grounds" (c. July 1878), NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 123 (127).

<sup>116</sup> For a discussion of the complex interaction of ideology, social institutions and images, see Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

because they were forced to stand on the other side of the field. This policy had several purposes. First, it ensured that the view of the Grandstand spectators was not obstructed, a common complaint.<sup>117</sup> Second, it ensured that the rowdy elements in the crowd would not offend the sensibilities of the ladies present:

In times past our Athletic sports had been well patronized by the fair sex, whose presence lends more than half the charm to gatherings of Lacrosse men; but the offensive language of ragamuffins and scallawags in the trees in rear of the grandstand has of late been insufferable and unless this be guarded against in future [the ladies will not come]<sup>118</sup>

Third, it assisted police in crowd-control. Ropes were often used to mark off the field, but newspaper clippings throughout the 1860s and 1870s indicate that spectators frequently ran onto the field during games, or after goals had been scored.<sup>119</sup> The press, who were solidly middle-class in their own persuasions, excoriated the crowd for this behaviour, complaining, for instance, that:

The crowd behaved in its usual outrageous manner...rushing onto the field; the unwashed who came in over the fence tramping on the toes of those who came in by the talismanic "quarter" through the gate, making things very uncomfortable.<sup>120</sup>

The writer was disgusted with the non-action of the police, who he complained "might as well be replaced by so many posts".<sup>121</sup> Even the new Shamrocks ground was not

<sup>117</sup> For example, an 1873 game between the Shamrocks and the Toronto Lacrosse Club in which people standing on trestle benches obscured the view of those seated in the Grandstand. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 41.

<sup>118</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, July 1875, (336); another report of the same match called for more vigilant police control.

<sup>119</sup> A match between the Beaver Lacrosse Club and MLC played 20 March 1860, was broken off undecided in the fourth game since "the Montreal Club refused to go on with it, in consequence of the crowd which impeded the players": NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 109 (306). Other examples include a championship game in 1873 (NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, c.1873, 57), and another where the crowd took possession of the field in a Toronto game and refused to leave: Scrapbook 2, 178 (315).

<sup>120</sup> July 1875, NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, n.p. (336).

<sup>121</sup> Sports provided a reason and an excuse for middle-class demands for the state to intervene in crowd situations. The norms of behaviour established on the sport field could then be generalized to other, more politically threatening, crowd situations.

impervious to these problems, as can be seen by the audience sitting on the fence in Figure 3.3.

Members of the press were quick to link rough play on the field with rowdy behaviour in the crowd. For instance, a report in the Montreal Herald of a championship game between the Shamrocks and the Caughnawagas accused both sides of hard play, "and as for the crowd and the manner in which it acted, in swarming upon the field on certain occasions, it was disgraceful, and is enough to make one feel ashamed to acknowledge them as fellow citizens."<sup>122</sup> Not all members of the press took such a superior view of the games. The report for the Evening Post saw these events in a different light, and noted the "crowding onto the field of enthusiastic adherents of both teams, but with the assistance of some active spectators it was cleared for the succeeding games and ropes put up."<sup>123</sup> The writer of a letter to the editor of the Evening Post accused the Montreal Herald of deliberately disparaging the Shamrocks and their fans:

some of our newspapers can never give an account of a lacrosse match where the Shamrocks happen to come off victorious, without a sneaky attempt to dim the glory of their achievements.<sup>124</sup>

Sports reporting was an important factor in the growth of organized sports and the 'taming' of uncivilized behaviour in the nineteenth century. Many of the mass circulation newspapers and magazines had sports coverage, and it was through their articles that a mass audience learned about games, clubs, appropriate crowd behaviour, and the exploits of teams from other cities and even other provinces.<sup>125</sup> This persuaded and reassured

---

<sup>122</sup> Montreal Herald, Oct. 1878, NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 177 (311).

<sup>123</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 178 (315).

<sup>124</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 178 (315).

<sup>125</sup> Marvin L. Adelman, "The Early Years of Baseball, 1845-60," Pope, New American Sport 75.

readers "that such activities were commonplace throughout the country," and constructed a sense of national identity and pride. It was through press publicity that the rhetoric of sport was shared, and "sporting traditions were invented and perpetuated".<sup>126</sup> Sports reporters quickly developed a formula for their reports, a repertoire of reactions to games, by whose repetition norms of behaviour for players, audience and organizers were established. They also promoted the amateur sporting code which advocated gentlemanly play for the pleasure of the game, rather than the win. Since the press were members of the professional and commercial middle classes, their norms reflected the values of that class.<sup>127</sup> Behaviour which transgressed these values was condemned as inferior, primitive or subordinate. However, these were *idealized* values, not always lived up to by members of either class. In fact, lacrosse games became notorious for their violence and ungentlemanly conduct, and passionate inter-city rivalries were played out in the daily newspapers as well as on the sports field. Although the club executives were in general agreement as to the desired behaviour and values which their sport should project, the intense competition between the clubs sabotaged efforts to deal with the problems afflicting the game.<sup>128</sup>

While the early press media participated in the attempt to make middle-class values universal in Canadian society "different groups used sports for different purposes."<sup>129</sup> Working class teams like the Shamrocks, for example, may have played the

---

<sup>126</sup> Pope, Patriotic Games 7-8. Clubs recognized the role of sports media in popularizing their sports, hence the MLC started giving press reporters free admission in 1881.

<sup>127</sup> For instance, at the 1878 St. George's Snow Shoe Club dinner, Mr. Jarvis of the Witness and representatives from the Gazette were invited guests: NAC:MAAC Scrapbook 2, 87. The "overall effect of the print media was to civilize the fans": Allan Guttman, Sports Spectators (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986) 86.

<sup>128</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns ch. 6.

<sup>129</sup> Stempel 191. For instance, Beers advocated positional team play rather than individualism because it forced players to play the type of game he considered more skilled and more morally

game to uphold the honour and pride of their community rather than to display their acceptance of gentlemanly values.<sup>130</sup> A paradox became increasingly evident as lacrosse became 'democratized' over the course of the century. The middle-class ethos, adopted from the elite, Protestant, British public schools, had constructed manliness as "a matter of doing what was right without being told...an inner response to the spirit of Christianity rather than...reliance on doctrine, ritual or ecclesiastical authority."<sup>131</sup> The middle-class effort to inculcate and enforce a similar response in sports had been effected through the imposition of rules and regulations, but with the expectation that players would be gentlemanly and therefore respond not to this externalized authority but to internal constraints - an expectation that was often not fulfilled. However, working class players did not come to the game with the same cultural and social experience; they did not respond to the internalized restraints advocated by the dominant class, but to the externally imposed rules, which they resisted. The Shamrock matches can be seen as ritual performances in which the fans and players challenged middle-class expectations of behaviour, and demonstrates that the ideal Canadian identity promoted by the professional and commercial middle classes was not totalizing.<sup>132</sup> The other clubs were infuriated with the success of the Shamrocks, and rivalry between the three major clubs (MLC, Shamrocks and Toronto Lacrosse Club) was so virulent that it destroyed the possibility of

---

upright. For middle-class players and spectators this embodied and lauded professionalization and specialization. However, working-class teams and spectators might see team play as analogous to socialist forms of collective organization. For a discussion of attitudes towards individualism, see Allan Smith, "The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914," CHR 59.2 (1978): 189-219.

<sup>130</sup> Stempel 75.

<sup>131</sup> Haley 142.

<sup>132</sup> Metcalfe argues that the increasing violence in the 1870s and 188s was owing to the movement towards league play and professionalization which increased the competitive element of the game, making winning more important than how the game was played: Metcalfe, Canada Learns 190-196. However, Beers described the early days of the game as being brutal, and competition between the Shamrocks and other teams had always been fierce, so it seems likely that class and race antagonisms were also involved.



any co-ordinated effort to solve their common problems.<sup>133</sup> Trespassing, vandalism, partisanship, and verbal and physical assaults were construed as "misbehaviour" by middle-class observers, but not necessarily by participants. Sport historian Barbara Pinto argues that "by challenging the middle-class code of fan behaviour the Griffintowners enhanced their pride in themselves" and their own values, which "included winning at all costs, solidarity, participation, masculine aggression, and an 'us' versus 'them' ideology."<sup>134</sup> In expanding into a league system after 1885 (which sport historians generally view as democratizing the game) the 'gentlemanly' ethos promoted by the snowshoe and lacrosse clubs was challenged by the new class of players and by the move to professionalism. Thus the professional and commercial middle classes ultimately lost control of the sport, and also lost a means by which they had distinguished themselves from other classes. It was only through resisting professionalization of the game and upholding the amateur ideology that middle-class clubs could try to maintain their exclusivity and sense of distinction.<sup>135</sup>

The possibilities of lacrosse as an effective cultural transmitter were recognized by the middle-class groups who organized teams and leagues in small towns across Ontario and beyond. They wished to promote the same values as the Montreal clubs, as well as wishing to boost the reputation of their town. They were concerned with protecting and promoting their own interests, which they considered to be congruent with national interests, and at the end of the day faced the same dilemma--how to democratize the game

---

<sup>133</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns 188. Although the Shamrocks were very successful on the field, winning 52% of the championship games between 1866-1885, they were "grossly under-represented" in the executives of the National Lacrosse Association, and its successor, the National Amateur Lacrosse Association. Metcalfe, Canada Learns 238 n.7.

<sup>134</sup> Pinto 92.

<sup>135</sup> Stempel 192. The struggle between amateurism and professionalism is documented in Metcalfe, Canada Learns ch.6.

in order to promote middle-class values, without losing control.<sup>136</sup>

Despite the ultimate failure of the professional and commercial middle classes to re-create the working-class crowd in their own idealized image, in practice they did achieve control over the media and municipal, provincial and federal institutions. Thus, few voices were raised contesting the vision of nationhood constructed by this group.<sup>137</sup> In Montreal and in Ontario, Protestant anglophone interests dominated the political and social scene, and it was their vision of the identity and character of 'native-Canadians' which predominated. The resistance of Native players and working-class spectators was rarely recorded.

#### **W. George Beers: 'The National Game'**

W. George Beers was an ardent Canadian nationalist who saw 'tamed' indigenous activities as a potent signifier of Canadian identity. He played a seminal role in creating the game of lacrosse as a 'Canadian' game. He was such a tireless advocate for lacrosse that it was popularly believed that Parliament had declared it the national game at Confederation.<sup>138</sup> The fact that this was believed, shows the desire which existed for a distinctive Canadian identity.<sup>139</sup> Despite the research efforts of several historians, no factual basis can be found for this claim, or for the claim by Beers that he had published a

---

<sup>136</sup> These issues were prevalent amongst the middle-class groups studied by Bouchier, "Idealized Middle-Class Sport"; and Marks op. cit.

<sup>137</sup> Bouchier reminds us that the voices of opponents are muted in the historical record; working-class criticism had no way to be heard except through 'inappropriate' behaviour: Bouchier, "Idealized Middle-Class Sport" 90.

<sup>138</sup> Contemporary scholars have failed to find any evidence that it was discussed in Parliament. See Kevin G. Jones and T. George Vellathottam, "The Myth of Canada's National Sport", *CAHPER Journal* (Sept-Oct 1974): 33-36; and Lindsay, "George Beers".

<sup>139</sup> Lindsay contends that everyone accepted Beers' claim because of anxiety over external threats and lack of any other suitable game. Lindsay, "George Beers" 39-41.

letter entitled "Lacrosse-Our National Field Game" which was distributed throughout the Dominion and copied in many local papers.<sup>140</sup> It appears, in fact, that Beers invented a myth as well as a sporting tradition.<sup>141</sup>

Beers almost single-handedly organized the National Lacrosse Association, and publicized lacrosse - and Canada - by leading two exhibition tours of the British Isles.<sup>142</sup> Beers' was motivated by an intense and sincere spirit of patriotism and love for the Canadian games he fostered. His success attests to the willingness with which his ideas were received and adopted by his audience. He expressed his nationalism in every facet of his life - through his efforts to create a national dental organization, in his speeches to dentists, in his political activities, such as promoting immigration during the lacrosse tours, and in his work as a founding member of the Canadian National League in 1893, dedicated to oppose American annexation.<sup>143</sup> In indigenous activities he found an appropriate vehicle for nationalist ideas. During a period in which Britain itself was eager to relinquish its responsibility for its colonies in North America, it seemed wholly appropriate to Canadian colonists that a new identity might be constructed based on the indigenous activities of the new land.

The use of sport as a national signifier is not unique to Canada. In fact, as Eric

---

<sup>140</sup> Beers made this claim in *Lacrosse* p. 57. On the search to corroborate Beers' claim see Lindsay, "History of Sport" 129, n.196. In 1994 the federal government recognized lacrosse as Canada's 'national summer sport': Kidd 9.

<sup>141</sup> When inaugural works were chosen for the future National Gallery of Canada by the Royal Canadian Academy in 1879, a statue of a lacrosse player and a painting of the game were chosen: Ellen Ramsay, "The promotion of the fine arts in Canada, 1880-1924: the development of art patronage and the formation of public policy," (Ph.D. diss., University College London, 1987) 63

<sup>142</sup> Don Morrow has written two articles on this topic: "Lacrosse as the National Game", and "The Canadian Image Abroad".

<sup>143</sup> *DCB*, 12:75-77.

Hobsbawm argues, it was "one of the most significant of the new social practices of the late nineteenth century" and provided a means of national identification through the "choice or invention of nationally specific sports."<sup>144</sup> Baseball was being called the American national game by the late 1850s,<sup>145</sup> cricket was firmly established as the British game, and the Turnen movement in Germany was strongly identified with nationalism and nationhood.<sup>146</sup> Moreover, between 1876 and 1926 a national sporting culture was established in the United States which was influential in the production of a modern national identity.<sup>147</sup>

There is ambivalence in the attitude of colonizer to colonized; on the one hand, admiring the attributes and values of indigenous peoples and wishing to appropriate them for white use, and yet, on the other, denigrating and disparaging Native cultural practices as primitive and barbaric, and using the mental fiction of the 'imaginary indian' as a

---

<sup>144</sup> Hobsbawm and Rogers 298, 300.

<sup>145</sup> Riess, "Sport and Redefinition" 183; Adelman 73.

<sup>146</sup> Pfister, "Physical 24-35, and Michael Kruger, "Body Culture and Nation Building: The History of Gymnastics in Germany in the Period of its Foundation as a Nation-State," International Journal of the History of Sport 13.3 (1996): 409-417. Kruger adds that although 'Turnen' began in 1811 as an outlet for wild and spontaneous expression, it was progressively formalized, and regulation of the body, and hence the mind, became the prime objective by 1914. Regulated exercise and behaviour was a symbol of the order and discipline of the nation.(409) Other examples where sport is used in the service of nationalism are: for Wales, Andrews, "Welsh Indigenous! and British Imperial?"; for New Zealand and South Africa: John Nauright, "Sustaining Masculine Hegemony: Rugby and the Nostalgia of Masculinity," Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity ed. John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler (London: Frank Cass, 1996): 227-244. See also the essays in J.A. Mangan, ed., Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport (London: Frank Cass, 1996).

<sup>147</sup> Pope, Patriotic Games 3-4. Gerald Gems makes a related argument in his study of post-1880s Chicago. He claims that in response to labour conflict and ethnic hostility, progressive reformers attempted to instil "American" values through sports and games. He concludes that sport served as a cohesive social bond which could incorporate divergent groups into a mass culture, but that sport did not act as a melting pot which could assimilate everyone. Gerald Robert Gems, "Sport and culture formation in Chicago, 1890-1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland College Park, 1989).

symbolic scapegoat onto which can be heaped negative qualities.<sup>148</sup> In Canada, the imaginary indian was always available to be held up as an impoverished model against which to compare the positive, civilized, progressive and modern attributes and character of white men and white society. As Terry Goldie rather neatly explains, it was "Grey Owl, the Englishman turned Indian who perfectly grasped that the signifiers of the indigene are the essence, not the signified, and most assuredly not the referent."<sup>149</sup>

Beers also understood this, and astutely capitalized on the exotic spectacle of Native dress and tradition. He realized that it was the image of the 'barbarous savage' which created excitement and anticipation in spectators--or at least in the popular crowd. In the early years of club lacrosse, Native teams were indispensable. They provided the only challenging competition and were the source of all white knowledge about the game. As soon as a critical mass of white teams had been formed, their importance as players waned.<sup>150</sup> However, they have never been totally dispensable as signifiers of Canadian identity. In the nineteenth century important exhibition matches, major holiday games, and civic and state occasions where a lacrosse match was played, included an appearance by

---

<sup>148</sup> See: Giles Thérien, "L'Indien imaginaire: Une hypothèse," Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec 17.3 (1987): 3-21, and Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian: the image of the Indian in Canadian culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992).

<sup>149</sup> Goldie 215. 'Signifiers' are the recognized material attributes of Native people (skin colour, clothing, body paints and tatoos, etc.); the 'signified' is the idea indicated by the signifiers (the 'imaginary Indian'); the 'referent' is the 'real' Native person in the world outside language.

<sup>150</sup> The frequency of games between the Montreal Lacrosse Club teams and Native teams noted in the Minute Books of the club diminished over time. A graphic example of the waning importance of Native teams is recorded in May of 1887 when the Caughnawaga team was asked to play a MLC team at the Dominion Day celebrations for a fee of \$50. The Native team asked for \$60 instead, apparently to cover increased train fares. The MLC refused to pay extra and called the game off. The Caughnawaga team capitulated, but the MLC arranged "a friendly match" with the Shamrocks instead. By 1887 the pleasurable excitement of the game, and a class, rather than racial, confrontation would apparently draw in the crowds. NAC: MLC Minute Book, 1887, 53-60.

a Native team.<sup>151</sup> If they did not actually play, they performed war dances, gave concerts or competed in specially devised 'races'. Native peoples continue to play a role today as signifiers of Canada; along with RCMP in dress uniform, they are an ubiquitous presence at any important ceremony staged by the federal government.<sup>152</sup>

Native participation was necessary, first, to signify the national identity of the occasion, and then to attract a big crowd. For, apart from providing challenging competition, Native lacrosse teams were also useful as exotic spectacle. They were paraded at home and abroad in 'full regalia' as an attention-getter, an amusing entertainment for the crowd. Playing the westernized game of lacrosse, often at major civic celebrations such as the visits of the Prince of Wales in 1860 and Prince Arthur in 1869, they were objectified as signifiers of Canada. Because the white Canadian teams played lacrosse with Native players, they became part of a string of equivalents by which lacrosse itself came to signify 'Canada'.<sup>153</sup> When Native teams were invited to exhibitions, to the Montreal Winter Carnivals in the 1880s, or to other public events, it was the spectacular qualities of Native ceremonial dress that was important. They were present as colourful, nostalgic reminders of the pre-historic existence of indigenous peoples in Canada, an acceptable part of its 'myth of origin'.

The very fact that lacrosse players "were the most widely travelled Canadian

---

<sup>151</sup> For example, the Prescott Dominion Day celebrations for 1875 included a lacrosse match between the Prescott Club and a team from St. Regis, played for a prize of \$100. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 340.

<sup>152</sup> Recent examples are the opening of the newly refurbished Canada House in London, England in 1998; and the opening ceremonies for the Pan-Am Games in Winnipeg in 1999.

<sup>153</sup> 'Indians' signified Canada initially, but lacrosse was promoted so successfully as an 'Indian' sport that the game itself became a signifier of Canada too. In combination with the concepts already discussed – Northern character, vigorous, outdoor winter sports etc. – a distinctive Canadian identity was produced.

sporting teams" of their time,<sup>154</sup> indicates that lacrosse was indeed seen as something peculiarly and distinctively Canadian. Why else would teams contemplate touring a country where few people played their sport, if not because they were proselytizing that sport? Canadian lacrosse teams made several tours abroad in the nineteenth century.<sup>155</sup> Little is known about the first tour in 1867 organized by Captain W.B. Johnston, and it was considered a financial failure by contemporaries.<sup>156</sup> However, the Kahnawake community remember that Big John Rice led two teams from Kahnawake and Akwesasne, and that they played for Queen Victoria at Crystal Palace, as well as playing at the Paris World's Fair.<sup>157</sup> As a result of this tour, three lacrosse clubs were started in England, and in 1868 the English Lacrosse Association was formed. The next two tours were organized and led by George Beers, who made it quite clear in organizing the tours that he saw them as a means by which to promote Canadian interests.<sup>158</sup> He was piqued on the first tour when the teams were received in Belfast by a crowd waving an American stars and stripes flag. Beers made sure the team raised a Dominion flag at all future games, "to show a distinction between Americans and Canadians."<sup>159</sup> The Canadian government was a partner in this enterprise for the 1883 tour since it paid for public speakers who accompanied the teams and gave speeches encouraging emigration to Canada in all the

---

<sup>154</sup> Cox 155. Morrow describes the hectic schedule of the 1883 tour: 62 matches in 41 different cities in a two month period: Morrow, "Canadian Image" 17.

<sup>155</sup> Between 1859 and 1891, lacrosse tours to Britain were made in 1867, 1876, 1880, and 1883: David Brown, "Canadian Imperialism and Sporting Exchanges: The Nineteenth-Century Cultural Experience of Cricket and Lacrosse," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 18.1 (1987) 61.

<sup>156</sup> According to a letter written to a Montreal newspaper by his son in 1876, this tour had proved financially disastrous: NAC: MAAA, Scrapbook 1 123 (340).

<sup>157</sup> Johnny Beauvais, Kahnawake. A Mohawk look at Canada and Adventures of Big John Canadian 1840-1919 ([Montreal?]: 1985) 57, 44.

<sup>158</sup> A notice in the Manitoba Daily Free Press, January 29, 1883 states that 25 players will go on the tour, to be elected by ballot. Each member would then be required to deposit \$200 with the Treasurer of the organizing committee. Obviously, only those with time and money could afford to go.

<sup>159</sup> NAC: MAAA MLC Annual Report, 1877, p.17.

major towns and cities visited.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, thousands of brochures promoting Canadian immigration were distributed during the tour, and it is possible that the success of this experience may have influenced the direction immigration advertising methods took under Clifford Sifton after 1886.<sup>161</sup>

Both of Beers' tours were well received in Britain, and sparked enough interest that a number of new clubs were formed. The British press portrayed the game as simple to follow, quickly understood and fast moving.<sup>162</sup> Whereas Beers *contrasted* lacrosse to cricket in order to create a distinction between British and Canadian sport, the British *likened* it to football, shinty, battledore and tennis in order to create acceptance. The fact that Queen Victoria and members of the royal family watched a game at Windsor Castle further legitimized it.<sup>163</sup> With subsequent visits of teams to Australia and New Zealand, lacrosse became Canada's Imperial sport - recognized as Canadian throughout the British Empire.<sup>164</sup>

Lacrosse teams also frequently visited American cities, and in the process further

---

<sup>160</sup> Morrow claims there is no direct evidence of federal financing of the tour. Only rifle-shooting received government financial assistance in the 19th century: Wamsley, "Good Clean Sport".

<sup>161</sup> The lacrosse immigration scheme was "a unique form of distribution and advertising in fierce competition with other immigration methods used by the United States, Australia and South Africa." Morrow, "Canadian Image" 15.

<sup>162</sup> Morrow, "Canadian Image" 15.

<sup>163</sup> The symbolic importance of the royal gaze can be judged by the fact that every year the original MLC team commemorated their visit to Windsor Castle and the game they played for Queen Victoria. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2. Johnny Beauvais' memoir of Big John Canadian (Sawatis) recounts how, the night before the game, the Native team members were introduced to Queen Victoria. Despite the instructions he had received about formal behaviour, "with a smile on his face, Sawatis walked with that smooth gait usually found in fine athletes, took the Queen's extended hand, and planted as gentle a kiss as he could on her unsuspecting cheek." The Queen "was tickled by this display of fine warmth and 'primitive' gallantry, despite the complete lack of protocol." Beauvais 36-8.

<sup>164</sup> Brown, "Canadian Imperialism" 60.



spread the concept of the game as "Canada's National Game". Native teams played an exhibition match in front of 10,000 spectators in 1867 in Troy, New York, as a result of which the Mohawk Lacrosse Club of Troy was formed and visited Montreal in July of the following year.<sup>165</sup> The Dominion Club of Montreal were invited to visit Brooklyn, and there were several tours of U.S. cities in 1869. In 1870 the New York Knickerbocker Lacrosse Club travelled north to play Canadian teams,<sup>166</sup> and throughout the next two decades Canadian teams visited northern American cities such as Boston, Portland, Baltimore, New York, Chicago and Washington, as well as travelling westward to Winnipeg and St. Paul, Minn. The formation of lacrosse teams in the U.S. was facilitated by the Montreal clubs who sent them equipment and copies of the Beers' rule book.<sup>167</sup> To achieve his ambition to construct lacrosse as Canada's national game, Beers had been wise to take teams abroad, because it was only through playing teams of an 'other' nationality that the game could be truly perceived as 'native-Canadian'.<sup>168</sup> A December 10, 1878 article in a Boston paper noted that "For years this exciting sport has been identified with Canadian life," and, his success can be judged by a report in the Acadian Recorder of July 18, 1874, under the heading "Canadian Nerve and Muscle". The report states:

It is no new thing—the men of these Provinces taking vigorously to athletic experiences and sports. Unlike the people southward of them, it has always seemed to come natural to them.<sup>169</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> Cox 156.

<sup>166</sup> Cox 157.

<sup>167</sup> A copy of Beers' book was "going the rounds among members" of a new team founded in Corinne, Utah. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 41, May 14, 1873. It was also issued in Britain, and reprinted in Montreal in 1879. Other guides were virtual copies of the Beers' text: "Hints to Players by a Native", Canadian Magazine vol. 1 (July-Dec 1871): 120-4, 248-54; W.K. McNaught, Lacrosse and How to Play It (Toronto: Robert Marshall, 1873), both cited by Morrow, "Lacrosse" 58 n.50.

<sup>168</sup> Playing and watching sport is a medium of collective identification in which "a group's sense of 'we-ness' or unity is strengthened by the presence of a group who are perceived as 'them'." Elias and Dunning 222-223.

<sup>169</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 116 (314).

The writer stated what had become 'natural' and 'obvious' – Canadians have always been a northern people, innately predisposed to excel at sports, unlike their American neighbours.<sup>170</sup>

The more successful lacrosse was, the more the idea of it being 'Canada's National Game' gained currency. Cricket was popular in Canada, but by 1865 was eclipsed by lacrosse and baseball;<sup>171</sup> between 1867 and 1885 there were 46 baseball clubs, 63 snowshoe clubs and 78 lacrosse clubs in Montreal alone.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, the club organizers participated in the National Policy and 'nation-building' through creating national organizations.<sup>173</sup> The National Lacrosse Association was the only national sports organization in existence until the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen was formed in 1880, but, in 1881 the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association amalgamated eight sports bodies into a single club, and established national regulatory bodies for these sports, despite the fact they were not played right across the Dominion.

While Beers seems to have been extremely successful in proselytizing the cause of lacrosse, he was not entirely without critics. A letter from "Stumps" to the Montreal Gazette contested the claim of lacrosse to be the national game, arguing instead that cricket be accorded that place.<sup>174</sup> The writer objected to lacrosse on the grounds that it was a young

---

<sup>170</sup> Certain practices, attitudes, values and beliefs become naturalized through the workings of ideology. Similarly, Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', explains how "a given culture produces and sustains belief in its own 'obviousness'" through "embodied rituals of everydayness": Judith Butler, Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative (New York: Routledge, 1997) 152.

<sup>171</sup> "Cricket stood for all that Britishness implied." The defeat of Canadian teams by a touring English Eleven in 1859 was a crushing blow to Canadian pride. By the time another English team toured in 1868, cricket "was being challenged by lacrosse, an emblem of Canadian nationalism.": Brown, "Canadian Imperialism " 55, 56.

<sup>172</sup> Metcalfe, "Organised Sport" 85.

<sup>173</sup> Kidd 16.

<sup>174</sup> Gazette, 7 Aug. 1867, quoted by Lindsay, "George Beers" 39.

man's game and could not be played by everyone. He also noted that it was confined mostly to Montreal, whereas cricket was played "throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire". The crux of the difference, though, was that the writer conceived of 'us' as British, whereas Beers conceived of 'us' as Canadian. The contest between imperialism and nationalism had begun.

Despite Beers' importance in the popularization of the regulated game, Paraschak reminds us that Beers was not 'the father of lacrosse', as he has often been called, for it was of Native origins.<sup>175</sup> Beers himself never denied the Native origins of lacrosse, in fact he always made much of its early history and connection with Native peoples because this established the Canadian origins of the game, and maintained continuity with a more primitive past.<sup>176</sup> He forcefully repudiated the suggestion that lacrosse could be of Phoenician or Irish origins precisely because it furthered his nationalist interests to claim lacrosse as a native-Canadian game. Magnanimously, he concluded:

Its uniqueness was and is beyond dispute. The Indians may justly be awarded the credit of having invented the game of Lacrosse, as well as the snow-shoe, toboggan, and bark canoe.<sup>177</sup>

But in saying this, Beers claimed not only the right to decide on the issue, but also ownership of the history of the game. He complained that the origins of lacrosse were shrouded in mystery due to the lack of record-keeping and "the Indian's love of hoaxing".<sup>178</sup> By concluding: "We are satisfied, however, that the Indians of Canada know nothing

---

<sup>175</sup> Victoria Paraschak, "Native Sport History; Pitfalls and Promise," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport 20.1 (May 1989): 57-68. The very fact that the indigenous origins of lacrosse can so easily be elided is further evidence of the ideological agency of sport.

<sup>176</sup> Nationalist discourse persistently attempts to produce "the idea of the nation as a continuous narrative of national progress": Bhabha 1.

<sup>177</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 5.

<sup>178</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 2. Hoaxing was a form of Native resistance to white appropriation of the game.

whatever about the origin of their native field game", he legitimized his own role as lacrosse historian; and in his interpretation its real (i.e. recorded) history began with the adoption of the game by white players in the 1850s.<sup>179</sup> He was not alone in this thinking, for an article by "Shebaygo" argued for the use of the Indian name, *baggataway*, rather than the French-Canadian name of lacrosse, on the basis that it was "The name given to it by its true fathers, and by them transmitted to us their rightful representatives on Canadian soil."<sup>180</sup> [emphasis added] Therefore, just as with snowshoeing, the British colonists' transformation of *baggataway* created a distinctively 'Canadian' sport, and simultaneously constructed a British history of Canadian culture which relegated Native people to the status of a pre-historic race, while completely erasing the entire history of the French Regime:

Only a savage people could, would or should play the old game; only such constitutions, such wind and endurance could stand its violence. The present game, improved and reduced to rule by the whites, employs the greatest combination of physical and mental activity white men can sustain in recreation, and is as much superior to the original as civilization is to barbarism, base ball to its old English parent of rounders, or a pretty Canadian girl to any uncultivated squaw.<sup>181</sup>

Beer's book, Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada, also indicates the spirit with which the Native game was adopted by British colonists. Appropriating snowshoeing and lacrosse was a way of reaching back into and claiming the myths of origin of the Native ethnies.<sup>182</sup> Apart from the need to identify the physical and mental attributes of

---

<sup>179</sup> The Fort Michillimackinac incident in June of 1763 belonged to the mists of time. As Morrow says: "The massacre and capture of the fort are a major feature of the folklore and history of lacrosse, and very likely perpetuated the idea that Indian lacrosse was brutal." Morrow, "Lacrosse" 46.

<sup>180</sup> Article entitled "Lacrosse" from Canadian Monthly (c.1875): 396-403. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 22 (790-4).

<sup>181</sup> Beers, Lacrosse 32-33.

<sup>182</sup> Bharucha notes that Euro-American appropriations of East Indian culture similarly took a ritual from an 'other' culture, divested it of its original meaning and re-enacted it for their own

'Canadian-ness', the task of creating a nation-state required the construction of a national history—what Homi Bhabha calls "the myths of origin"—in order to legitimize nationhood by claiming historical roots and continuity. Sport was one of the avenues by which this could be achieved, because in taking over indigenous activities the British colonists claimed to have 'invented' them, thus dating the origins of Canadian culture to the British conquest. All previous history of these activities was relegated to a twilight pre-historical period when they were 'primitive' and 'savage'.<sup>183</sup> Since Beers' book was the Ur-text for most of what was written about lacrosse, whenever the game was introduced by a newspaper writer to his readership, his re-telling of the Native ruse to attack the British at Fort Michilimackinac in 1763, was invariably part of the story. The Montreal Gazette, 27 June 1876 quoted a London newspaper report that, "The game which is as popular in Canada as cricket is with us, has really historical precedence of cricket, having played a rather stirring part in Canadian annals more than a hundred years ago."<sup>184</sup> Beers used Alexander Henry's account of the attack on the British fort by Natives ostensibly playing a game of lacrosse in honour of the King's birthday. This is a significant story because it dates from the time of the Conquest, the beginning of the British history of Canada. Every lacrosse game played between white and Native teams in the nineteenth century was a symbolic re-enactment of that humiliation, which British colonists wanted to play over again and win.

---

purposes—all with total disregard for the original nationals. Bharucha ch.1.

<sup>183</sup> This is not to claim that middle-class Montrealers were unaware of major events and personages from the French Regime. The popularity of Parkman's history proves this was not the case. However, they negotiated these unerasable histories by other means. For instance, at the Fancy-Dress Balls and Skating Masquerades anglophones often dressed-up as important figures from the French Colonial period. Cynthia Cooper shows that many even concocted spurious claims to be related to these historical figures. Cultural performance was a way of claiming ownership—of the land, its native peoples, and ultimately of a Canadian identity. See Cynthia Cooper, Brilliant & Instructive Spectacles. Canada's Fancy Dress Balls 1876-1903 (M.A. thesis, University of Rhode Island, 1993).

<sup>184</sup> Cited by Cox 157.

The sacred and ritual aspects of the traditional Native activity were not just overlooked, but adamantly denied by Beers, despite the fact that he had knowledge of them.<sup>185</sup> The Native connection with the game was a 'usable past' through which Beers could link the recent British history of the colony to its pre-historic origins, and emphasize it as a modern, uniquely Canadian activity. His argument was contradictory in this regard: first he claimed that "with the original game, too, was associated peculiar customs and ceremonies which distinguished it from any other field sport";<sup>186</sup> but later in the text he disavowed any religious or ritual purposes:

It was not played as a superstitious rite in honor of the Great Spirit; it had none of the religious element of the Grecian games. It was instituted as a pure amusement, and as one of the means of quickening and strengthening the body, and accustoming the young warriors to close combat. It was emphatically a sport, and brought out the very finest physical attributes of the finest made men in the world...<sup>187</sup>

*Baggataway* did, indeed, have important religious and ritual functions in Native society. Games were traditionally preceded by training and rituals and their ostensible purpose might differ, but their ultimate purpose was to honour the Creator.<sup>188</sup> Native lacrosse games were religious ceremonies initiated and directed by spiritual leaders for a variety of purposes.<sup>189</sup> For instance, one of the earliest reported nineteenth-century lacrosse games was played by teams from Caughnawaga and St. Regis as part of a

---

<sup>185</sup> Even if Beers had not actually witnessed these ceremonies himself, which seems unlikely, he had certainly read of their existence in the journals and histories he used to construct his own historical account, therefore, his emphatic disavowal is even more significant.

<sup>186</sup> Beers, *Lacrosse* 5.

<sup>187</sup> Beers, *Lacrosse* 9. Versions of this argument were repeated by Beers in various of his articles (for instance in "Canadian Sports"), and plagiarised by other writers. The repetition of such rhetoric has the effect of giving it legitimacy and authority.

<sup>188</sup> For an discussion of the traditional functions of lacrosse from a Native perspective, see North American Indian Travelling College, *Tewaarathon*.

<sup>189</sup> Vennum 28.

ceremony to initiate five new chiefs in 1833.<sup>190</sup> Eastern Woodlands peoples also used lacrosse as a means of influencing the weather.<sup>191</sup> In addition, lacrosse was played to bestow name and rank and to honour the dead.<sup>192</sup> Given these functions, it is significant that whites would want to take this symbolic ritual over for themselves. British colonists saw themselves in the role of national leaders, and one of the prime purposes of playing lacrosse and other indigenous sports was in order to influence the *representation* of the Canadian climate and environment abroad. Of course, it would have been unthinkable for respectable Victorian Canadians to play a game tainted by pagan associations, hence the disavowals. In effect, the erasure of the game's religious functions by the colonists was an aggressive act of possession and secularization, because Native people were affected by the changes made to their ritual and its cultural meaning. Playing lacrosse against white teams and competing in athletic races was a form of employment for talented Native men, but it necessitated playing by white rules and this broke the bond between the ritual and its sacred meaning. Akin to denying the sacredness of Native ritual, was the common practice of denying Natives their own names. In press reports, Native names were accused of being "almost unprintable", "gutterals", "unpronounceable", "such jaw breakers that in pity to our readers we omit them".<sup>193</sup> White teams even took Native names - for example, the 'Hochelaga', and the 'Young Indian Club'.<sup>194</sup> Over time, then, Native players were forced to accept the Western game and consequently lost touch with the sacred,

---

<sup>190</sup> Lindsay, "History of Sport" 115.

<sup>191</sup> Michael A. Salter, "Meteorological Play-Forms of the Eastern Woodlands," Play, Games and Sports in Cultural Contexts, eds. J.C. Harris and R.J. Park (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1983): 211-221.

<sup>192</sup> Michael A. Salter, "Mortuary Games of the Eastern Culture Area," CJHS 2 (1971) 174.

<sup>193</sup> See clippings for: April 24, 1873, NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 20 (41); February 1878, NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 91; 1873, NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, n.p. (41); When Native team members were named, it was often with their anglicised names, eg. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, (340) Prescott Dominion Day game.

<sup>194</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, n.p. (41): 24 May 1873 report of contest between "the Tecumseh and Young Indian Club" which "resulted in favour of the white boys".

ritual meanings of *baggataway*. This de-culturation of the game had deleterious effects on Native society:

Gambling virtually disappeared, rites and taboos lost their significance, an English-type code of ethics was adopted on the playing field, boundary maintaining mechanisms collapsed and, in certain areas, the very game vanished.<sup>195</sup>

### **The Decline of Lacrosse: A Limited Identity**

Despite its popularity in Central Canada, research shows that lacrosse failed to be played on a truly national basis, and the popularity of the sport declined dramatically after World War I. Although lacrosse was "undoubtedly the most popular game in Canada in 1885", it did not gain the grassroots popularity of baseball or ice hockey.<sup>196</sup> It was played mostly in the major cities and towns in Central Canada and was well established in British Columbia in the late 1880s and 1890s, but, it never became a national game geographically.<sup>197</sup> Clubs were formed in the Maritimes late in the century, but failed to gain widespread support; a similar situation existed on the Prairies, where clubs were formed in the major cities in the 1880s and 1890s, often due to the efforts of players from Ontario and Montreal, but none gained real permanence. The spread of the game was tied to the emigration of Canadian-born anglophones from Montreal and Ontario after 1885, which explains why it only enjoyed a degree of continuity in Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia.<sup>198</sup> On the Prairies and in the East the influence of British sports was very strong, and lacrosse consequently never achieved a critical mass of players and followers.<sup>199</sup>

While being a tremendously popular spectator sport, and despite claims to the contrary,

---

<sup>195</sup> Michael A. Salter, "The Effect of Acculturation on the game of Lacrosse and on its role as an agent of Indian survival", Canadian Journal of the History of Sport 3:1 (May 1972): 62.

<sup>196</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns 210.

<sup>197</sup> A geographic survey of lacrosse teams is provided by Cox 135-153, 271.

<sup>198</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns 210.

<sup>199</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns 204.



lacrosse was not the most popular game in Canada, or even in Ontario. In terms of numbers of participants and geographic spread, baseball was the most popular summer game played by Canadians.<sup>200</sup> The popular perception that lacrosse was a widely played sport was attributable to the fact that this group also dominated the media. Lacrosse was most successful where there were Native teams to learn from and play against. The Prairies and the Maritimes did not have the stimulus of, or access to, Native teams like Central Canada and British Columbia; there was no Other there against which to fashion a Canadian identity.

Historians of Canadian sport attribute the decline of lacrosse after 1900 to internal reasons, the most important of which was its narrow player base, resulting from an inadequate minor program. But the class which did most to promote the game was also divided over the violence and gambling associated with it as it became professionalized. Journalists, clergy and educators criticized the adverse spectacle offered by players and fans, and, consequently, lacrosse was not adopted by schools and churches and did not become an inter-collegiate sport. Furthermore, its organization was riven by internal conflicts over amateurism and professionalism and failed to establish a united national organization which could effectively resolve problems and unite regional groups.<sup>201</sup> Sports historians have not attributed the initial popularity of lacrosse to the fact that it was a means through which Canadian national identity could be embodied and displayed. Therefore they have not considered that the loss of interest in lacrosse as a popular sport may also have been a result of its diminishing value as a national signifier. The squabbles over professionalism and violent play detracted from the game's prestige, and the image of marauding Natives propagated by reports from the North West Rebellion, followed by

---

<sup>200</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns 87, 93, 98.

<sup>201</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns 204-11.

further degradation of Native peoples due to repressive government policy, re-invoked the image of the barbarous savage. Lacrosse could not longer be held up as a 'gentlemanly' and 'civilized' sport.

In order for a dominant group to gain hegemonic control, there has to be some reciprocal movement of acceptance from subordinated groups, and lacrosse failed to elicit this response from a mass audience. The professional and commercial middle classes attempted to invent a national identity where one did not previously exist, and to inculcate particular values and characteristics through the vehicle of sport practice. But without the support of the state, the school system and churches, lacrosse could not remain 'Canada's national game'.<sup>202</sup> Beers elicited some support from the government and created the myth of lacrosse as the national sport, but concentrated on disseminating it abroad. If other Canadian nationalists had recognized that it is in and through popular culture that identity is constructed, and had encouraged the growth of cultural nationalism through lacrosse (in an attempt to define the nation from the bottom up, rather than to impose an identity from the top down) Beers' myth of origin might have been made real.<sup>203</sup> The success of baseball in the United States was because it became a broadly based sport which trickled down from the upper to lower classes,<sup>204</sup> but the internal divisions and exclusionary practices of the Canadian professional and commercial middle classes mitigated against a similar strategy. Instead of using lacrosse as a means by which to create a unifying

---

<sup>202</sup> Althusser would have included the family in the list of ideological state apparatuses: Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards An Investigation)," Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).

<sup>203</sup> Hayes argues that Canadian nationalists have wrongly concentrated on the protection of elite culture at the expense of popular culture. This has led to a situation where Canadians are "defined in terms of the games they watch and not in terms of the games they play." (21-2) Since the forces of monopoly capitalism draw Canadians into watching and playing Americanized sports, this undermines Canadian identity. Sean Hayes, "Blue Jay Fever and some other Sporting Formations of Canadian Nationalism..." M.A. thesis (Carleton University, Ottawa, 1994).

<sup>204</sup> Adelman 76.

identity which would *include* Natives, French Canadians and working classes,<sup>205</sup> the Montreal middle classes used it to exclude and subordinate those Others. Moreover, from the 1880s onward lacrosse faced a problem shared with snowshoeing. By that time there were already 150 lacrosse clubs in England, American lacrosse clubs had formed their own national lacrosse association, and an Irish lacrosse team had even toured Canada in 1886.<sup>206</sup> Lacrosse was losing its potency as a national signifier which could distinguish between Canadians, Americans and British.

Despite these later problems, prior to 1885 lacrosse was clearly an indigenous activity, and winning matches against Native teams (which the white teams did more and more) by transforming the game using British ideology and modern scientific principles, legitimized the colonists' claim to be native-Canadian, while underscoring the belief that Native peoples were a subordinate and dying race. The exclusion, or non-participation, of the working classes, French Canadians, and an increasingly large number of immigrants, and the marginalization of women to the role of spectator, further solidified the Canadian identity which emerged as white, male, Protestant and Anglo-Saxon.

---

<sup>205</sup> This strategy was implemented in Winnipeg after 1900, where organized, manly sports were seen as an instrument of ethnic assimilation. Through participating in sport, it was hoped that non-British immigrants would develop healthy bodies and become familiar with the "Canadian" way to behave. Mott, "One Solution" 65.

<sup>206</sup> Morrow, "Canadian Image" 62; NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, 546; David Brown, "Canadian Imperialism" 61.

## CHAPTER 4

**THE MONTREAL WINTER CARNIVALS: AN "EMINENTLY CANADIAN"<sup>1</sup> SPECTACLE**

for an ethnic group to become a group and not merely a collection of people it must identify itself, and be identified by others, as constituting a category different from other categories of the same type...In short, it must have a strongly developed consciousness of kind.

Chris Shore, "Ethnicity as Revolutionary Strategy."<sup>2</sup>

Five times during the 1880s, a stalwart army of volunteers from a variety of Montreal sports organizations staged a six-day winter festival to showcase their city to an estimated 50,000 visitors from Canada, America and Europe. According to Robert D. McGibbon, the man who was credited with initiating the winter carnivals in 1883, their objective was "to make Montreal a winter resort," so that visitors might see for themselves how Canadians could enjoy the winter and appreciate its health-giving benefits.<sup>3</sup> To this end, the week was deliberately designed as a simulacrum of the Montreal winter season. As a writer in the Montreal Gazette explained:

with the exception of the Ice Palace and some other features introduced to enhance the interest of the occasion, the Carnival is in reality only a panorama or general view of the recreations which, to our young and healthy especially, make our Canadian winter a season of delight.<sup>4</sup>

Each year, the Notman Studio produced a photographic montage as a souvenir illustrating these winter recreations [Figure 4.1].<sup>5</sup> It was hoped that the Carnivals would

---

<sup>1</sup> As commented by a Boston journalist who had witnessed the torchlight procession for the Dufferins in 1873. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, Journal [Boston], 22 January, 1873.

<sup>2</sup> Chris Shore, "Ethnicity as Revolutionary Strategy. Communist Identity Construction in Italy," in Macdonald, Inside European Identities 36.

<sup>3</sup> Gazette, January 26, 1883, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Gazette, January 27, 1883, 4.

<sup>5</sup> This image was designated as a View, which indicates it was sold in large numbers in various sizes. Contemporary newspaper reports claim the Notman Studio sold 1500 copies of the

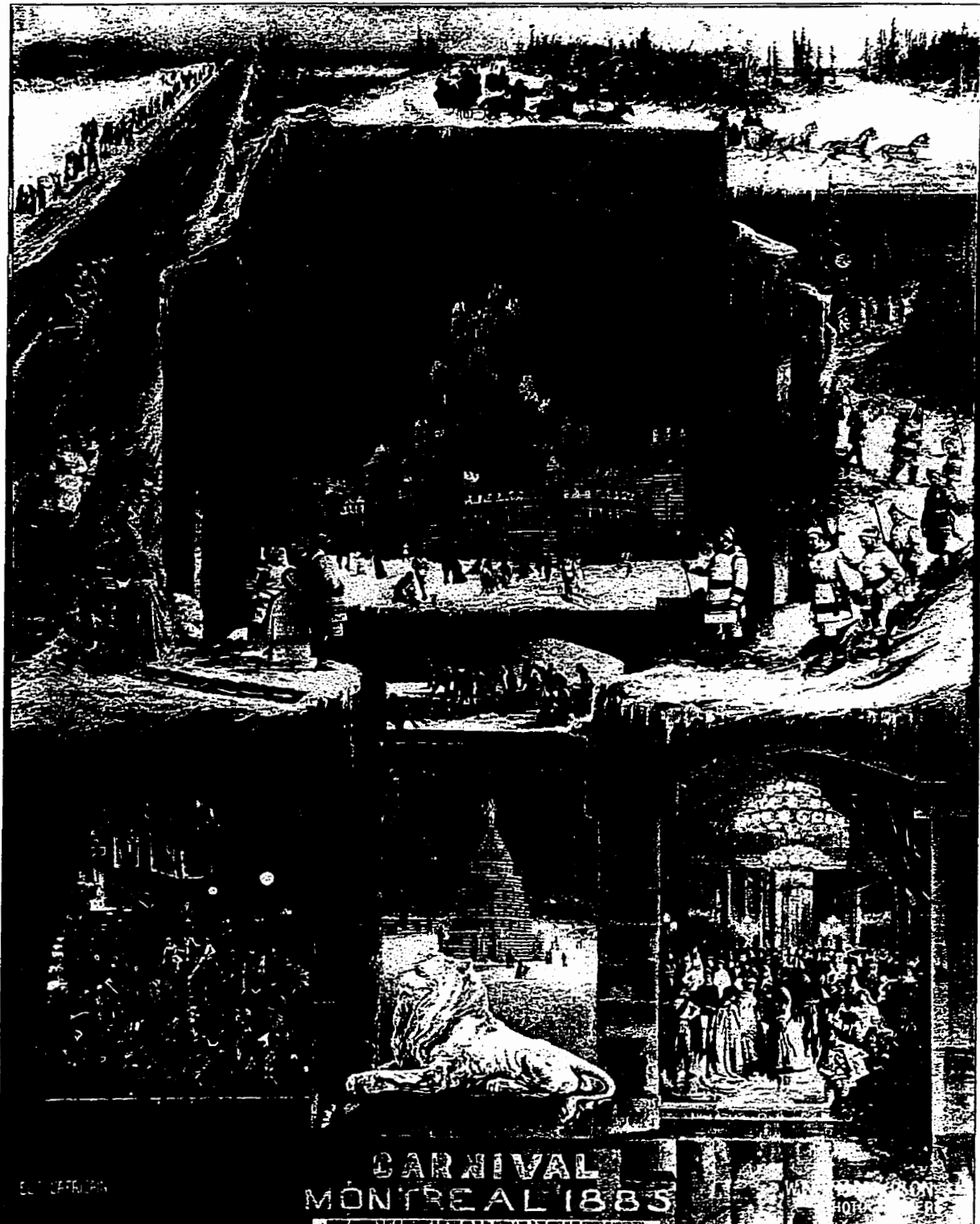


Fig. 4.1: "Carnival: Montreal 1885," composite photograph painted by Eugene L'Africain. NPA: V1478

counter the prevailing image abroad of Canada as a snowy, inhospitable wilderness, and thereby encourage immigration and commerce. To this end, in the 1885 poster photographs of the toboggan slide, Tandem Club sleighs, and snowshoers tramping down the serpentine path on Mount Royal framed an image of the Ice Palace at night. The Palace can be seen through the opening in a rough hewn arch made of blocks of ice, at the side of which a snowshoer stands with torch in hand as if on guard. On the other side a tobogganing couple and another man gaze at the scene within. At the centre of the poster is a small curling composite, reminding the viewer that the Scots were a primary constituent of Montreal's history. The lower half of the poster is divided into three scenes, each set within an ice arch. On one side is a skating masquerade, on the other is a Fancy Dress Ball at the Windsor Hotel, and in the middle is the Ice Condora and Ice Lion, built by the French-Canadian organizers to attract visitors to the predominantly francophone part of the city.

The composite image identifies Canadians with a wintery landscape and outdoor winter sports, but reassures the viewer that the nation is built on very firm and united foundations. The massed members of the upper and middle classes in the two lower corner images are dressed in historical costumes which evoke and mingle the history of Canada and its European founders. The connection of Canada to Britain, and the allegiance of the French Canadians to the British monarchy is signified by the Ice Lion, while Canada's place within the British Empire is signified by the Ice Condora, which is topped with a sculpture of a snowshoer in the costume of a French-Canadian snowshoe club. Thus, the indigenous Canadian identity which displays itself in outdoor sports is

---

1883 version at \$2 apiece: Morrow, "Frozen Festivals" 181. As souvenir items, these photographs functioned as reminders of a place and its people, and evoked an image of these for those who had not experienced them personally.

manifested inside as respectable, polite and civilized. The two poles of Canadian identity are represented as in accord. Excluded completely from this bucolic image are the Native people who provided the activities considered characteristically Canadian. Also excluded are the working classes who built the ice sculptures, made the fancy clothes and cooked the meals, but did not themselves have access to these pastimes or entertainments.

The five Carnivals, held in 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887 and 1889, had very similar programs.<sup>6</sup> With few variations, a typical week included the opportunity for visitors to try their hand at tobogganing on one of the slides run by the various toboggan Clubs. They could watch snowshoe races, hockey matches, curling bonspiels, horse races on the river, or skating competitions. They were invited to attend fancy-dress skating carnivals, music concerts performed by snowshoe club members, or, if they were sufficiently wealthy, a society Ball. There were parades of all kinds of sleighs and horse-drawn vehicles in the streets, nightly fireworks displays, and, the highlight of the week, the attack and defence of the Ice Palace, followed by a torchlight procession of snowshoers.

Given their success as tourist attractions, and as a welcome bonanza for the railways, hotels, and local merchants who catered to their needs, it is not surprising that the Winter Carnivals have been a topic of interest to social historians. Sylvie Dufresne has provided an extremely useful and detailed description of the Winter Carnivals in her

---

<sup>6</sup> The 1886 carnival was cancelled due to the smallpox epidemic which raged in Montreal over the winter of 1885-86; the 1888 carnival was cancelled due to poor organization and lack of subscriptions. Sylvie Dufresne argues that the increasing cost of the carnival, the reluctance of the railways and hotels to provide financing, the difficulty of coming up with something new each year, and, most importantly, fatigue and infighting between the snowshoe clubs, contributed to the demise of the Carnivals by 1889: Dufresne, (1980) 22-24. The 1884 carnival attracted the most visitors (approx. 60,000), but the 1885 carnival reached the most elaborate form. Most of my discussion and analysis will focus on the 1885 carnival since it is in the opposition and contrast between the East and West End Committee events that internal tensions around differing concepts of national identity are revealed.

1982 M.A. thesis and subsequent article.<sup>7</sup> Apart from describing the organization and events of the five carnivals held during the 1880s, she analyses the symbols of the carnivals - the ice palace, and other ice structures and statues - and notices two categories of referents: one alluding to British culture and the other to Canadian characteristics such as the “typically Canadian” snowshoe costume.<sup>8</sup> She claims that, although these two streams of referents were not easily decoded by everyone, the monuments of the winter carnivals were ideological vehicles which diffused the dominant discourse.<sup>9</sup> However she does not describe what this was, or how Canadian characteristics came to be recognized as such.

While Dufresne’s work is a tremendously useful foundation for the study of the Winter Carnivals, it leaves many questions unasked. Don Morrow tried to fill this gap by attempting to analyse how the carnivals worked as cultural, sporting and social performances. He identified the carnivals as cultural performances, and argued that they were “social imprinting events,” but without explaining what they imprinted, or how they functioned in this way. Instead he enumerated the aspects of the week’s events which he considered to be carnivalesque, and concluded that the Carnivals started off as ‘pure’ carnival in 1883, but became increasingly corrupted by commercialization and commodification as the years went by.<sup>10</sup>

Frank Abbott’s work on a later winter carnival held in Quebec City in 1896 focusses

---

<sup>7</sup> Dufresne (1980), and “Le Carnaval d’hiver de Montréal, 1883-1889,” Urban History Review 11.3 (1983): 25-45. Since they share the same title, the Dufresne thesis and article will subsequently be distinguished by date.

<sup>8</sup> Dufresne (1980) 46.

<sup>9</sup> Dufresne (1980) 29.

<sup>10</sup> Morrow, “Frozen Festivals” 173-190.



on the visitors, the promoters, the participants and the ordinary citizens of the city and shows that the social divisions existing in the late nineteenth century industrial city were effectively maintained and even strengthened by such festivals.<sup>11</sup> Few ordinary citizens could afford the time and money required to participate in the activities, and the carnival erased the existence of the industrial city by focussing on promoting the romantic and idealized image of Old Quebec propagated by widely-read writers such as Francis Parkman. Like both Dufresne and Morrow, Abbott agrees that members of the business elite took over the traditional carnival and produced "a commercial and exclusive version more in keeping with their [own] tastes and interests."<sup>12</sup> He suggests that the carnival events were an occasion for the elite to display themselves and to express their own values while the role of the crowd was as the receiver of a message "they had no part in formulating."<sup>13</sup>

All these historians seem to take it as 'natural' that winter sports would be the central feature of the carnivals.<sup>14</sup> None of them ask: why snowshoeing? or why tobogganing? They describe and enumerate the public spectacles which made up the Carnival, but fail to set them within the context of the history of such 'invented traditions' in Montreal. Furthermore, they do not consider the role of performance and the agency of the audience in the construction of meaning, for to perform is both to do and to show and "the observation of the deed is an essential part of the doing, even if the observer be invisible or is the performer herself."<sup>15</sup> In contrast, I will consider how winter and winter

---

<sup>11</sup> Abbott, "Cold Cash" 170.

<sup>12</sup> Abbott, "Cold Cash" 202.

<sup>13</sup> Abbott, "Cold Cash" 193

<sup>14</sup> Abbott, "Cold Cash" quotes, without comment, the editor of the Quebec Daily Telegraph: "Of course, the staples would have to be the customary driving, skating, snow-shoeing, curling, hockey playing, tobogganing..." (179)

<sup>15</sup> Driver 80-81.

sports became an essential signifier of Canadian identity which distinguished Canadians from Americans and the British. In addition, I will demonstrate the importance of sports clubs in elaborating a repertoire of public festive forms, and illustrate the ways in which identity was actively performed.

The Montreal Winter Carnivals were neither true carnivals nor traditional French-Canadian festivals or fêtes. Carnivals are popular festivities, occasions for overindulgence in all the fleshly sins. Carnival street parades and festivities are unruly, full of the bizarre and the grotesque because carnival is a space and time of inversions, where the world is turned upside down, and status and rules are disrupted and undermined.<sup>16</sup> But, far from being popular events, only a select portion of the Montreal population participated in the Winter Carnivals, and every attempt was made to avoid the intrusion of any hint of disorder. Although the Winter Carnivals purported to be popular events, they excluded the participation of any but the relatively wealthy. In effect they were civic festivals staged as tourist attractions to put Montreal on the North American tourist map. They provided visitors with a display of Canadiana, and allowed the professional and commercial middle classes the opportunity to dramatize their own

---

<sup>16</sup> According to Victor Turner, carnival is a liminal space where the normal rules of society no longer apply: Turner op. cit. The seminal description of the subversive power of carnival and the carnivalesque is Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). The American carnival tradition, and its connection to French Canada is traced by Samuel Kinser, *Carnival, American Style, Mardi Gras at New Orleans and Mobile* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) ch. 2. A brief review of approaches to carnival can be found in Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto, The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 292-3. For a description of French-Canadian festivals see, Raymond Montpetit, *Le temps des fêtes au Québec* (Montreal: Editions de l'homme, 1978) 169. Dufresne argues that the Carnivals were not traditional, agrarian carnivals such as those popular in Quebec in earlier times. Instead they were motivated by the commercial interests of the organizers: Dufresne (1980) 1-3. Morrow attempts to identify the carnivalesque aspects of the Winter Carnivals, but his arguments are largely unconvincing: Morrow "Frozen Festivals" 173-8.

importance.<sup>17</sup> While the pecuniary incentive was downplayed by Carnival organizers, who claimed to be inspired by the desire “to prove that the people of Montreal can be hospitable, without the vulgar object of money-making,”<sup>18</sup> there is no doubt that the financial advantages of the Carnivals were appreciated. Organizers and newspaper reporters commented on the benefits of the Carnival to the railways, merchants and businessmen as a stimulus for trade, as well as the employment it provided for workers cutting ice blocks, clearing snow, constructing the ice monuments, putting up flags and bunting, and so on.<sup>19</sup> R.D. McGibbon noted the stimulus the Carnivals had provided to athletic sports,<sup>20</sup> and a writer in the Canadian Illustrated News predicted the favourable impression visitors would receive of Canadians:

Visitors will learn that our cold climate does not interfere with the warmth of our feelings or the delicacy of our social intercourse. The evidence of wealth and prosperity which they behold on all sides will show our more southern neighbours that snow and ice are no bar in our commercial development or financial progress.<sup>21</sup>

There was more to the Carnivals, however, than civic boosterism. Raymond Montpetit describes festivals from a functionalist point of view as “la projection idéalisée de l’image que ce groupe cherche à donner de lui-même, de la conception qu’il a, du pouvoir qu’il exerce, et de l’ordre social qu’il maintient.”<sup>22</sup> But the Carnivals were not just an

---

<sup>17</sup> Abbott concludes that the carnivals were primarily tourist products, although he acknowledges their role as cultural performances—imaginative creations of “how things ought to be” from the point of view of the local elite: Abbott, “Cold Cash” 169.

<sup>18</sup> Gazette, February 7, 1884, 4. A writer commented the first year that “The Carnival will excite an interest in Canada to the very ends of the earth...It is (to look at it in a business light) a practical advertisement which could in no way be surpassed. From a patriotic and poetic standpoint, it is a glamorous conception...”. Note the use of ‘glamorous’, from the root word ‘glam’, to trick or enchant through magical illusion.

<sup>19</sup> This view was expressed in Gazette, January 26, 1883, 8; La Presse, January 24, 1885 (Dernière); La Minerve, January 28, 1885;

<sup>20</sup> Gazette, February 11, 1884, 5.

<sup>21</sup> Canadian Illustrated News, January 27, 1883, 51.

<sup>22</sup> Raymond Montpetit, “Fêtes et Société au Québec. La visite de Prince de Galles et al Construction du Crystal Palace à Montréal, en 1860,” Rapport du Groupe de Recherche en Art

'expression' or 'reflection' of the financial and class interests of the professional and commercial middle classes; by their *performance* they were agents in the constitution, or fabrication, of national identity.<sup>23</sup> This was a period of international nation-building, when Canada was pursuing a national policy designed to foster domestic manufacturing and markets, thus forging an independent course which would protect Canadian industry from the United States, and signify independence from Great Britain. The Montreal middle classes - the lawyers, journalists, doctors, merchants and small-scale entrepreneurs who ran the sports clubs, along with the growing class of white-collar clerks, bookkeepers and salaried employees who made up the bulk of their membership - wanted to establish their identity as members of a civilized, progressive, modern nation which cherished its connection with the British Empire, yet had its own identity distinct from Britain, and the U.S.<sup>24</sup> The Northern destiny discourse, which had drawn on the visual vocabulary created by photographers like William Notman, and been articulated by writers such as Taché, Le Moine, Beers, and Haliburton, provided a distinct Canadian identity which was embodied

---

Populaire, 1975-1979 (Montreal: UQAM, 1979) 261.

<sup>23</sup> Susan Davis argues that parades are more than reflections of society, they are public enactments patterned by and patterning social forces. Celebrations therefore shape the power relations in the city, although they are a selective version of local social relationships which do not represent all communities: Susan Davis, Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986). Parades are seen as political practices producing nationalism by David Waldstreicher, "Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent: Celebrations, Print Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism," The Journal of American History (June 1995): 37-61. Simon Newman looks at the role of festivals and public spectacle/participation in the streets in the formation of political identities in early Republican America of the 1790s: Parades and the Politics of the Street. Festive Culture in the Early American Republic (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). The literature on the productive versus reflective work of fairs and exhibitions is reviewed by Walden Becoming Modern xiii-xiv.

<sup>24</sup> Key organizers from the MSSC included R.D. McGibbon, a lawyer, Hugh Graham, editor of the Star, G.W. Beers, a dentist, and G.R. Starke, secretary of Dominion Transport Co. From the St. George Snow Shoe Club were S. Howard, an engineer, W.L. Mathews, manager of Dorion and Wright Co. Ltd., and F.C. Henshaw, Vice-Consul for South America. The Argyle Snow Shoe Club was represented by C. Torrance, an entrepreneur who headed his own company; T. Brown, manager of Goodyear Rubber Co. belonged to the Montreal Curling Club, C.P. Davidson, a lawyer, from the Victoria Skating Club, and A.W. Stevenson, an accountant, came from the MAAA. List compiled from Dufresne (1980) 114 and Appendix V.

and enacted through the performance of indigenous sports such as snowshoeing, tobogganing and lacrosse. These were 'primitive' aboriginal activities which British colonists had made 'civilized' through the imposition of the British ideology of discipline and fair play. Participating in these sports was an indigenising experience which made one a 'son of the soil' - a new native-Canadian. Enacting this identity in the public spectacles of the Winter Carnivals, in front of a huge international audience, was a display and confirmation of national identity.

The Carnivals were recorded visually in newspaper illustrations and photographs, but these still images do not adequately present the Carnival events as kinetic *cultural performances* - occasions for cultural self-definition which, through a pre-existing script and sequence of events, presented to an audience a vision of what it was to be a certain kind of Canadian, and made participants conscious of themselves as an identifiable group.<sup>25</sup> Understanding the narratives, and hence the meanings these sequences created at the time, is only possible through reading contemporary interpretations, and these are most readily available in newspaper reports. In this chapter, I will therefore turn from the visual record to textual re-presentations of visual experiences, always with the understanding that these reports are *representations* of the events rather than necessarily objective records. In the discrepancies and inconsistencies of the text may be found

---

<sup>25</sup> The Winter Carnivals were neither carnivalesque nor purely ritual. Although elements of what Victor Turner calls "the drama of ritual action" were present, namely, singing, dancing, feasting, and some bizarre dress, "genuinely cathartic effects, causing...real transformations of character and of social relationships" were not effected, especially considering the homogeneous nature of the participants and audience. (Turner 55-56). Instead of *transforming* social relationships, the Carnivals *displayed* and *affirmed* those which already existed. Cultural performances are performances of the "stories a people tell about themselves" (Clifford Geertz, quoted by MacAloon 246), but the problem with the concept of cultural performance is that the tendency is to call *all* social behaviour a cultural performance. I accept John MacAloon's contention that cultural performers are aware of their audience, and also follow "some sort of pre-existing script." MacAloon 8-9.

hidden meanings which could not be voiced. Although little of their work was signed with a by-line, the Montreal press were members of the same social group as the carnival organizers, and largely shared their values and objectives.<sup>26</sup> Through their reports, a much wider audience was informed about Canada and being Canadian than could actually attend the events.<sup>27</sup> A number of these journalists were actually principal members of the carnival organizing committees: for instance H.J. Cloran, the editor of the Post and True Witness, Fred Colson, the editor of the Gazette, Hugh Graham, editor of the Star, John Livingston, editor of the Herald and Fabien Vanasse, editor of Le Monde. The newspapers were, therefore, in favour of the Carnivals, the Star and La Patrie being their most enthusiastic promoters, and all acted as official arbiters of the success and failure of the events.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, their reactions can be considered as representing those of the local audience. The two streams of referents Dufresne notices were not chosen at random, but from a repertoire of traditions invented by the sports clubs over the past four decades.<sup>29</sup> The spectacles mounted for the Carnivals were public displays of colonial

---

<sup>26</sup> For a list of the principal organizers of the carnival, see Dufresne (1980) Appendix V. The bourgeois culture of Victorian reporters is suggested by Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982) 115-155.

<sup>27</sup> "Thus a succession of essentially non-literary...activities assumed a textual existence in the...national press..." Newman 187. Newman's interest is in the political agency of celebratory forms, while I am more interested in their significance in terms of national identity. There is no doubt, however, that the Winter Carnivals were also vehicles by which the status and political power of a particular social group was constituted and affirmed.

<sup>28</sup> Dufresne (1980) 4, 10 n.5. I have relied on Dufresne's thesis for a reading of the Star and La Patrie, and focussed myself particularly on the Gazette, La Minerve and La Presse.

<sup>29</sup> An interesting parallel to the observation that a repertoire of public performances was created as part of nation-building, is the demonstration by Sarah M. Corse, Nationalism and Literature. The Politics of Culture in Canada and the United States (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) that national literary canons, or "repertoires," are also formed in tandem with nation-building. She shows that the development of Canadian national literature was delayed until the mid-twentieth century because Canadians had no need for a Canadian literature while they were happy reading British or French work, and it was not until after post-WWII that it became important to identify a Canadian school. When this emerged, it showed different thematic concerns to American literature, which were "not 'natural', but part of a process of national distinction"(63) She argues that "National literatures are not reflections of the national character,

loyalty and Canadian distinctiveness. This Canadian identity was created through being imagined and envisaged, and then being embodied in repeated performances which were witnessed by audiences who identified the performances as 'Canadian', and sanctioned certain behaviours as legitimate, while censoring those which went beyond the limits of the acceptable. For the continued existence of any putative national identity depends upon its "public transcript" being recognized, accepted, and shared by the people of a nation, or at least by a dominant group. This allows the nation to envision itself as a cohesive identity which includes 'us' and excluded all 'others.' The audience is not, therefore, a passive recipient of "a message it had no part in formulating", as Abbott argues, but an essential and active part of the construction of identity because it proscribes the boundaries of identity, while legitimizing the claim to be 'Canadian'.<sup>30</sup> Having seen and accepted the performance of national identity at the Carnivals, many members of the audience emulated it themselves, thus becoming both pedagogical objects and performative subjects.<sup>31</sup> The interpretation of meaning created by cultural performances was, however, subjective, and consequently different audiences may have formulated different interpretations of the events. Newspaper commentary gives us an indication of how at least one group imagined itself, and analysis of the strategies of representation employed in the Carnival events shows that, while the organizers strove to convey the impression of social and cultural unity for foreign visitors, different, sometimes conflicting, meanings were constructed by

---

but manifestations of the 'invention' of the nation, of the strategies used to create national identities...[they are] powerful visions of the way national elites *construct* the nation and national identity."(74) In other words, the literary (or performative) canon is not random, but selected to say something about national uniqueness.(75) The connection between the nation and literature is taken for granted, and the same is true for sport, and ultimately, for the carnival events. The choice of indigenous sports was not random, and the choice of carnival events grew out of cultural practices constructed for their national significance.

<sup>30</sup> Butler, "Performative Acts" 277 n.9.

<sup>31</sup> Bhabha 297. Members of the audience identify the performers as people like themselves acting as Canadians, which teaches them how to act Canadian, and acting Canadian makes them believe they are Canadian.

performers and local spectators. In fact, the representations of the public spectacles of the Winter Carnivals made visible the growing rifts in Montreal society.

### The Context of Winter Festivities

Although the Winter Carnivals were initially proposed by the snowshoe and lacrosse clubs, and although winter sports were a crucial part of their programme, it is not sufficient to just assume "it would seem natural that winter sport" be showcased.<sup>32</sup> Given the growing popularity of lacrosse and the desire to promote the favourable aspects of the Canadian climate, one might ask why a summer carnival had not been suggested instead.<sup>33</sup> Part of the answer lies in the fact that winter was a slow time for merchants and store owners in Montreal since the St. Lawrence was frozen from November to April and commercial activities could not take place.<sup>34</sup> An event such as a *winter* carnival, which required snow and ice as a prerequisite, made this climatic disadvantage into a virtue, and would "revaloriserait cette saison", and stimulate the local economy by promoting tourism from other parts of Canada and the United States.<sup>35</sup> More importantly, though, they were

---

<sup>32</sup> Morrow, "Frozen Festivals" 174. For Morrow the place of sport in the Carnivals is "intriguing" because he assumes that "sport" is synonymous with "competitive sport," which he rightly notes was marginalised in the program. By defining the Winter Carnivals as *camaval*, rather than as civic festivals, he misses the point. It was the display of indigenous sports which was central to the Carnivals, not competition. His claim that the "carnivals were hollow dramas of Montreal sporting myths and activities that reflected, at various times, the essence of the spirit of carnival" is wrong. The Montreal sporting myths and activities were far from hollow dramas, they were cultural performances full of meanings for participants and spectators, meanings about identity and nation, not about "carnaval." (188)

<sup>33</sup> In fact this was suggested at various times. A dispute began in 1885 between the Hamilton Spectator and the Montreal Star over whether advertising Canada by means of winter carnivals was counter-productive in that it emphasized the difficulties of the climate and might discourage immigration: The Week, January 29, 1885, 136. L'opinion publique, 25 January, 1883 shared these reservations: quoted by Dufresne (1980) 141. La Minerve, February 2, 1885 saw it as the loss of another chance to promote the good agricultural possibilities of the Canadian climate.

<sup>34</sup> Despite the new transportation links, contemporary newspapers still complained of the slow-down of business caused by the winter.

<sup>35</sup> Dufresne (1980) 9.



winter carnivals because winter and winter sports were the unique signifiers of Canada. Snowshoeing and tobogganing were principal events in the Carnivals because they were distinctive as national characteristics - and novelties which would attract American visitors.<sup>36</sup> Whereas curling, skating and sleighing were activities available elsewhere, snowshoeing and tobogganing were specifically Canadian winter sports which had to be experienced *in situ*.<sup>37</sup> Since the purpose of the Carnivals was to overcome unfavourable stereotypes of the Canadian climate by showing visitors how Canadians survived, and even enjoyed the winter season, winter sports were the ideal medium by which to demonstrate this.

Previous chapters have showed how a particular national identity was envisaged and imagined by members of the professional and middle classes in Montreal. Photographers like William Notman provided a visual vocabulary, while W. George Beers linked indigenous sports and Canadian nationality in numerous articles touting the distinct character of Canadian sports, and through his promotion of lacrosse as Canada's national game.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the snowshoe clubs created an ethos of strenuous exercise, discipline,

---

<sup>36</sup> Lacrosse, the indigenous *summer* sport, was represented at the 1884 Carnival by a match played on ice. It aroused much attention, but was not repeated since it was felt the audience had not sufficiently understood the game, and hockey was much more suited to the season. No doubt it was included due to its importance as a national signifier, and it should be remembered that many of the snowshoers also played lacrosse.

<sup>37</sup> The importance of curling as a Carnival event declined rapidly each year. It was one of the major features of the first Carnival, but by 1885 was a minor event. This could be interpreted as evidence of the increasing iconic significance of indigenous sports, or may simply be due to the reluctance of the curling clubs to keep up a high level of involvement in Carnival organization. Fewer outdoor rinks for public skating appear to have been built each year as well, but this may reflect declining interest on the part of journalists reporting their existence rather than reality. Sleigh riding and parades were an important feature of every Carnival.

<sup>38</sup> He claimed: "One of the characteristics of our best Canadian sports is that they are identified with the Indians." Beers, Over the Snow 15. This statement was reiterated next year in the Souvenir of the Montreal Winter Carnival of 1884... (Montreal: Canada Railway News Co. Ltd., 1884).

manliness and respectable behaviour linked to a narrative of nation which connected the snowshoers back to a golden age of snowshoeing in the fur trade. Since the formation of the first club in 1843, snowshoeing had gradually gained in popularity, and several clubs were formed in the 1870s. By the 1880s snowshoeing was at the peak of its popularity in Montreal, Quebec City, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg and the Maritime provinces. It attracted many of "the leading spirits of the day," including men from "our legislative halls, counting houses, banks, bench and bar."<sup>39</sup> The large number of clubs meant that every evening of the week one or more would muster for a tramp over the mountain, and several clubs would gather on Saturday afternoon for a longer and more challenging excursion, making the distinctive snowshoe uniform a common sight on the streets of Montreal. The profuse acclaim which snowshoers and snowshoeing received in the press reports of the first Carnival in 1883, both in Canada and abroad, affirmed the distinctiveness of the sport as a national pastime, and stimulated the formation of new clubs the following season.<sup>40</sup>

In formulating a program for the Winter Carnivals, there were a number of public celebrations providing a repertoire of events upon which the organizers could draw. The Winter Carnivals were timed to coincide with *caraval*, the week before the beginning of Lent, but by 1880 this traditional French-Canadian holiday was little observed, at least in the city of Montreal.<sup>41</sup> However, regular parades were held by fraternal organizations such

---

<sup>39</sup> W. George Beers, "Canadian Winter Sports," Bishop's Carnival Illustrated, (Montreal: George Bishop & Co., February 1884) n.p.

<sup>40</sup> The exact number of clubs in existence at one time is hard to pinpoint, since many had a very fleeting existence, perhaps only lasting one season. Morrow estimates there were 25 clubs in existence in Montreal in 1885: Morrow, "Knights" 37. Metcalfe claims there were 20 clubs in 1881 and 16 in 1887: Metcalfe, "Evolution" 149. Membership figures showed big increases in the 1880s; for instance, in 1886 the MSSC had 1100 active members, as opposed to 300 in 1878: Morrow "Knights" 5 n.5.

<sup>41</sup> Abbott, "Cold Cash" 186. Mardi gras had been unruly and unrestrained in New France, people went disguised in the streets, made lots of noise, knocked on doors and windows, etc. These activities were discouraged by the Church and disapproved of by early English travellers:

as the freemasons and Oddfellows, by trade and labour groups, and national societies such as the St. George's and St. Andrews's. Civic balls, addresses, toasts, illuminations, military parades and gun salutes were common forms of ceremonial for visiting dignitaries, and particularly for royal or vice-regal visits.<sup>42</sup> In addition, there were funeral parades, religious celebrations and the annual St. Jean Baptiste Day festival, which included a parade followed by speeches, picnic, and sports. In fact, some felt there were too many festivals and holidays in Montreal, and hinted that this love of amusement might be a character flaw.<sup>43</sup>

Along with these celebratory forms, was the substantial repertoire of snowshoe club activities which had become annual traditions over recent decades. Since the Winter Carnivals were designed to represent the winter season in Montreal, these became key features of the program. For instance, as discussed in the first chapter, the MSSC held the first "Snowshoe Concert" in 1874, a program of club choruses, songs, solos and tableau vivant performed in aid of charity. This proved so popular that snowshoe concerts became a yearly event, and clubs travelled to other towns in order to raise money. These concerts became a feature of each carnival. Similarly, ever since 1847 the clubs had held

---

Abbott, "Cold Cash" 185 n.43.

<sup>42</sup> Peter Goheen has written several articles on street parades in Victorian Canada. See, for example, "Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada," Urban History Review 18.3 (Feb 1990): 237-243 and "Parading: a lively tradition in early Victorian Toronto," Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective. Essays on the meanings of some places in the past, eds. Alan R.H. Baker and Gideon Biger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 330-351. The American repertoire of celebratory forms, and their agency in popular political culture is discussed by Newman op. cit.

<sup>43</sup> La Presse, January 31, 1885: "Depuis un an, nous avons eu six fois du fêtes, et mêmes d'avantage: le dernier carnaval, la Kermesse, la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, la visite des savants anglais, les voyages aux eaux, l'exposition, et le carnaval qui se termine aujourd'hui; tout cela nous a occupé plus de la moitié du temps." The writer goes on to suggest that if the workers had constructed stone houses instead of ice palaces, they would have earned the same amount of money but their work would not have been lost.

annual races, and these too became a feature of the Carnivals. The most spectacular traditions 'invented' by the snowshoe clubs were those which had been created to welcome royalty, namely the torchlight snowshoe procession, first performed for Lord and Lady Dufferin in 1873, and the 'living arch,' first created for the arrival of the Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise in 1878, both of which became key events incorporated into the Carnival program.

For all but the first Carnival, when Lord Lorne was unable to attend, a snowshoe arch was built at the corner of St. James Street and McGill, marking the edge of the old city of Montreal, and the governor general's carriage passed through the arch on the way from the train station to his rooms at the Windsor Hotel.<sup>44</sup> The other remarkable tradition invented by the snowshoe clubs, namely the torchlight procession, was also inspired by the desire to display colonial loyalty through physical performance and will be discussed at length below. Since the majority of the Carnival organizers were themselves leading members of the sporting clubs, it is not surprising that torchlight processions, living arches, snowshoe concerts, competitive races, and picturesque costumes, all became mainstays of the Winter Carnival programs.

### **The Two Poles of Canadian Identity**

While winter sports signified and displayed the indigenous pole of Canadian identity, which was a conflation of Native and French-Canadian cultures, the British pole was evidenced through the 'civilized' and orderly manner with which the Carnivals were conducted. The two poles of Canadian identity were also evident in the symbolism and ornamentation mobilized by the Carnival organizers. Numerous references made it clear

---

<sup>44</sup> Dufresne (1980) 183-4. The governor general did not pass through the snowshoe arch in 1885. The 1884 Snowshoers' Arch was illustrated in Montreal Daily Star, Carnival Number 1884.

that Canadians were a special type of British subject. Royal emblems competed for precedence with snowshoes and toboggans and tuques as ornament on arches, parade floats, street decorations, at the ice rinks, and even as centerpieces on the buffet tables of the Windsor Hotel Balls.<sup>45</sup> British flags were flown in the streets alongside the American and Dominion flags; at the Victoria Skating Rink in 1885 a bust of Queen Victoria sculpted in ice took centre place, flanked by ice sculptures of male and female snowshoers. The ice palaces were inspired by medieval castles, and the ice edifices designed and built for the predominantly French-Canadian east end of Montreal made reference to British heritage. The Condora, built in 1885, was said to be inspired by a Buddhist temple and the Ice Lion was modelled after the lions at the foot of Nelson's Column. In 1887 an ice maze, fashioned after the one at Hampton Court, was built in the Champs de Mars. Furthermore, Canadian patriotism and loyalty was not confined to visual symbols: at dinners and banquets toasts were made to the royal family, and British patriotic songs were part of the program of every music concert.

There was a close connection between the sports clubs and representatives of the British monarchy. The first public lacrosse game by the MLC was played for the Prince of Wales; Prince Arthur had been an active participant in winter sports, and had been on hunting expeditions in the Gatineau hills; the first torchlight procession by the snowshoe clubs was held for Lord Dufferin, and the first snowshoe arch was built to welcome Lord Lorne and Princess Louise. Lord Dufferin, Lord Lorne and their families were enthusiastic participants in winter sports, camping and hunting, and built toboggan slides and ice rinks

---

<sup>45</sup> At the 1885 Fancy Dress Ball, the centerpieces were the ice palace and male and female snowshoers sculpted in sugar, as well as a condora, a steeplechase, a fountain and deer: Gazette January 31, 1885, 5; La Presse January 31, 1885 (Dernière).

at Rideau Hall.<sup>46</sup> In participating in these indigenous activities, the royal representatives conferred upon them the royal seal of approval, confirming their respectability and legitimacy. Thus, they enacted in material form the link between the colony and the Empire, and established these particular cultural practices as characteristically Canadian.

The participation of the governor general and his party was always a feature of newspaper reporting. Lord Lorne was unable to attend the first carnival, but Lord Lansdowne's participation in 1884 gained him great popularity. Lord Lansdowne allowed his name to be attached to the 1884 Carnival as its Honorary Patron, and agreed to accept membership in a new Toboggan Club named in his honour. He and his wife officially opened the Lansdowne Toboggan Club slide by taking the ceremonial first run down its slopes, and, predictably, were both said to have been greatly amused by the experience.

Tobogganing played a very important role in the Winter Carnivals; it was more accessible to Carnival visitors than snowshoeing because it needed less skill and physical prowess, and could be enjoyed by both sexes and all ages. Visitors could take a bus or cab to any of the club slides, where they were able to use the facilities for free during Carnival week.<sup>47</sup> Thus, they were able to both witness what Canadians did, as well as try out how it felt to be one. This was also true for visitors from other parts of the Dominion, as a result of which the sport was greatly popularized by the Carnivals.

---

<sup>46</sup> Many photographs in the Dufferin Family Album (NAC: 1969-195) attest to this. Gerald Redmond credits Dufferin with establishing a tradition of vice-regal support for sports. Subsequent governors general encouraged sports through awarding championship cups: the Minto Cup for lacrosse, the Stanley Cup for hockey and the Grey Cup for football: Gerald Redmond, The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada (London: Associated University Press, 1982) 140-41

<sup>47</sup> Dawson's Supplement 15-18. Buses left the McGill Gates on Saturday afternoons and moonlight evenings during the winter months.

Tobogganing, or 'Indian sleigh riding,' was an ancient activity in Canada, but apparently unknown to Americans before the 1883 Carnival.<sup>48</sup> According to the Canadian Illustrated News:

To hosts of our American cousins the very name is unknown...This is a purely Canadian sport...These long Indian sleds, thin as wafers, strong as steel...afford an amount of exhilarating fun that is peculiar to themselves.<sup>49</sup>

It was certainly an amusement with a long history in Canada, especially as a winter pastime for children. Beers explained for the benefit of American visitors, that in his schooldays McTavish's Hill and the Côte des Neiges road were favourite tobogganing hills. As the city grew, tobogganers were displaced and Fletcher's Field became a popular site. Tobogganing was not just popular in Montreal; Beers mentions the famous ice cone at Montmorency Falls near Quebec City, and Fort Henry at Kingston as two other excellent tobogganing sites.<sup>50</sup>

Tobogganers initially took advantage of natural hills and slopes and used the "traine sauvages" of Native manufacture.<sup>51</sup> But, in the hands of British colonists, tobogganing, like snowshoeing, was subjected to organization and technological 'improvements'. Little could be done to make the sleds more 'scientific,' but much was done to improve the slides.<sup>52</sup> Ed Ruthven encapsulated the history of tobogganing for his

<sup>48</sup> Winter Carnival Illustrated n.p.

<sup>49</sup> Canadian Illustrated News, Carnival Number with Supplement, January 27, 1883, 5.

<sup>50</sup> Beers Over the Snow 37.

<sup>51</sup> This could be dangerous, and an impediment to traffic. Thirty or forty sleds belonging to children using Beaver Hall Hill on a Sunday in February of 1860 were seized by the police, according to a Gazette report. However, this did not solve the problem since they just used fence posts instead! Quoted by Lindsay, "History of Sport" 72-73.

<sup>52</sup> An excerpt from an article in the January 1886 edition of Outing, notes, however, that the manufacture of a new, faster type of toboggan had been undertaken by a Montreal factory. The old bark toboggans made by Natives cost two or three dollars, this new kind, made more comfortable, feminine and aesthetically pleasing with velvet cushions, cost from \$30 to \$40! The author estimated that it cost "eight or nine hundred dollars to build a double track slide with a 60 to

readers:

It used to be necessary to have a hill and to slide down it until the snow was packed hard enough to make the exercise a pleasure. After a time rich men who did not happen to have hills at hand built slides for their children. The idea was taken up and big slides were built for the amusement of grown people. This was expensive, however, and gave the rich people a monopoly of the sport. Tobogganing clubs were then formed among the young men to put the fun on a more democratic basis.<sup>53</sup>

In effect, then, tobogganing was tamed and domesticated in a similar way to lacrosse and snowshoeing. From being a Native method of transporting goods across the snowy landscape, it was adopted by French, and later British colonists who appropriated the activity, brought it into the city, and transformed it into an organized sport, subject to rules of behaviour and club membership.<sup>54</sup> Several governors general and their families enjoyed tobogganing: Lord Monck had toboggan slides built at 'Spencerwood', his private Quebec residence;<sup>55</sup> Lord Dufferin had one built at Rideau Hall, and Lord Lorne built another,<sup>56</sup> as well as making a skating area with a log cabin for changing.<sup>57</sup> Lord Lorne and Princess Louise regularly gave skating and tobogganing parties for 500 guests at which the governor general dressed in a snowshoe outfit. This must have done much to confer the

70 foot chute and a comfortable club house," and a further \$150 or more a month for upkeep. NAC: MAAA MG28 I-351, H-1992, 83. Prices seem to have fluctuated considerably since the Montreal Star, December 22, 1888, 8, estimates the most comfortable and luxurious of toboggans cost between \$2 and \$3, while the Native-made 'traine sauvage' cost only 70-80 cents: Dufresne (1980) 84.

<sup>53</sup> The Week, February 7, 1885, 153.

<sup>54</sup> The history of tobogganing in the French Regime and the derivation of toboggans, sleighs and carioles is described by J.P. Massicotte and C. Lessard, "Traine et Glissoire à Travers L'Histoire du Québec," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport 19.2 (December 1988): 62-78.

<sup>55</sup> Hubbard, Rideau Hall 17.

<sup>56</sup> Undated letter from Lord Dufferin's son, Archie, to his sister Victoria, commenting on changes to Rideau Hall since they had left in 1878: "Lord Lorne's new wooden toboggan slide is the only change much in the grounds of any importance. It is alongside of the old one and a little higher and steeper." NAC: MG 27 IB3 1/18 D1231/N/2/4.

<sup>57</sup> Letter dated October 8, 1879 from Lord Lorne to his brother, Lord Archibald Campbell: "We are making a most lovely second skating place in a little pine wood close to the House. We are to have a house built as an early Canadian log house close to the ice [for] skate fastening and general warming purposes." NAC: MG 17 I B4 Reel A-717, 1829.



aura of respectability on these sports.<sup>58</sup>

Forming clubs and building slides and club houses was a means by which club members differentiated and separated themselves from the poorer classes. By demarcating specific areas as club property, and by adopting blanket suit costumes, the professional and commercial middle-class tobogganers were in no danger of having to share their slides with 'the great unwashed,' who in any case probably had little time and energy to spare for such diversions. The first club, the Montreal Toboggan Club was formed in 1879, with three slides on Mount Royal near Cote St. Antoine. The club opened its slides to visitors for the first Carnival, and proved to be immensely popular, so much so that the following winter several others were formed, including the Tuque Bleue, the Park, the Lansdowne, and the Beaver. These clubs each maintained their own slides and club houses for refreshments, to provide ladies with a place to arrange their clothes, and for toboggan storage. There were usually four or more slides, with an artificial shoot built at the top to give a steeper drop to the natural hillside. Some clubs built a stairway up the hill beside the slides to make the ascent easier.<sup>59</sup> The drop was steep and long:

The sport is something more than merely exhilarating. A quarter of a mile in fourteen seconds, the first part of the journey down a hill the descent of which is like falling off a roof of a four-storey house, is calculated to quicken the pulse to a point which "exhilaration" is not sufficiently strong to do justice to. Yes, tobogganing is becoming an institution and a hair-raising, breath-catching, glorious institution it is.<sup>60</sup>

Tobogganing therefore had many parallels to lacrosse and snowshoeing: it was an

---

<sup>58</sup> Hamilton Spectator, January 7, 1880. Newspaper clipping, MG 27 I B4, Reel A-717, 1274-6.

<sup>59</sup> Gazette, February 4, 1884, 5 lists the slides and gives their dimensions, as does Dawson's Supplement, 15-18. The details do not always agree.

<sup>60</sup> Ed Ruthven, The Week, February 7, 1884, 153-4.

indigenous activity which had been, 'tamed,' organized and made more 'scientific,' but its history had been appropriated by the British colonists, and claimed for themselves. The blanket uniform was shared with the snowshoe clubs - many members belonged to both, and often to a lacrosse club as well - and in the streets and on the toboggan slides this clearly identified the 'Canadians' from the 'others'.

### **Audiences and the Limits of Identity**

In order for the Canadian national identity constructed through the appropriation and transformation of indigenous activities to earn legitimacy, it had to be displayed publically for a larger, Dominion-wide audience in order to gain their recognition, and to show other Canadians how to be or act Canadian. It also had to be displayed for an American and European audience, to persuade them that Canadians had a distinct nationality of their own. National identities purposefully distinguish one nation from another. Therefore, a distinctive national identity had to distinguish Canadians from 'others' - especially from the two large powers who most influenced Canadian society, namely the U.S. and Britain. The task was to show British visitors that Canadians were loyal and patriotic members of the Empire, but with their own special history and characteristics, such as particular winter sports, and to show American visitors that, like them, Canadians were a civilized, modern and progressive people but distinguished from them by their healthy physique, vigorous winter outdoor activities, and their loyalty to the British monarchy.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Pauline Johnson's performances in England displayed all three of the facets of 'Canadian' identity: she embodied personally both the British and the Native poles, and her accompanist Walter McRaye performed William Drummond's 'habitant' poems: Cecilia Morgan, "Colonial Travellers and Imperial Subjects? The Gendered Representation of Canada's First Nations in Britain, 1890s-1900s," Paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, University of Sherbrooke, June, 1999, 6 n.19.

This demonstration of Canadian national identity was achieved in a variety of ways. Newspaper and magazine articles aided in its dissemination by publicizing Canadian winter sports, and associating them with respectable middle-class values and behaviour.<sup>62</sup> Lacrosse was demonstrated in England the United States, and clubs were subsequently started up abroad. The splendid hunting and fishing available in Canada was promoted by travel literature such as H.B. Small's The Canadian Handbook and Tourist Guide and the Notman *Hunting and Trapping* series of photographs discussed earlier. However, few but the wealthy could afford such a vacation even before the transcontinental railway was completed in 1885. To attract a bigger audience, it was necessary to provide an affordable experience within the means of the professional and commercial middle classes. The Montreal Winter Carnivals were the perfect promotional vehicle by which to achieve this; Montreal was easily accessible by rail from numerous major American cities, and the railway companies encouraged tourism to Montreal by offering special rates within the price range of a larger class fraction than those who could afford a hunting or fishing holiday.

The lengthy lists of arrivals published regularly in the Montreal newspapers show that American visitors travelled from all over the United States in response to the extensive advertising arranged for the Carnivals.<sup>63</sup> In 1885, 33,240 arrived by train at Bonaventure Station and 19,450 at the Canadian Pacific Station.<sup>64</sup> Visitors from cities on the eastern

---

<sup>62</sup> For example, numerous articles by W. George Beers, and those such as an article by John C. Martin on the snowshoeing experience in Canada in Outing, February 1885 and George A. Buffum, "Ralph's Winter Carnival," in St. Nicholas, February 1885 - both cited in The Week January 29, 1885, 146.

<sup>63</sup> Gazette, January 26, 1883, 8 remarks that the carnival "had been advertised from the Atlantic to the Pacific in every newspaper of note." Most of this advertising was placed by the railway companies which stood to profit from transporting visitors to Montreal.

<sup>64</sup> La Presse, February 2, 1885 (Dernière).

seaboard, particularly New York, outnumbered those from elsewhere, but there were also tourists from Cleveland, Dakota, Denver, Minnesota, San Francisco, Montana, California and Honolulu. Visitors from England, Germany, and Havana were also recorded.

Some of the arrivals, such as the Vanderbilt party which attended in 1883,<sup>65</sup> were extremely wealthy, or else well connected, like the son of the U.S. President, Chester A. Arthur Jr., who reportedly came with his sister and party in 1884.<sup>66</sup> Others were political dignitaries, such as the American Consul-General Stearns who came regularly, or the ex-mayor of Liverpool,<sup>67</sup> or important businessmen. The Windsor Hotel, for example, reportedly took booking from the presidents of the New York Central Railroad, Western Union Telegraph Company and American Express Company, plus "twenty females" from Vassar College.<sup>68</sup> So many visitors flooded into Montreal that hotels put beds in the dining rooms and halls to accommodate them, and Montreal citizens opened up their homes.<sup>69</sup>

The Carnivals were well publicized by the newspaper press. Dozens of newspapers and magazines from Europe and the United States were represented, so

---

<sup>65</sup> Gazette, January 25, 1883.

<sup>66</sup> Gazette, February 1, 1884.

<sup>67</sup> Gazette, January 26, 1883. The Ball Committee in 1885 was very ambitious - invitees included the President of the United States, the Governors of all the New England States, and the mayors of all the major American cities on the eastern seaboard: La Minerve, January 22, 1885, 1. Sir John A. Macdonald and other Canadian politicians, mayors and dignitaries were also invited, although very little mention is made of their presence at the Carnivals (e.g. La Presse, January 24, 1885, 8 notes Macdonald was leaving Ottawa for Montreal, but he is not subsequently mentioned as being at any of the Carnival events). The Carnivals was oriented more to attract 'others' than 'us'.

<sup>68</sup> The Week, January 15, 1885, 103.

<sup>69</sup> La Presse, January 28, 1885. Each year, the Carnival Committee organized a registry of lodgings in private homes, and several churches set out beds to accommodate those who could not find hotel rooms. For instance, the lecture rooms of the Calvary Church held 100 beds, and the First French Methodist Church could accommodate 50. This type of lodging was less expensive than the hotels, and may have been a way the less wealthy could attend the Carnival. For an entertaining description of similar difficulties faced by visitors to Toronto's Industrial Exhibitions in this era, see Walden, Becoming Modern 314-320.

many that by 1885 the press were being provided with a special room and services at the Windsor Hotel. It was, therefore, with some justification, but a good dash of hyperbole, that the Gazette claimed: "Our ice palace is a familiar object of beauty to the ends of the earth. Our healthy winter games are known and envied from the tropics to either pole."<sup>70</sup>

Information about the Winter Carnivals, and hence about Canada and Canadians themselves, was also propagated by other means. William Notman and other photographers produced souvenir posters and images; Notman's photograph of the 1883 Ice Palace sold for 75 cents and brought in \$2000,<sup>71</sup> and a large copy of a collage entitled "Winter Sports" was placed in a New York store window for two weeks to advertise the Carnival.<sup>72</sup> The Gazette reported that Mr. H.H. Ragan would be giving lectures illustrated with a stereopticon in Europe, and would include images of the ice palace and winter amusements.<sup>73</sup> Several special numbers were produced by Montreal publishers to accompany the Carnivals: the Canadian Illustrated News sold 3,000 copies of its Carnival Number in 1883 at a cost of \$2 each, and W. George Beers' Over the Snow sold 2000 copies at 75 cents<sup>74</sup>. An illustration of the 1885 ice palace was published in the London Pall Mall Gazette, which described the events planned for the Carnival and noted that "Montreal has long taken the lead in winter sports..."<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, the Montreal Carnivals were not deemed sufficiently noteworthy to be included in the pages of the Illustrated London News. Even the coverage by the Toronto press was limited, although in 1884 Goldwin Smith's Toronto weekly literary review, The Week, carried a long account of

---

<sup>70</sup> Gazette, February 4, 1885, 5.

<sup>71</sup> Dufresne (1980) 14, n.20.

<sup>72</sup> Morrow "Frozen Festivals" 183.

<sup>73</sup> Gazette, January 24, 1883.

<sup>74</sup> Dufresne (1980) 14, n.20. This information is compiled from newspaper reports.

<sup>75</sup> Pall Mall Gazette, London, January 14, 1885, quoted in the Gazette, February 3, 1885, 2.

the Carnival events, the history of Canadian winter sports, and a description of the attack on the ice palace.<sup>76</sup> Its coverage was even more extensive in 1885, with discussion of the Carnival in four successive weekly issues. Even given the fact that the Montreal publications undoubtedly exaggerated the importance of the Carnivals, and that most of the reports eventually published in newspapers abroad were probably fairly sketchy, on balance it must be concluded that the Montreal Winter Carnivals, and therefore Canadian national identity, achieved a high level of exposure.

Many thousands of people were attracted to Montreal in response to this publicity. They lined the streets together for parades, mingled on the toboggan slopes, placed bets on the horseraces, or dressed up for skating masquerades or the society Balls, but they were not all members of the same audience. They constituted multiple audiences, each of which interpreted the meaning of the spectacles in different ways. The local audience of Montreal citizens was a very select group made up only of those who could afford the time and expense of attending Carnival events. To be sure, the Carnivals provided an opportunity for temporary work for the working classes of Montreal during the winter period when work was scarce.<sup>77</sup> Male labourers were employed in preparing the streets and the ice monuments, while women worked in the kitchens and sculleries of Montreal homes and hotels, cooking and cleaning for thousands of visitors. But while the wealthy danced or skated in extravagant costumes costing more than an unskilled female worker could earn in a year, the vast majority of the poor of Montreal spend their energy on survival.<sup>78</sup> The

---

<sup>76</sup> The Week claimed to have agents in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Denver, London, Paris and Rome.

<sup>77</sup> Abbott, "Cold Cash" 193.

<sup>78</sup> The experience of English women in the late nineteenth century does not support the notion that industrialization resulted in an expansion of leisure time for the working class, or that leisure time was shared equally between men and women: Catriona M. Parratt, "Little Means or time: Working-women and Leisure in Late Victorian and Edwardian England," The International Journal of the History of Sport 15.2 (August 1998): 22-53. Women in the Montreal work force are

cost of participating in most of the Carnival events was quite beyond their means.<sup>79</sup> Only the fireworks displays and street parades were totally free and did not require special equipment or clothing; but even they took place during the working day, or in the central areas of the city where few of the poorer classes lived.<sup>80</sup>

It was local entrepreneurs and merchants who benefited from the carnivals, although the biggest profits went to the railways and hotels.<sup>81</sup> Furriers were particularly busy selling coats, wraps, hats and gloves to the inadequately clad American visitors. Photographers such as William Notman & Son sold photographs of the ice palace or other attractions, as well as portraits of visitors in 'Canadian' winter costume.<sup>82</sup> Souvenir programs and special Carnival Numbers were another big seller. Souvenir sales were also boosted by the Carnivals, and the subjects considered emblematic of Canada show how central indigenous winter sports were to Canadian identity. A jeweller, for example, made up silver brooches, earrings and pins featuring toboggans, snowshoes, lacrosse

---

discussed by D. Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Montreal," Histoire Sociale-Social History 6.11 (April 1973): 202-223.

<sup>79</sup> The cost of one fancy dress costume for the Ball in 1885 was \$250: Star, January 24, 1885. Side by side in the newspapers were reports of the lavish Carnival events and evidence of extreme poverty. For instance, in Carnival week of 1883, 175 families were given outdoor relief at the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, while in 1884, 200 families were helped by the Outdoor Board of Relief: Gazette, January 29, 1883; February 13, 1884, 5. In 1885 La Presse, January 31, reported that thirty workers were walking the streets of the city, having arrived by train from Lac St. Jean after going on strike. For a description of the daily life of the working poor in Montreal during this period see, Bettina Bradbury, Working Families, Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal! (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

<sup>80</sup> Dufresne (1983) 35-36.

<sup>81</sup> The railways brought in 50-60,000 visitors, encouraged by special excursion fares advertised across the continent. In 1883 the Windsor Hotel housed 3,131 guests, making a profit of between \$30-35,000, and the Canada Hotel took in 1500 guests, with an income of \$8,000, compared to its regular weekly income of around \$400: Dufresne (1980)14-15.

<sup>82</sup> Gazette January 25, 1883: "...most of the Americans are getting photographs in various styles of winter garb." Notman was a member of the Ice Palace Committee and produced souvenir composite photographs for each Carnival.

sticks, moccasins and ice palaces.<sup>83</sup> Mr. C. Gentesse invented some souvenir chairs with “backs made of snowshoes and arms made of small toboggans, while pictures of the ice palace and condora are painted on the backs of others.”<sup>84</sup> There was a “Snowshoe Cafe” near Notre Dame Church, whose decor reflected its name,<sup>85</sup> and numerous stores advertised snowshoes, toboggans, tuques, sashes and club costumes for sale.<sup>86</sup> Bishop's Winter Carnival Illustrated noted that toboggans had been “taken home as momentos last year by the hundreds,” particularly the “toy snowshoes made by the Indians.”<sup>87</sup> Indian work and curiosities were also popular with visitors.<sup>88</sup>

The local audience for the Winter Carnivals was largely from the same social strata as the participants and organizers, and this excluded the majority of Montreal's citizens. One estimate is that only 7.6% of the spectators lining the streets were Montreal citizens.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, contemporary commentators lavished praise on “The heartiness of all classes in adopting and urging it [the Carnival] to accomplishment and the pride manifested in the assumption of their respective parts...”<sup>90</sup> The francophone press also saw the Carnivals as having a unifying effect:

---

<sup>83</sup> Gazette, January 27, 1885, 5. Oars and tennis racquets denoted summer sports. In the collection of the Royal Ontario M is a silver napkin ring donated by the Van Horne estate. It was made by an American company, and is a figure on a toboggan c.1880-1900. This may well have been a souvenir item made for the Montreal or other winter carnivals. ROM 986.155.2-3

<sup>84</sup> Gazette, January 24, 1885, 5.

<sup>85</sup> Gazette, January 27, 1885, 5.

<sup>86</sup> For example: La Presse, January 24, 1885, 8; La Minerve January 17, 1885.

<sup>87</sup> Bishop's Carnival Illustrated, 1884, n. p.

<sup>88</sup> Gazette, January 24, 1883, “The Indian curiosity store did a rising business yesterday.” Several advertisements for Indian work and curiosities appeared in Souvenir of the Montreal Winter Carnival of 1884 n.p.

<sup>89</sup> Dufresne (1980) 60-65. Figures for crowds were estimated by reporters and varied wildly, hence this is only a ball-park figure. However, it does serve to highlight the very exclusive nature of the Carnivals.

<sup>90</sup> Gazette January 27, 1883, 4.



Le charme du carnaval a électrisé toutes les classes, tous les âges, et, aujourd'hui, riches et pauvres, jeunes et vieux attendent l'ouverture des fêtes avec la même ardeur.<sup>91</sup>

But this disregarded reality; the working classes participated in that they laboured for the organizers, but they were not members of the crowd who enjoyed the Carnival events. Admission tickets to events such as the Native Concert in 1884 were deliberately kept high in order to ensure that "the rowdy element known as 'the gods'" would not disrupt the sensibilities of their social betters.<sup>92</sup> The toboggan club slides were free to visitors, but Montreal citizens had to be members.<sup>93</sup> Even the lower ranks of the professional and commercial middle classes had difficulty participating, except on the half-day public holiday declared by the Mayor of Montreal each year. In 1884 a hockey match scheduled for 4 o'clock on Friday afternoon had to be called off because the bank clerks who made up one of the teams did not show up on time, despite requests to their employers that clerks "who are members of outdoor sporting clubs [be allowed] a half holiday each day in Carnival week."<sup>94</sup>

It was only the upper echelon members of the sport clubs who led the Carnival Committees, who could afford to attend the society events, and even so very few of them appear in the guest lists for the Grand Ball of each Carnival. Only the indefatigable R.D. McGibbon's name appears regularly at all the major Montreal social events, apparently due to his high-profile in the sport clubs and his political activities, rather than inherited

---

<sup>91</sup> La Presse, January 24, 1885 (Dernière).

<sup>92</sup> Gazette, February 6, 1884, 8.

<sup>93</sup> Star, February 5, 1887 published a "Carnival Notice to Tobogganers" stating that "Our Slides will only be open to strangers. Citizens wanting to participate in this healthy sport during the Carnival week must secure Club Badges." Depending on the club, annual subscriptions cost \$2-4 for a man, \$1 for a boy and \$5 for a family, with women and young children usually admitted free. Quoted by Dufresne (1980) 83.

<sup>94</sup> Gazette, February 9, 1884, 5. Businessmen were asked to complete their banking transactions before 1 o'clock, so that the clerks might leave early.

social status.<sup>95</sup> The colonial elite - the 'aristocracy' of Montreal society such as the Allans and the Redpaths - participated in the Carnivals by displaying their wealth and taste at the Tandem Drive, by attending the society Ball, and by opening their private conservatories to the public on certain days during Carnival week.<sup>96</sup>

Those locals and visitors from other parts of the Dominion who participated in the Carnival recognized and adopted the national identity prescribed by the performances they witnessed. Snowshoeing increased in popularity in response to the exposure it received at the Carnivals; membership in the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, for instance, rose from 300 in 1878 to 1100 in 1886,<sup>97</sup> Only one toboggan club existed in 1880, but there were eight or more by 1884.<sup>98</sup> The Winter Carnival format was copied by other major cities and advertised to visitors as a characteristically Canadian tradition; Quebec City was the first in 1883, followed by Halifax, Ottawa and Hamilton.<sup>99</sup> The winter carnival held yearly in Quebec City to the present day still contains many of the elements of the Montreal carnivals, indicating the enduring nature of these 'Canadian' activities.

According to contemporary newspaper reports, Canadian, American and

---

<sup>95</sup> For example, La Presse January 13, 1885: as ex-president of the Junior Conservative Club, McGibbon gave a toast at the banquet held to honour J.A. Macdonald's 40<sup>th</sup> year in politics.

<sup>96</sup> La Presse, January 22, 1885 (Extra) Those participating in this included John Molson, M.H. Montagne, W. McGibbon, George Stephen, Madame Redpath, and Andrew Allan.

<sup>97</sup> Morrow, "Knights" 5, n.5. The exact number of snowshoe clubs in existence each year fluctuated considerable, but there was undoubtedly a significant increase in clubs in the late 1870s and 1880s. Metcalfe, "Evolution" (149) estimates there were 7 clubs in 1871, 15 in 1877, 20 in 1881, a steady 16 or 17 over the next 13 years, and then a big jump to 22 clubs in 1894. As an indication of the prevalence of indigenous sports, between 1867 and 1885 there were 63 snowshoe clubs, 78 lacrosse clubs, and 46 baseball clubs formed (many only lasted a few seasons). Metcalfe, "Organized Sport" 85.

<sup>98</sup> Dufresne (1980) Appendix VI.

<sup>99</sup> Morrow, "Frozen Festivals" 188. Organizers of the Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894 considered "the staples" to be winter sports, masquerade balls, torchlight processions, a military parade on snowshoes, and an attack and defence of an ice castle or fort: Abbott, "Cold Cash" 176.

European visitors were uniformly enthusiastic in their response to the Carnivals, marvelling at the spectacles and joining in the outdoor activities. Largely erased from our sight, are the grumbles and complaints which must have been voiced at times - the discomfort of ill-clad visitors in the cold, resentment at expensive cab rides, lack of hotel rooms, and so on. Even the mistakes and mishaps which are bound to occur at this type of event were written out of the newspaper record in the effort to create a perfect image for the city. We only detect traces of these in comments about how to avoid last year's problems, or in the occasional critique.<sup>100</sup> A series of cryptic comments published in the Gazette under the title, "Carnival Echoes," is a clue to these erasures - if only we could "get the joke," we would understand more about the tensions and controversies raised by the Carnivals.<sup>101</sup> Here we can find complaints about the lack of hotel accommodation: "Put me in my little--four in a room at \$20--cot. --*American Visitor*." Or, about the less than hospitable behaviour of some Montrealers: "A chapter of short answers, by *The Hotel Clerk*." They also indicate that newspaper reports constructed events the way they should have been rather than as they were. For instance: "We had no 'hand' in that fireworks fizzle - *The Ice Palace Committee*." -- the fireworks for the attack on the Ice Palace had been provided by the Hand Fireworks Company, but reports of the event did not mention any problem with them; quite the contrary, the displays were highly praised.

At times, we do find more explicit evidence of various transgressions in the

---

<sup>100</sup> For example, La Minerve, February 2, 1885 and La Presse, February 2, 1885 both had criticisms about the design, execution and coordination of various events.

<sup>101</sup> Robert Darnton points out the importance of this in, The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History (New York: Vintage Books, 1984) 77-78. "Carnival Echoes" was published on February 13, at the end of the 1884 Carnival. Some of the statements are partially decipherable, eg: "A load of 'Sin'. Tobogganing with the *Manager of the Brooklyn Park Theatre*". Were the Manager's companions less than respectable?; whereas: "It wasn't my fault. -- J--n L--s" is entirely enigmatic.

newspaper record. These highlight the role played by the Carnival audiences as arbiter of the limits of identity; for, when cheers turn to boos that limit has been reached. Often what is acceptable for one class, race or gender is resisted and challenged by another, but it is the dominant group in society which attempts to impose its values on others. Several incidents reported in the newspapers during the 1885 Carnival reveal some of the underlying tensions in Montreal society. For instance, although there was much enthusiasm for tobogganing as a thrilling and characteristically Canadian activity, it was *organized* tobogganing the promoters had in mind. Unauthorized tobogganing on city streets was frowned upon now that the clubs had built artificial slopes, and a commentator in the Gazette complained about the lack of “respect for the rights of pedestrians” by “young men...pushing through the crowd dragging their toboggans behind them with such carelessness that other people were injured.” He continued, if they “have not sense enough to take the roadway when the sidewalks are crowded the police ought to compel them to do so.”<sup>102</sup> Here we can see reflected the struggle for control of behaviour on the streets of industrial cities. The expectation was that the respectable tobogganer belonged to a toboggan club and stored his sled in the club house rather than bringing it with him each time. Furthermore, the writer assumes a certain set of rules about proper behaviour in crowds, where communal order should prevail over aggressive individualism. The same complaint about the “breach of ordinary respect for the liberty of the pedestrian” was made against a restaurant owner who had hosed down his fabric awning to make an ice grotto. While the Snowshoe Café was praised for its *interior* decorations, this entrepreneur was castigated for forcing pedestrians off the sidewalk.<sup>103</sup>

---

At times members of the poorer classes attempted to resist middle-class control.

<sup>102</sup> Gazette, January 28, 1885, 8.

<sup>103</sup> Gazette, January 27, 1885, 5.

After the inauguration of the Condora, the snowshoe clubs held a Music Festival at the Drill Hall, on the way to which "a crowd of roughs amused themselves by tripping up the snowshoers as they marched past." At the Drill Hall some "thought to force an entrance without paying and policemen were obliged to use their batons to enforce good behaviour from the rowdies." Middle-class sentiments were offended, not least because some ladies were "badly bruised in the crush at the door."<sup>104</sup>

Comments about the "strange attire worn by a young lady from the country," show that although picturesque costumes were encouraged and lauded in the organized events of the Carnival, they were only acceptable in the guise of being 'historical'. When they were worn as everyday clothing, they were an embarrassment because they detracted from middle-class claims to be 'civilized' and 'modern'.<sup>105</sup> During the Carnival spectacles it was desired that the illusion of a rustic and picturesque pre-industrial idyll be created; hence when a "noisy crank" suggested that the Carnival should be initiated "by firing a salute from the mountain park, to be immediately followed by the ringing of church and factory bells and the sounding of steam whistles," the idea was quickly shot down.<sup>106</sup>

Furthermore, behaviour which was castigated and punishable in one class, was condoned in another. Six American visitors "created a sensation" in St. James Street by

---

<sup>104</sup> Gazette, January 30, 1885, 5.

<sup>105</sup> Gazette, January 28, 1885, 8.

<sup>106</sup> Gazette, January 26, 1885, 5. Frank Abbott argues that the carnival erased the traces of the industrial city, giving the illusion of being in Europe, but I suggest that the *illusion* was to Old Quebec (ie pre-Conquest New France): Abbott, "Cold Cash" 171. Since Independence Day in the United States was celebrated by bells and cannon fire greeting the dawn, this suggestion may also have smacked too strongly of Americanism. For a discussion of this tradition, and the constitutive role of Fourth of July celebrations in the U.S. see Len Travers, Celebrating the Fourth. Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997) 19.

hiring a sleigh and a hurdy-gurdy grinder to supply music while they toured the streets, smoking cigars and stopping frequently for “refreshments”. While the Court Recorder had announced publically that drunkenness and disorder would be dealt with very severely during Carnival in order to uphold the honour and reputation of the city, these men were indulged because of their class and nationality.<sup>107</sup> Instead of being punished by the usual fine of \$5 or 15 days for drunkenness, or being the brunt of disapproving remarks in the newspaper, “the steady going wayfarers [on St. James Street] laughed heartily at their jovial eccentricities.”<sup>108</sup> Their deviant behaviour was not exactly condoned, but it was interpreted as harmless eccentricity rather than disorder because they were Americans. A drunken American confectioner was also treated leniently, being let go by the Court because he was considered to have suffered enough after having lost his way and had his fur hat and money stolen.<sup>109</sup> What was as important as nationality in these cases was clearly the class of the offenders, since two American pickpockets caught in the act by police, and an American thief stealing money and goods in a hotel, were duly punished.<sup>110</sup> The example of a young man arrested for stealing six billiard balls, but not prosecuted as he “was of a respectable family” shows that charges against middle-class offenders were often dropped because of their social standing.<sup>111</sup>

By the 1880s, respectable female behaviour in public included a measure of active participation in sports. As I have shown, the national identity constructed by the Montreal sports clubs was overwhelmingly masculine, and women’s participation had largely been relegated to the grandstand where they were valued as spectators who signified and

---

<sup>107</sup> La Presse, January 27, 1885 (Extra)

<sup>108</sup> Gazette, January 27, 1885, 5.

<sup>109</sup> La Presse, January 31, 1885.

<sup>110</sup> La Presse, January 28, 1885; January 29, 1885 (Extra).

<sup>111</sup> Gazette, January 30, 1885, 5.

assured the genteel respectability and proper behaviour of their menfolk on the playing field or race track. Organized sport had been a means by which male gender roles had been defined, enacted and displayed. Moreover, the scientific discourse which constructed women as frail and physically incapacitated had kept them on the sidelines, where they served to heighten men's masculinity.<sup>112</sup> But, in the last two decades of the century, attitudes towards women's participation in physical activities were changing. Sport historians usually claim this was precipitated by the bicycle craze of the 1890s, but it had antecedents in other, earlier 'crazes' amongst upper-class women in Britain, which in turn influenced North America. In the 1860s women were active in croquet; roller skating was popular in the seventies, tennis in the 1880s, and golf and bicycling in the 1890s.<sup>113</sup> In Canada, ice skating, snowshoeing and tobogganing must be added to the list.

At the Winter Carnivals, therefore, some space was allowed for female participation, albeit limited in stereotyped ways. Women were invited as both participants and spectators to the skating carnivals and masquerades, although, of course, only those who could afford costumes and tickets could attend. Likewise, on the toboggan slopes, women of the right class were encouraged to participate in the activity rather than be bystanders. As already noted, their presence was catered to by the provision of a club room for refreshments and adjusting clothing. Needless to say, the toboggans on which

---

<sup>112</sup> Patricia Vertinsky, The eternally wounded woman: women, doctors and exercise in the late nineteenth century (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Women and their Role in Nineteenth-century America," J.A. Mangan and Roberta J. Parks, eds., From 'fair sex' to feminism: sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial eras (London: Frank Cass, 1987): 13-38.

<sup>113</sup> A Punch cartoon from July 18, 1891, illustrates this nicely: see Roberta J. Park, "Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective," in Mangan and Park, From 'fair sex' 83. The competitive spirit shown by women on the croquet field is discussed by Jon Sterngass, "Cheating, Gender roles, and the Nineteenth-Century Croquet Craze," Journal of Sport History 25.3 (Fall 1998): 398-418.

women rode were usually commanded by men, who steered by either trailing one foot behind, or by using short sticks to guide the sled down the run.

By all accounts, tobogganing was “a new sensation” for Americans, especially for young women, who were urged to sample the thrill of tobogganing, described in surprisingly eroticised terms. The Canadian Illustrated News promised: “She will experience a sensation – short, sharp and singular – that she will not forget for many a day.”<sup>114</sup> The Gazette described:

A soft push, a gentle movement, which grew into a fearful rush then a bump, causing a tighter grip on the rungs, a whirl of fine snow in the face, lights passing in a more rapid succession than telegraph poles on a flying train, faster and faster they go and intenser grows the excitement, gradually the terrific speed slackens and with almost a regretful sigh that the slide was not prolonged, the end is reached...<sup>115</sup>

Like snowshoeing, tobogganing presented unique opportunities for intimate chats and body contact which would have been considered scandalous in other circumstances:

Young ladies never look so piquant as they do in blanket suits – then hauling the toboggan uphill just gives the opportunity for a confidential chat denied in all formal meeting places. When Florence or Charlotte has to be tightly encircled by the grasp of an admiring pilot, down the glittering descent, the pair feel the mutual dependence and responsibility, which often leads them to courtship in earnest.<sup>116</sup>

To capture the moment, George Bishop’s publishing house issued two lithographs entitled *L’amour en Raquettes*.<sup>117</sup> The Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal, Mgr. Edouard-Charles Fabre, however, saw this mixing of the sexes on the slopes as morally dangerous, and

---

<sup>114</sup> CIN, January 27, 1883, 50.

<sup>115</sup> Gazette, February 5, 1884, 5.

<sup>116</sup> The Week, January 15, 1885, 103. See also “Down at the Carnival”, a poem by “Nathaniel Nix” about a girl glimpsed on the toboggan slide: February 5, 1885, 154.

<sup>117</sup> La Presse, January 27, 1885. Designed by Harris; \$2.30 coloured, \$1 black and white.



feared women would adopt dissipated masculine habits and tastes. He issued a circular ordering his clergy to discourage tobogganing because it was too violent an exercise for their health, and a risk to their virtue.<sup>118</sup> The New York Sun had no qualms about the effect of tobogganing on women's health. On the contrary, the writer commented on the natural beauty of Canadian girls, praising their bright red cheeks and flashing eyes as being the product of healthy outdoor exercise, rather than relying on cosmetics like their American counterparts.<sup>119</sup> This extended to women the stereotype of Canadians as healthy, vigorous outdoor lovers.

How far the audiences 'read' the Carnival events or indigenous winter sports as a national display is, of course, hard to determine. We have some indication that visiting Americans 'got' the message that Canadians were a special kind of British subject, and that winter sports were a national signifier. For instance, American Consul-General Stearns praised the 1883 Carnival as "a grand display" which "beat the Yankee nation," and he "wished Canadians the greatest happiness that can come to any people seeking a high and noble nationality. [loud cheers]".<sup>120</sup> In an after-dinner speech at the annual dinner of the Montréal Snow Shoe Club in February, 1883, W. H.H. 'Adirondack' Murray was reported to say

that he saw something in this club of national significance, an organization for raising up to something higher of the young men of the country. He was one of a minority on the other side of the line who believed that Canada had a great future as a nation. [loud applause] Such clubs, he considered were important factors in this great work.<sup>121</sup>

How far the Canadian participants "internalized the nationalist interpretive framework, and

---

<sup>118</sup> Dufresne (1980) 133.

<sup>119</sup> Gazette, January 27, 1883.

<sup>120</sup> Gazette, January 26, 1883.

<sup>121</sup> Gazette, February 11, 1884, 5. Murray was the proprietor of the Snowshoe Café and "a household name".

how and when" they applied it is also a question that can never be answered directly - ideology works by naturalizing beliefs and activities, so people are not necessarily aware of the conceptual frameworks they have internalized and are acting from.<sup>122</sup> However, analysis of the sleigh drives and snowshoe processions of the 1885 Carnivals shows that the nationalist interpretive framework had indeed been internalized.

### **Social and Ethnic Rifts Exposed**

The predominantly middle-class, English-speaking, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon/Celtic organizers of the Winter Carnivals assumed that the version of Canadian identity they projected through the events was one which united both English- and French-speaking Canadians as members of Northern races. The limited number of French Canadians who were members of the organizing echelons of the sports clubs went along with this, including men such as Alex M. Estella, coal merchant, Jacques Grainier, alderman and textile wholesaler, and I.-B. Drogher, proprietor of the Richelieu Hotel. However, analysis of some of the Carnival events shows significant social and ethnic divisions were discernable by 1885. The programme of events designed for the Winter Carnivals reached its most elaborate form in that year, when a committee of French Canadian business men organized a series of events to take place in the predominantly francophone east end of the City. This was in response to complaints in the previous years that only the English merchants were profiting from the Carnivals because all the events were centred in the anglophone west end of the city.<sup>123</sup> The East End Committee organized a series of events which mirrored those planned for the west end. Instead of an Ice Palace, they built a an ice "Condora" and an ice lion; a Music Festival was planned at the Drill Hall

---

<sup>122</sup> Corse raises this problem in relation to the readers of canonical texts, but it is equally problematic with regards to audiences for cultural performances: Corse 168-9.

<sup>123</sup> La Presse, January 28, 1885 (Extra)

as the equivalent of the "Snowshoe Concert"; a Farmer's Drive paralleled the Tandem Club Drive. Analysis of these events shows that the French-Canadian concept of Canadian identity was quite different to that promulgated by the English-speaking inhabitants of Montreal, and was rooted in a different version of Canadian history.

The association of particular winter sports with Canada and Canadians was the creation of British colonists, but a romanticized image of fun-loving Canadians, frolicking in the snow also fulfilled the stereotype of French Canadians portrayed in early Canadian travel literature,<sup>124</sup> and in the idealized version of Quebec being propagated by writers such as Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, and historian Francis Parkman.<sup>125</sup> British colonists were therefore appropriating not just aboriginal cultural activities, but also the history and characteristics of French Canada. They sought to amend this image, however, in order to convey an image of civility, respectability, and social order in keeping with their British ancestry and their desire to participate more fully in international commercial and financial circles. Consequently, every event had two sides to the performance - the *activity* was historically primitive, but its present-day *execution* was civilized. The Winter Carnivals show little sign of the carnivalesque precisely because such great pains were

---

<sup>124</sup> For instance: John Lambert, Travels through Canada and the United States in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808 (London: R. Phillips, 1810); Benjamin Silliman, Remarks made on a short tour between Hartford and Quebec in the autumn of 1819 (New Haven: 1820); George Bourne, The Picture of Quebec (Quebec: D. & J. Smillie, 1829); James Patterson Cockburn, Quebec and its Environs being a picturesque guide to the stranger ([Quebec?]: T. Cary, 1831); Alfred Hawkins, Pictures of Quebec with Historical Recollections (Quebec: Neilson & Cowan, 1834); Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, The Canadas in 1841, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1841).

<sup>125</sup> Francis Parkman's five volume history, France and England in North America, was published between 1865 and 1892, and, according to The Week, January 22, 1885, 136, he was becoming more popular each year as the historian of French Canada; Aubert de Gaspé's, Anciens Canadiens was published in 1863 and quickly translated into English by Georgiana M. Penée and published in New York and Boston as The Canadians of Old. Jean Rivard by Antoine-Gérin-Lajoie was published in 1862 and heroised the role of the French-Canadian settler whose roots are in the land: Maurice Lemire and Denis Saint-Jacques, eds, La Vie Littéraire au Québec. "Un peuple sans histoire ni littérature" Vol.3 1840-1869 (Sainte-Foy, Laval University Press, 1996) 406-418.

taken by the organizers to *avoid* dis-order and spontaneity. All risk was removed: for instance, the guests for the fancy dress ball in 1885 were *obliged* to wear fancy dress, but the design was "subject to the approval of Costume Committee", and they were forbidden to wear masks or certain disguises in order to avoid any chance of a breach of decorum.<sup>126</sup>

The desire to present a civilized, hierarchical and orderly spectacle is particularly evident in the organization of the yearly sleigh parade. Saturday afternoon sleigh promenades were a feature of the Montreal season, an opportunity for the fashionable and wealthy members of the Tandem Club to show off their magnificent "winter equipages", "good horses", "rich robes and furs" and the "incomparable designs" of their vehicles on Beaver Hall Hill and St. James streets.<sup>127</sup> The Tandem Club, which took on the organization of the carnival sleigh parades, was very exclusive, with members from amongst the wealthiest families in the city, and the importance attached to the visual representation of social hierarchy and status is evident in the ordering of the parade. In the 1883 and 1884 parades there had been some dissatisfaction because the elegant sleighs of the rich, drawn by four or more horses, had been mixed in with humble dog carts, and carters carrying paying customers had nudged their way into the procession. The 1884 parade had been very long, and had suffered from gaps caused by congested streets, making the crowd wait for some time between these separated sections.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> No "negro" characters were allowed, except by special permission, no religious orders, no imps or devils, no men dressed as women, and only two snowshoe costumes per club. In other words, all the traditional carnivalesque elements of inversion and subversion were excluded. The restriction on snowshoe outfits was probably designed to limit attendance to only those who could afford the cost of hiring a costume as well as paying for the ticket (\$6 for men, \$4 for ladies), indicating a clear distinction was made between the middle classes and the wealthy elite. Gazette, January 24, 1885, 4.

<sup>127</sup> CIN, Carnival Number, January 27, 1883, 50.

<sup>128</sup> La Minerve, January 24, 1885.

A very elaborate plan was drawn up for the 1885 Grand Sleigh Parade in an attempt to overcome these faults. Participants were required to register beforehand, and were assigned positions on side streets according to the type of vehicle they were entering. No cab sleighs or single-horse sleighs were to be allowed unless “specifically designed as a characteristic feature of the Carnival.”<sup>129</sup> Carefully sorted out in descending rank, from Mr Andrew Allan’s “dashing six-in-hand” complete with postilion riders, followed by the four-in-hands and so on down to the comical *habitant* sleigh of Mr. Henry Judah, whose passenger was a man dressed as “a good imitation of ancient rural femininity.”<sup>130</sup> Instructions for the organization of the parade were given in the newspapers in the days preceding the event. The vehicles were positioned in groups on a series of parallel streets, and then were supposed to filter onto the main parade route on Dorchester, at the direction of marshals. How well this worked in practice was not reported. Perhaps the parade was a little less orderly than the organizers had planned because the Gazette reporter praised the “co-mingling of all manners and conditions” as being “typical of everything in our flourishing Dominion.”<sup>131</sup>

The Farmer’s Drive, organized by the East End Committee in 1885, was planned with a different objective. The interpretation presented by the francophone press was that the display would give visitors “an exact idea of our old customs and the lives of our fathers” and would mix the social orders, rather than separating them out.<sup>132</sup> This was far more in keeping with French-Canadian traditions, and the first time that Montreal had had the appearance of *carnaval*, claimed the La Presse writer, who saw the Farmer’s Drive as completely eclipsing the Tandem Club Drive. The random rather than ordered mixture of sleighs carrying entire farming families, side-by-side with elegant tandems bearing passengers in rich fur coats, participants in bizarre costumes, and an antique covered

---

<sup>129</sup> Gazette, January 24, 1885, 5.

<sup>130</sup> Gazette, January 30, 1885, 5. A rare example of the carnivalesque. Andrew Allan was the son of Sir Hugh Allan and had been the principal behind the construction of the Windsor Hotel: Robert Rumilly, Histoire de Montréal, Vol. 3 (Montreal: Fides, 1972) 91.

<sup>131</sup> Gazette, January 30, 1885, 5.

<sup>132</sup> La Presse, January 24, 1885 (Dernière).

wagon dating from 1824 driven by “un vrai ‘habitant” reportedly delighted the crowd.<sup>133</sup> The Quebec branch of Le Canadien Snow Shoe Club also drew attention to the history of French Canada by entering a float with an ancient canoe which had been used to carry mail from Quebec City to Point Levis for forty years. French Canadians thereby sought to root their separate identity in remembering pre-Conquest New France as a golden age - a tactic used by the Roman Catholic Church, which sought to stem the exodus of its flock to industrial cities, especially in the United States, by advocating a return to the land and traditional rural way of life.<sup>134</sup> The ultramontane clergy promoted colonization of the provincial hinterland through urging the Quebec government to provide land subsidies and to build roads and railways into the backwoods in order to guarantee the survival of French Canada, and thereby strengthen Church control.<sup>135</sup>

The anglophone Gazette's interpretation of the Farmer's Drive was quite different to that of La Presse. British colonists wanted to lay claim to the French-Canadian reputation for being an hospitable, fun-loving people, but at the same time emphasize the positive and transformative effects of the British Conquest. Consequently, the reporter disparaged this parade as being “not of the magnitude which the promoters might hope to see.” He added patronizingly that the “luxury and variety portrayed in the grand drive of

---

<sup>133</sup> La Presse, January 31, 1885. The farm women in this parade were the only women to participate as part of the Carnival display, an action which would have been considered scandalously unacceptable if it were not for the presence of their husband and children. Bonnie Huskins, “The Ceremonial Space of Women. Public Processions in Victorian Saint John and Halifax,” Separate Spheres. Women's World in the the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Maritimes, ed. Janet V. Guildford, Suzanne R. Morton (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994): 145-159. See also: Mary Ryan, “The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order,” The New Cultural History, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 131-153.

<sup>134</sup> French-Canadian attempts to promote nationalism emphasised their rootedness in the land, shared language, faith, and laws. F.-X. Gameau provided a history, folklore provided traditions and mythology, and the Church preached the divine mission of the French in North America. Like the British colonists, the French measured themselves against the image of the imaginary Indian - who was perceived as lacking everything they themselves possessed.

<sup>135</sup> Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, The Dream of Nation. A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec (Toronto: Gage, 1983) ch. 8 & 9. Daniel Francis argues that English Canada was “more than willing to accept and embellish this version of a rustic, deferential peasant society.” Hence, while they took on some French-Canadian attributes, they also had to show English Canadians were progressive, modern and civilized: Daniel Francis, National Dreams. Myth, Memory, and Canadian History (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997) 98.

Thursday were absent of course...," while the leading sleigh was drawn by "six strong well bred and well-fed farm horses" which were fine animals, but may not have "matched exactly the graceful symmetry and slender outline which would have delighted the eye" of a British horse expert. Instead of interpreting the antique vehicles as reminders of the history of French Canada, the writer saw them as an indication of how improved farm transportation had become.<sup>136</sup> Ever mindful of the need to encourage immigration, he claimed that visitors must have been "much impressed with the fine physique and fine turnout of the *habitants*," proof of the "thriving condition" of agriculture under British rule.

These two opposing 'narratives of nation' can be seen in other Carnival events too. Comparison of the snowshoers' torchlight procession organized by the East End Committee with its counterpart in the west end, shows that, although the participants of each procession were essentially the same people, each event enacted and displayed a different version of Canadian national identity and history. Although the audience saw both spectacles as displays of Canadian unity, from the participants' point of view the nature of that identity was contested and fractured.

The East End snowshoe procession began on St. Helen's Island where the Quebec Club for the Protection of Hunting and Fishing had set up a hunter's camp to give visitors a "glimpse of life in the backwoods."<sup>137</sup> The spectacle began after dark on Tuesday, the second day of the Carnival, with a pyrotechnic display. At several points on

---

<sup>136</sup> *Gazette*, January 21, 1885, 5.

<sup>137</sup> *Gazette*, February 2, 1885. This was essentially a tableau vivant or enactment of the Notman hunting series. A log hut and storehouse and a backwoodsman's tent were set up. Two small deer were lying outside, along with some fish, a couple of hares, and fox and bear traps. Inside two professional hunters, M. Boucher and M. Laperrière, attended visitors and served up pea soup, pork and beans and molasses candy to any who ventured to try some. The Hunters' Camp was officially inaugurated by the Governor General and Lady Lansdowne, who were entertained by two violin players playing tunes "full of the spirit and adventure of the Canadian hunter" (*La Presse* January 28, 1885 (Dernière) my trans.) In an indigenising experience reminiscent of Prince Arthur's lunch on a lumber raft, Lord Lansdowne and his party was served some soup on a rough tin plate. They "pronounced the fare very good. They did not, however, venture on the pork and beans."! (*Gazette* January 28, 1885, 5.) The hunter's camp was a "caban allegorique" (*La Minerve*, January 27, 1885), built as an authentic historical re-creation with no nails used in the construction - a forerunner of modern historic site reconstructions.

the island, brasiers were lit which gave off red, green and violet flames, turning the faint light of the horizon crimson. It was remarked that the effect of the moving colours was like the Northern Lights.<sup>138</sup> Then, as thousands of visitors watched from Jacques Cartier Square and the shores of the frozen St. Lawrence River, fireworks and rockets burst in the sky over the Island like a meteor shower or erupting volcano.<sup>139</sup> As the fireworks continued, the snowshoers, dressed in their club uniforms, started off in two parallel lines along the winding Boulevard marked out over the ice by an avenue of evergreen trees ornamented with Chinese lanterns. Silhouetted against the lights from the Island, and bearing flaming oil torches, the fifteen hundred men from over a dozen different snow shoe clubs created a magical spectacle for the appreciative crowd.<sup>140</sup> Arriving at Jacques Cartier Square, the men then paraded through the streets of the east end of the city before winding their way back to Place d'Armes and then along St. James and on to Chaboillez Square, where they disbanded.<sup>141</sup>

Unlike the East End snowshoe parade, which only took place in 1885 and in a less elaborate form in 1884, the attack on the Ice Palace and the torchlight procession which followed, was the central feature of every Carnival. Tramping into Dominion Square, where a massive Ice Palace had been built from thousands of blocks of ice cut from the canals, and dressed in their picturesque white blanket coat uniforms, these men created a spectacle of order and discipline whose military nature was born out by their objective - an 'attack' on the Ice Palace. At the sound of a bomb exploding in the castle, a storm of

---

<sup>138</sup> La Presse, January 25, 1885 (Dernière)

<sup>139</sup> Gazette, January 28, 1885, 5.

<sup>140</sup> La Presse, January 25, 1885 (Dernière) The oil torches "were tin pots filled with oil, furnished with a thick round wick fitted to handles about three feet long". Members paid 50 cents each for them in 1873: NAC: MAAA MG 28 I-351 H.1990 v.15, 4 newspaper clipping, January 16(?), 1873. American-made torches were considered for the 1883 Carnival, but (rather fittingly) they would not withstand the Canadian climate: Gazette, January 19, 1883, 3.

<sup>141</sup> The route advertised in La Presse and La Minerve ended in Dominion Square at the Ice Palace, but the Gazette reported it would end at Chaboillez Square, a French-Canadian residential development close to Victoria Square. La Minerve reported on the day after the procession that it had made its way to Chaboillez Square, and made no comment on the change. It is tempting to think that the west end clubs objected to the East End procession 'poaching' on their territory. Symbolically, if the parade had ended at Dominion Square it would have constructed a narrative linking the east and west end events.



fireworks and an artillery fusillade was set off behind the closed doors of the Palace by the 'defenders'—two hundred and fifty volunteers from the Garrison Artillery Snowshoe Club and Prince of Wales Rifles, accompanied by a squad of city firemen.<sup>142</sup> Likened to a vision from the *Arabian Nights*, the ice walls of the Castle glowed with a changing rainbow of colours, and La Presse reported that the crowd of spectators instinctively recoiled each time the Palace was thus transformed.<sup>143</sup> Adding to the spectacle was the noise of the detonations, the cries of the crowd, and the music of the bands of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment and the Victoria Rifles, who played within a square of 200 yards kept open around the Palace by the cordon of snowshoers. After half an hour the besieging force of snowshoers attacked, bombarding the walls with a rain of coloured fire from roman candles and other fireworks. After the firing ceased, the spectators and snowshoers rushed the walls of the castle, the doors were opened and the siege of the Palace was over.<sup>144</sup>

Shortly afterwards, the two thousand or so snowshoers formed up in their club ranks and began to tramp up Mount Royal. As they passed the Windsor Hotel, on the corner of Dominion Square, each club took up the snowshoe song, to the delight of the watching crowd. The snowshoers bore oil torches aloft, and the pretty spectacle made by the twinkling lights as the men wound through the trees up the serpentine track to the brow of the mountain was much admired. Having reached the summit, they lined up along the ridge overlooking the west end of Montreal and set off shells and rockets, and lit fires which burned with red flames. These victory beacons made a "thin red line" along the mountain, which brought back memories of Sebastapol to one Crimean veteran in the crowd of spectators below.<sup>145</sup> After this, the snowshoers descended the mountain, firing roman candles all the way until they reached the head of Peel Street, from whence they

---

<sup>142</sup> Gazette, January 29, 1885, 5.

<sup>143</sup> La Presse, January 29, 1885 (Dernière)

<sup>144</sup> Gazette, January 29, 1885, 5. None of the newspapers give a detailed description of the march from this point. There was a strong wind that evening, and perhaps the display was spoiled. The Gazette itemizes the number of fireworks used on the mountain, so there was certainly a display. My description draws on reports of the 1884 procession. For a discussion of illuminations, see Walden, Becoming Modern 304-311.

<sup>145</sup> Gazette, February 7, 1884, 5..

marched back past the Windsor Hotel and around the Ice Palace. Forming up again in close columns, they took off their snowshoes, returned their torches and then disbursed to their various club rooms for further celebrations.<sup>146</sup> It was agreed by every Montreal paper that, "our visitors from the United States, [were] one and all...loud in their praise of the beautiful and novel sight."<sup>147</sup> Although to visiting Americans and Europeans, these two processions probably looked like two versions of the same event, for the participants there were fundamental differences. They employed the same elements - fireworks, marching in line, singing, oil torches, snowshoes and costumes - because those elements were meaningful to both groups. But the differences were significant. The primary differences between these two spectacles were the location, the participants and the route, and all of these were matters of ethnicity.

French-Canadian participation in snowshoe clubs had never been as enthusiastic as British membership. Snowshoe clubs were predominantly based in the anglophone west end of the city and dominated by the professional and commercial middle classes. Some French names appear in the early club rosters, and these were often men who could be relied upon to win medals and honours for the club at races. Only a small percentage of snowshoers were French Canadian, despite the fact that they made up just over half of the population of Montreal, and this reflects the dominance of anglophones in the Montreal commercial and business sector from which snowshoers were drawn as much as cultural, ethnic and religious antipathy to organized sport. It was not until the late 1870s that specifically French-Canadian clubs were formed, such as Le Trappeur, Le Royale and Le Canadien. They quickly gained popularity and the latter had 700 members by 1884, making it one of the largest clubs in the city. In organising a torchlight snowshoe procession, the East End Committee was, therefore, celebrating this growing participation

---

<sup>146</sup> In 1885 MSSC gave a concert advertised as "impromptu" at the Queen's Hall, a very large number of the audience being snowshoers: La Minerve, January 24, 1885, Gazette January 29, 1885, 5. This could well be compared to the Music Festival given at the Drill Hall by Le Trappeur Snow Shoe Club after the inauguration of the Condora.

<sup>147</sup> Gazette, February 7, 1884, 5

in snowshoeing by French Canadians.<sup>148</sup>

Torchlight processions *per se* were relatively common sights on the streets of industrializing cities in an era before universal street lighting, and were often used as a mark of honour for visiting dignitaries, or were associated with political campaigns.<sup>149</sup> The snowshoe club torchlight processions would have presented a different spectacle. The parade through the streets was carried out in military style, which was “a tangible display” of the members’ commitment to a disciplined and hierarchical society and, indeed, many of the men were members of the local militia and volunteer rifle brigades.<sup>150</sup> Moreover, the processions were not confined to the city streets, but included tramping across open ground, and their snowshoe uniforms added a national element to the spectacle.<sup>151</sup>

Snowshoeing was a Canadian characteristic shared by both British and French, but what it meant to participate may have been understood differently by the two groups. For the English-speaking sportsmen, snowshoeing was a primitive activity they had organized and improved. Recognizing snowshoes as an ideal means by which to gain healthy exercise and to penetrate the snowy countryside, the early participants evolved club rituals and institutions, and made ‘scientific’ improvements to the shape, weight and

---

<sup>148</sup> Other French-Canadian clubs from outside Montreal included the Huron, Union Commerciale and Aurora clubs from Quebec, Quebec branches of Le Canadien and Le Trappeur, the St. Jean Baptiste Snow Shoe Club from Trois Rivières, and Le Trappeur from St. Hyacinthe. *Gazette* January 28, 1885, 5.

<sup>149</sup> Russell Hann, “Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the *Toronto News*, 1883-1887,” *Essays in Canadian Working-Class History*, eds. Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976) 51 Other examples include: a torchlight procession given to Masson, the lieutenant governor of Quebec, on his arrival in Terrebonne for his niece’s wedding: *La Presse*, January 26, 1885; a torchlight procession of medical students from Victoria and Bishop universities during the 1883 Carnival: Dufresne (1980) 184; a torchlight procession and reception at the Drill Hall held on Monday January 12, 1885 for Sir John A. Macdonald, who was celebrating his 40<sup>th</sup> year in politics: *La Presse*, January 14, 1885.

<sup>150</sup> Newman 17.

<sup>151</sup> Newspaper reports of the Carnival torchlight processions make generous use of military analogies. For instance: *Gazette* February 7, 1884, 5; *La Minerve*, February 7, 1884, 2.

stringing of the shoes. Appropriating the shoes and the costume of the Nor'westers, the British colonists had obscured the fact that snowshoes were not just part of the British history of Canada, but were also part of French-Canadian and Native history. For the French, snowshoes were a means of transport with a long history going back to New France and the *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*. Neither gave much thought to snowshoes as an aboriginal invention. On the other hand, for the visiting audience, snowshoes and physical prowess were signifiers or visual attributes of Canadians and Canada, and the subtleties of club membership and ethnicity were not understood.

The fireworks display at the Ice Palace was consistently interpreted as a mock battle by contemporary newspaper commentators. It was billed as an "attack" and "defence" which ended in "capitulation". Interestingly enough, none of the Montreal newspaper commentators attempted to explain the symbolism, perhaps because the obvious allusion would have been to the British Conquest of New France and they feared upsetting the French-Canadian citizens. Commentators spoke of the attack instead as a magical scene worthy of the Arabian Nights, and perhaps the medieval architecture which inspired the design of the Palaces evoked a generalized image of European warfare, rather than being a specific allusion to Canadian history. However, the Manitoba Daily Free Press was not reticent in making the latter connection, describing a sham fight on the Plains of Abraham at a winter carnival held in Quebec City in 1883: "a battery on snowshoes fought the battle of the heights over again, storming the old French forts, etc, in a grand style."<sup>152</sup>

The symbolism of the East End procession told a somewhat different story. Contemporaries likened the fireworks display to the Northern Lights and erupting volcanos – a narrative in which the snowshoers therefore symbolically conquered nature. On one level they were emerging triumphant from the forest having overcome nature's malevolent forces (remember that the Island was the site of a Hunter's Camp, and during the summer

---

<sup>152</sup> Manitoba Daily Free Press, February 1, 1883.

was a public park),<sup>153</sup> and on another they were re-enacting the arrival of French explorers along the St. Lawrence River. Although the march along a treed serpentine route, punctuated by further fireworks displays, was the same for both processions, there were a number of inversions. The French-Canadian procession came out of the wilderness into civilization; from a low place to a high; from an empty place to a crowded place, whereas the British colonists envisioned themselves going the other way. In the west end narrative, the British were defending or attacking a fortified garrison, and leaving the safety of its walls to go into the wilderness.<sup>154</sup>

There is no doubt the organizers were also anxious to create an aesthetically pleasing sight. The illuminations, the orderly marching, the serpentine route up the mountain, mirrored by the winding ice road from St. Helen's Island, and the snowshoe uniform, all added to the picturesque sight remarked upon so frequently. The language of the picturesque prescribed exactly this combination of pleasing opposites: the linear, symmetrical lines of marchers softened by the sinuosity of the trail, the rustic blanket uniforms seen within a modern, urban setting, and the darkness of night fractured by the colourful displays of artificial light.

Although it is only possible to speculate about the meanings these spectacles created for audience and participants, we can tell that what they meant to individual snowshoers was different and contentious. A dispute arose after the East End procession because only a few members of the oldest snowshoe club, the Montreal, took part. The East End Committee had attempted to ensure that large numbers of men from the west end clubs would join the procession by offering to pay half the cost of the torches,<sup>155</sup> but the west end clubs had never been wholeheartedly supportive of this event. Various

---

<sup>153</sup> The hunter's camp was an historical display: "a glimpse of life in the backwoods" and "a startling structure in this, the Iron Age." "It is as real as anything ever pictured by Bret Harte in his backwood tales and an interesting novelty to those whose life is tied up in the smoky cities." *Gazette*, January 27, 1885, 5. St. Helen's Island was the site of "Parc du peuple" opened in 1873. Metcalfe "Evolution" 155-6.

<sup>154</sup> I am drawing a parallel here, of course, with Northrop Frye's concept of the Canadian "garrison mentality": Frye op. cit.

<sup>155</sup> *Star*, 22 December 1884, 1, quoted by Dufresne (1980) 152.

excuses were given regarding the length of the route, and the difficulty of getting men to come out two nights in a row, but, as Sylvie Dufresne argues, the snowshoers prided themselves on their endurance and strength and ability to tramp for miles, so the idea that they were "saving" themselves for the following night's activities at the Ice Palace, was hardly tenable. Much more significant was their dislike for the route of the procession. The Star reported that the west end clubs objected to the procession on the grounds that it was not an enactment of a normal weekly tramp, like the procession after the attack on the Ice Palace.<sup>156</sup> According to one complainant, this was not *bona fide* snowshoeing but "hippodroming".<sup>157</sup> To make matters worse, the route of the procession through the east end of the city to Notre Dame was "similar to that followed by that of the St. Jean Baptiste procession."<sup>158</sup> This similarity was increased by the fact that fireworks and building illuminations were also associated with the St. Jean Baptist parades, so in choosing the format and route of the torchlight snowshoe procession, and encouraging citizens to illuminate and decorate their houses along the way,<sup>159</sup> the East End Committee was drawing on a repertoire of invented traditions which had different connotations for English- and French-speaking Montrealers. This was the heart of the problem: some of the British snowshoers objected to marching with the French-Canadian clubs along a route which symbolised the efforts of French Canadians to resist assimilation by the British and to assert their own national identity and religious faith.

Resistance by members of the west end clubs occurred well before the 1885 Carnival began, but may have been exacerbated on the Sunday before it opened when, dressed in their snowshoe uniform, members of Le Trappeur participated in a special mass at Notre Dame Church, before and after which they paraded the streets in the east and west end of the city.<sup>160</sup> La Minerve reported that this event caused much talk. It was

---

<sup>156</sup> Star, January 10, 1885, 6. quoted by Dufresne (1980) 153.

<sup>157</sup> Gazette, January 24 & 26, 1885.

<sup>158</sup> Star, 10 January, 1885, 6, quoted by Dufresne (1980) 153. I take this to mean a circus-like display for the masses, however, Alan Metcalfe defines it as "fixed games", Canada Learns 119. Even so, both explanations imply that this type of snowshoeing lacked authenticity.

<sup>159</sup> La Presse, January 25, 1885 (Dernière)

<sup>160</sup> La Presse, January 20, 1885 (Extra)

rumoured that other sports associations anticipated having chaplains like the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society and other societies of its genre.<sup>161</sup> La Presse noted that the snowshoers were admired by everyone for their picturesque costumes, pure *canadien* blood and explicitly French heritage:

Nos clubs de raquettes font honneur à Montréal et envie a nos voisins. Ces associations sont bien du cru, on reconnait en eux de pur sang canadien; forts, alertes, vigoureux, ayant cette pointe d'esprit gaulois qui anime tout...<sup>162</sup>

In other words, although physical vigour and outdoor sport was an important ingredient in the French-Canadian conception of national identity too, through this performance, Le Trappeur specifically identified itself as a *national* association, different to other snowshoe clubs because it was both French Canadian and Catholic. This performance was therefore a public proclamation of religious and ethnic identity. On the other hand, this was not the interpretation held by Mgr. Fabre, who was distressed that the snowshoers had entered the church "avec ces costumes du carnaval."<sup>163</sup> However, this was a minority view, because the 1880s were a turning point in the Catholic Church's attitude towards organized sports. The Roman Catholic Church had up to then discouraged active participation in organized sport, but it was at this time that it began to become involved in community sports and leagues as a way to promote French-Canadian nationalism.<sup>164</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> "Il est rumeur que les différentes associations de ce genre, qui sont toutes si florissantes, sont en instance pour avoir des chapelains comme la société Saint-Jean Baptiste et les autres sociétés du même genre." La Minerve, January 27, 1885.

<sup>162</sup> La Presse, January 26, 1885 (Dernière)

<sup>163</sup> Dufresne (1980) 134.

<sup>164</sup> Alan Gordon notes that the political and religious significance of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day festival diminished abruptly after 1885 (4). Even though in the 1880s ultramontranism was at "its height of influence, sporting clubs increased their involvement, and by 1890, spectator sports had become the most popular of the day's events."(21). He suggests that "[s]ecularization diminished the distinctiveness of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day and commercialization lessened its national specificity."(20-21): Alan Gordon, "Inventing Tradition: Montreal's Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day Re-Examined," paper presented to the CHA Annual Meeting, Brock University, June 1996. Guay calls the period of 1881-84 "L'ère des Conquêtes" when the Parades were big productions with many historical and allegorical floats which promoted the vision of francophone expansion in American and the influence of francophones in politics, literature, the professions and business. Guay argues that the clergy were assuming a new national role, promoting pride in the history and future of French Canada, and encouraging settlement of new land in order to stem the exodus of francophones to American industrial cities: Michèle Guay, "Notes de recherche sur la fête nationale des Canadiens-français," Que la fête commence!, ed. Diane Pinard (Montreal: Société

French-Canadian identity was further indicated by the choice of club uniform. Whereas the older west-end clubs wore white blanket coats with coloured epaulets, facings or crests, Le Trappeur had chosen a blue coat with white edging, a new French-Canadian Club, Les Patriotes, had chosen a dark grey coat with red facings, and L'Union commerciale de Québec one made of grey homespun.<sup>165</sup> In a crowd of snowshoers, these clubs would, therefore, stand out very clearly as being 'different'.<sup>166</sup> The colour of Le Trappeur's uniform was the same as the French *fleur de lys*, and the choice of grey homespun was a reminder of the boycott of British imported cloth used as a political strategy by the *Parti patriote* during the 1837-8 Rebellions.<sup>167</sup> Both were colours worn by the French military. The names of the clubs were also chosen to indicate the French-Canadian heritage of their members, just as the "St. George's" and the "Emerald" clubs proclaimed theirs.<sup>168</sup>

#### The failure of the Montreal Snow Shoe Club to turn out for the East End

---

des festivals populaires du Québec, 1982): 211-213. It may be that the winter carnivals were actually designed as competing displays of identity to counter those constructed by the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day parades. Initial planning for the 1883 Tandem Drive included a number of historical floats which were cancelled due to cost. However, the 1884 Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations in Montreal included an elaborate display of historical characters and French-Canadian heroes.

<sup>165</sup> Gazette, January 31, 1885, 5, and Jean-Claude Germain, *Le Feuilleton de Montréal*, Vol. 2 1793-1892 (Quebec: Stanké, 1995) 313. A reporter commented that the Patriote coat "looked well as a contrast to the white dresses around it." *Gazette* January 28, 1885, 5. Furthermore, Le Club de Raquettes le Huron selected a cardinal red blanket coat in 1884: Eileen Stack, private communication.

<sup>166</sup> This way of displaying difference may have been short-lived, because by 1895 the staff of Rideau Hall were apparently wearing "dark blue blanket suits piped with light blue" and Lady Aberdeen regretted that family photographs could not be "rendered in colors to illustrate the variety that may be obtained in these costumes...": Lady Aberdeen, "Our First Winter in Canada," *Montreal Star* January 26, 1895, quoted by Stack 4-5. In fact, blanket coats in an array of colours were advertised in English newspapers during the 1880s (Eileen Stack, private communication); although the majority of clubs continued to favour the tradition white coat with coloured stripes and adornments.

<sup>167</sup> The 1868 Quebec coat of arms included two blue fleur-de-lys on a gold background. The coat of arms of France was also blue and gold. *Canadian Encyclopedia* 692, 979.

<sup>168</sup> *La Minerve* February 2, 1885 referred to the French-Canadian snowshoers as "les coureurs," an indication that francophones were reclaiming their history.



procession was interpreted by the francophone press as an insult and lack of courtesy.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, La Presse complained that no police were on duty at St. Helen's Island for the snowshoe parade and committee members had had to direct traffic in order to prevent accidents. The sense that French Canadians were 'second-class citizens' is conveyed in the writer's closing remark on the subject: "Sans être prophete, nous pouvons prédire que les Anglais du Beaver Hall n'auront pas un pareil sujet de plainte demain."<sup>170</sup> In retaliation for these slights, only a few members of Le Trappeur took part in the attack on the Ice Palace the next evening, and refused to join in the torchlight procession afterwards. According to the Gazette, members from Le Trappeur, and representatives from visiting Quebec Clubs, L'Union Commerciale and L'Huron, left after the attack.<sup>171</sup> This lack of accord was a sour note in the image of unity created by the Carnival, and on Thursday evening the west end clubs turned out several hundred men for the East End Music Festival at the Drill Hall. Goldwin Smith's Toronto periodical, The Week, commented that this was

largely at the instance of leading members of conciliating spirit. This matter shows clearly how Montreal is becoming two separate cities within one municipal boundary. Differences of race prevent the sympathy which either in the small field of civil life, or the larger one of country, is required for real union.<sup>172</sup>

While snowshoeing was a visual attribute of a particular Canadian identity, analysis of the strategies of representation employed by the clubs shows that that identity was far from universal. By visually contrasting themselves with the British through the format and route of the torchlight procession, their uniform, and their public profestation of faith, the French-Canadian clubs contested the version of Canadian national identity the

---

<sup>169</sup> For example, La Presse complained that the English were forgetting the part played by French Canadians in last year's carnival. The success of the East End events showed that the English-speaking clubs were not needed, "Mais ce que nous pouvons affirmer, c'est que l'acte discourtois dont les clubs anglais se sont rendus compables hier soir, ne sera pas oublié de longtemps." (January 28, 1885 Extra); similar comments are made in La Minerve, January 28, 1885

<sup>170</sup> La Presse, January 28, 1885 (Extra)

<sup>171</sup> Gazette, January 29, 1885, 5.

<sup>172</sup> The Week, February 5, 1885, 151.

other clubs had proposed.<sup>173</sup> Although visitors might have gained the impression that the races lived in harmony in Montreal, and although this was the message the Carnival organizers sought to convey, this unity was an illusion. After Carnival week was all over, the organizers of the east and west committees held a dinner to celebrate the success of the carnival, and toasted "l'union la plus parfaite" which had never ceased to exist between them.<sup>174</sup> But for subsequent carnivals, the organization of events in the west and east was combined under the control of the central Executive Committee - tacit recognition that the lower echelons of membership were in reality far from united.

### Conclusion

The carnivals were the culmination of decades of inventing traditions which embodied, performed and displayed a native-Canadian identity. The symbolism of the carnival monuments and spectacles constructed Canadians as a special kind of British subject, with an identity different from both British and Americans. This identity was built around enjoyment of the Canadian climate through winter sports carried out in an organized manner with the expectation of 'proper' behaviour. To a great extent, the public spectacles relied on an appropriated history of Canada which re-created the stereotype of the jolly hospitality remarked upon by early British visitors to their new colony, and the romanticized version of Old Quebec promoted in contemporary history and literature. The Canadians referred to in the 1880s were, however, English-speaking. They were also middle-class, Anglo-Saxon and (predominantly) male.

The Carnivals were successful in disseminating the particular identity constructed

---

<sup>173</sup> An additional way in which French-Canadian clubs distinguished themselves from the English clubs may have been by tramping to different locations and avoiding using the club house on Côtés des Neiges frequented by the west end clubs. An undated clipping (c.1878) notes that the Union Snow Shoe Club is growing quickly and "is now the leading French Canadian Snow Show Club in the Province." This may be L'Union Commerciale, It had club rooms at St. Dennis and St. Catherine and tramped to Bougie's Hotel on the Back River Road on Thursday night. NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 2, H-1991, v.16,186 (358),

<sup>174</sup> La Minerve, February 2, 1885. Editorial comment in La Presse, February 2, 1885, gave a detailed critique of the Carnival, and complained that there had been division in the execution of events and general union had suffered. Dufresne (1980) describes a number of conflicts between the two committees (158-9).

by the Montreal professional and commercial middle classes through their sports clubs, and the European and American visitors recognized winter sports as distinctively Canadian. However, this identity ultimately failed to bring together diverse Canadians under one national rubric. It was too particular an identity to succeed, standing for too small a group and failing to negotiate with other groups. An idealized image was projected by the Carnival spectacles of the identity the middle class sought to ascribe to itself, and of the existence of an ordered and controlled social hierarchy, but the working poor were not there to see this, and were given no place in the display. There was space for the wealthy elite to participate in the Carnivals, but there was none for the working poor, except as labourers. They were excluded from enjoying the activities because they were expected to work while they took place, prices and membership rules excluded their participation, and any behaviour deemed disorderly was punished by means of the police and courts. The working classes were not invited to join in the enactment of national identity, or even solicited as spectators who might approve and emulate this dramatization of what it was to be native-Canadian. The increasing distance between the growing numbers of the "middling sorts" - self-employed professionals or salaried, non-manual employees - and manual labourers who worked for daily wages, was thereby evidenced on the streets of the city.<sup>175</sup> Whereas the subversive and unruly aspects of carnivals and festivals are usually considered as social safety valves which allow antagonisms to dissipate, the Montreal Winter Carnivals were more likely to have highlighted and entrenched social and ethnic divisions in the city. The snowshoe clubs had invented traditions which spoke to their own class, and to a similar class of foreign visitors, but were used to exclude rather than include the lower classes and other ethnic groups, and thereby failed to secure hegemony or to create a shared language of nationhood and citizenship.<sup>176</sup> Women were no longer just spectators, but could now participate in prescribed ways, and were considered an asset to Canadian identity, but this was only true for women of the middle

---

<sup>175</sup> Stuart Blumin makes this argument in The Emergence of the Middle Class.

<sup>176</sup> In comparison, American national holidays were understood as "important patriotic moments during which all classes, races, religions, and regions participated in the dramatization of the values and beliefs of American nationalism." Pope, Patriotic Games 16. An extended discussion of the role of "a shared symbolic and ritual language of political expression" in early Republican America is provided by Newman ch.6.

classes. Likewise, there was room for French-Canadian participation, but not if it displayed a rival version of Canadian identity.

There were other major problems which undermined the sport clubs' version of Canadian identity, not least of which was that the same winter sports could be played anywhere with the right climactic conditions, and this included many of the New England and border states. As soon as Americans took home snowshoes and toboggans, which they did in the hundreds, Canadian distinctiveness began to diminish. The Montreal sport clubs unwittingly hastened this process by assisting St. Paul, Minnesota in organizing its own winter carnival in 1884, and a number of snowshoe and toboggan clubs were formed in the United States which adopted the traditions and costume of the Montreal clubs.<sup>177</sup> All that was left as distinctive then was the British pole of Canadian identity. This loss of distinction was played out in the debate over Imperial vs. continental integration which grew stronger after 1885. Those who argued for continental integration could see Canadians as another kind of American, while imperialists could point to the evidence of attachment to Britain - the space in between which had been claimed as "Canadian" was gone. When controversy over commercial union with the U.S. emerged in 1887, the only alternative envisaged was Imperial federation.<sup>178</sup> Making Canadian identity even more tenuous was the growing French nationalism evidenced at the 1885 Carnival; just a few months later the North West Rebellion broke out and Riel's ultimate hanging exposed the rifts which already existed between French and English Canadians.

Lastly, the complaint over 'hippodroming' reveals that the result of the Carnivals

---

<sup>177</sup> Fred Anderes and Anna Agranoff, *Ice Palaces* (New York: Cross River Press, 1983) 46. See also, Dufresne (1980) 19 n.39; *Star*, December 19, 1884, 4. The reduced number of visitors in 1885 was blamed on a similar event in St. Paul. *The Week*, February 5, 1885, 151 reported that the Montreal Carnivals had stimulated American visitors to build skating rinks and toboggan slides along the St. Lawrence in Saratoga, Albany and elsewhere. *Arturus* Vol. 1. No. 3, January 29, 1887, 35 noted the popularity of tobogganing in New York and Boston, where slides were being erected.

<sup>178</sup> The Imperial Federation League was founded in England in 1884 but clubs in Canada made little headway until 1887: Sturgis 100.

was to commodify and commercialize the winter sports.<sup>179</sup> “Snowshoer” was right: parading the streets cheapened the meaning of the activity, it became a performance rather than a simulacrum of the real activity. Commodified as a tourist attraction, snowshoeing was no longer an act of *being* Canadian, a means by which one was connected to the landscape and indigenised. When *anyone* could put on the snowshoes and outfits and masquerade as a snowshoer, without needing to acquire the endurance, pluck and moral virtue of the snowshoe ethos, it was no longer an activity that had national meaning.<sup>180</sup>

---

<sup>179</sup> Michael J. Broadway, “Urban Tourist Development in the Nineteenth-Century Canadian City,” *The American Review of Canadian Studies* (Spring 1996) discusses the transformation of tourist experiences into commodities by standardizing the experience so that was made predictable (64).

<sup>180</sup> A common complaint in the MSSC records at this time was that too large a number of members were joining the club for social reasons rather than actively tramping. Kathy Peiss suggests that “while performances may inherently constitute identity, they became more visible and apparent as *performances* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.” Kathy Peiss, “Making Up, Making Over: Cosmetics, Consumer Culture, and Women’s Identity,” *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. V. de Grazia and Ellen Furlough, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) 312.

## CHAPTER 5

**“NO TIN SOLDIERS”: CANADA'S FIRST WAR**

You have heard the terrible Indian war cry, and, like the first colonists of Canada, whose brave and great acts are narrated in history, you have followed their example.

Address to Captain L. J. Ethier, 65<sup>th</sup> Rifles  
*Montreal Gazette*, July 22, 1885.

A line of fires lit up the night sky, stretching for half a mile along the brow of the mountain. As the flames sputtered, a fusillade of rockets, shells, batteries and candles was opened up along the line. From each flank a large mortar sent up missiles which arced across the hillside. Watching from their vantage point in Dominion Square, the crowd could be forgiven for thinking a hostile army was bombarding the city.<sup>1</sup> For some of the men of the 65<sup>th</sup> Battalion (Mount Royal) Rifles, recently returned from the North-West, the bombardment may have brought back memories of being under fire, since they had been involved in the action at Red Deer Creek, or Frenchman's Butte as it was known at the time. The troops of the Montreal Brigade of Garrison Artillery, on the other hand, had only made it as far as Regina, and probably regretted that they never saw action. But to the citizens of Montreal *all* were heroes. Canada “really seemed beside itself with joy. Nothing was too good for “our boys,” as they were caressingly termed.”<sup>2</sup>

The fireworks display was the culmination of days of celebration in Montreal and other eastern cities. The regiments returning from the North-West were fêted at every stop along the route home. Montrealers had welcomed their own returning units, the 65<sup>th</sup> Rifles, and the Garrison Artillery, and had also turned out for the Quebec 9<sup>th</sup> Battalion

---

<sup>1</sup> Gazette July 27, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> T. Arnold Haultain, A History of Riel's Second Rebellion and How It Was Quelled. The Souvenir Number of *The Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, Part II, 39.

Rifles (Voltigeurs) and the Halifax Provisional Battalion. The city had been festooned with bunting and flags for days. A four-sided arch was built on the corner of Notre Dame and St. Lambert's Hill, and thousands of people lined the streets to cheer the returning soldiers.<sup>3</sup>

The sports clubs were active in organizing these celebrations, and drew heavily on the repertoire of celebratory forms employed for royal visits and the Winter Carnivals. Street decorations, an arch, fireworks displays, and torchlight processions were all part of the welcome for the men of the North-West Field Force, which was made up of battalions from Halifax, Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, rural Ontario and Winnipeg, and led by Major-General Frederick D. Middleton.<sup>4</sup> Newspapers throughout the Dominion gushed with praise for the pluck, endurance, physical stamina, discipline, and courage shown by the volunteer troops. The events in the North-West had confirmed that Canadians were a new race of North Men, members of the new nationality called for by Lord Durham and D'Arcy McGee, and envisaged by Robert Haliburton and other Canadian nationalists.

In the ongoing discursive process which constructed a new Canadian national identity by appropriating indigenous cultural activities, and transforming them through the imposition of a British ideology of order and discipline, war was the last hurdle and test of nationhood. While being repellent and repulsive on one level, stories of cannibalism, torture, pagan rituals, and all manner of salacious depravity associated with the myth and

---

<sup>3</sup> Gazette July 21, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> The welcoming celebrations were discussed daily in the Montreal papers during the period July 18-27, 1885. Thirty-five members of the MAAA assisted in setting off the fireworks for the Military Holiday, predominant amongst whom were snowshoe club members H.W. Becket, Angus Grant, W.L. Maltby and Charlie Radiger: Gazette July 25 & 27, 1885; La Presse July 18, 1885. La Presse reported an immense torchlight procession would be held by all the snowshoe clubs on July 21, 1885. Whether this included the anglophone clubs is unclear.

image of the 'barbarous savage,' were immensely attractive to Europeans.<sup>5</sup> British colonists had 'taken-on' the noble activities and visual attributes of the savage, making themselves native-Canadians in the process; but to extinguish 'the Indian' entirely, they also needed to appropriate and transform the most iconic activity of all - that of the Native warrior. This was accomplished by adapting British military tactics to a more indigenous form of warfare. It could then be claimed that this was a *Canadian* army mobilized for the defence of *Canadian* interests, and, despite British military leadership, the rebellion was represented as a *Canadian* triumph.

Commentators on the Riel Rebellion claim it was the last time in which Canadians fired upon each other, yet there is no evidence in contemporary sources to indicate that participants saw it as a civil war.<sup>6</sup> Instead, the volunteer troops which made up the Field Force saw themselves as fighting an 'other' people, rather than recognizing Natives and Métis as fellow Canadians.<sup>7</sup> The visual images published in daily newspapers certainly made a clear distinction between the two sides. The British pole of Canadian national identity, signified visually by uniform, discipline and superior weapons, was the distinguishing attribute of the government forces, while the rebels were represented as semi-naked, barbarous savages and a motley group of 'Half-breeds' dressed in a combination of *habitant* homespun clothing and the fringes, beadwork and feathers which signified their Native connection. When some of the Métis painted themselves, or were

---

<sup>5</sup> As evidenced by the popularity of captivity stories, stories of the 'old West', playing 'cowboys and indians', children's stories, comic strips, camping, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, etc.

<sup>6</sup> The front page editorial of The Week [Toronto] July 30, 1885 states: "This was in name only a civil war. The Half-breeds were an isolated race, though annexed they had never become Canadians, and they were fighting for a territory which they regarded as their own."

<sup>7</sup> Desmond Morton agrees that this was the Dominion's first real war: A Military History of Canada From Champlain to the Gulf War 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992) 106.



represented as having painted themselves "like demons",<sup>8</sup> the result was to elide Native and Métis in the popular imagination. Reports from the North-West assumed that any Métis was a rebel, thus the distinction between French-speaking and English-speaking Métis was also lost. Since the majority who associated with Riel spoke French, any French-speaker was incorrectly assumed to be a rebel. With the furore in Quebec over Riel's hanging, and French-Canadian support of the é, an extremely crude equation could be written which put the loyalty and patriotism of *all* French-speaking inhabitants into question.<sup>9</sup> Hence a soldier could report an attempted attack by a "Frenchman who came up alongside of me as I was retreating, and tried to catch my bridle reins."<sup>10</sup>

When fighting broke out in the North-West, Canadian military leaders found themselves in a weak position. While the ranks of the militia were adequate, they lacked experienced officers to lead them. For years, military officials had lobbied for the creation of a Canadian military school to remedy this deficit, and governor general Lord Lorne had repeatedly urged members of the Privy Council in England to assist in putting the Canadian military on a proper footing.<sup>11</sup> After calling home the garrison forces in 1854 to fight in the Crimean War, it was only with reluctance that the British Parliament had sent some troops back to Canada in response to fears of an Anglo-American war following the *Trent* incident in 1861, and to assist in restoring order on the Red River in 1869. The complete withdrawal of troops in 1871 left the new Dominion to its own devices. Canadians had answered the call to join the militia enthusiastically, despite the poor

---

<sup>8</sup> For instance, *Globe* [Toronto] May 12, 1885, 2.

<sup>9</sup> This faulty syllogism argued that if Métis + Natives = Rebels, and Métis = French, then French-speakers = Rebels.

<sup>10</sup> *Gazette* May 12, 1885, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Memoranda from successive military commanders to Lord Lorne, and from Lord Lorne to London, show that there was a long-standing attempt to improve Canadian military organization. NAC: MG 27 I B4 Lord Lorne Papers.

financial reward and other disincentives, and eventually, the Colonial Office succumbed to Canadian arguments, and a military college was established, but, in March of 1885, its graduates were still few and untried.<sup>12</sup>

Many saw the militia as a means by which to unify the population and instill a sense of national pride and patriotism. An article in Nation in 1874, claimed that the "establishment of a military force is not only a necessity as a safeguard...[but].advisable as a means towards nationalization...[for] the nation possessed of the soundest military organization...has also manifested the strongest development of national spirit and has at the same time advanced steadily in wealth and civilization."<sup>13</sup> This sentiment was echoed by Col. Walker Powell in a memorandum to Lord Lorne regarding militia policy for the Dominion:

an Active Militia representing the strength of the population of each district, and clothed in the national colours, becomes an important factor in the creation of a sentiment of nationality, and that love of country which arises from consciousness of ability to maintain order, and to defend themselves against aggression.<sup>14</sup>

The Halifax Herald went further still, claiming that "it requires blood to unite a country."<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Employers were notorious for the lack of support they gave volunteers - often to the point of refusing to hire them. The pay was poor - only half a labourer's daily wage, and often paid long in arrears. This suggests few of the working class would volunteer, especially since many militia companies were run like social clubs and restricted their membership. Joining a company was a means of gaining upward social mobility, since officers were elected, and automatically considered 'gentlemen' regardless of socio-economic origins: Morton, Military History ch. 3.

<sup>13</sup> The Nation, [Toronto] Vol. 1, No. 2, April 9, 1874, 23. This was a weekly journal established by John Foster, a member of Canada First who had published the enthusiastically received "Canada First: or Our New Nationality" in 1871. The Canada First platform included the "British connection, income franchise, the ballot, minority representation, the encouragement of immigration, and an improved militia system." Norman Shrive, Charles Mair, Literary Nationalist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965) 131.

<sup>14</sup> NAC: MG 271 B4, Memorandum Col. Walker Powell to Lord Lorne, c.1880, 4.

<sup>15</sup> Halifax Herald April 3, 1885, 1. Quoted by Paul Maroney, "It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More": Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914", Paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, UQAM, August 1995, 31.

For some, then, the outbreak of the Second Riel Rebellion furnished an opportunity to temper the newly developed sense of Canadian nationality in the forge of war, and to prove that Canada had entered the ranks of modern, progressive nations.

Others were less sanguine about the existence of national feeling, especially considering the disadvantages felt by the western provinces due to the national policy. In January of 1885, before the outbreak of Rebellion in March, "W.E.M." of The Week, asked:

How can a genuine Canadian nationality develop while the people of the different Provinces take no more interest in each other than at present?...they are supposed to be permeated by enthusiastic love and admiration for the Dominion...But those who know best will admit that there is not a vast amount of patriotism current in the Dominion...this "national" feeling, of which there is so much prating at times, exists only in the imaginations of a class of journalists and interested politicians...<sup>16</sup>

However, a few months later, the Rebellion was hailed from all quarters as a means by which the nation had been drawn together. In the same publication, "G.B.E." claimed that "one of the beneficial results of the recent display of military force in the North-West is that it has made the people...feel they are really part and parcel of the Dominion...The 'average' inhabitant is no longer an Albertan - he is now a Canadian."<sup>17</sup> Journalists in Montreal concurred. A Gazette editorial claimed:

A new inspiration has come upon the people as the result of the insurrection, and its influence will be lasting...The rebellion has demonstrated how deeply the love of Canada fills the hearts of her people, has made brothers of the men of all the provinces,...has obliterated all sectional jealousies and all provincial bigotries.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> The Week January 29, 1885, 134.

<sup>17</sup> "Canadianizing the North-West," The Week July 23, 1885, 533-4.

<sup>18</sup> Gazette July 23, 1885.

The feeling that Canada was now a nation was widespread after the successful conclusion of military action against the Native and Métis 'rebels'.<sup>19</sup> The rapturous welcome given by each city to every battalion of troops which arrived or travelled through, regardless of their province of origin, and the fulsome public addresses by mayors and dignitaries, as well as the 'prating' press editorials, all proclaimed that this had been a national trial, a test of nationhood which the troops had passed on 'our' behalf with glowing colours.<sup>20</sup> This claim had some justification, after all, the ability of the state to monopolise and command military force is a marker of nationhood in a political and material sense. It is also a measure of the strength of national feeling since it requires people to willingly sacrifice their lives in the defence of an abstract concept. The conscription crises of the two world wars illustrated the lack of a unified national identity or purpose in Canada in the twentieth century, but this was much less apparent in 1885, when only "rumours" of disaffection and apathy from Quebec and Halifax were evidenced.<sup>21</sup> It has also often been

---

<sup>19</sup> Most recent studies recognize that relatively few Native people participated in the Rebellion, and were poorly treated by the Canadian government. Louis Riel's actions have received varying interpretations: compare, for instance, Thomas Flanagan, Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983), and D.N. Sprague, Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988). The best overall account of the Rebellion is Bob Beal and Rod Macleod, Prairie Fire: The 1885 North-West Rebellion (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1984). An account which relies on Native oral history is Blair Stonechild and Bill Waiser, Loyal till Death. Indians and the North-West Rebellion (Calgary: Fifth House, 1997). Individual battles and military aspects are considered by Walter Hildebrandt in Views from Fort Battleford: Constructed Visions of an Anglo-Canadian West (University of Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1994) and The Battle of Batoche: British Small Warfare and the Entrenched Métis, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, National Historic Parks and Sites (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1989). An older, but useful review of the causes and historical interpretations of the Rebellion is given by Stuart Hughes in his Introduction to The Frog Lake "Massacre". Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

<sup>20</sup> Lieutenant-colonel G. Amyot called the reception given to the Quebec 9<sup>th</sup> Voltigeurs in Toronto "délirante de patriotisme et de fraternité." La Presse July 22, 1885 (Dernière). On the other hand, from editing the memoirs of three participants, R.C. Macleod, claims there is little evidence that patriotism was an important reason for enlisting: Reminiscences of a Bungle by one of the Bunglers (Calgary: University of Alberta Press, 1983) xii.

<sup>21</sup> Haultain 1:4.

argued that war promotes internal cohesion, creating a sense of belonging and community since it requires all members of society to 'pull together' in the face of a common enemy. War propaganda contributes to this by constructing unequivocal images of the 'evil' enemy, and 'good' self.<sup>22</sup> These unifying effects were apparent in 1885, but, unfortunately, they lasted only temporarily. In the aftermath of the Second Riel Rebellion, an apparently irrevocable rift between English- and French-speaking Canadians was revealed.

In the performance of their duties, the troops embodied the characteristics of Canadian identity prescribed by Taché, Notman, Haliburton, Beers and others. They survived train rides on open cars in freezing temperature, long marches through snow and ice, forced marches under the broiling sun, dragging guns and wagons through swamp, all the while clothed inadequately, and fed a skimpy diet. For most of the volunteer troops, this was the first experience of enemy fire, and General Middleton claimed their inexperience was the reason for his cautious tactics; yet, by all accounts, they showed great courage and discipline under fire. Major-General Thomas Bland Strange, for instance, complimented the men of the 65<sup>th</sup> Battalion after their inconclusive encounter with Wandering Spirit's band at Red Deer Creek:

The General said he had seen a great many fresh troops undergo their first "baptism of fire," but never in his military experience did he see a bolder attack made upon a strong position than he had that day. His orders, he said, had been promptly executed in every particular and the men showed all the valour and coolness of old troops. The enemy's position, he said, was simply impregnable.<sup>23</sup>

The troops, although raw and inexperienced, survived the horrendous journey, the

---

<sup>22</sup> A brief discussion of the literature on warfare and nationhood is presented by Anthony-D. Smith, "War and Ethnicity: The Role of Warfare in the Formation, Self Images and Cohesion of Ethnic Communities," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4.4 (October 1981): 358-387.

<sup>23</sup> Details of the encounter, incorrectly named the "Battle of Frenchman's Butte", are provided by Haultain 2:34. For subsequent interpretations see Stonechild and Waiser 184-5.

exhausting marches, and their battles with the enemy. They demonstrated on a national stage all the qualities promoted and inculcated through nationalist discourse, and embodied and performed at home and abroad by participation in indigenous sports.

Organized sports had undoubtedly played a key role in preparing some of the volunteers for action in the North-West. The three thousand or so men who headed off to Winnipeg from the major cities in eastern and central Canada, reportedly came from all ranks of society, "the humble artizan, the mechanic, the tradesman, the clerk, the student, the professional man - all were to be found, side by side, indistinguishable."<sup>24</sup> However, no detailed studies are available which confirm this contemporary impression.<sup>25</sup> When noted, the occupations of the men who died in the conflict included artisans - a tinsmith, a shoemaker, a blacksmith; white-collar workers - a hardware store clerk, a bookkeeper; and journalists, managers, builders, surveyors, lawyers, and professional soldiers.<sup>26</sup> Since sport clubs had always been enthusiastic supporters of military preparedness, it seems reasonable to assume that many of the volunteers from the latter two white-collar and professional groups would have been members of sport clubs.<sup>27</sup> Although their civilian lives are rarely mentioned, several of the officers were singled out in press reports as renowned sportsmen. Lieutenant-Colonel Otter of the Queen's Own Rifles (Toronto), and later Canadian Military Chief, was a lacrosse player and rower, Lieutenant-Colonel Ouimet of the 65<sup>th</sup> Rifles was the president of the Dominion Rifle Association in 1885, General

---

<sup>24</sup> Haultain 1:4.

<sup>25</sup> Desmond Morton, "Aid to the Civil Power: The Canadian Militia in support of Social Order, 1867-1914," *Canadian Historical Review* 51.4 (December 1970) 424.

<sup>26</sup> *Globe* May 13, 14, 23, 1885; *Gazette* May 14, 1885.

<sup>27</sup> The class position of artisans is very difficult to fix in this time period. It is impossible to tell, for example, whether a shoemaker was an employer with his own shop (and therefore a member of the professional and commercial middle classes), or a de-skilled worker in an industrializing trade. In general, I have considered artisans as members of the working class.

Strange and his wife were active in the Quebec Skating Club, and he was an enthusiastic snowshoer, and Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Bond of the Prince of Wales Regiment (Montreal), was a well-known member of the MSSC, and all-round sports enthusiast. In the lower ranks, Captain Giroux of the 65<sup>th</sup> Rifles was greeted with a torchlight procession by members of Le Canadien Snow Shoe and Lacrosse Clubs,<sup>28</sup> Corporal E. Halliwell of the Midland Battalion was "an excellent lacrossist",<sup>29</sup> and three "crack snowshoers" from the Garrison Artillery were welcomed home by fellow club members.<sup>30</sup> The military value of indigenous sports was recognized in two cartoons commissioned by the Thomas Thompson & Son clothing company in Toronto. The first, "On the Fly" shows "one of our brave boys in pursuit of an Indian...The pace is warm, but our volunteer is an old lacrosse player, and it certainly looks as if the Indian would be caught." Two days later, the company's advertisement, entitled "Veni, Vidi, Vici!" is a sketch of the volunteer carrying his 'catch' on his rifle. The copy reads: "Being brought "to bay" is one thing, and brought to bay-o-net quite another..." [Figures 5.1 & 5.2].

When the need for a properly trained militia was demonstrated by the debacle of the Crimean War, and in response to the perceived threats from the American states in the early 1860s, many volunteer rifle companies were formed by members of the professional and commercial middle classes. Rifle Associations were also popular at this time, and served to train volunteers in marksmanship.<sup>31</sup> Volunteering and rifle shooting were so

---

<sup>28</sup> Gazette July 22, 1885.

<sup>29</sup> Globe May 14, 1885, 8. The quote continues: "and it is to be hoped handled his rifle at Batoche with as much skill as he did the netted stick before the goals."

<sup>30</sup> Gazette July 25, 1888. These were Sergeant S.D. Jones, Gunner Archie McNaughton and Bombadier E. Jackson.

<sup>31</sup> The Dominion of Canada Rifle Association, formed in 1868, was the first and only federally funded sport in the nineteenth century. Between 1868 and 1908, \$1.5 million was spend by the federal government to encourage rifle shooting. In 1865, 23,301 men practised marksmanship in the Province of Canada. Rifle shooting was a leisure activity through which national ideologies of

MONDAY, MAY 18, 1887.

"ON THE FLY"

OR,

"All Up" with "Poundmaker!!!"



Knowing the interest felt by the people of Toronto in the volunteers now engaged in the Lamentable Rebellion in the North-West, we have at great expense secured the services of a talented artist, and now propose giving from time to time to the public, through THE GLOBE, sketches from his pencil as they arrive. Believing that the sketches will prove of absorbing interest to the people of Ontario, we cheerfully overlook the expense. We are assured we could not better make our business known. Our artist's first sketch depicts one of our brave boys in pursuit of an Indian—a Cree, evidently, from his dress. The pace is warm, but our volunteer is an old lacrosse player, and it certainly looks as if the Indian would be caught.

We are now awaiting a sketch showing the result of the chase, and when it arrives it will be laid before our friends at the earliest opportunity.

But in the meantime let us draw the attention of the public to our stylish and well made Tweed Suits. A splendid assortment of Boys' Tweed Suits, Jersey Suits for Small Boys, New Spring Overcoats from \$2 90 each.

We are fully convinced that all who have visited our store are perfectly delighted with the goods and more than satisfied with the prices.

Not only in Toronto are our efforts to suit our customers appreciated, but in many a suburban home THE MAMMOTH HOUSE is a household word.

Thomas Thompson & Son,  
"Noted Clothiers."

Fig. 5.1: "On the Fly,' or, 'All Up' with 'Poundmaker!!!" advertisement, Toronto Globe, May 18, 1885





**VENI, VIDI, VICI !**

Being brought "to bay" is one thing, and brought to bay-net quite another. Either position is, as a rule, irksome enough; but of the two the unfortunate red-skin here depicted unquestionably finds himself on the sharpest "horn of the dilemma." Instinct is "STRONG IN DEATH," however, and surely no one can grudge the squiring Indian all the liquid comfort he may be able to extract out of his present restricted circumstances. Confusion to all traitors, says THE MAXWORTH. And just here let it be impressed upon the minds of every body that our Stock of READY MADE CLOTHING is complete in every detail, and offered as heretofore at a price which cannot fail to meet the exact ideas of all who may favour us with their patronage.

**THOS. THOMPSON & SON.**  
Noted Clothiers.

Fig. 5.2: "Veni, Vidi, Vici!" advertisement, *Toronto Globe*, May 20, 1885

popular in 1861 that there were ten companies in the Prince of Wales Regiment of the Victoria Rifles, and other sports activities declined.<sup>32</sup> Many members of the lacrosse and snowshoe clubs were volunteers: members of the Beaver and Montreal Lacrosse Clubs formed the Victoria Volunteer Rifle Regiment in 1861,<sup>33</sup> and the St. George's Snow Shoe Club was formed in November of 1874 as winter exercise for its cricket club and members of No. 3 Company Victoria Volunteer Rifles.<sup>34</sup> Hugh W. Becket, prominent member of the MSSC and MLC, was commissioned as a Lieutenant in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion Victoria Rifles in 1884, and was no doubt disappointed that his unit did not get called up the next year. As a newspaper report commented in 1875: "There are few of our snowshoe runners who are not in some way connected with the volunteers..."<sup>35</sup> Although only available to the wealthy members of the professional and commercial middle classes, hunting was also a leisure activity which served as a training ground for war. It taught survival techniques, understanding of terrain, endurance, and practical marksmanship.<sup>36</sup> Lacrosse, snowshoeing and the imported sports, all trained the body, promoting fitness, agility and

---

duty, manliness and patriotism were constructed and contested: Kevin Wamsley, "Cultural signification and National Ideologies: Rifle shooting in late nineteenth-century Canada," *Social History* 20.1 (1995): 63-72.

<sup>32</sup> Lindsay, "History of Sport" 254-262

<sup>33</sup> William H. Whyte, *The MAAA* (Montreal, 1905) xxviii.

<sup>34</sup> NAC: MG28 I 421 St. George's Snow School Club Papers, Vol. 1.

<sup>35</sup> NAC: MAAA Scrapbook 1, 292. Snowshoeing was apparently part of military training, as indicated by a sketch entitled "Royal artillery on a snowshoe tramp," published in *Canadian Illustrated News* February 25, 1871, 117.

<sup>36</sup> Robert Baden-Powell's scouting movement, and Ernest Thompson Seton's woodcraft camps established at the end of the century, also valorized hunting skills as more beneficial than the preparation for soldiering provided by drilling Cadets. David W. Brown, "Militarism and Canadian Private Education: Ideal and Practice, 1861-1918," *CJHS* 17.1 (May 1986) 51. On scouting and woodcraft, see John M. MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times," *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987) 176-188, and Deloria ch. 4. For a study which illustrates the obsession with hunting in boys' journals, see Patrick A. Dunae, "British juvenile literature in an age of Empire, 1880-1914," Ph.D. diss. University of Manchester, 1975.

quick-thinking. Furthermore, the hierarchical structure of the sport clubs, and the discipline instilled on the field, or in the bush, prepared men to accept the orders of their superiors. As Haultain noted, "The essential attribute of a good army is discipline, and discipline democracy tends to eliminate."<sup>37</sup> Through sports activities, and fraternal associations in general, leading members of society had ensured that values, behaviours and practices which constructed and reproduced a stable, hierarchically organized society were normalized. From one point of view, sports activities were ideal as physical and mental training for the military, while, from another sports were themselves a 'civilized' substitute for war, activities through which aggression and irrational behaviour might be harmlessly dissipated, and pleasurable emotions aroused.<sup>38</sup> By putting down the Rebellion, this civilized order was extended across the continent, and the English-speaking colonists could claim to have created a nation.<sup>39</sup> The last chapter of the British history of Canada could then be written, linking British colonists as native-Canadians back into the nation's "myths of time," thus absorbing and writing-over the history of both Native peoples and the French Regime.

'Remembering' the British history of Canada was an on-going project. By the 1860s a "national frame of mind" had developed in Canada West, and this resulted in a tremendous outpouring of 'Canadian' histories, magazines and literature.<sup>40</sup> It was at this

---

<sup>37</sup> Haultain 1:4.

<sup>38</sup> Elias and Dunning 4.

<sup>39</sup> In fact they had accomplished themselves what in other colonies had been accomplished by the British troops, viz. the Indian Mutiny (1857), the Jamaican Revolt (1865) and the Maori Wars (1860s and 1870s).

<sup>40</sup> Allan Smith, "Old Ontario". In the 1880s historians of British Canada, such as John Charles Dent and William Kingsford, were particularly concerned with the achievement of responsible government. English Canadians took little notice of French-Canadian history, such as that written by F.-X. Gameau, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Ferland, or Benjamin Sulte, but Francis Parkman's account of the struggle between France and Britain for control of New France was popular for its dramatic and picturesque rendering of history. See: Taylor ch. 5, esp. 258.

time, for instance, that George Coventry began the transcription of Land Office records and documents pertaining to the early legislation of Upper Canada. William Canniff, later a member of Canada First, published his *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada in 1869*, his object, like Coventry, being to promote patriotism through veneration of the Loyalists. After repeated urging by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Parliament voted in 1872 to establish a national archive for Canadian documents.<sup>41</sup>

William Notman and Fennings Taylor took a similar approach in presenting their collection of biographies, through which they "established individuals as personifications of Canadian political and social principles and character."<sup>42</sup> Henry James Morgan also embarked on a number of biographical projects which adumbrated the achievements and contributions of eminent British colonists.<sup>43</sup> In this chapter, I will show how a complementary visual history of the Rebellion was produced which constituted the last

chapter in this history.

The images to be discussed have been drawn from the *Montreal Family Herald and Weekly Star*,<sup>44</sup> and the *Illustrated War News [IWN]*, a weekly magazine produced in Toronto during the Rebellion. I propose that the "complete letterpress and illustrated history of the North-West Rebellion"<sup>45</sup> found in the pages of the *IWN* constituted both a political rationalization of the nation, and the story of its cultural origins. They show

---

<sup>41</sup> Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History. Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) 4-5.

<sup>42</sup> Taylor 167.

<sup>43</sup> Henry James Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians, and Persons Connected with Canada, from the Earliest Period in the History of the Province Down to the Present Time* (Quebec, 1862); Taylor 167.

<sup>44</sup> Most were originally published in the *Montreal Daily Star*. Images were not yet printed on an everyday basis in daily newspapers.

<sup>45</sup> The phrase used to describe the Souvenir Numbers in a GRIP advertisement: *IWN Souvenir Number 1, 24*.

Canadians enacting their nationhood, and they show those at home authorizing and applauding their performance. The opinion of the audience is voiced by the press, and at times, as for instance when allegations of looting arose, the limits of identity can be discerned. To support this contention, I examine three specific sets of images from the Illustrated War News which represented (and thereby named and defined) three decisive moments in the Rebellion: namely, the battles at Fish Creek, Cut Knife Creek, and Batoche. Although there are many other images which could be scrutinized, these were chosen because the battles were the subjects of large-size, full colour, commemorative prints issued by the publishers of the IWN after the Rebellion. These were the definitive versions of key battles, the last stage in a series of re-presentations which began in the eighteen weekly issues of the paper, were refined in the two Souvenir Numbers, and reached their ultimate state in the three final prints.<sup>46</sup> Through analysis of the individual stages and their re-definitions, the images can be seen as components of a narrativizing scheme which presented the 'official' history of the Rebellion.<sup>47</sup> The familiar strategies of representation employed, and the story which the images tell, are the culmination of the Canadian identity and nation constructed over the past four decades. In the past, these illustrations have been considered exaggerated and biased, but by examination of the cultural context within which they were produced, I provide a critique of the way in which the images have been interpreted to date, and suggest a more fruitful approach.

---

<sup>46</sup> In an attempt to avoid confusion as to which images or prints are under discussion, I will refer subsequently to the three stages of publication as (1) the "weekly issues", (2) the "Souvenir Numbers" and (3) the "final prints".

<sup>47</sup> The representation of battle stories in text have an established formula which represents the behaviour of the troops as displaying universally heroic characteristics, skips over their experiences between battles, ruthlessly stratifies the characteristics of the two sides as binary opposites, and glosses over the agony and mess of the battle field: Maroney op cit. This "rhetoric of battle history" is paralleled in the visual narrative discussed herein, but is not true of twentieth-century war photojournalism. There is much similarity too, to the narratives of hunting trips and the 'epic' snowshoe tramps remembered by Montreal clubs.

### The Canadian Illustrated War News

The prototype for all nineteenth-century illustrated periodicals was the Illustrated London News which was first published in 1842, quickly followed by its chief competitor in England, the Graphic, and in the following decade, by Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper and Harper's Weekly in America.<sup>48</sup> War and royalty became the stock-in-trade of these periodicals, furnishing commercial subjects with mass appeal.<sup>49</sup> Supplements or pull-out sheets, often coloured or tinted and "ready for framing", accompanied special issues.

In Canada, the illustrated press had a checkered existence. The Canadian Illustrated News originated in 1862 in Hamilton, and in its first years declared plans for "a Pictorial History of Canada".<sup>50</sup> Unhappily, weekly sales failed to cover its expenses and it ceased publication in 1864. It was resurrected in Montreal by George Desbarats in 1869, and was published there until its demise, again due to lack of subscribers, in 1883. Another Canadian illustrated journal whose existence was facilitated by the newly developed photo-mechanical means of production, was Grip, a humorous weekly magazine founded in 1873 by J. W. Bengough as a vehicle for his satirical political cartoons.<sup>51</sup> The magazine flourished, and by the mid 1880s its parent company, Grip

---

<sup>48</sup> Andrea G. Pearson, "Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper and Harper's Weekly: Innovation and Imitation in Nineteenth-Century American Pictorial Reporting", Journal of Popular Culture 23 (Spring 1990): 81-111; Angela E. Davis, "Art and Work: Frederick Brigden and the History of the Canadian Illustrated Press", Journal of Canadian Studies 27.2 (Summer 1992): 22-36.

<sup>49</sup> This is demonstrated by Wanda J. McAdam, The British View of the Canadas as seen through the eyes of the Illustrated London News 1842-1867, (M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1975) 132.

<sup>50</sup> K. McKenzie and Mary F. Williamson, eds., The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada: Two Centuries of Art Magazines, (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979) 14.

<sup>51</sup> Carl Spadoni, "Grip and the Bengoughs as Publishers and Printers," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada 27 (1988): 12-35. For information on technical developments in the printing industry see Raymond Lister, Prints and Printmaking: A Dictionary and Handbook of the Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain (London: Methuen, 1984), Jim Burant, "The Visual World in the Victorian Age," Archivaria 19 (Winter 1984-85): 110-121, and Terresa McIntosh, "W.A. Leggo and G.E. Desbarats: Canadian Pioneers in Photomechanical Reproduction," History of

Printing and Publishing Company [GRIP],<sup>52</sup> had become one of the most important engraving firms in Toronto.<sup>53</sup>

Although fighting broke out in the North-West in late March of 1885, by April 4 GRIP had already rushed into print with the first of eighteen weekly issues of the IWN. The editorial board claimed it was responding to the "state of public feeling" in order "to supply the Canadian public with an illustrated newspaper" which would cover the campaign of government troops to suppress the North-West Rebellion.<sup>54</sup> During a period of heightened awareness and tension over Canadian nationalism and imperial ties, the board of GRIP appears to have seen the Riel Rebellion as a perfect commercial opportunity.<sup>55</sup> It formed a nexus of saleable attributes: a no-lose military campaign which roused patriotic feeling and conferred glory on the Canadian military, plus the opportunity to exploit the long-held stereotypes of the savage (but noble) Natives.<sup>56</sup> Their fabled courage would supply a pleasurable frisson of fear for the reader, combined with the

---

Photography 20.2 (Summer 1996): 146-149.

<sup>52</sup> In order to distinguish between Grip, the magazine, and Grip Printing and Publishing Company, the publisher, I will refer to the latter as "GRIP".

<sup>53</sup> The Toronto Lithographing Company, which later produced many of the full page engravings for the Illustrated War News, also emerged in the 1870s and printed county atlases and histories, town maps, portraits and business cards. E. Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Book Sellers and the Allied Trades 1798-1900 (Toronto: Anson-Cartwright Editions, 1982) xiv. The corporate history of GRIP is discussed in more depth by Carman Cumming, Sketches from a Young Country: The Images of Grip Magazine (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

<sup>54</sup> IWN April 4, 1885, 2.

<sup>55</sup> This was not GRIP's first foray into war journalism since they had already commissioned T. Arnold Haultain to write a history of the war in the Sudan, which was published in 1885. Moreover, the following year, Grip also printed Major C. Boulton's Reminiscences of the North-West Rebellions.

<sup>56</sup> IWN, April 4, 1885, 2. Other publishing companies also saw commercial possibilities in the reporting of the Rebellion. For instance, an advertisement in the Evening Telegram on March 28, 1885 announced that an extra edition of the Toronto Morning News would be published on Sunday mornings for the duration.

element of pathos afforded by the clear and certain knowledge that the rebels were doomed to defeat against the "superior stratagem of our troops".<sup>57</sup>

Unfortunately, we have no concrete evidence regarding sales or subscriptions to IWN. From internal evidence, it seems that GRIP's initial enthusiasm was not totally born out in sales. From the second issue of IWN onwards, editorial rhetoric urged readers to rush in their order for back issues so as to avoid disappointment:

In compliance with urgent requests that have reached us, we have made arrangements for temporarily keeping up the supply of the first and second numbers, so that all who desire to possess a complete volume will be able to gratify their wishes by promptly taking advantage of the present opportunity.<sup>58</sup>

This sounds like a marketing ploy, because by issue No. 15, stocks of the early issues were still only "nearly exhausted".<sup>59</sup> Regular advertisements for IWN in the Toronto News employed the same strategy, and encouraged readers to collect a full set of the issues in order to possess a complete visual history of the Rebellion.<sup>60</sup> However, by Issue No. 4, April 25, readers were offered eight numbers, mailed to their home, for \$1: a savings of 20 cents plus postage over the newsstand price of 15 cents per copy.<sup>61</sup> Evidently subsequent sales produced high enough demand for advertising space that in the May 9 issue the back of the supplement page was used for printing, and in the following issue the editorial

<sup>57</sup> Most recent historical accounts question whether they were rebels. I follow the contemporary usage, from which the images have to be read.

<sup>58</sup> IWN April 11, 1885, 10.

<sup>59</sup> IWN July 11, 1885, 114.

<sup>60</sup> The Toronto News Company acted as wholesale agents for IWN and later for the large prints.

<sup>61</sup> This appears to have been a very generous savings for the reader, but its significance is somewhat ambiguous. The price reduction may have been simply an attempt by GRIP to ensure continued sales and raise some capital. Alternatively, the decrease in price could be construed as an attempt to recruit a new readership, either because sales to the higher income readers had been so successful that it was possible to expand into a new sector of the market, or because sales had fallen below initial expectations.



noted that interest had been "sufficient to deem a continuation of the paper after the war to be called The Canadian Pictorial." Hence from issue Number 7, the banner name changed to The Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News.<sup>62</sup> However, the optimism and sales which prompted the plans for continuing with the publication of an illustrated weekly after the Rebellion shortly began to fade.<sup>63</sup> Ultimately, the new periodical did not see the light of day and, with the fighting over, the culprits in prison, and the troops back home, the final issue of IVN was published on August 1, 1885.

It appears that the directors of GRIP made every effort to re-package the Rebellion in order to find new audiences, for each version of the text and the images can be understood as a re-orientation toward another reading public.<sup>64</sup> Without empirical evidence regarding the audience for the IVN, but assuming a similar pattern of consumption to that of the reading public in England, it would seem that the weekly issues would have been read by salaried rather than waged workers given the apparently high cost of 15 cents.<sup>65</sup> However, readers of this period were willing to pay substantially more for a periodical with illustrations, just as they were willing to pay more for a newspaper which carried a serialized novella. Given that the Canadian Illustrated News had found

---

<sup>62</sup> IVN, May 16, 1885, 50. In the interests of simplicity, I will continue to refer to the paper as IVN. Note that this increase in advertising coincided with the period of greatest excitement (and therefore greatest sales) in the Rebellion.

<sup>63</sup> By July 11 (No.15) the price of single issues was dropped to 10 cents per copy, and the supplement discontinued. This price reduction may have been an attempt to maintain sales, or, since the editorial reminded readers that The Canadian Pictorial would be "an illustrated Canadian family paper; patriotic in tone and free from political rancor", perhaps the price change was part of the sales strategy for the new publication.

<sup>64</sup> Roger Chartier, The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 3.

<sup>65</sup> Subscription rates for weekly periodicals at the time in Toronto were on average \$2 per annum. At 15 cents per copy, an annual subscription of IVN would have cost upwards of \$7; but this was still less than the \$9 subscription charged for the Art Journal: Toronto City Directory, 1885, 922-923.

insufficient readers to keep publishing at 10 cents a copy, the IWN must have been considered a relatively expensive magazine and, consequently, inaccessible to those with a low income. It would, nevertheless, have appealed to anyone with a friend or relative 'at the front', and from the IWN reports it seems that many of the militia troops were members of the professional and commercial middle classes, and their families were therefore likely to have access to it.<sup>66</sup>

In the eighteen weekly issues of the IWN, textual reports from a variety of sources were employed as a support for the illustrations. Each issue presented a summary of the latest news from the front, drawn from correspondents from an eclectic range of daily newspapers: for instance, the Toronto Globe, the Toronto Mail, the Montreal Witness, and other provincial newspapers were cited. None of which, however, included the French language sources. The bulk of the text acted as a key to, and explanation of, the sketches, portraits, full-page and sometimes double-page illustrations which were the raison d'être of the IWN.<sup>67</sup>

Even though its plans for a new publication fell through, GRIP managed to wring further mileage out of the events in the North-West in the form of two Souvenir Numbers published shortly after the Rebellion was over. They were written by T. Arnold Haultain, a young man who had been educated at the University of Toronto, and was Goldwin Smith's private secretary.<sup>68</sup> The first part was issued on July 4, and the second on August 29, at a cost of 50 cents each. Some images which had appeared in the weekly issues were

---

<sup>66</sup> Total readership would, of course, have been higher than total sales due to shared copies and access through libraries.

<sup>67</sup> Each page measured 12" x 18".

<sup>68</sup> W. Stewart Wallace, ed., The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978) 342.

reproduced again, along with many new or revised plates. All the major events and players in the Rebellion were represented in this pictorial history, but the focus had changed. Instead of keeping readers up-to-date with the news, as the weekly issues had, the purpose of the Souvenir Issues was to present a summarized history of the Rebellion with all the rumours and misinformation that appeared in the daily press tidied up. The recruitment of troops to various regiments, their departure, their journey to the North-West, and their triumphal return had made up much of the subject matter of the weekly issues, but in the Souvenir Numbers most of this was eliminated in favour of images which presented the bare historical 'facts', fulfilling the mandate indicated in the subtitle by presenting "A history of Riel's Second Rebellion and how it was quelled".

Haultain compiled the text for these Souvenir Numbers from the reports of war correspondents and participants, as well as from official military reports. Most of these sources had already been printed, but he included new eye witness accounts given by returning soldiers. By presenting the conflicting theories about the cause of the Rebellion and by laying out the 'best' evidence in chronological order, Haultain attempted to fill the role of impartial narrator-historian prescribed by the contemporary European Rankean school of historical methodology. Although for the sake of objectivity (and perhaps to inject a little dramatic tension) he admitted that there were criticisms made against Macdonald's government and of Middleton's leadership, Haultain smoothed out these creases in order to produce a seamless and unblemished narrative history which glorified the troops and heroised their officers. Since his historical methodology was oriented towards discovering the origins of the nation state, it is not surprising that he created the "letterpress history" promised by the publishers - a patriotic celebration of Canada's first war. In a recent study of Fort Battleford, Walter Hildebrandt describes a similar

narrativizing process. In his words, these "constructed visions" are myths "built around real events but constructed to include the facts that support the mythology and selectively ignore those that don't".<sup>69</sup>

This finishing or narrativizing process was also imposed on the images and, just like the text, they were corrected and edited, and in places re-drawn for the purpose. The full-colour final prints were the final step in the finishing process. Whereas in the weekly issues the text had been a mere support for the images, which were intended as the real narrative, in the Souvenir Numbers the text and the images each presented an autonomous story. The Souvenir Numbers would have appealed to those who had already purchased the weekly issues, or who wanted a copy of the 'official' story. Since they were often bound together in one volume, the publications were also promoted as collectible items. The Souvenir Numbers may additionally have appealed to the bourgeois 'gentleman scholar' who appreciated their polish and claims to authority. The large final prints would have found a similar market in the homes of the affluent, and perhaps in regimental clubs and mess halls as didactic reminders of their members' glorious exploits. The fact that the final prints would be on display and seen repeatedly made them a potent means through which one aspect of the story of Canada's origins could be told.

Because all three versions (weekly issues, Souvenir Numbers, and final prints) were objects of mass consumption, they had the effect of being a galvanizing social force, telling a story which, through repetition, became the story of the Rebellion, and hence part of the history of the nation. Due to the effect of this repetition, the landscape portrayed in the accumulation of images became the readers' idea of the North-West; the

---

<sup>69</sup> Hildebrandt, Battleford 110.

representation of Native figures reinforced, and was informed by, already existing stereotypes; and the troops were judged to have performed well despite hardships. If reading a novel is "a mass ceremony where one can read alone knowing millions of others are doing the same", then viewing the images in the illustrated press had the same effect.<sup>70</sup>

### **More Than Decoration: Critical Analysis of Visual Images**

Customarily, historians have used visual images to illustrate their narrative, and even though the texts of older histories are being subjected to sophisticated revisionist analysis, the images which accompanied them are rarely subjected to the same searching critique. An example of this undeveloped analysis of images can be found in the way historians have employed the drawings and sketches originally published in the pages of the IWN, many of which have subsequently been reproduced in a variety of different publications.<sup>71</sup> These images have been criticized of romanticising or exaggerating their subject, or of being unrealistic.<sup>72</sup> But, instead of making evaluations about their verisimilitude, the images should be considered in light of other issues, namely, their status as representations, the genre within which they were constructed, the context in which they were presented, and the subjects chosen for representation.

For example, the IWN illustrations have been accused of being unrealistic, whilst

---

<sup>70</sup> Benedict Anderson, cited by Timothy Brennan, "The National Longing for Form," in Bhabha 52.

<sup>71</sup> For example: Desmond Morton, The Last War Drum: The North-West Campaign of 1885 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), William A. Oppen, The Riel Rebellions: A Cartographic History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979). Single images have also been reproduced in numerous historical surveys and books and pamphlets relating to Riel and the Rebellion. They have also been employed in non-historical publications, for instance: Canadian Geographical Journal 11.2 (August 1935): 55-64, and Rotunda (Winter 1985-86)..

<sup>72</sup> These criticisms are all made by Wiebe and Beal 24, 30, 56, 60, 79, 86, 117, 121.

photographs from the period are equated with reality.<sup>73</sup> As recent scholars of art history and popular media point out, photography is a medium which manipulates its subjects in as many ways as painting and sketching.<sup>74</sup> The viewpoint, lighting, composition, what is included and what is excluded, and other factors shape the meaning created by the image, as was demonstrated in my analysis of William Notman's photographs. With this understanding, we cannot assume photographs are unproblematic and then dismiss as fiction the story told in sketches and paintings.

Similarly, although it may be true in some cases, we cannot assume that original sketches done in the field were any more realistic or accurate than the subsequent engraved versions, because there was no possibility of un-mediated representation in the first place.<sup>75</sup> Whether the sketches were done from behind rebel lines (as was claimed for some reproduced in the *Montreal Daily Star*) or by artists accompanying the government troops, makes no difference to their truth value; both have to be subjected to the same

---

<sup>73</sup> For instance, Wiebe and Beal bemoan the fact that the photographs taken by one of the artillery captains are "out of focus, underexposed, or taken at too great a distance," but make the remarkable claim that even though his "photos were often fuzzy...they seldom lied. This is a marked contrast to the material produced by the *Illustrated War News*, whose representations were almost always distorted images of reality and were sometimes outrageously fanciful." (12) Wiebe and Beal appear to hold the view that the ability of photographs to accurately record reality is marred only by the technical problems of the medium. Exactly how they evaluate the 'unrealistic-ness' of the *IWN* illustrations is not explained.

<sup>74</sup> See Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988); and Tagg, Barrell, and Pointon all op. cit.,

<sup>75</sup> A fine example is the case of the painter, Paul Kane. A comparison of his original sketches and field notes with the subsequent oil paintings and published journal shows how preconceived and prescribed notions (not to mention the intervention of his spouse) affected the re-presentation of the material. Moreover, careful reading of his sketches and field notes also reveals the subjectivity which he brought to the work. See *Paul Kane's Frontier: including Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America by Paul Kane*. Edited with a biographical introduction and catalogue raisonné by J. Russell Harper (Austin: Amon Carter Museum, University of Toronto Press, 1971); and Ian S. MacLaren, "Notes towards a reconsideration of Paul Kane's art and prose," *Canadian Literature* 113/114 (Summer/Fall 1987): 179-205.

critical analysis.

The genre conventions within which the artists for the illustrated press were working must also be taken into account in any interpretation of the meaning they produced. For example, "The looting of the old town of Battleford" looks at first sight "ridiculously caricatured" [Figure 5.3].<sup>76</sup> However, identifying its genre opens up new insights. The event is represented as 'the world upside down', a carnivalesque scene of cartoon figures celebrating in an uproarious way. This portrayal was a deliberate strategy on the part of the artist, who was obviously not present and was not attempting to create a "record".<sup>77</sup> From the point of view of the dominant white classes, Native people in control of a colonists' town and their goods is akin to anarchy - the social and racial hierarchy is inverted, and the rulers are at the mercy of the ruled. In fact, although the caricature figures are degrading, the image is far more favourable to the Natives than contemporary news reports, which painted dire pictures of the fate of the besieged townsfolk at the hands of marauding savages. The ludic quality of the figures and the innocuous nature of the looting minimize the racial anxiety attached to the events at Battleford by white people.

The context in which this image was presented illustrates another important aspect of the analysis of visual images. The image of the looting at Battleford was accompanied on the opposite page in the Souvenir Number by a representation of the "Prairie Church Parade of General Middleton's Command" which depicted the troops forming three sides of a large rectangle beside their field tents and the British flag [Figure 5.4]. A more

---

<sup>76</sup> Wiebe and Beal 42.

<sup>77</sup> This mode of representation is a genre with a long history, and its use here corresponds to that of political caricatures produced just prior to the French Revolution, or to the famous series of Hogarth cartoons of London: Lynn Hunt, "The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures," *French Caricature and the French Revolution, 1789-1799*, Exhibition Catalogue, Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts (Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1988) 11-17.

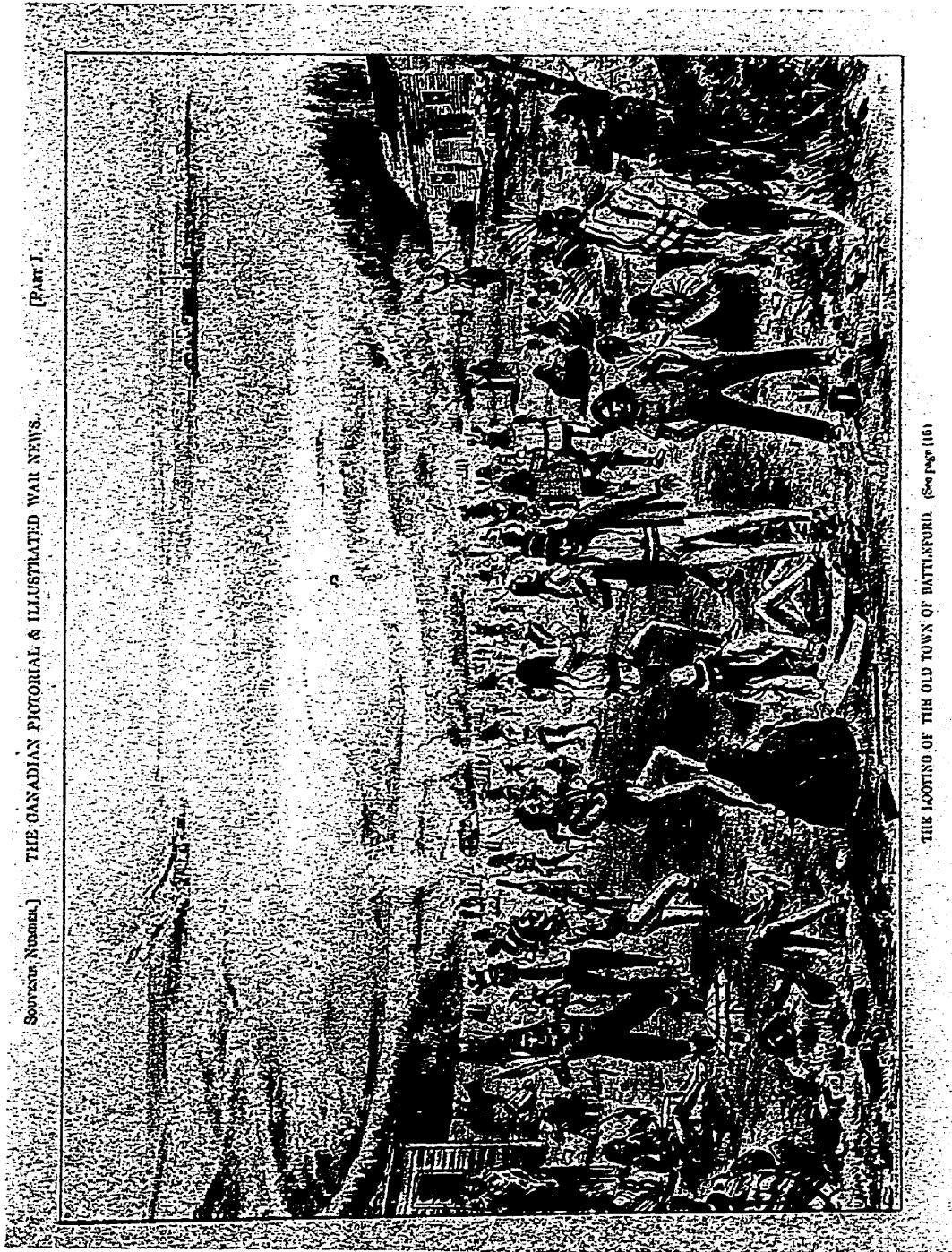
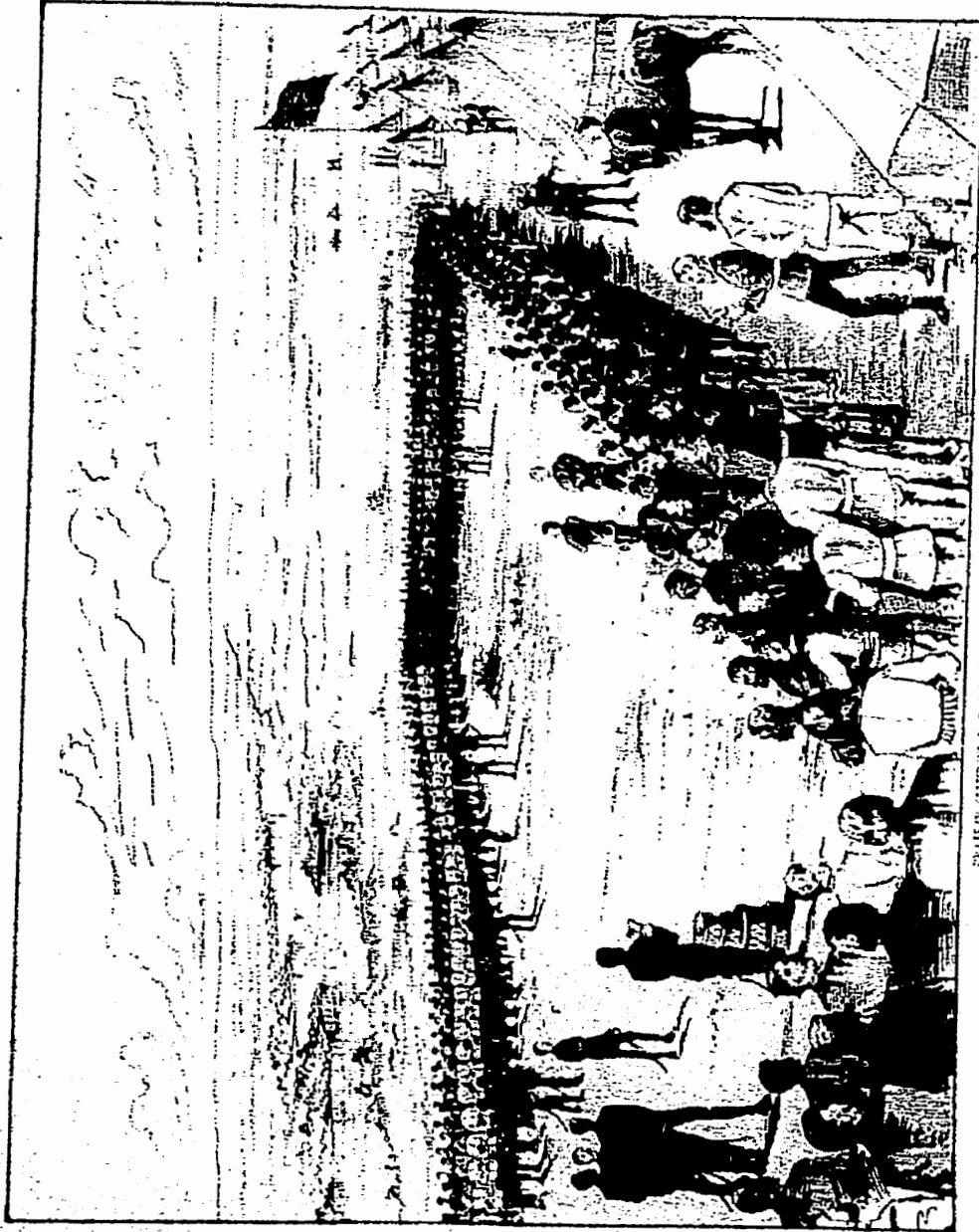


Fig. 5.3: "The Looting of the Old Town of Battleford," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, Souvenir Number Part 1, July 4, 1885, 18





PARADE OF THE PRAIRIE CHURCH PARADE OF GENERAL MIDDLETON'S COMMAND.

Fig. 5.4: "Prairie Church Parade of General Middleton's Command. (From a sketch by Lieut. Irving, Royal Grenadiers)," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, Souvenir Number Part I, July 4, 1885, 19

dramatic contrast of chaos and order could not be offered! The two images are opposite visions: a primitive heathen rabble, dancing and cavorting in individualistic fashion, attired in a weird assortment of clothing, versus the precise, military order, and uniformed attire of the dutiful, God-fearing troops attending a religious service. Everyone would know his place in this latter image for the regular troops are assembled in their ranks, their officers a few paces ahead of them distinguished by the swords at their side. The 'civilized' virtues of religion, order, duty, race and masculinity were magnified by being contrasted to their opposites as personified by the anarchic Native 'looters' of the other drawing, and, from the white point of view, the images justify military action against the rebels. By overlooking the genre conventions and the context in which this image was presented, the viewer might seriously underestimate the meanings created by the juxtaposition of the two images.

Contrast and opposition were techniques employed frequently by the various artists in the field and those compiling engravings at home. The rebel soldiers were depicted as unkempt and undisciplined compared to the uniformed ranks of the government forces. Two images juxtaposed in The Family Herald and Weekly Star illustrate this comparison [Figure 5.5]. In one image, the rebel prisoners stand abjectly before General Middleton under the watchful eye of their mounted guards. The Native prisoners clutch blankets around them, the Métis have removed their hats in respect. The relaxed seated position of the General and the casual way another officer watches the scene with his pipe in hand, indicates that these prisoners are no threat. The companion sketch shows "The Troops in the North-West". It shows the soldiers in the uniform of the four different regiments under Middleton's command. Wearing uniform signals the existence of organization and hierarchy. The presence of troops from a variety of regions



underscored national unity of purpose while the different uniforms signified local identity - sports team uniforms function in a similar way.

In the centre of this image is depicted one of the Scouts seated on his Indian pony and dressed in a outfit which combined western uniform with indigenous clothing. The North-West Mounted Police and various Scout units acted as a type of intermediary in the Rebellion. They were familiar with the rebels and with the landscape and were able to scout ahead and advise the commanding officers. They had native knowledge, yet were not Native. Inspector Steele's attack on Big Bear as he fled from General Strange's force "was the pluckiest engagement of the rising," according to Mr. McLean , the Hudsons Bay factor who had been imprisoned and held by Big Bear's band.<sup>78</sup> These men of the imperial frontier became an ideal masculine hero type - aggressive, daring, courageous and on the side of right. They adopted "guerilla" or "bush" fighting tactics - taking refuge behind trees instead of standing in ranks in the open battlefield, wearing camouflaged clothing, and setting traps, decoys and ambushes.<sup>79</sup> It was seemingly with great reluctance that the European military adopted these tactics and incorporated them into their own practice. However, the Canadian scouts did appropriate such manoeuvres from aboriginal people: "Gallant attack on Big Bear's Band by a handful of Mounted Police under Inspector Steele and Squadron Sergt.-Major Fury" indicates that these lessons had been learned well [Figure 5.6]. Although, as Figure 5.7 (top) shows, the impulse to 'improve' on aboriginal techniques did, on occasion, have humorous results.

---

<sup>78</sup> Haultain 2:38. For instance, Haultain makes a point of noting that at Duck Lake the "volunteers remained standing while the police fought lying down, hence the greater loss of the former." (1:5)

<sup>79</sup> Weatherford 171. The French learned much about Native military tactics before the Conquest: Delâge 144-151. The Métis had their own fighting traditions: Hildebrant, Battleford.



Fig. 5.6: "Gallant Attack on Big Bear's Band by a Handful of Mounted Police under Inspector Steele and Squadron Sergt.-Major Fury," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, July 11, 1885



Fig. 5.7: "Mr. Larmour's Portable Rifle Pits in Action," and "Big Bear, the last of the Rebels," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, June 6, 1885, 80

The officers were also contrasted with the rebel leaders in the illustrated press. In one image, (a composite sketch from three photographs), Major General Strange is compared to Big Bear, the Cree leader [Figure 5.7, bottom]. Both are used to illustrate a physical stereotype: Strange's ramrod straight back and puffed out chest and chin is opposed to Big Bear's slouching posture, downturned mouth and head sunken between his shoulders. Strange's heavy beard is a contrast to Big Bear's clean-shaven face -which was a well-known preference of Native people. Even their head feathers are a contrast! In two full-page lithographs the IWN artists also portrayed the rebel leaders and the commanding officers of the Field Force.<sup>80</sup> Although at first glance the two groups seem to be similar, in fact the artists have used a numbers of strategies to create a contrast which subordinates the rebels. Black and white is used for the rebel leaders, while the officers are privileged with colour. Only five of the rebel leaders are named in the caption, while all twenty-seven of the government officers shown are accorded that recognition. All but two of the latter are on horse-back, while a minority of the rebels are mounted. Compositionally, symmetry is used for the officers who are positioned in stationary rows, while the rebels are shown in irregular groupings, some with their backs to the viewer, some seated, some standing. The cropped tail-end of a horse in the portrait of the rebel leaders suggests that the group is in flux, too disorderly to stand still. In addition, the artist implies that the rebels are in dispute through the close position of bodies and the gesticulations of arms and weapons. Little attention is paid to Riel whereas in Middleton's ranks there is no discussion and most officers face towards him, signifying the order over which he prevailed.

---

<sup>80</sup> "Group of Rebel Leaders" was a supplement to IWN, May 2, 1885. "Major General Middleton, C.B., Adjutant-General Walker Powell, and various commanding officers of the North-West Field Force," was a coloured supplement to Souvenir Number I.

Although the artists relied on employing uniform and the symmetry of disciplined troop movements as a foil for the haphazard, uncontrolled attributes of the rebels, 'reality' was somewhat different. By the time the Volunteers had reached the site of the Rebellion their uniforms, which were often incomplete at the beginning of the journey, had reached a state of worn non-conformity. An article in the Family Herald and Weekly Star reported that little uniform was evident in Middleton's ranks after the battle at Fish Creek. The appearance of the men was "slovenly" since they had been sunburned and unable to shave. Many had worn knitted tuques during the cold weather, and the writer urged that helmets be sent on to protect them from the hot weather expected shortly. The horses from the east ridden by the officers and cavalry had proven unequal to the maze of gopher holes which riddled the prairies, and many, including Middleton, now rode the much sturdier Indian ponies, causing the author to remark:

alas, what a mount for such an official! A Major-General on an Indian pony, caparisoned with Mexican saddle and mountings is certainly a remarkable looking figure, and not quite such a martial personage as could be wished. Nearly all of the officers have purchased new mounts in the shape of Indian ponies since they arrived and with all due respect the mounted officers of the North West Expeditionary Field Force might very easily be mistaken for a horde of cowboys on a raid, were it not for the occasional star crown, or other badge of authority which is all that is recognizable in many instances of the British uniform.<sup>81</sup>

The columns of troops moving across the landscape may not, then, have made as tidy a picture as represented by the IWN artist, and the military tactics attributed to the government troops may not have been as orthodox as they were represented [Figure 5.8].

Who is excluded or included in an image is as important a factor in analysis as how they are represented. Women were largely absent from the Rebellion images, but when they were represented, they were stereotyped according to their class and race. Women

---

<sup>81</sup> The Family Herald and Weekly Star, May 6, 1885.





Fig. 5.8: "Colonel Otter's Brigade Approaching the South Saskatchewan," *Illustrated War News*, April 25, 1885

were sought-after spectators at sports events for the aura of respectability their presence provided, as witnesses of the prowess of their menfolk and because their femininity highlighted the masculinity of the male participants. In war, women played a similar role. In the images appearing in the popular press, urban women were a source of patriotic inspiration, urging their menfolk to enlist - "A Canadian Wife: Take your discharge? Certainly Not!" [Figure 5.9] - and giving them a hero's send-off [Figure 5.10]. While the men were away, the women collected and packaged relief parcels for the troops at the front [Figure 5.11]. When received by the soldiers, these comforts from home were represented as transforming the bleak and primitive habitation of the men ("Then - Tea and Hard Tacks") into one of civilized comfort and luxury ("Now - Everything Nice") [Figure 5.12].<sup>62</sup> The women were not at the front physically, but their gifts stood in for them, and domesticated the wild. The textual and visual references to the women and families "back home" explain and legitimize the military struggle - their defence and protection is a masculine duty. It was very important that wives and mothers could be told that their loved one 'died like a man'.<sup>63</sup> To do this, soldiers showed their pluck by dying with barely a groan, and their manliness by dying in defence of their 'helpless' women and country. This was a performance of male citizenship which was meaningful because gender difference, and an asymmetrical gender hierarchy, had already been constructed.<sup>64</sup> In an allegorical tableau created for *IWN* [Figure 5.13], Canada was, therefore, symbolized by a female personification, who kneels grieving before the national altar ("Patria") upon which

---

<sup>62</sup> Soap, jam, cigarettes and a copy of the *IWN* are particularly important features of this transformation. Consumer goods were acting as surrogates which stood in for the missing feminine domestic services. Unfortunately, the railway car carrying their gifts was held up by a mis-understanding, and many of the perishable goods were spoiled. However, the symbolic meaning of the gifts was well understood and appreciated: *IWN* July 18, 1885, 126.

<sup>63</sup> For example: *Globe* May 11, 12, 1885.

<sup>64</sup> Anne McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven" 261. As she says, "No nation in the world grants women and men the same access to the rights and resources of the nation-state." (260).



Fig. 5.9: "A Canadian Wife: 'Take your discharge? Certainly not!'" *Illustrated War News*, April 4, 1885

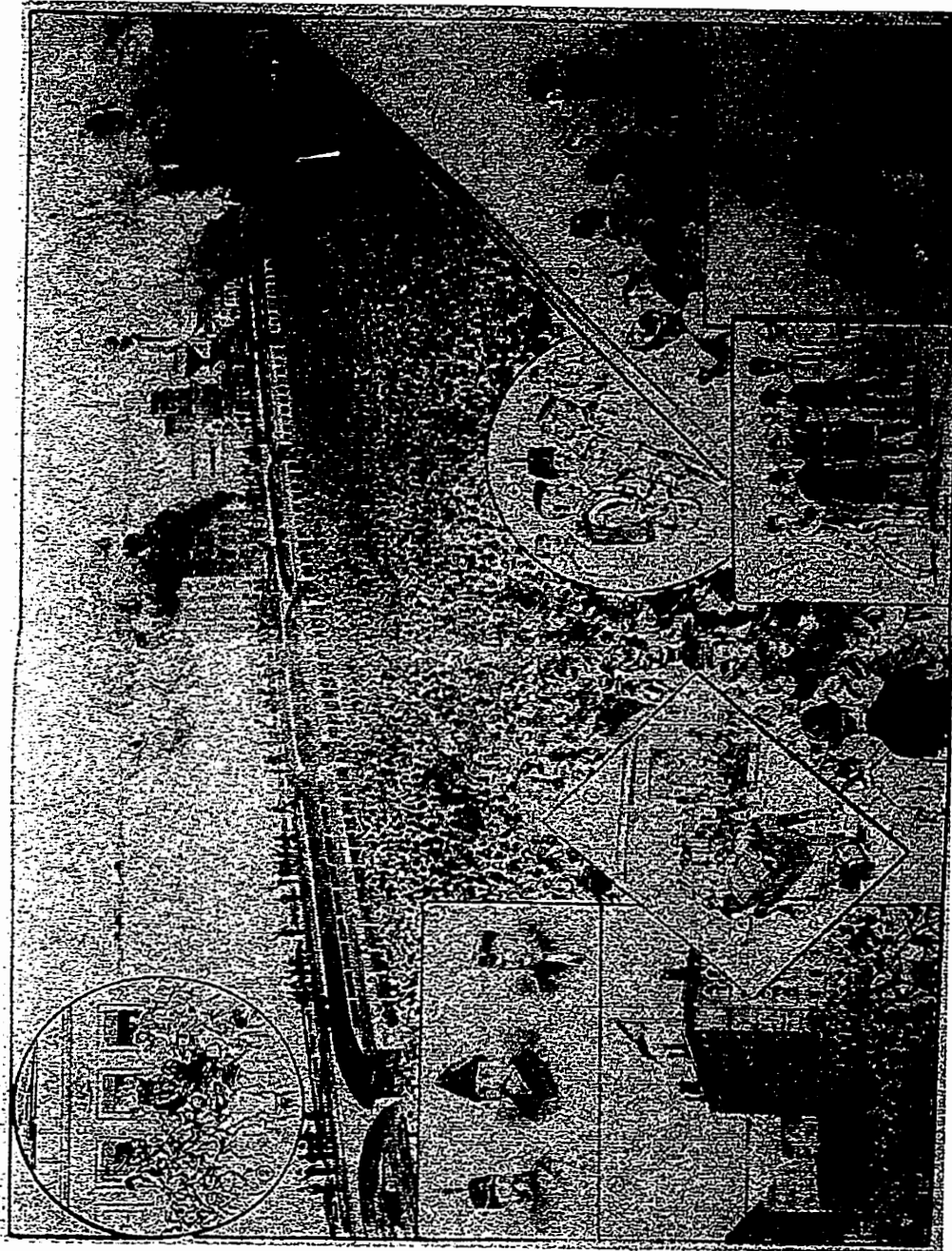


Fig. 5.10: "Departure of the 'Queen's Own' and 'Tenth Royals' for the North-West, March 30<sup>th</sup> Illustrated War News, April 4, 1885

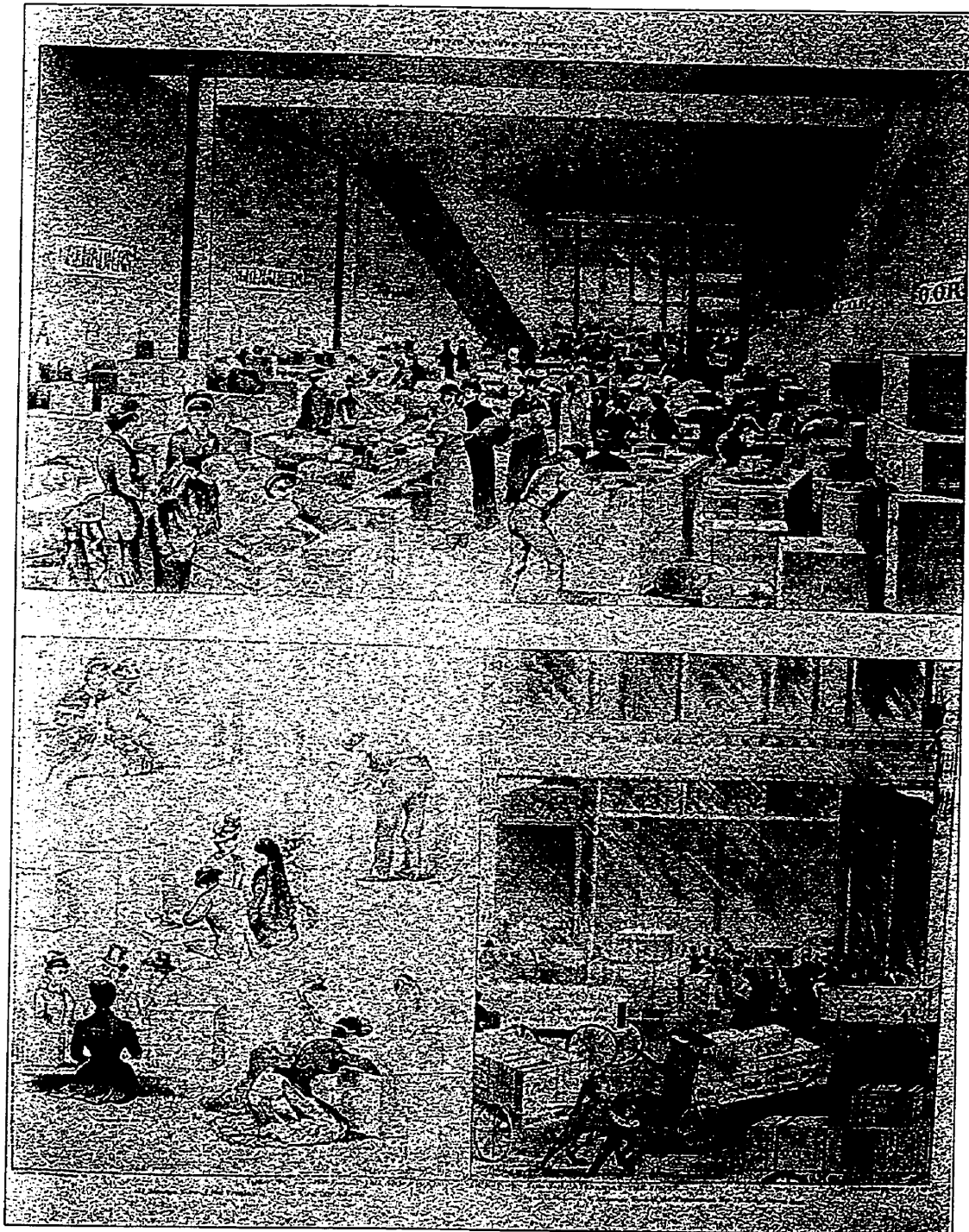


Fig. 5.11: "Toronto Ladies Receiving and Packing Contributions,"  
*Illustrated War News*, May 9, 1885

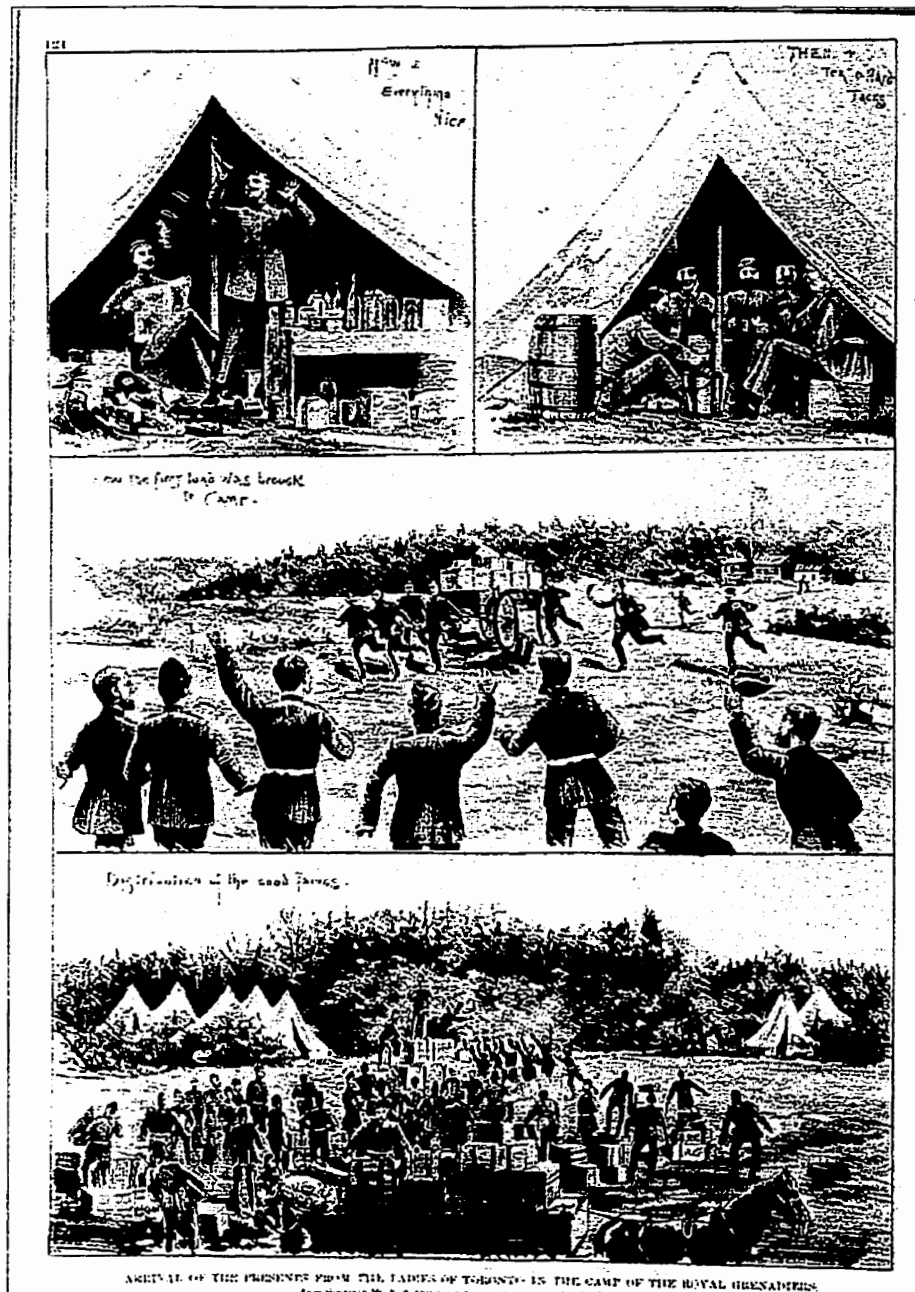


Fig. 5.12: "Arrival of the Presents from the Ladies of Toronto in the Camp of the Royal Grenadiers," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, July 18, 1885, 124



Fig. 5.13: "Canada's Sacrifice," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News, Souvenir Number Part I*, July 4, 1885, supplement

'Young Canada' has been sacrificed.<sup>85</sup> This division of gender roles positioned men "inside history," but rendered women as "ahistorical and eternal."<sup>86</sup>

When the war was over, women were prominent in illustrations of the welcome given to the returning troops [Figure 5.14].<sup>87</sup> These images emphasize the role of women as guardian of the home front, provider of comfort and nourishment, and muse and inspiration of civilized manners and morals.<sup>88</sup> Women were, thus, outside the military action, but important as facilitators, spectators, and witnesses of what happened. Their absence from the field of battle, as from the sports field, confirmed war as the exclusive domain of men; and the battlefield as a source and site of consensus where young men could be inculcated with the masculine, colonialist world view.<sup>89</sup>

Those women who were actively involved in the events in the North-West were rarely shown as active participants, and were more usually shown as helpless victims like

---

<sup>85</sup> "Canada's Sacrifice," Souvenir Number I, supplement. Female allegories were "perfect vehicles for representing the remote notions of national unity and local harmony": Ryan, "The American Parade" 150.

<sup>86</sup> Claire Johnston, "Women's Cinema as Counter-Cinema," *Movies and Methods*, ed. Bill Nichols, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) 208-17, quoted by Richard Dyer, *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representations* (London: Routledge, 1993) 101.

<sup>87</sup> For example, "The Reception at Winnipeg" *IWN*, July 25, 1885, 140. A tremendous welcome was given to returning troops in each city. Arches and parades were the key events, providing troops with a 'royal entry' symbolizing and marking their military conquest.

<sup>88</sup> For instance, women presented flowers to returning volunteers - who usually placed them in the end of their rifles. In Montreal the women passed through the ranks of the Halifax Battalion and "...pinned with their own fair hands bouquets to the tunics of each volunteer...surely such an exhibition of kindness on the part of the fair sex must have compensated for much of the hardship of the weary march and cheerless bivouac." *Gazette* July 23, 1885. This was a highly symbolic performance which served to reintegrate the men back into civilized society. The flowers were a visual symbol which contrasted with the rifles and war-torn clothing of the troops, and emphasized their masculinity and male control over nature.

<sup>89</sup> For a discussion of how this was accomplished through language, see Greg Malszecki, "He Shoots! He Scores!: Metaphors of War in Sport and the Political Linguistics of Virility" (Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, 1995).



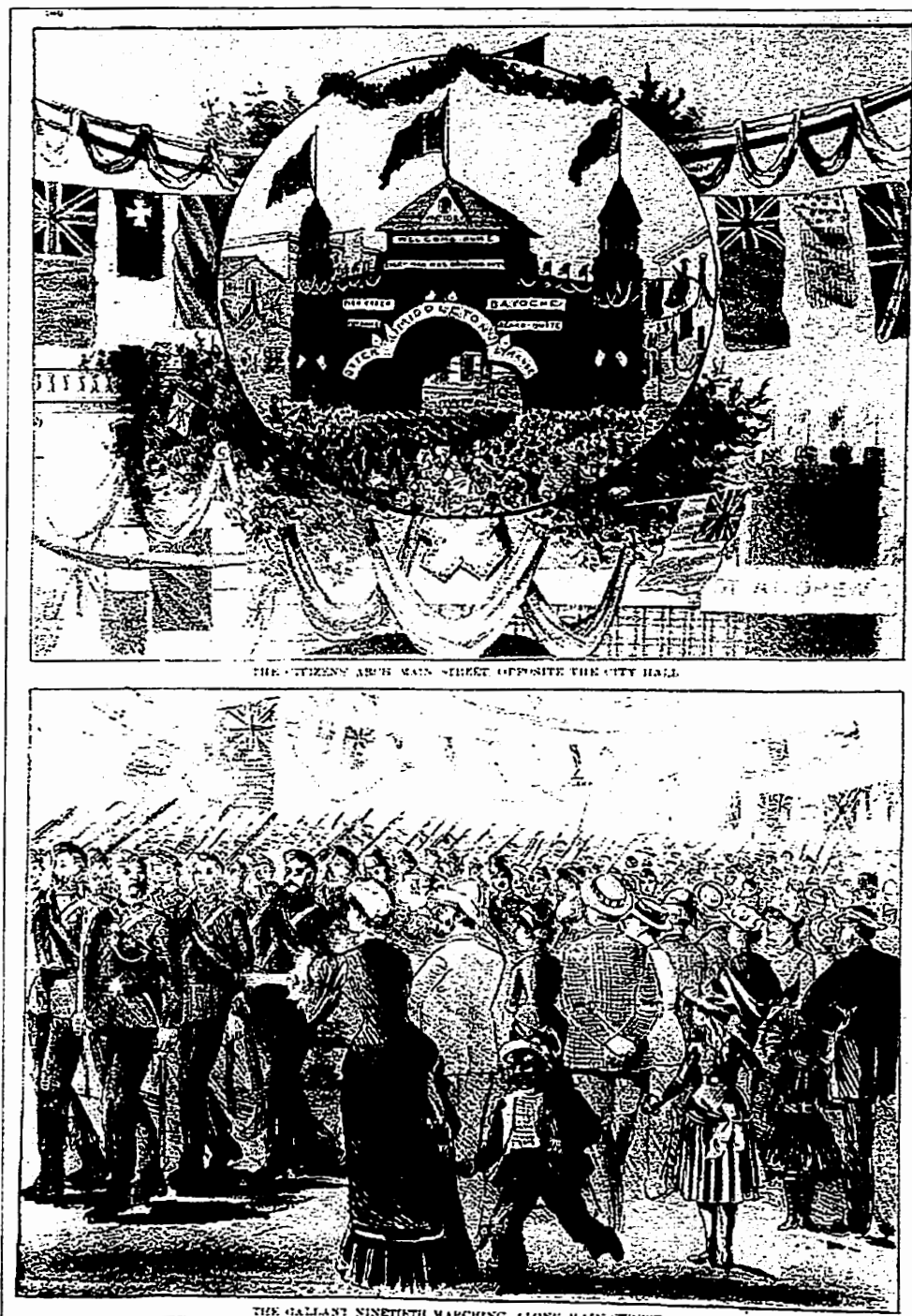


Fig. 5.14: "The Reception at Winnipeg," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated News*, July 25, 1885, 140

Mrs. Gowanlock and Mrs. Delaney, who were taken hostage at Frog Lake, as innocent bystanders [Figure 5.15],<sup>90</sup> or as the families of dead rebels who were left homeless and without support after the fighting [Figure 5.16]. Downcast eyes and submissive positions portray these women and children as vulnerable non-participants, weak, at the mercy of forces over which they have no control. The images therefore reinforced gender roles and divisions; the women's powerlessness and need for protection enhanced the potency and domination of the men. On one of the few occasions in which women were represented as participants in the fighting, they were respectable, middle-class, white women rather than Natives or Métis [Figure 5.17].

### **The Battle Scenes**

Besides being represented first in the weekly issue, and then in the *Souvenir Numbers*, the three major battles of the North-West Rebellion were commemorated as large-size lithographic prints suitable for framing. Analysis of this series of three versions of each battle provides an opportunity to draw conclusions about the overall narrative created, and how it articulated within the discourse around the creation of national identity and the Canadian state in the late-nineteenth century. When this type of analysis is applied to the battle scenes it becomes clear that they are constructed re-presentations of the action, designed to be 'read' by the viewer as a story of the Rebellion. The prints are not propagandistic exaggerations of reality or "snapshots" of a particular moment, they are carefully chosen and constructed continuous narratives which reflect the viewpoint of the 'centre' as and against the 'margins' of the nation.

---

<sup>90</sup> Another example shows Piapot, Crowfoot and their families as primitive and vulnerable rather than warlike: *IWN*, April 4, 1885, back page.



Fig. 5.15: "Indian Teepee and Rebel Half Breed," *Illustrated War News*, April 11, 1885



AFTER THE BATTLE.

Families of dead rebels appealing to General Middleton. His contemplating their wretchedness reassures them, they are in no danger of injury.

Fig. 5.16: "After the Battle, Families of dead rebels appealing to General Middleton. He contemplating their wretchedness reassures them, they are in no danger of injury," *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, June 10, 1885



NOBLE WOMEN ON THE DEFENSIVE.

"The Misses McLean show great courage, each one, Rifle in hand, Stands at a Loophole."

—Extract from Corporal Wood's (Rt. W. M. McClelland) Diary April 1864.

[From "The Illustrated Daily Star"]

Fig. 5.17: "Noble Women on the Defensive: The Misses McLean show great courage, each one, Rifle in hand, Stands at a Loophole," *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, June 8, 1885

The images published in the illustrated press in general were compiled from a variety of sources. Some were direct sketches made by artists in the field, or they were subsequently engraved from such drawings. Others were sketches created by artists in Toronto from the telegraphed newspaper reports. Some of the artists in the field were commissioned soldiers, such as Capt. Herbert de Hager Haig of the Royal Engineers who was on loan to Middleton, or Colonel Robert William Rutherford, an artillery captain with Colonel Otter. A few were experienced press artists such as Henri Julien, who had been an artist for Canadian Illustrated News and L'Opinion Publique, and worked for the Montreal Daily Star, and F.W. Curzon, who was the IWN artist. Not surprisingly, given the divergence of backgrounds and training, the sketches exhibit different abilities and sensibilities. Whereas military artists like Haig, who were the products of the topographical school of watercolour painting,<sup>91</sup> produced apparently dispassionate views of the battle field which were carefully labelled and cross-sectioned, academically trained artists like Julien and John David Kelly, who worked for the Toronto Lithographic Company, sought the emotional crises and dramatic moments, or produced the politically charged caricature.

All of the sketches produced in the field were dispatched to the publisher by post, rail, or any other route available. The European practice of using red press envelopes to send back sketches was already established in North America and post office officials almost everywhere recognized and expedited these packages.<sup>92</sup> Once they were received

---

<sup>91</sup> For a concise introduction to topographical painting in Canada see Didier Prioul, "British Landscape Artists in Quebec: From Documentary views to a Poetic Vision," Painting in Quebec 1820-1850, ed. Mario Béland, (Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1992) 50-59. Prioul notes that this is a general label and much variation exists between the work of artists who are categorized as 'topographical painters'. What separates topographical painters from landscape painters in principle is that the former represent actual scenery from specific, recognizable, named locations.

<sup>92</sup> Paul Hogarth, Artists on Horseback. The Old West in Illustrated Journalism 1857-1900 (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1972) 44.

by the publisher, some were reproduced through the photo-engraving technique, while others were employed by staff artists as the basis for more elaborate lithographic compositions. Since these engravers had the final word on the representations, it would be instructive to know more about their attitudes, their work practice, etc. Unfortunately, of the three final prints examined in detail, two are unsigned and the other is signed by W.D. Blatchly, who appears to have been the principal engraving artist for GRIP, but about whom to date we have no information.

Although data about the specific artists might not be available, the conventions within which they were working are better known. Joan W. M. Hichberger's study of British academic war painting provides a context within which to place the IWN illustrations. She has shown that military painting, and particularly battle paintings, had no tradition as a high-art, academic genre in Britain before the nineteenth century. Indeed, military subjects were associated with the lower ranking genres of topographical watercolour painting and popular sketches of military figures and troops. Since topographical painting did not follow the high-art conventions of Baroque or Renaissance battle painting, such as the use of allegory, idealization of figures, and certain compositional devices, "it was thought to be without conventions and thus to be purely documentary".<sup>93</sup>

It was the English topographical tradition rather than the academic school which therefore became the model for documentary images of war for the illustrated press during the Crimean War (1854-56) and later the Franco-Prussian conflict (1869-70).<sup>94</sup> At this

---

<sup>93</sup> Joan W. M. Hichberger, Images of the army. The Military in British Art, 1815-1914 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) 14. The status of battle painting in France was quite different. There military history painting were considered an important, 'high art' genre. See, for example, paintings of the Napoleonic era and Davidian school.

<sup>94</sup> For a discussion of British war artists, see John Springhall, "'Up Guards and at them!' British Imperialism and Popular Art, 1880-1914," Imperialism and Popular Culture, ed. John M.

time, the Cardwell reforms of the military in England opened up the officer class to gentlemen of merit rather than birth or wealth, and this large, bourgeois market made battle paintings newly popular. Since many academic painters were employed by the illustrated press, which also appealed to a wider, less elite public, the status of battle painting declined even further. The popular audience valued representations of warfare for their "absolute fidelity" to the facts, rather than as rarefied art works, in the same way that J.C. Taché felt constrained to write very plainly for his uneducated audience, while Fennings Taylor employed rhetorical flourish. In the 1880s, the prevailing attitude was that:

battle pictures were judged primarily as 'truth' with only grudging attention to 'artistic' merit. It was undoubtedly the impact of newspaper illustration which compounded this tendency to see value in battle paintings only as a record of military history.<sup>95</sup>

When the IWN images are considered, it is clear that the weekly issues and the images in the Souvenir Numbers make no pretensions to being high-art. On the other hand, the final prints do employ some high-art devices, which suggests that they were aimed at a more educated and affluent audience. For instance, the latter compositions were carefully constructed using academic devices such as the placement of dying and wounded figures in the foreground, or the depiction of individual 'moments' on the field - a process analogous to the oil painter creating a composition from multiple studies and sketches. Moreover, although the artists did not allegorize or idealize individual figures as academic painters would, there was a high degree of idealization in the perfect order of the ranks and the disciplined volleys of the troops.

Apart from these allusions to high-art, the prints otherwise follow the conventions of

---

Mackenzie, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986): 49-72.

<sup>95</sup> Hichberger 98.



topographical watercolour painting, as witnessed by their size, style, medium and colour. The less affluent purchaser might frame the tinted supplements which came with the weekly editions, but when the large final prints were purchased separately and were framed and hung in sequence they would look like watercolour paintings.<sup>96</sup> In addition, they are carefully captioned, which indicates that they were intended to be read as a visual record of the 'facts' of the battles. The action is located in a specific locale (even the map reference is given in the caption for the "Battle of Cut Knife Creek"), and the artists take pains to clearly distinguish troop regiments by means of text labels and uniform colour.

From even a cursory glance at the battle prints, it is clear whose story is being told, for, although the artists did not attempt to individualize the figures, the captions identify the different regiments and their chief officers. It would be impossible, however, to identify any of the rebel figures; they are indecipherable due to distance or the deliberately sketchy way they were rendered, and because the artists had no information to work from and hence resorted to stereotypes. Thus the figures of Riel and Dumont are noticeably absent (one instance where the 'accuracy' of the prints could be admired since Riel was not involved in the fighting). The virtual invisibility of the Native rebels in the bush accords well with Victorian colonialist notions of their close affinity with nature due to their 'primitive' state, and to the belief that they were a vanishing race. Furthermore, in order to glorify the achievement of the Canadian troops, the Natives were at the same time represented generically as potent enemies. Their fierce fighting spirit made their ultimate subjugation

---

<sup>96</sup> Developments in the printing of colour reproductions are discussed briefly by McKenzie and Williamson 14-16. In Britain, where it had been invented, watercolour painting had become the favoured medium of the affluent bourgeoisie in contradistinction to the pedantic academic oil paintings which signified the taste and wealth of the aristocracy. Thus one's choice of painting signified one's status and class affiliation. Copies of all three final prints, which measure approximately 20" x 30", are held by the Metro Toronto Library (Baldwin Room), the Province of Ontario Archives, and at numerous other sites. The effect of the set hung together can be judged by visiting 'The Inn on the Falls' in Bracebridge, Ontario.

by the troops even more notable a victory, and also justified the coercion and regularization to which they were forced to submit after 1885.<sup>97</sup> In this way the prints both explained and legitimized the domination of colonizer over colonized, taking on the quality of a public transcript.

The notion of the public transcript explains how the dominant elites in society create a public self-image which affirms and naturalizes their claim to power (and at the same time acts to conceal or euphemize their 'dirty linen').<sup>98</sup> It justifies elite power on ideological grounds, through presenting them in the guise of benevolent rulers who guard the interests of their subjects. This is useful for understanding the Canadian Métis and Native experience; because their land claims were made on the basis of pre-existing treaties and laws, and were not initially seditious.<sup>99</sup> Considerable sympathy was shown to the rebel claims precisely because their demands had been presented with due deference and loyalty, and the Macdonald government was considered by many commentators to have been at fault for its failure to openly acknowledge and address these legitimate concerns. It was only when blood had been drawn at Duck Lake that the government could legitimately move to suppress the complainants, because at that point the Natives and Métis stepped outside the limits of the public transcript, openly defying and challenging the ruling elite. For the same reason, after the fighting was over it was crucial that Riel, Poundmaker and Big Bear were convicted by the court, for if a public acknowledgement of their transgression was not displayed, it would make the actions of

---

<sup>97</sup> James How draws a parallel between the identification of hunters with the qualities of the animals they kill and a "similar kind of identification holds in war, with the concept of noble adversary whose sterling qualities confirm one's own.": James How, "Fox Hunting as Ritual," American Ethnologist (August 1981) 293, quoted by Hayden 91.

<sup>98</sup> Scott op. cit.

<sup>99</sup> Scott 18. Native land claims have been the subject of differing interpretations. Compare, for instance, Flanagan ch. 4, and Sprague ch 10.

the government look like tyranny.<sup>100</sup> The *IWN* prints confirmed this public transcript, and, since they were considered by their Victorian audience to be accurate records of the battles, justice was not just being said to be done, but *seen* to be done.<sup>101</sup> Comparing the three versions of each battle scene, thus, illuminates the content of the public transcript.

### ***The Battle of Fish Creek***

The first version of the Battle of Fish Creek, which took place on April 24th, is a full-page lithograph [Figure 5.18]. It is unsigned but the caption tells us it was "Taken from a Photograph of the locality, and special information supplied by Mr. J.N. Lake". The second version, in the Souvenir Number is signed by the GRIP lithographer, W.D. Blatchly [Figure 5.19]. The caption of the final print notes it was taken from sketches by "Mr. F.W. Curzon, special artist of "The Illustrated War News" and "Founded on the Dominion Lands Map of Township 41, Page 2, west of the Third Meridian" [Figure 5.20]. Specifying the exact location claimed an extra degree of authenticity and accuracy for the image.

The most striking transition which has taken place between these versions is the change in the representation of the topography due to the artist's viewpoint.<sup>102</sup> In the first image, the artist was in an imaginary high position, looking down on the action and facing north. Rendering the recession in space on the plateau as much deeper than the recession in the gully, emphasized the ravine and made it appear to be much closer to the picture plane. The effect was to dramatize the size of the North-West Field Force and at

---

<sup>100</sup> Scott 56.

<sup>101</sup> The audience for the images concerned herein did not have the same scepticism about objectivity that we do today. I have argued that we must consider the images as representations, but to the Victorian audience the final prints were as objective and impartial a compilation of events as was Haultain's historical text.

<sup>102</sup> The term 'viewpoint' is used to denote the real or imaginary vantage point from which the artist viewed the scene.



Fig. 5.18: "The Battle of Fish Creek," *Illustrated War News*, May 2, 1885, 37



THE ATTACK ON THE REBELS AT FISH CREEK.

Fig. 5.19: John D. Kelly, "The Attack on the Rebels at Fish Creek," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, Souvenir Number Part I, July 4, 1885, 10



Fig. 5.20: "Battle of Fish Creek. Founded on the Dominion Lands Map of Township 41, page 2, west of the Third Meridian. Sketches by Mr. F.W. Curzon, special artist of 'The Illustrated War News,' with General Middleton's Expedition, and personal information furnished by members of corps who participated in the engagement. Published by Grip P.P. Co. Toronto. Toronto Lithographing Co." Coloured lithograph, MTL: T14580

the same time to make the rebel stronghold in the trees appear more menacing. In Blatchly's Souvenir Number version, the artist took up a position at the other end of the battle field, facing south. The recession in space was more balanced, but the ravine was represented as being wider, while the trees and first line of rifle pits were placed much further away. Instead of being amongst the trees, Madame Tourand's farm was shown in the open on the opposite bank of Fish Creek. In the final print the rifle pits were shown on the other side of the river and the sloping gully became a steep cliff. In this version the artist took a panoramic view of the skirmish; the landscape was shown stretching right back to the South Branch of the River Saskatchewan, where the second part of Middleton's army was positioned. This panoramic viewpoint is evident in all the final prints, for the full panoramic view was considered "to be the form closest to the 'truth'."<sup>103</sup>

There had been some criticism of General Middleton's failure to advance the troops down the ravine and across the Creek, and the steep terrain depicted in the Souvenir Number version and the final print made this decision much more comprehensible. It also explains the well-discussed problems faced by the artillery gunners and skirmishers who had difficulty manoeuvring their guns to fire down into the ravine, and were an easy target for the invisible enemy, whose position in rifle-pits dug into the earth could only be judged "by the smoke of their rifle fire".<sup>104</sup> By displaying the plausibility of these excuses for not advancing on the rebels, the final print worked to confirm the legitimacy of the official reports of the battle made to the government by the military.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> Hichberger 55.

<sup>104</sup> Haultain 1:20. Digging defensive trenches was a traditional tactic for Métis fighters, and one which the British would come to know well in WW1.

<sup>105</sup> For instance: 49 Victoria A. 1886, Sessional Papers No. 6, "Report upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories...". Middleton's report justifying his actions was read in the Commons, and reported in the Gazette May 16, 1885.

The transformations in the representation of the battle site were paralleled by a smoothing over of criticism in the text. The weekly issues of IWN had reported on the questions raised about Middleton's leadership, but by June 13, when the fighting was over, the editor was prepared to declare that "everyone is now agreed that the General's strategy has been wise and its execution vigorous".<sup>106</sup> This was the attitude that Haultain's text also reveals towards Middleton, and the final print of the Battle of Fish Creek confirmed the legitimacy and wisdom of Middleton's cautious approach. Moreover, by bolstering Middleton's public image, it also confirmed the sagacity of the nation's political leadership in appointing him.

There is clearly a parallel between the strategies used in representing 'the facts' of the battlefield visually and Haultain's historical methodology. Both have taken the original eye-witness accounts (sketches and texts) and collated and edited them in order to exclude those which do not correspond with the generally accepted version of events. These final versions are the product of, and, in a reciprocal motion, productive of what will be the 'official' history of the Rebellion. What emerges from them is a sense of order, discipline, superior technology, leadership, and the knowledge of modern military tactics, namely, all the attributes of an advanced 'civilization'. All the negatives of these qualities are projected onto the Native and Métis rebels in a series of visual oppositions:- high ground vs. low ground, sunlight vs. shade, disciplined vs. random firing, open ground vs. underbrush, battle formation vs. guerilla tactics, and uniform vs. regular clothing.

As well as choice of viewpoint, it is also necessary to consider what the artist decided to include and exclude. For instance, in this case, all three versions depict the

---

<sup>106</sup> IWN, June 13, 1885, 83.



small prairie fire which the rebels started as a diversion. Since the troops easily got the flames under control, it would seem a relatively minor incident, but it was widely reported in the press too. The explanation perhaps is, again, the popular association of Native people with nature - fire being one of the natural elements. Visual representations of Native people going back to Champlain's day associated Native warfare with fire, smoke and torture. The *IWN* artists were, therefore, employing a visual typology.<sup>107</sup> Since the soldiers easily controlled the fire the rebels had started, it signalled the Natives' subjugation to the power of the forces of civilization and government. The by now familiar strategies of contrast and subordination are again evident

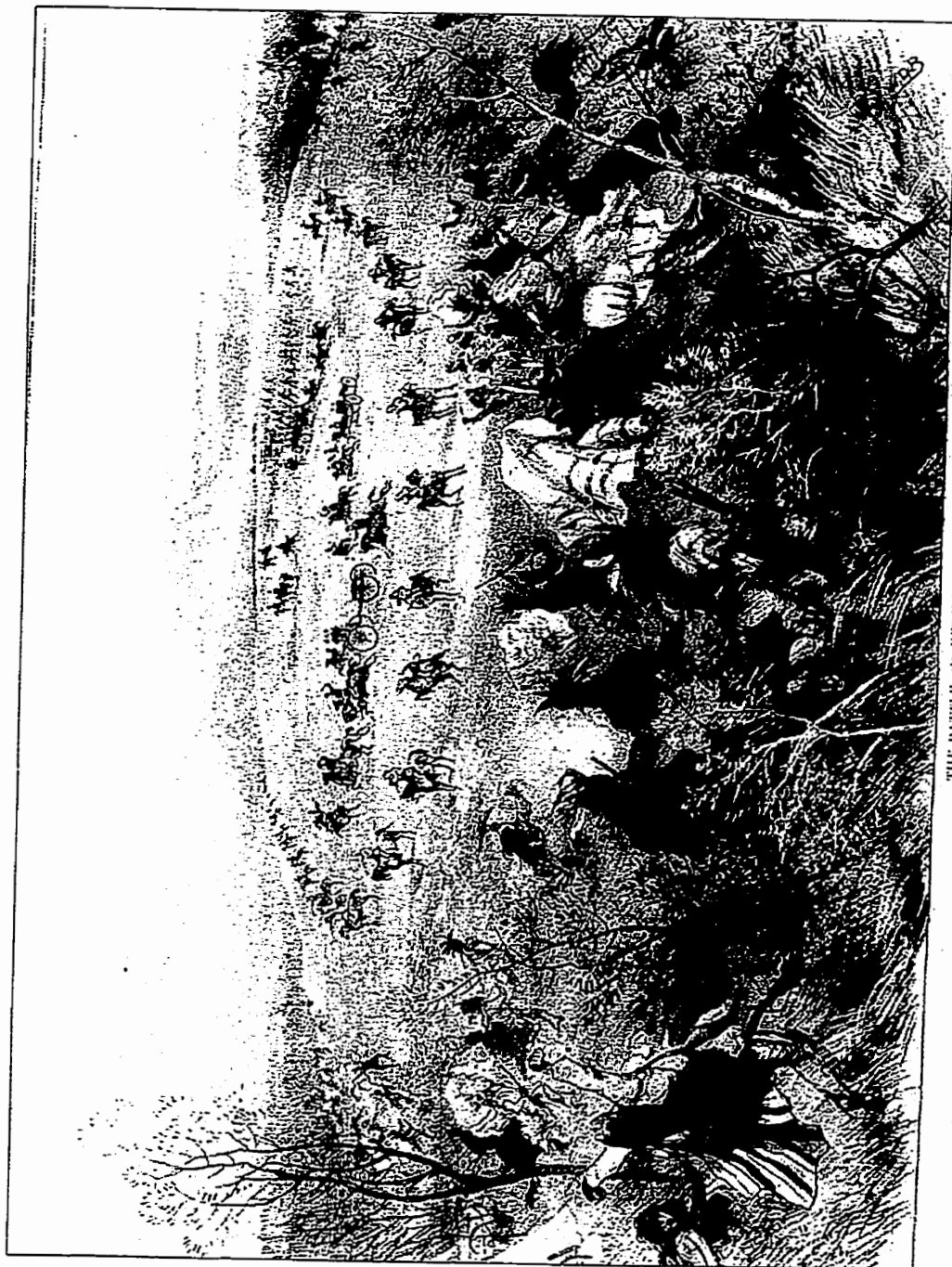
### ***The Battle of Cut Knife Hill***

The first version of this skirmish was signed W.D.B. (Blatchly) and, since no mention is made of artists' sketches, it seems to have been created by Blatchly from the textual report in the *Montreal Witness* [Figure 5.21]. The unusual viewpoint taken by the artist was from within the ranks of Poundmaker's Indians, who were charging down upon the Mounted Police as the latter wheeled around the two 7-pound mountain howitzers and the Gatling gun. According to the colonial version of events, this was a dramatic moment in the engagement when the brave stand of the Mounted Police prevented the Natives from gaining control of one of the gullies. The Souvenir Number image shows the soldiers afterwards in possession of the edge of that coulee, (i.e. in possession of the land the Natives were charging from in the first version) [Figure 5.22]. Haultain claimed, "This in reality was the crisis of the fight".<sup>108</sup> The final print [Figure 5.23], like the one of Fish Creek, chooses a moment later in the day, when the enemy has been cleared to the rear

---

<sup>107</sup> This argument is made by Francois-Marc Gagnon and Denise Petel, *Hommes effarables et bestes sauvages. Images du Nouveau-Monde d'après les voyages de Jacques Cartier* (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1986) 209-210 regarding images by Thevet and Champlain.

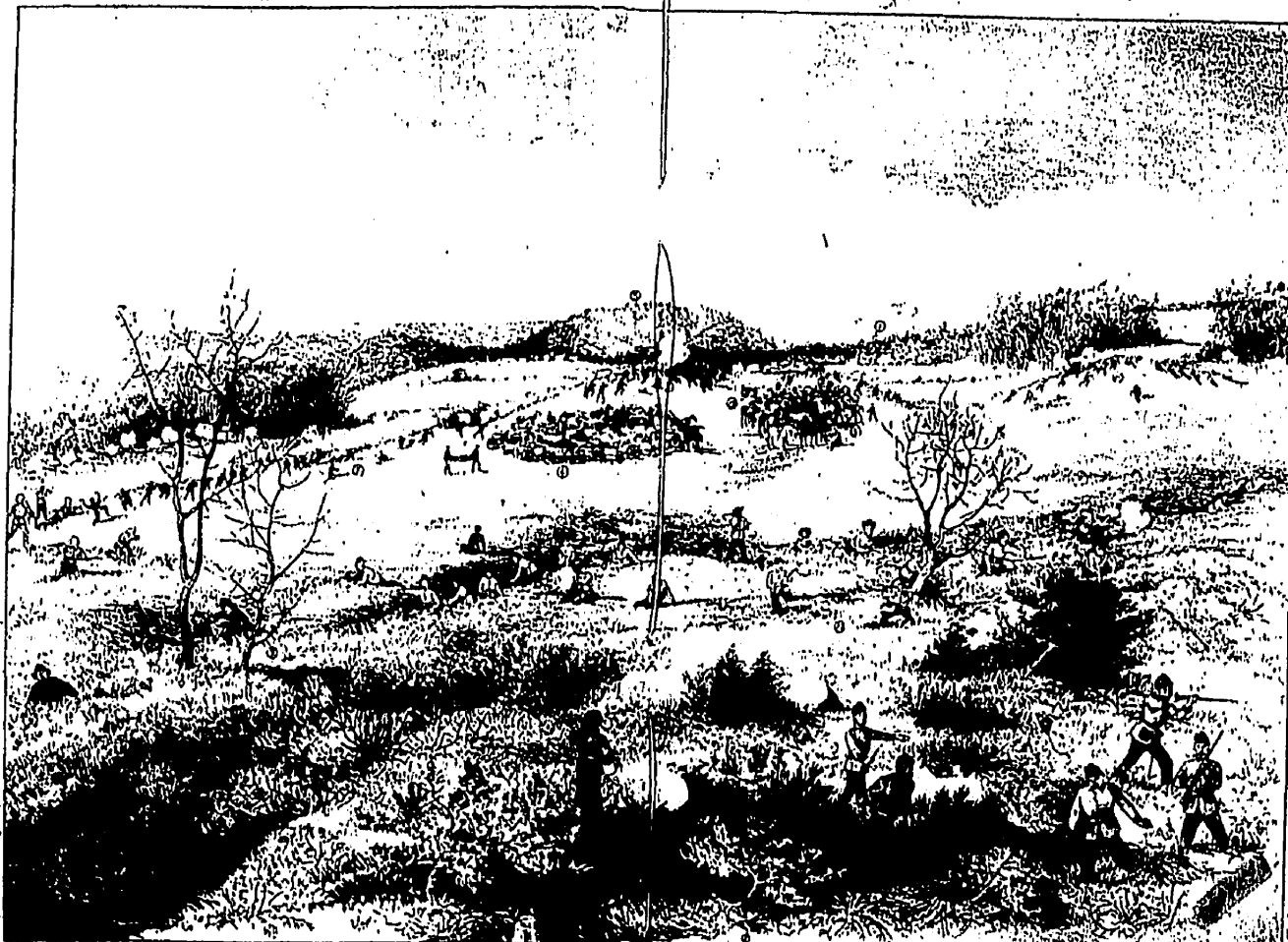
<sup>108</sup> Haultain 2: 26.



THE BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE CREEK.

By permission of the Hon. Secy. of the War Dept., Ottawa, Canada. The illustration is the property of the Hon. Secy. of the War Dept., Ottawa, Canada.

Fig. 5.21: "The Battle of Cut Knife Creek," signed by Blatchley, Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News, May 16, 1885



THE BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE CREEK. (See page 28 and 29.)

Fig. 5.22: John D. Kelly, "The Battle of Cut Knife Creek," *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, Souvenir Number Part II, August 4, 1885, 28-29

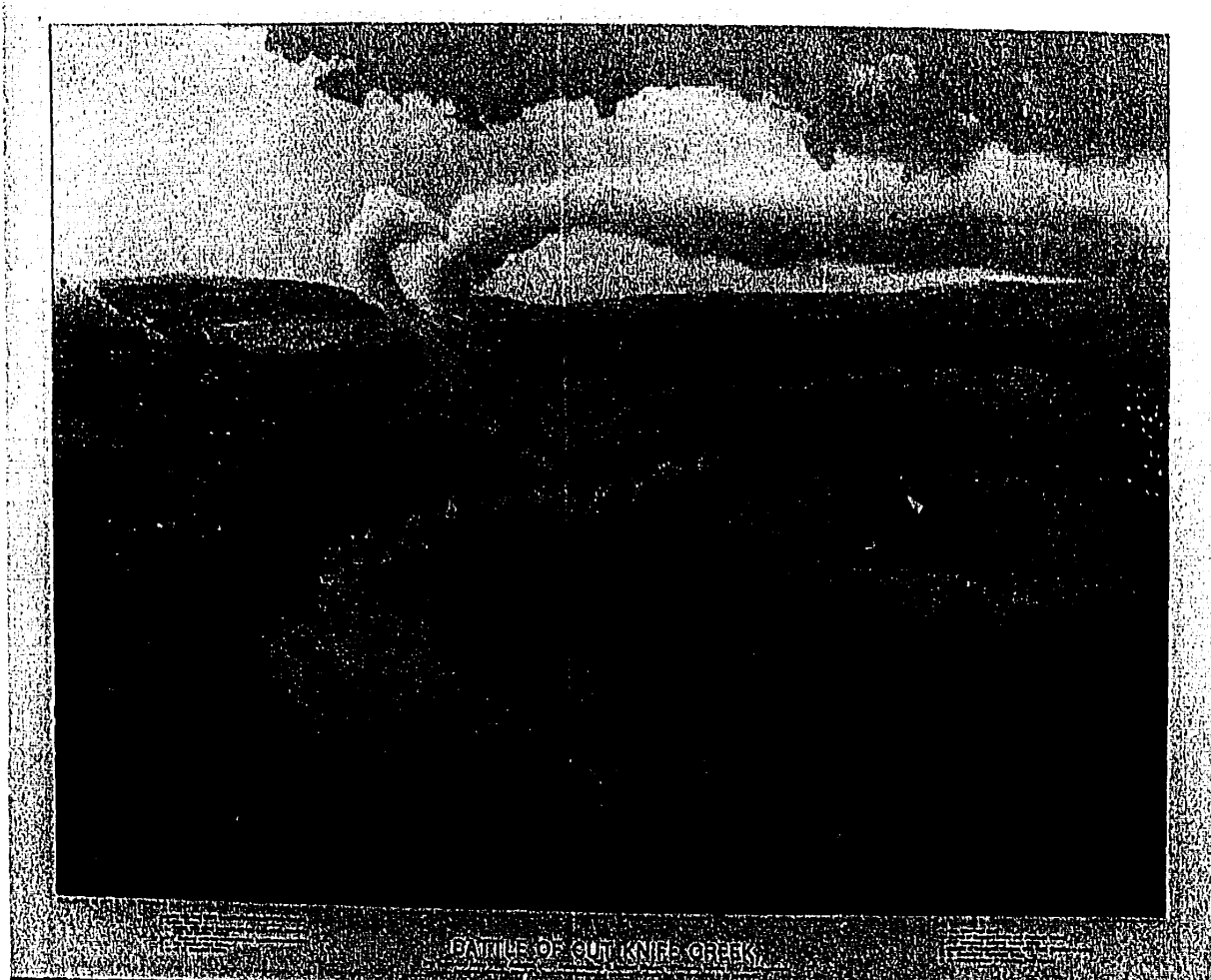


Fig. 5.23: "Battle of Cut Knife Creek. From topographical sketches by Capt. Rutherford, of "B" Battery, and Lieut. R. Lyndhurst Wadmore, "C" Company, Infantry School Corps; supplemented by personal information furnished by Sergt.-Major Spackman and members of the Queen's Own who participated in the engagement. Published by Grip P.P.Co. Toronto. Toronto Lithograph Co. [Signed] W.D. Blatchly." Coloured lithograph, MTL: T14579

and right of Otter's column, and the Battleford Rifles and Queen's Own Rifles have turned to clear the gully on the left side of the trail. As Haultain says "The Indians posted there also gave way and ran back to their former position. It was a grand charge, valorously executed. The rear was entirely cleared of the enemy, and our men remained in command of the position."<sup>109</sup>

Examining the three versions of this battle scene shows that a high degree of formalization has taken place. The first version emphasises the vulnerability of Otter's Column, for the defensive circle being formed by the Mounted Police seems puny amidst the large, fully realized figures of the Natives who are seen emerging from the bush on three sides. The fact that the enemy has the high ground adds to the sense of urgency and the danger of the soldiers' position since control of high ground was considered a key to military success.<sup>110</sup> Despite the danger emphasized by the difference in scale between the two enemy groups, the government troops are still represented as having calmly moved into a defensive formation, the regimented symmetry of which contrasts with the ragged and (seemingly) un-coordinated charge of the rebels.

The second version, lithographed by Kelly, was taken from a sketch by Lieut. Wadmore of "C" Company and has none of the drama of the first. The soldiers are in control of the high ground now and look to be romping Breugel-like in the hay rather than fighting off the enemy.<sup>111</sup> The caption provided in the text delineates the different regiments and the position of the enemy, and by the time W.D. Blatchly engraved the final print these troop movements and positions had become fixed. In this last version the

---

<sup>109</sup> Haultain 2: 27.

<sup>110</sup> See Walter Hildebrandt's discussion of contemporary military strategy: *Batoche* 107-8.

<sup>111</sup> Readers unfamiliar with the work of this Northern Renaissance painter could equally well substitute any of Cornelius Krieghoff's images of bucolic '*habitans*'.

captions have been moved out of the text and onto the key plate, emphasizing the independence of the print and its ability to tell a story without benefit of text. The artist has also tidied up: whereas Kelly showed the wagon corral or lager as a loose circle, Blatchly shows it as a regimented three-sided square, closely modelled on the regulation text-book arrangement published and explained in the pages of the IWN.<sup>112</sup> The Mounted Police horses are similarly corralled in an improbably tidy circle. Fleeing Natives are being repelled by the disciplined charge of the soldiers. Co-ordinated volleys from the troops are matched against sporadic fire from the bush. Again a much wider expanse of landscape is shown than in the earlier version, and the lines of soldiers go on into the far distance. The hill from which Poundmaker's war chief, Masatimwas,<sup>113</sup> directed the action is discretely minimized by cropping it out of the picture frame in order to preserve the illusion that the government troops control the high ground. The terrain in general seems much hillier, and the plateau much narrower than the other version, the effect being to emphasize the difficulty and magnitude of the Canadian forces' 'victory'. As in the other two battle scenes, the rebels fit *into* the landscape, while the soldiers dominate *over* it, thus expressing an ideological difference visually. On the fiftieth anniversary of the Rebellion, Howard Angus Kennedy, a reporter who marched with Otter's troops to Battleford and was present at the engagement at Cut Knife Hill, commented:

The neat arrangement of waggons, horses and men suggests that the informants were playing a joke on the artist...[if the snap-shot camera had been available in 1885] our pictorial record of the campaign would be less deeply tinged with imagination.<sup>114</sup>

The image serves an ideological function: the artist shows events as a fulfilment of

---

<sup>112</sup> IWN, May 30, 1885, 70.

<sup>113</sup> Masatimwas was injured early in the battle and passed the Oskichi, his symbol of authority, to Poundmaker: Stonechild and Waiser 142-3.

<sup>114</sup> Howard Angus Kennedy, "Memories of '85," Canadian Geographical Journal, 11.2 (August 1935) 64.

Canadian identity and nationhood.

### ***The Capture of Batoche***

The first version of this battle was again by Blatchly working from the reports in the Mail [Figure 5.24].<sup>115</sup> The composition silhouettes the figure of Colonel Arthur T. Williams of the Midland Battalion with arm raised and sword pointing the way forward to his men - a romantic device comparable to Eugene Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People."<sup>116</sup> Hildebrandt suggests that "the highly-romanticized scene reflects the artist's desire to present the battle as an epic struggle"<sup>117</sup> and since this was the decisive battle (and the one real victory for the government troops) this may well be true. However, a number of other meanings are also denoted by this image.

Instead of depicting the 90<sup>th</sup> Battalion, which was at the centre of the charge, Blatchly focused on the Midland Battalion, which precipitated the advance while Colonel Middleton reportedly enjoyed his lunch. This proved to be the pivotal point in the action at Batoche. Colonel Williams' leadership ended days of apparent delay and hesitation on the part of General Middleton. The romanticized depiction of his figure therefore casts him in the role of soldier-hero: an inspiring example to others, recklessly exposing himself to danger in order to save the honour of the regiment and his country.<sup>118</sup> The sub-text to this was that the Canadian militia and military establishment were anxious to prove that they had the expertise and organizational skills necessary to successfully fulfil their role, without

---

<sup>115</sup> IWN, May 23, 1885, 63.

<sup>116</sup> This well-known painting was made in France in 1830, and was itself based on classical prototypes. A particularly insightful discussion can be found in T.J. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois. Artists and Politics in France 1848-1851, 1973 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

<sup>117</sup> Hildebrandt, Batoche 75.

<sup>118</sup> Hichberger 6.





having to call upon British personnel to run the Field Force.<sup>119</sup> General Middleton, who was British, was unpopular because he recruited British officers and because he was perceived as favouring their advice over that of the Canadian officers, whom he was reported to treat with snobbish disdain. His bungled attempt to capture Riel and Big Bear, and his failure to push for military decorations and commendations for his Canadian staff after the Rebellion, gained him little sympathy when he was later accused of wrongdoing.<sup>120</sup> On the other hand, the action of Colonel Williams, whose home town of Port Hope, Ontario, was invariably identified in press reports, gained him immediate recognition as a hero who had proved the high capabilities of the *Canadian* troops and officers. He had done this using unorthodox tactics: his troops advanced through the bush around the cemetery and were firing at will, rather than firing in volleys, however, they are also represented in the illustrations as following the orthodox military form of advancing shoulder to shoulder.<sup>121</sup>

The Souvenir Number image and that of the final print are virtually identical [Figure 5.25 & 5.26]. The artist's viewpoint has again moved from within the action in the first version, to the full panoramic view in the second and third. Representations of 'the charge' were one of the most popular subjects of the battle painting genre, and Blatchly shows the

---

<sup>119</sup> After much negotiation with the Colonial Office, Kingston Military College was opened in the late 1870s to train Canadian officers, but none were considered sufficiently experienced to take command of the Field Force. The topic of an active militia and officer training appears frequently in Lord Lorne's correspondence: NAC MG 27 IB4.

<sup>120</sup> However, Middleton's tactics can be defended in light of contemporary military practice in fighting 'small wars': Walter Hildebrandt, Views from Fort Battleford: Constructed Visions of an Anglo-Canadian West. (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1994) 107-8.

<sup>121</sup> Beal and Macleod 275. Colonel Williams was an MP, and the most well-known casualty of the Rebellion. His heroic status was heightened by his sudden death shortly after the Rebellion. He was given a full military funeral, attended by 15,000 people. Haultain commented that there had been a lot of claims about Williams' role at Batoche, and could not say which version was true. He appears to go along with the idea that Middleton had in fact been in control all along, but the images counter this by placing the focus on Williams: Haultain 2: 30-31.

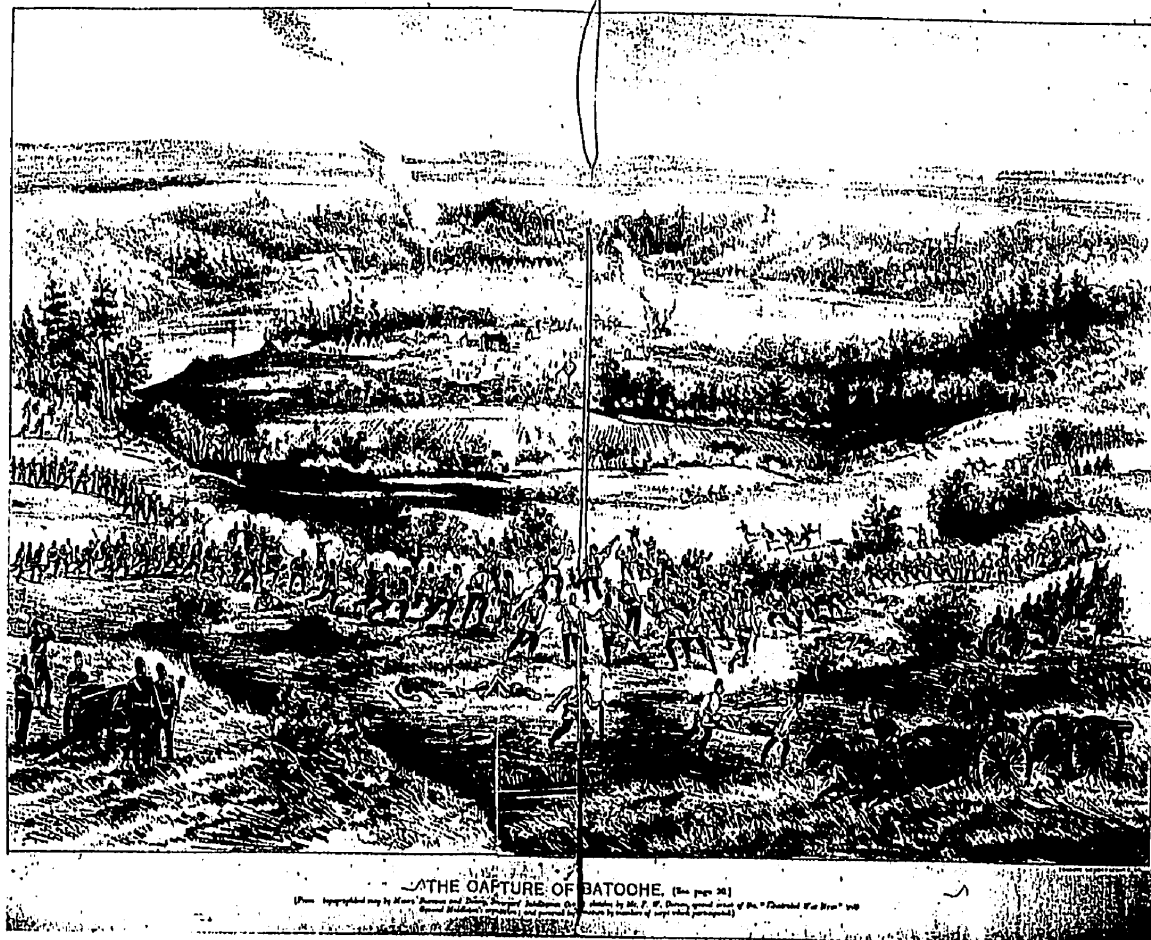


Fig. 5.25: "The Capture of Batoche. (From topographical map by Messrs. Burrows and Denny, Surveyors' Intelligence Corps, sketches by Mr. F.W. Curzon, special artist of the "Illustrated War News" with General Middleton's expedition; and personal information by members of corps which participated.) *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News*, Souvenir Number Part II, August 4, 1885, 36



Fig. 5.26: "The Capture of Batoche. From sketches by F.W. Curzon, Special Artist of the 'Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News,' Sergt. Grundy, and others. Published by Grip P. & P. Co. Toronto Lithographing Co. [Signed] W.D. Blatchly." Coloured lithograph, MTL: T14578

troops charging down the hill towards the rebel stronghold at Batoche, urged on by their commanding officers. Despite the fact that the troops are at the run, they still maintain their ranks whilst the rebels, in contrast, scatter in panic across the field below them. Much was made in news reports of the fear the troops inspired in the rebels when they charged, for this reversed the panic the latter inspired in white society. As Middleton put it much later:

these great hunters, like the Boers of South Africa, are only formidable when you play their game, "bush fighting", to which they are accustomed, but they cannot stand a determined charge.<sup>122</sup>

The training in discipline and scientific strategy learned on the playing fields of eastern cities had enabled Canadian troops to overcome their Native adversaries (both indigenous and Métis), who were considered to be lacking in the discipline and leadership required for such a manoeuvre. The combination of British tactics and indigenous strategies had created "a Canadian volunteer...[namely] a rifleman who could fight in the open as well as in the bush."<sup>123</sup>

The emphasis on the panoramic view of the landscape in all three final prints is undeniably significant. Through the experiences of the North-West Field Force, people in eastern Canada were presented for the first time with mass media images of the West. R. Douglas Francis' contention is that until mid-century the popular image of the West was that of impenetrable wilderness, but that by the 1870s, due to the needs of nationalist and imperialist interests, this image had reversed so that the West had become a New Eden.<sup>124</sup> These prints certainly confirm this argument since the countryside is presented in a way

---

<sup>122</sup> Quoted by Hildebrandt, *Batoche* 79.

<sup>123</sup> G.B.E, "Canadianizing the North-West", *The Week* July 23, 1885, 534.

<sup>124</sup> R. Douglas Francis, *Images of the West* 73-86. The land and its history were *tabula rasa*, see also Owsram, *Promise of Eden* ch.9.

which would made it attractive to prospective immigrants. They show wide open expanses of lush, well-watered prairie - empty land ready to be settled now that the forces of law and order have prevailed.<sup>125</sup>

The area of ploughed land in the very centre of the composition also carries implications for any reading of the final print. Dumont had issued strict orders for his men not to plough more land, since he apparently did not want them to be distracted by the need to plant.<sup>126</sup> According to the print caption, it was across this ploughed land that "our men suffered most". The ploughed land has symbolic resonance since it was over the issue of land ownership that the Rebellion was fought, and it was there in the open on the site of the contested land that the combatants' sacrifice was most visibly displayed. Moreover, ploughed land was proof of the Métis claims to have settled the land and therefore own its title. It was evidence of agricultural settlement, something which in colonialist discourse was said to be antithetical to Native culture (in which the Métis were included). Haultain himself presented the colonialist argument:

they are nomadic in their habits...they cannot be made to settle down peaceably to the cultivation of their lands...indeed, land for this purpose is not by any means what they chiefly desire...<sup>127</sup>

Although, in general, the images confirm the authority of the dominant culture, this image is an example in which some of the tensions within society - the hidden transcripts of the oppressed - are revealed. The ploughed land is evidence of civilization, contradicting the dominant public discourse which constructed Natives as primitive and incapable of

---

<sup>125</sup> This argument was made by Adolphe Caron (1886) and conservative French-Canadian newspapers: A. I. Silver, The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900, 1982, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 164 n.101. Reporters also commented on the development of the cities in the North-West. For instance, Calgary was described as a thriving town with a new CPR depot, churches, nice stores and friendly people: Gazette May 11, 1885, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Beal and Macleod 260.

<sup>127</sup> Haultain 1:1.

pursuing an agriculture lifestyle.

The images in the illustrated press, and IWN in particular, contested other version of the events. They smoothed over incidents and situations which might disrupt the 'official' history of the Rebellion and expose dissent and poor handling on the part of the military or government. The Middleton scandal and the framing of the three battles as 'victories' has been mentioned. The valorizing of the troops might also be questioned, their orderly retreat from Cut Knife Hill might better be understood as disorderly; their 'advanced' equipment was in fact a hodge-podge of obsolete rifles, broken-down guns, and a borrowed Gatling Gun. Their 'barbarous' adversaries showed themselves to be restrained and humane, when, for instance Big Bear urged the police to surrender Fort Pitt and slip away before Little Poplar and other warriors (who were by then out of his control) could attack;<sup>128</sup> or when Poundmaker prevented his men from routing Otter's troop as they retreated from Cut Knife Hill.<sup>129</sup> Similarly, the Métis only fought defensive rather than offensive battles. Far from being disciplined and 'civilized', the troops in fact were reported to have plundered Métis homes for souvenirs and clothing after Fish Creek and Batoche,<sup>130</sup> and the Toronto News accused the 65<sup>th</sup> Rifles of lax fighting and religious intolerance against its English-speaking, Protestant members.<sup>131</sup> These accusations indicate where the limits of identity were drawn by the audience. Plundering and looting

---

<sup>128</sup> Stonechild & Waiser 120-22.

<sup>129</sup> Beal & Macleod 249-51; Hildebrandt, Battleford 79.

<sup>130</sup> IWN, May 30, 1885, 67.

<sup>131</sup> Initially it was reported that a Protestant private had been punished for refusing to attend religious parade, implying he had done so for religious reasons. This caused an uproar of indignation at the supposed imposition of Catholicism. Subsequently, it became known that this was not the case: IWN July 11, 1885, Gazette July 25, 1885. IWN, May 30, 1885 reported that Major Dugas of the 65<sup>th</sup> Mount Royal Rifles had sued a Toronto paper for accusations against his unit's honour. This libel suit eventually bankrupted E.E. Sheppard, who lost control of the News (a Labour Reform paper which was not sympathetic to the government) in November 1887: Hann 55.

were characterized as uncivilized activities, unworthy of 'our' troops; accusations against French-Canadian troops were likewise distasteful because they ran counter to the dominant image of Canadian identity. The latter reveal also the ethnic divisions in society. French-language reports complained that the newspapers had been full of news of English soldiers, but had ignored the work being done by the French units. Colonel Ouimet was praised by the French press for raising a unit of loyal Métis in St. Albert, and thus showing that not all Métis were traitors, despite the degree of elision that had occurred tarring all Natives and all Métis with the rebel brush. A letter in La Presse, July 22, 1885 claimed that French Canadians felt they were the natural protectors of the Métis. When the whole city turned out to welcome home the 65<sup>th</sup> Rifles to Montreal, the French press declared it "non seulement une ovation, non-seulement un triomphe - c'est un acte de justice."<sup>132</sup> Division was, therefore, brewing along ethnic lines and Riel's execution brought these long-standing resentments to a head.

### **Constructing an 'Official' Narrative of Nation**

Although the political origin of the nation state can be pinpointed as Confederation in 1867, the rationalization of the existence of the nation depended upon creating a narrative of its cultural origins and history. Since territorial boundaries and nationality are not natural givens, these narratives of nation are 'cultural fictions' constructed through a plethora of activities. In a recent article, Timothy Brennan notes that both Walter Benjamin and Benedict Anderson pointed to the popular novel and newspapers as being "the decisive print media of bourgeois society".<sup>133</sup> Since their rise in the nineteenth century coincided with nationalist movements, Brennan extends this argument, claiming:

---

<sup>132</sup> La Presse July 21, 1885.

<sup>133</sup> Brennan 55.

Nations, then, are imaginary constructs that depend for their existence on an apparatus of cultural fictions in which imaginative literature plays a decisive role.<sup>134</sup>

I have attempted to argue that visual imagery was yet another vehicle through which the narrative of nation, and hence 'official' history, was constructed, and visual images which appeared in the illustrated press were particularly instrumental in this regard.

The fact that the first two battles of the Rebellion were actually not victories for the Field Force was erased by the final prints, in which there is no sense that the troops are anything but in control. Like Haultain's text, which is a fabric whose weft and warp is a worldview of colonialist, sexist and racist stereotypes, the visual account is generated entirely from the viewpoint of the dominant culture. Although at Cut Knife Creek the Field Force was surrounded, in the image the troops appear to be in total control of the situation; the rebels are always shown in flight from the dominant forces. The prints were the public transcript of the dominant, projecting the values of hierarchy, tradition, discipline, order, and European battle form. Great emphasis was placed on the ability the troops had shown to endure the hardships of their journey and the conditions in the field. They had survived all this and came home fitter and healthier than when they left.<sup>135</sup> Thus, their experience in the North-West had been an indigenising journey which demonstrated all the manly characteristics of Canadian identity - physical prowess, the ability to navigate and survive in the wild, endurance, pluck and courage.<sup>136</sup> The story of the other side was

---

<sup>134</sup> Brennan 49.

<sup>135</sup> Gazette July 22, 1885. The soldiers had accomplished a mythic journey: they had left their normal existence, endured and overcome a series of hardships, accomplished their goal and returned to everyday life.

<sup>136</sup> There was much debate over providing the troops with fresh clothing for their homecoming. Eventually it was decided that their worn clothing and suntanned skin were a badge of honour, indications of the strenuous trials they had been through. See, for instance, Gazette July 22, 1885.



told only from the viewpoint of the colonizers. When Natives were represented, they were more likely to be caricature figures - cigar store Indians - than realistic portraits, and Native or Métis grievances were always presented to the public through colonial filters.

Métis and Native were treated alike, despite their obvious differences and histories. Riel rejected the idea of ambushing the North-West Mounted Police on their retreat from Fort Carleton to Prince Arthur specifically on the grounds that this was the way Indians fought, but not how Métis conducted themselves.<sup>137</sup> Yet, the IWN images do little to highlight the difference between rebel groups, and hence reinforce the elision of Native and Métis. Native figures predominate in the battle scenes, despite the fact that a very small proportion of the Native population of the North-West was involved.<sup>138</sup>

The final prints must be considered as a series which makes up a narrative history of the Rebellion. It is the struggle of the nation coming to manhood; the triumph of national identity in which 'our Canadian boys' prove themselves to be "no tin soldiers".<sup>139</sup> In this story, Batoche is the culminating charge - the victory which vindicates the central government, the Canadian troops and officers, and the domination of white culture over aboriginal. It is also the story of Canadian ability and prowess overshadowing that of the British. Significantly, Middleton is not the centre of action or depicted in a dynamic pose in any of the final prints, rather it is the Canadian officers who are seen leading the attacks. At the only real victory, Middleton is not even represented on the field! The Globe

---

<sup>137</sup> Beal & Macleod 228. Poundmaker's reported restraint at Cut Knife Creek shows this stereotype to be misguided.

<sup>138</sup> Hildebrant rejects the traditional view that Métis and Cree were acting together as relying "too heavily on government sources and explanations", which Haultain no doubt did: Battleford 88. A. Blair Stonechild estimates that less than 5% of the Native population were involved, and that the leaders were drawn into the conflict by circumstances beyond their control: "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising," Barron & Waldram 168. See also Stonechild & Waiser *op cit*.

<sup>139</sup> Haultain 1:4.

editorial proudly declared "no regular troops...could have behaved themselves better," the Canadian militia, "have proved themselves the equals of the veteran soldiers of Great Britain."<sup>140</sup> Distinguishing Canada from the United States, the Gazette took umbrage at American reports about the Rebellion, noting the "usual flippancy" with which Americans "poke fun at our little war," and sanctimoniously hoping "that Canadians will never treat the Indians as our neighbors have done."<sup>141</sup> In the illustrated press, then, we can see 'the nation' being constructed as both a political and ideological tool which represses opposition, and as a cultural entity which gathers to itself popular nationalist sentiment. As a Globe editorialist declared:

No event in the history of our country, since the thirteenth day of Sept., 1759, is more entitled to the historian's pen than the now famous battle of Batoche, and it must stand pre-eminently forward for all time to come as a successful proof and magnificent test of the discipline and heroism of our Canadian soldier.<sup>142</sup>

The new native-Canadians were linked back to significant battles in the history of the colony. The French-Canadian battalions were repeatedly told in addresses that they were worthy of the heroes of Carillon, Châteauguay, and other epic battles against Native peoples,<sup>143</sup> and complimented on their characteristic good humour: "Les chants et les propos joyeux (caractère distinctif de la race française) s'ent pas cessé durant toute la campagne..."<sup>144</sup> A Gazette editorial took the opportunity of the Rebellion to review the history of the nation, and reminded readers that, although Vérendrye's explorations in 1731 were regarded as the starting point of North-West history, it really began forty years before that with the journeys of Henry Relsey, of the Hudsons Bay Company, who reached

<sup>140</sup> Globe May 14, 1885, 4.

<sup>141</sup> Gazette May 16, 1885, 4.

<sup>142</sup> Globe July 13, 1885, 5.

<sup>143</sup> For example, Gazette July 28; La Presse July 21, 1885.

<sup>144</sup> La Presse July 21, 1885.

the country west and south of Lake Winnipeg. In future, he opined, the Rebellion would be considered "as the true starting point of North-western prosperity, and even already it has given results in its revelations of Canadian patriotism..."<sup>145</sup>

A defining moment in the creation of a nation is the negotiation of territorial and cultural boundaries. The boundaries of the nation face both inward and outward, and in the narration of nation they become "the in-between spaces" through which the claims of cultural and political authority are negotiated.<sup>146</sup> Taken together, the three final prints tell the story of the creation of the boundaries of the Canadian nation. In the Rebellion all of the battle sites were internal boundaries - Fish Creek was fought on the southern boundary of Métis land; Cut Knife Creek was fought on the shifting perimeter of Poundmaker's territory, and the battle at Batoche was on the site of the last Métis land. In putting down the Rebellion, the Canadian government subdued all marginal 'others', and, in the process defined its borders. With the defeat of the rebels and the erasure of all internal boundaries, the international boundary with the United States, and the new frontier in the North became *the* Canadian boundaries.

In addition, the Second Rebellion brought into existence the international borders of the nation in a performative sense - through the marching of troops over hundreds of miles of Canadian terrain, in all kinds of weather, and through the artillery fighting across

---

<sup>145</sup> Gazette July 25, 1885.

<sup>146</sup> Bhabha 4. Fichte explains: "the 'external frontiers' of the state have to become 'internal frontiers'" or, as Balibar rephrases it: "external frontiers have to be imagined constantly as a projection and protection of an internal collective personality." Fichte, Reden an die deutsche Nation (1808) quoted by Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities, eds. E. Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991) 95.

internal boundaries, and the final charge which erased them.<sup>147</sup> Even more, the government accomplished this through insisting that the troops be transported to the North-West through Canadian territory, rather than by taking the American rail route. This facilitated the completion of the CPR, whose rails physically and tangibly created a unifying thread, a line which held together (and thereby rationalized the unity of) the expanse of the land. Railways in the nineteenth century were proof of the 'fact' of colonization. So in Canada, just as in India, Africa and Australia, the laying of the tracks was both performative and symbolic of possession of the land.<sup>148</sup> In symbolic terms, the 1885 Rebellion permitted closure: the CPR accomplished the task which its cartographic representation suggests because the final tracks, or 'sutures', were put in place, metaphorically stitching the country together. At the same time, a seam - a line of differentiation - was created between the U.S. and Canada. The IVN prints offered themselves as part of the discourse around the historical narrative of the origins of nationhood, and the defeat of the rebels which made closure possible.<sup>149</sup>

The boundaries between people had also been re-drawn. The existence of rebellion *created* a dominant centre, uniting certain segments of the population together as a nation. The rebels had to be dealt with because they posed a threat to this national unity - which was a discursive myth rather than an existential fact. As a result of the

---

<sup>147</sup> Bhabha's notion of the performative includes the importance of reiteration, which certainly was the case here since in many senses (and not least the fact that they were both lead by Riel) the North-West Rebellion was a repetition of the Red River Uprising of 1870-71. Bhabha 291-322.

<sup>148</sup> A.A. Den Otter calls this "technological nationalism", The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 12. Peter B. Waite claims: "The Canadian Pacific Railway was more than an act of faith: it was a conquest, and we have romanticized it, as we have the voyageurs." Canada 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny, Canadian Centenary Series (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971) 2.

<sup>149</sup> Keith Walden argues that the Mounties had also played a role in defining the western border: Keith Walden, Visions of Order: the Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth (Toronto: Butterworths, 1982) 117.

Rebellion, there was no longer a boundary between Native and white people since the Natives no longer constituted a nation, instead they were a marginalized group *within* the Canadian nation.<sup>150</sup> Even before the fighting had finished, Sir John A. Macdonald's government envisaged giving Natives the rights of citizenship, in order that the government could command their votes through the influence of their agents on the reserves. Indignant meetings were held throughout Ontario protesting against the proposed Dominion Franchise Bill which, it was feared, would disenfranchise thousands of

intelligent, respectable white men...[and] give the right to vote to hundreds of Indians, who are wards of the Government, who are held by law to be, incapable of managing their own affairs, who bear none of the burdens or obligations of citizenship, and who are incapable of voting intelligently.<sup>151</sup>

Furthermore, a new boundary was created which excluded British leadership, whilst still admiring and emulating Britishness. The IVN prints legitimized and authorized the emergence or metamorphosis of Canadian national identity out of and against British culture; at one and the same time Canada emulated and repudiated its parent. Middleton was criticized for *not* adopting indigenous strategies in his attempts to capture Big Bear. His methods were recognized as inappropriate in the Canadian context; but, in general, the events of the Rebellion were an enactment of the superiority of European scientific warfare. Visually and performatively, Middleton's tactics proclaimed possession, supremacy and victory over the Native inhabitants. After the Rebellion, Native people no longer evoked fear, they became pathetic remnants of a dying civilization, or embodiments

---

<sup>150</sup> The Rebellion "signalled the loss of Indians' ability to affect in any direct or significant fashion the conditions under which they lived." They were entirely subjugated through "excessively arbitrary" government policies: Noel Dyck, "An Opportunity Lost: The Initiative of the Reserve Agricultural Programme in the Prairie West," *Barron and Waldram* 121-123.

<sup>151</sup> Globe May 9, 12, 13, 1885. The government planned to replace the local assessor with their own appointee, and thereby gain control of the voters' lists. The Globe was heartily against such patronage appointments, and vehemently in support of Edward Blake's resistance to the Act.

of imaginary Indians in the Wild West Shows.<sup>152</sup>

Territorially and culturally a new nation had been created, one with no apparent internal 'foreigners', or at least no internal groups visibly disputing its external boundaries.

Many believed the Rebellion had drawn French and English together as never before.

Colonel Ouimet was sure:

It would open a new era for Montreal. It would unite the different nationalities, and this union would be bound more firmly than ever by the blood shed in the campaign. (Loud applause).<sup>153</sup>

It now had an outward, international outlook. The experience of participating in the fighting, or following the course of events in news reports, made inhabitants of each of the provinces aware of themselves as Canadians with shared interests and a transcontinental nation. Additionally, the population had negotiated cultural difference internally by subordinating its Native 'others', and delineating British and American 'others', thereby constructing an identity as 'Canadians'. This perspective was also one which looked outward. Needless to say, solidarity was only fleeting: internal divisions amongst and between francophone and anglophone Canadians re-emerged when Riel was hanged,<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> Respondents to a CPR questionnaire regarding their experiences as settlers in the North-West, declared they had no fear of local Native peoples: What Women Say of the North West. A Simple Statement of the Experiences of Women settled in all parts of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (Montreal: CPR, 1886) 40.

<sup>153</sup> Gazette July 21, 1885.

<sup>154</sup> Riel's execution outraged public opinion amongst French Canadians in Quebec. For the first time they became intensely concerned about the continued existence of a French Catholic community in the West, and saw the hanging of Riel as an attack on French Canada. The strength of French-Canadian feeling over the issue provoked mistrust of French nationalism in English Canada. Silver contends that the conflict between the English Canadian belief in the need for a single nationality and the emerging belief on the part of French Canada that Canada could only survive as a duality, was as a result of reactions and counter-reactions to the Rebellion: Silver, French-Canadian Idea, ch. 8. Riel's hanging was a catalyst for French-Canadian nationalism. While Confederation had seemed to be a political structure that gave Quebec autonomy, the creation of new provinces in the West had reduced her influence. French-Canadian religious, linguistic and education rights were being ignored, industrialization was altering the nature of Quebec society, and there was a massive exodus of French Canadians to the U.S. After 1885

and during debates over Canadian nationalism versus British imperialism.<sup>155</sup> But these were 'Canadian' 'national' divisions which have become emblematic of 'modern' Canada. To be sure, it produced a profoundly masculine ideal of nationhood; women took part in the Rebellion only as ideals held up to inspire men to enlist, and as witnesses of their heroism, not as full-fledged citizens.

Hunting and sports activities had provided a means by which British colonists and the professional and commercial middle classes had been able to define a Canadian national identity, and the second Riel Rebellion was the final step in the process of appropriating and transforming Native cultural activities. Up to then, national identity had been made on the streets and playing fields, in the events of the Rebellion it was tested on the field of battle.<sup>156</sup> Native people were extinguished as a nation through military conquest, and their culture was considered extinct. This opened up the door for the wave of ethnographic collecting which swept over the North-West and Pacific coast at the end of the century.<sup>157</sup> In addition, although the Canadian troops largely conformed to British military tactics, their success was attributed in the popular press to Canadian methods, which I argue were more closely aligned to those of Native peoples. Confederation might

---

political leaders such as Honoré Mercier and journalist Jules Paul Tardivel became openly separatist. Gilles Gougeon, *A History of Quebec Nationalism* trans. Louisa Blair, Robert Chodos and Jane Ubertino (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1994) 30-34.

<sup>155</sup> The Imperial Federation League was formed in 1884 and reflected the change of attitude towards the colonies by the British Parliament. From being "millstones" around the British neck (as Disraeli had claimed in 1852), the British now desired to benefit from the economic and military resources of their colonies. English Canadians were unsure where their best interests lay - with America, with Britain, or alone. These debates are examined by Berger, *Sense of Power*, and Cook, *Maple Leaf*.

<sup>156</sup> In her study of South Africa, Anne McClintock contends that military action "baptizes the nation in a male birthing ritual": "No Longer" 272. Marilyn Lake also uses a birthing metaphor in her study on the genesis of Australian nationalism: Lake, "Mission Impossible".

<sup>157</sup> See, for example, Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).

have been the point of origin of Canada as a *political* reality, but the 1885 Rebellion was its *cultural* birth site. The North-West Rebellion was the point at which Canada emerged with a sense of itself as a distinct national cultural community, and the IWN prints constituted a narration of the story of the nation's origins, and of its performance of nationhood. The transformation from *canadien* to 'Canuck' had occurred.



## **CONCLUSION**

human lives are shaped not only...by the ideas we have in our minds, but even more by the actions we perform with our bodies...we constitute ourselves through our action.

Tom F. Driver, *The Magic of Ritual*<sup>1</sup>

In 1860, the group who met in Toronto to arrange their welcome for the Prince of Wales, were not sure how to distinguish themselves visually as Native Canadians, and resorted to using a maple leaf emblem pinned to their chests. In the following two decades, members of the professional and commercial middle classes of the major urban centres found a way to identify themselves physically as native-Canadians by means of organized sport. Lacrosse, snowshoeing, and tobogganing became Canadian sports rather than cricket, baseball or curling because they were indigenous sports, sufficiently different from sports played in America or Britain, that they could distinguish the players as Canadian. The 'primitive' associations of the games could be countered by the imposition of scientific rules and regulations which demonstrated the progressive and 'civilized' nature of Canadian society. Through these sports - by training and clothing the body in specific ways, and by performing them in the distinctive Canadian environment - British colonists made themselves 'native-Canadians.'

Victorians believed the eyes to be the most powerful of the bodily senses, so controlling the way they presented themselves to the gaze of others was an essential consideration in the construction of identity.<sup>2</sup> The presentation of self was an acting-out of

---

<sup>1</sup> Driver 79.

<sup>2</sup> Egerton Ryerson advocated visual education on the grounds that "the impressions made upon the mind through the eye are more vivid and distinct than those made through hearing, tasting, or smelling.": "Visible Illustrations - Use of Apparatus," Journal of Education for Upper Canada 1 (1848) 301. Quoted by Heaman, "Commercial Leviathan" 26. For contemporary belief

a desired image, and the script of this performance sought to emulate as well as to seek recognition and approval from others of like kind. Enacting one's identity and seeing it reflected back by others with whom one felt a consciousness of kind, was an especially powerful way of knowing and belonging. When the limits of identity were breached, the audience censured the performance, for example, when there was too much drinking, or when men were being taken away from their work. Thus the body was a site of cultural and social negotiation. The identity constructed by these activities was male, middle-class, Protestant and Anglo-Saxon. When players stopped actively performing, as in the case of snowshoeing, or were giving the wrong performance, as happened with lacrosse, the sports were no longer able to project that exclusive and unified identity.

Nevertheless, the transition of Canadians from French-speaking farmers to English-speaking members of a modern, progressive and 'civilized' nation had been successfully effected. The new nationality called for by Lord Durham, D'Arcy McGee and other nationalists, had been made. French Canadians were marginalised as one of the "minor nationalities," and the rhetoric of the playing field was integrated into political and social life. As Charles Mair, one of the original members of Canada First, claimed:

Thank God there is such a thing at last as a purely national feeling in Canada. There is a young and vigorous race coming to the front, entirely in earnest, and which is no longer English, Scotch, or Irish, but thoroughly and distinctively Canadian....It means strict justice to the French and nothing more - a fair field and no favour. <sup>3</sup>

---

in the primacy of vision see also, Carl Woodring, Nature into Art: Cultural Transformations in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989) 64, and Jonathan Crary, Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century (London: MIT Press, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> Draft of letter to the editor of the Toronto Telegraph, undated but probably 1870. Quoted by Carl Berger, Sense of Power 58 n.24.

The constituency of nationalism was the professional and commercial middle classes. They controlled the communications media of the day, as well as dominating influential fraternities, and civic politics. As more of these businessmen moved into political positions, they institutionalized the values and interests of their class within the structures of the state. Although subordinate groups did at times contest their control, such attempts were more an annoyance than a real challenge before 1885. The paradox of sport is that it can be a unifying force which brings together disparate groups under one banner, confirming the existence of the nation and acting as a vehicle for nationalist sentiment; but it can also fracture and unsettle a collective, or exacerbate existing cleavages. From the point of view of English Canada, organized sport encouraged unity, from the point of view of Native peoples and French-Canadians it provoked the opposite. When French-Canadian Montrealers took up sports in large numbers in the 1890s it was as a way of contesting English domination, not in order to be assimilated. Similarly, it was not until late in the century, when working-class consciousness was more fully developed and mobilized, that effective challenges to middle-class dominance could be mounted. Then, working-class men used the form of middle-class sports and fraternal organizations, but put them to their own purposes and created their own class identities. Despite class difference, however, the national identity created through the cultural practices discussed herein, was not totally unappealing to other social groups. Physical prowess, stamina and virile masculinity were all qualities valued by both lower and upper classes, as were the asymmetrical gender and racial hierarchies espoused by the professional and commercial middle classes. Thus, identities of race and gender could override class positionalities and produce a common national character, aspects of which persist to the present day.

It is a commonplace nowadays to link sport and national identity. However,

historians of nineteenth-century Canadian sport have generally ignored the role it played in nationalist movements, or have taken the connection at face value, without analysing how and why it worked. Likewise, mainstream sport history seeks to explain the development of sport in relation to industrialization and urbanization, but overlooks the fact that it was a key agent in social control and state formation.<sup>4</sup> Sport was a form of power which normalized values and behaviours. Instead of being imposed by outside agents such as the employer, church, or state, desired behaviours were internalized by participants. Hence, the range of apparently spontaneous personal practices was determined by the dominant group.<sup>5</sup> This process of normalization was achieved through the repetition of visual and performative representations experienced through products of visual culture, such as photographs and illustrations; through sports performances; and through public spectacles. Furthermore, there were textual re-presentations of the games, races, parades, displays, and concerts in the daily and periodical press. Through consideration of the strategies of representation employed by the producers of these visual experiences, we can understand more clearly Victorian concerns and patterns of thought.

The question of how meanings are made is often glossed over and taken as a given. In particular, few authors have undertaken a detailed analysis of visual evidence.<sup>6</sup> In this study I have analysed cultural performances and visual products with regard to the

---

<sup>4</sup> Nancy B. Bouchier, "Canadian Sport History," *Acadiensis* 28.1 (Autumn 1998): 98-102.

<sup>5</sup> This understanding draws on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the 'class habitus' which is the internalization of norms and meanings attached to personal practices: Harvey and Sparks 170-172.

<sup>6</sup> When images are considered the analysis "often entails either aesthetic mysticism or a commitment to a notion of individual creativity." Michèle Barrett, Philip Corrigan, Annette Kuhn and Janet Wolff, *Ideology and Cultural Production* (London: Croom Helm, 1979) 23. Studies which use images in an exemplary manner include the work of Lynn Hunt, Marcia Pointon, Simon Schama, Lisa Tickner and Keith Walden.

material conditions within which they were produced, and in relation to the work they performed as representations which produced meanings. I have approached this study with the understanding that texts (of all media) produce ideology rather than merely expressing it. I have suggested that it is not a simple question of how 'accurately' the artists depicted 'reality' which we must ask. Instead, images open up a complex array of questions: whose story is being told and by whom? in what context are the images operating? how are pictorial conventions being manipulated? who was the audience? how were images received? and, what meanings were created?

Although the role of the European *ethnie* has been recognized by theorists of nationalism, little attention has been paid to the relationship between indigenous peoples and colonists in the British white-settler colonies. The creation of Canadian national identity was not a simple matter of transplanting British traditions in the New World, rather colonists had to discover a usable past which would root them in the new landscape, yet retain their connections with the Home Country.<sup>7</sup> Initially, British colonists perceived Canada to be lacking a history. Catherine Parr Traill, for one, lamented the absence of history in Canada, claiming it to be "the most unpoetical of lands...there is no scope for imagination...there is no hoary grandeur in these woods, no recollections of former deeds connected with the country."<sup>8</sup> Through their activities, the snowshoe clubs invented the missing connecting narrative between the past and the present by 'remembering' the former deeds of the voyageurs and the Nor'Westers. Similarly, W. George Beers

---

<sup>7</sup> If nationalism is the product of cultural systems, as Benedict Anderson argues, then colonial culture originates the nation: "The colony's arrival at the idea of nation can thus be seen as coterminous with a cultural recognition that the colonizer was not simply an itinerant, but an excrescence that planned to stay." Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 10.

<sup>8</sup> Catherine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836), quoted by Zeller, *Land of Promise* 4.

fashioned lacrosse into a modern sport and recalled its past, thus linking colonial players to the 'immemorial past' of the French Regime and Native peoples. These historical narratives were essentially fictitious, yet repetition and reiteration at club functions, in club histories, and through newspapers and carnival advertising ensured that they became an authoritative version of the nation's past.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, even though they might only be said to have been 'playing native' when they tramped into the bush on snowshoe or hunting trips, British colonists gained an authentic experience in the wilderness, thus legitimizing their claim to be native-Canadians. The public spectacles mounted for royal tours, and the participation of the Princes and various governors-general in indigenous Canadian activities, in turn, linked Canadian history to British roots and all that they signified, thus weaving together the dual poles of Canadian identity. In a way which was related to other colonists' experiences in Australia and South Africa, but still uniquely their own, colonists in Canada 'remembered' a past which served as the story of the origins of the nation.<sup>10</sup> In this process, Native peoples were relegated to pre-history, while French Canadians were assigned to a less

---

<sup>9</sup> See Edward Said, "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors," *Critical Inquiry* 15 (Winter 1989): 205-225.

<sup>10</sup> As one of the nineteenth-century white-settler colonies, which included Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, the history and specificity of Canadian colonialism should be seen as an example in "a broader colonial history." The course of Canadian and Australian nationalism was similar: Australia had a 'moment' during the 1890s when an image of Australian nationalism was born around the 'legend' of a new Australian race evolving from the climate, soil and social system. But, like the Canadian national identity forged in Montreal, it failed to gain hold because it was limited in class and locality, and because it was based on the image of the indigene—an anachronism in a society which wanted to demonstrate to the world its modernity and progressiveness: Lake, "Mission Impossible" 305-332. An older article by Douglas Cole, which does not include gender as a category of analysis, sketches the history of Australian nationalism, and notes that a similar course of events occurred in New Zealand: "The Problem of 'Nationalism' and 'Imperialism' in British Settlement Colonies," *Journal of British Studies* 10.2 (1971) 170.

distant past.<sup>11</sup> Essential cultural practices and characteristics of both 'natives' were appropriated and transformed by the new colonists, who, in practice, barely differentiated between the two. The British history of Canada was, therefore, a palimpsest which elided the histories of both Native peoples and the French Regime, thereby confirming Lord Durham's accusation that the *canadiens* were a people without history or culture who needed to be elevated by the imposition of British character.

The Native contribution to Canadian national identity has largely gone unrecognized because what was appropriated from Native culture was also transformed by its incorporation within a modern, western ethos. Once it was part of 'us', the 'other' lost its own identity. It could be suggested that the Amerindian tradition of solving problems by encouraging the expression of different points of view in order to search for consensus, might be the unacknowledged root of Canada's international tradition of diplomacy and peacemaking.<sup>12</sup> Georges Sioui, a Native historian, attributes the environmental movement, the resurgence of interest in herbal medicines, and new experiments in self-government, aboriginal law, and justice to the process of transculturation.<sup>13</sup> He suggests that Canada's system of government is an attempt to replicate the Wendat (Huron) "multi-national, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual government arrangement" which existed before the ravages of epidemic diseases destroyed Huronia. Sioui claims that Christianity, and other non-Native religions, which he calls 'the spirit of the Old World', will not work in North America because this land has its own spirit.<sup>14</sup> What hunters and snowshoers discovered, but did

---

<sup>11</sup> The "indigene is shaped into an historical artifact, a remnant of a golden age that seems to have little connection to...contemporary life." Goldie 17.

<sup>12</sup> This is hinted at by Del ge 162.

<sup>13</sup> Georges S. Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, trans. Sheila Fischman, 1991 (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> Whereas the American model was taken from the Iroquois, and is significantly different in form - another way in which Canadians differentiate themselves from Americans: Georges S.

not recognize, in their encounter with the land, was that spirit.

Given that national identity has become a problem of national existence, it is understandable that discussion has most often revolved around the political definition of the nation and the task of uniting French and English Canada.<sup>15</sup> In a recent collection of papers, David Cannadine argues that Canada has culturally never been a nation. He claims that it "lacks national monuments, national myths, national heroes and national traditions...[it is an] incomplete and unimagined nation."<sup>16</sup> Cannadine is misinformed, of course, to think that Canada lacks these historic roots and markers, although he would be right to accuse Canadians of paying too little attention to fostering public memory of their national narratives. Like Douglas Cole, he contends that this lack of cultural identity did not mean Canadians lacked an imagined nationhood in the nineteenth century because the community they imagined themselves to be part of was the British Empire.<sup>17</sup> Cole argued that "Canada never became a nation, except in a political and constitutional sense."<sup>18</sup> However, his definition of nationhood (salutary though his distinctions between nation and state, nationalism and patriotism are) is based on an opposition between ethnicity and polity, and does not consider the construction of shared identity through

---

Sioui, "Why Canada Should Look for, Find, Recognize and Embrace its True, Aboriginal Roots, The Time of the Toad," Canadian Issues 20 (1998) 53. Elizabeth Tooker, however, finds little evidence to support the idea that the American Constitution owes anything to the League of the Iroquois: Elisabeth Tooker, "The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League," Ethnohistory 35.4 (1988): 305-336.

<sup>15</sup> This was certainly Morton's understanding, see Cook, Uses of Nationalism 225. Cook also delineates two ideologies basic to nationalism: political self-determination and cultural pre-determination. He says that both have been argued by both sides (ch. 14), but his concept of 'cultural' is based on ethnicity, not on cultural practices.

<sup>16</sup> David Cannadine, "Imperial Canada: Old History, New Problems," Imperial Canada 1867-1917, ed. Colin M. Coates (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997) 4, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Cannadine, "Imperial Canada" 7.

<sup>18</sup> Cole 181.



cultural practices. Taken to its logical conclusion, his definition excludes the possibility that a non-native *ethnie* could emerge. He claims that there was no "feeling that Canadians constitute a new ethnic group", and the phrase 'new nationality' "did not mean the creation of a new ethnic group. It was explicitly a *political* 'nationality'."<sup>19</sup> However, this does not fit with evidence from the period. Carl Berger, Douglas Owsram, Suzanne Zeller and others have shown very clearly that Canada was imagined as a new, dominant, Northern nation with boundless potential. There was an abundance of public discussion about the effect of climate and geography on the body of the nation's citizens, showing that they did, indeed, envisage Canadians as a new ethnic group. It was believed that 'Young Canada' would come by this 'new nationality' naturally, just by being 'sons [sic] of the land'. Participation in indigenous sports provided the indigenising experience required to effect the transformation from colonist to native-Canadian. Historical inquiry cannot rely on ideas alone, it must also look at how those ideas are realized in cultural practice, and how cultural practice constructs ideas.

Lack of racial unity was a problem to be surmounted in creating a distinct Canadian identity. Charles Mair saw a new race developing, but in the meantime, a writer in the Nation recognized that Canada was made up of:

the fragments of a number of nationalities, which we hope to see one day welded into the compact mass of a distinct Canadian nationality. The lines of national separation have long since ceased to be coincident with those which divide political parties...The mere difference of race should not bar the way to a common Canadian nationality...<sup>20</sup>

However, the writer was thinking of English, Irish, Scottish and French 'fragments', not aboriginal people; and, when dual nationality was spoken of, it meant British and

---

<sup>19</sup> Cole, "Problem of Nationalism" 166, 168.

<sup>20</sup> Nation [Toronto] April 2, 1874, 11.

Canadian, rather than British and French. Thus snowshoers saw no ambiguity in belonging to the St. George's Snow Shoe Club (an English fraternal club), yet claiming themselves as Canadians. A confusing and ambiguous array of multiple-national identities continued throughout the late part of the century, and were even exploited on occasion. For instance, when Daft's English Eleven cricket team visited Toronto in September of 1879, matches were played against them by teams chosen on the pretext of different nationalities, thereby increasing the number of games that could be played. The visiting Eleven faced teams of 'Canadians', 'Foreign-born Canadians', 'Anglo Canadians', and 'Native and Foreign-born Canadians', defeating them all.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the undoubted connection colonists felt towards Britain,<sup>22</sup> the perception of being British often adduced as evidence of a lack of a 'real' Canadian identity is not a negation of Canadian identity but a confirmation that it was a complex construct, which I have reduced to a duality between Britishness and nativeness. It was not a question of being either British or Canadian, but of partaking of both.<sup>23</sup> Until there was a divergence of Canadian and British interests which forced Canadians to take a side, a dual national

---

<sup>21</sup> Toronto Globe, September 12-16, 1879, quoted by Nancy Howell and Maxwell L. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life 1700 to the present. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969) 85.

<sup>22</sup> Even pro-republicans such as E.E. Sheppard and Goldwin Smith did not want to sever the connection with Britain: Wade A. Henry, "Severing the Imperial Tie?: Republicanism and British Identity in English Canada, 1864-1917," Coates 183.

<sup>23</sup> In a recent electronic discussion, Arthur Silver pointed out that the idea that Canadians insisted on considering themselves English, Scottish or Irish was a myth popularised by Henri Bourassa. He quoted an editorial to show that this was not the case. The writer complained that recent French-Canadian orators limited the right to be Canadian "to French Roman Catholics. We, nous autres, no matter what we are religiously, are simply aliens." The writer went on to protest such claims: "Why should it not be known and acted upon that all citizens of Canada by birth or adoption (including, if necessary, naturalisation), are equally entitled to be called Canadians, and, as for being "true Canadians, that depends upon the way in which they serve their country, and do their duty to God and man...": "True Canadians", Montreal Gazette, July 7, 1880, quoted by A. Silver, "What is Canadian?", H-CANADA@H-NET.MSU.EDU, 20 Nov. 1997.

identity was perfectly viable:<sup>24</sup> As an MSSC member expressed it: "while in what was provincial we were thoroughly Canadian, our instincts were British and Imperial in all that concerned the Empire."<sup>25</sup> This sentiment was shared by certain sections of the French-Canadian population. In a speech to the Toronto Young Men's Liberal Club in 1886, Wilfrid Laurier declared:

We may not assimilate, we may not blend, but for all that we are the component parts of the same country...We may be French in our origin...We may be English, or Scotch or whatever it may be, but we are Canadians; one in aim and purpose; and not only Canadians, but we are also members of the same British Empire.<sup>26</sup>

It was easier to visualize 'Canadians' before 1885, after which there was an influx of foreign-born (i.e. non-British) immigrants who did not fit the image of 'us' which had been constructed. The national identity proposed in Montreal was white, middle-class, urban, Protestant and male. No wonder Chinese, Japanese, Indian and Black immigrants could not be envisaged as candidates for Canadian citizenship.<sup>27</sup> Northern European immigrants with Caucasian features and acceptable work habits might be assimilated into this narrow vision of the ideal Canadian, but it was much harder to admit darker-skinned immigrants from Southern Europe, Asians, or Jews. The representational strategies used to define Canadian identity were exclusionary and hierarchical, and, because it was the product of a

---

<sup>24</sup> This view was expressed by John S. Ellis, "Dual Identity and Britishness," H-CANADA@H-NET.MSU.EDU, 12 Sept. 1997. Based on his research regarding conceptions of Irish and Welsh identity during the Edwardian era, he suggests that this was "a strongly established way of thinking about nationality within the British Empire."

<sup>25</sup> Newspaper clipping: report of MSSC President's speech, 15 Feb. 1873. NAC: MSSC, Scrapbook 1, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted from *Wilfrid Laurier on the Platform: 1871-1890...*, comp. Ulrich Barthe (Quebec: Turcotte & Menard, 1890): found at <http://www.nelson.com/nelson/school/discovery/cantext/speech/1886iaci.htm>

<sup>27</sup> Chinese immigration was progressively restricted through 'head taxes' and banned in 1923; Japanese immigrants were restricted through an agreement with Japan in 1907; immigration from India was banned in 1907; Blacks were informally denied entry from 1910. *Canadian Encyclopedia*. 1741.

dominant class, this vision of national identity was institutionalized in the structures of civil and political society, leaving the nation with a legacy of systemic racism and unanswered dilemmas.

The progressive exclusion of Native peoples from snowshoeing, moose and caribou hunting, and lacrosse paralleled their treatment in the political and economic life of the nation. After learning indigenous skills from Native peoples, colonists sought to take over the game: whether it was sport, or land settlement. Once colonists had learned how to navigate and subsist in the new landscape, and no longer needed Native peoples as their allies, they were expendable, and the colonists changed the rules in order to monopolise the field. The representation of British colonists as indigenised, native-Canadians, contrasted with the perceived inability of Native people to play the modern, scientific game; their transgression of the amateur code consequently justified their exclusion from the playing field and, by a small step of logic, from agricultural land. Just as, between 1839 and 1885, Native people were increasingly excluded or omitted from urban public activities, and from the political and commercial life of the nation, so, after 1885, they were even further excluded from sight and citizenship on remote reserve lands. Cultural practices naturalized strategies of opposition, exclusion and subordination, thus institutionalizing and justifying their use in the social and political realm.

Women also were disadvantaged by either being excluded from representation or represented in restricted ways. Most theories of nationalism have failed to recognize that nationalism is a gendered discourse. As Anne McClintock points out: no nation gives women and men equal access to power and resources, and this inequality is naturalized through the pervasive depiction of the nation as 'a family' in which women and children are

'naturally' subordinated to the male. Thus, nationalism depends on the prior construction of gender difference.<sup>28</sup> The competitive sports activities discussed herein were one of the multiple sites in which this differentiation occurred: masculinity was imbued and displayed on the playing field, and an ideal of Canadian manhood was held up and contrasted against the fragility and refinement of the female sex. As well as defining their masculinity in relation to women, players and spectators could also judge themselves against other men, including Native players, whose close connection with Nature rendered them feminised.<sup>29</sup> Women remain a shadowy presences in my study - there as spectators and occasionally as participants, but never fully fleshed out. If men were indigenised through physical interactions with the land and sports, the process by which women became indigenised remains to be explored.<sup>30</sup>

In trying to define their national identity, Canadians today face similar problems to the British colonists who have been the subject of this study. What Canadian identity is, and should be, is enigmatic in the face of assertions of Quebec's sovereignty, Americanization and globalization. For want, perhaps, of something better, Canadians continue to use the very solutions devised by Victorians. For instance, souvenir stores combine snowshoes, moccasins, 'Indian' dolls, and Inuit carvings with modern clothing emblazoned with Mounties and the Canadian flag, while on St. Catherine Street in

---

<sup>28</sup> McClintock, Imperial Leather 353.

<sup>29</sup> Kimmel argues, in fact, that "Masculinity is largely a homosocial enactment". Kimmel, Manhood in America 7.

<sup>30</sup> I hypothesize that an indigenising activity adopted by women may have been the ethnographic search for, and appropriation and transformation of aboriginal and French-Canadian design and crafts, notably textiles and basketry. The absence of 'active' indigenising activities equivalent to those available to men may have legitimized the delay in granting women the rights of citizenship until after their participation in the First World War effort proved their 'worth'.

Montreal, a manikin in hiking gear wears a feather headdress [Figures C.1 & C.2].<sup>31</sup> The Winter Carnival held in Quebec City continues to include ice sculptures, tobogganing, and torchlight processions.<sup>32</sup> Even abroad, the nineteenth-century national stereotype is still recognized: an article in a British magazine on a Canadian who devised a way of cooling computer central processing units, is illustrated by a photograph of an office desk in the snow, against which a pair of snowshoes are propped [Figure C.3].<sup>33</sup> Advertising, especially for beer and sports-related goods, regularly employs nationalistic sentiments, and propagates the idea that 'Winter Sports 'R Us'.<sup>34</sup> Canada's natural environment and the opportunity for wilderness camping, hiking, canoeing, skiing and other active outdoor pursuits are key attributes for tourist advertising.

In addition, the maintenance of national pride relies heavily on success in sporting events, especially those closely connected to the natural environment, such as ice hockey, skating, curling, canoeing and swimming. Much angst has been caused by the threat to

---

<sup>31</sup> Other examples of images of Native peoples and culture employed to signify national, in this case Québécois, identity, are illustrated in Bernard Arcand, Marc Laberge and Sylvie Vincent, "L'Imagerie des Amérindiens. Un tour organisé," Recherches amérindiennes au Québec 10.102 (1980) 132-135, 10.3 (1980) 205-207, and 10.4 (1981) 278-285

<sup>32</sup> Jim Fox, "Winter festivals: from Newfoundland to Alberta, major cold-season events are planned," Globe and Mail January 1, 1997, C10, and Laszlo Buhasz, "Heads up: world's third-largest carnival heats up winter in Quebec," Globe and Mail January 13, 1999.

<sup>33</sup> "The Incredible Mr. Freeze," PC Answers 65 (March 1999) 58. Snowshoes and toboggan are also propped against a cottage wall on the cover of the Winter 1999 *Canadian Tire* catalogue.

<sup>34</sup> For instance, *Kokanee* and *Canadian* beer advertising. 'Canadian' Christmas cards featuring snow scenes with children snowshoeing, tobogganing and skating are ubiquitous. See for instance, Unicef Winter Catalogue 1996, 20. The Canadian Christmas cards in the Fall & Winter Unicef Collection for 1999 feature a Clarence A. Gagnon painting of *habitant* farmers crossing an ice bridge in Quebec on horse-drawn sleighs, and two children playing hockey on a frozen pond (10-11). The five cards in the "Christmas in Canada" collection in this catalogue include "Inuit Children Dancing," three different renditions of children tobogganing, and one of children playing ice hockey. Northernness and indigenous activities (including Native and French Canadian) continue to be characteristic. On this subject, see Val Ross, "In this card game Canada has a winning hand," Globe & Mail [Toronto] December 22, 1998, C1. This author also comments on nationalistic appeals in advertising in "Monkeying around with the Canadian identity," Globe & Mail [Toronto] June 27, 1998, C1.

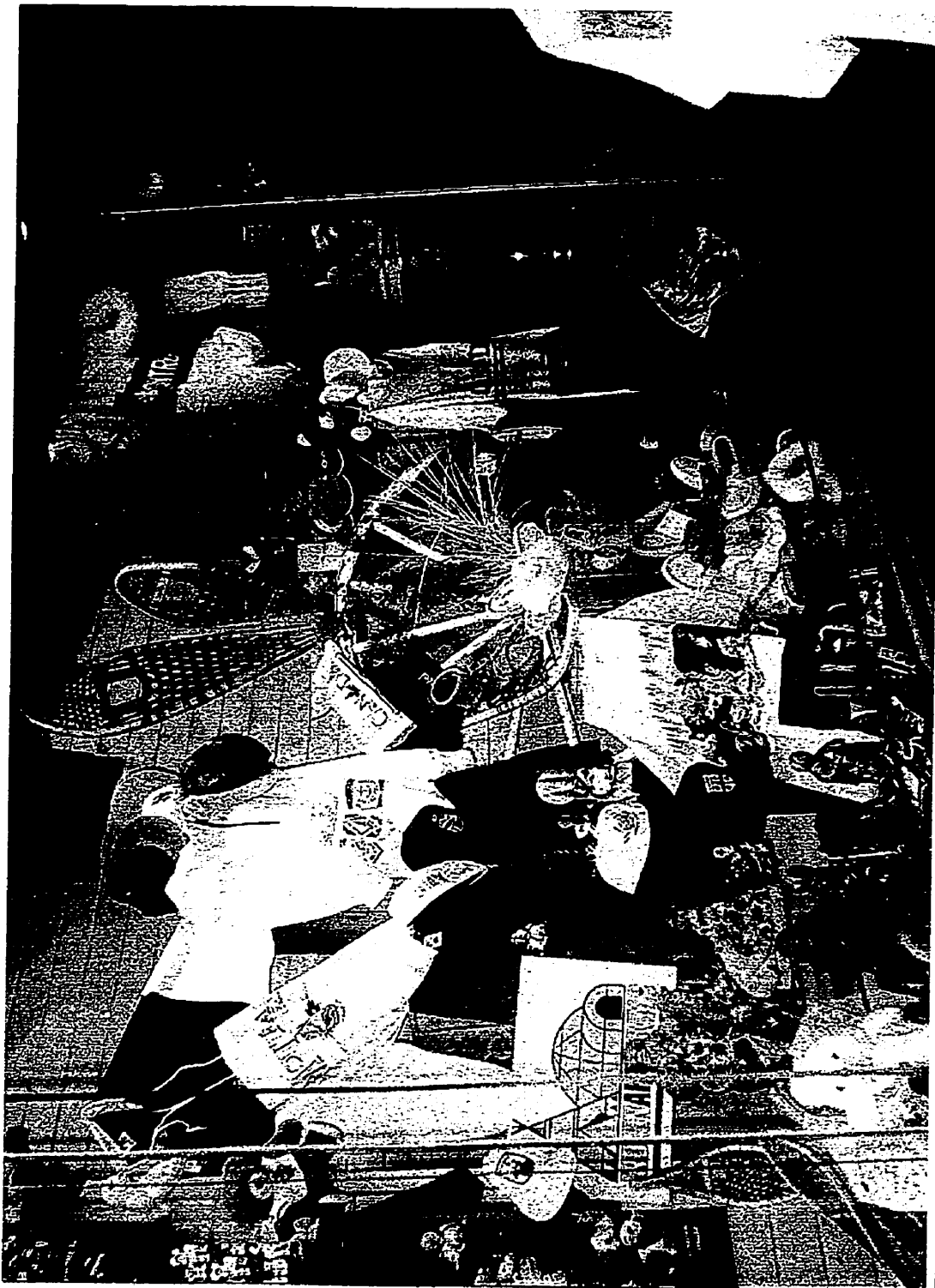


Fig. C.1: Souvenirs in store window, St. Catherine St., Montreal, 1996



Fig. C.2: Manikin in store window, St. Catherine St., Montreal, 1996





Fig. C.3: Uncredited photograph, "The Incredible Mr. Freeze," *PC Answers* 65 (March 1999) 58

Canadian dominance in ice hockey (and hence the game's effectiveness as a national signifier) caused by recent European and American successes in world competition. Given the past history discussed herein, it may not be coincidental that at this point in time lacrosse should be attempting a comeback as a professional Canadian sport!<sup>35</sup> In contemporary, multi-cultural society, northernness and outdoor physical activities continue to be mainstays of Canadian national identity because they are a unifying factor relatively available to all Canadian inhabitants, regardless of origin.<sup>36</sup> It is still through participation in such indigenous activities that new Canadians can feel themselves to be native in a foreign land.

---

<sup>35</sup> For example, Michael Grange, "Old sport something special to fans", Globe & Mail [Toronto] August 28, 1997. Lacrosse never died out completely, and continues to be a popular game in small-town Ontario and in British Columbia. However, it has not been a significant game nationally for many decades. Yet, in the team's first year in the National Lacrosse League, the Toronto Rock beat an American team to win the title in front of a standing-only crowd at Maple Leaf Gardens in April 1999. This was particularly significant since this arena, considered by many to be an historic city land-mark, had recently been vacated by the Toronto professional ice hockey team. Newspaper reporting was effusively nationalistic: "What is truly wonderful about the Rock's success is that it strums a chord in most of us that is to uniquely, boldly and unapologetically Canadian." Mary Ormsby "Lacrosse team keeps the Gardens Rock-ing," The Toronto Star April 3, 1999; and, "Rock caps triumphant, raucous first season," April 24, 1999. So, at a time when ice hockey is losing its potency as a national signifier, lacrosse has made a come-back in the popular imagination in a key Canadian city.

<sup>36</sup> However, as in the nineteenth century, these sports tend to be the preserve of the middle class due to the cost of equipment and facilities.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES*Archival Collections:*

Notman Photographic Archives,  
McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal

## National Archives of Canada:

*Record Groups:*

MG 27 IB1	Monck Papers
MG 27 IB3	Dufferin and Ava Papers
MG 27 IB4	Marquis of Lorne Papers
MG 28 I351	Montreal Amateur Athletic Association
MG 28 I421	St. George's Snow Shoe Club, 1874-1890

*Photographic collections:*

1969-195	Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava
1964-061	Canada, Department of External Affairs
1970-249	A.L. Handford
1971-129	John Boyd
1936-270	William James Topley
1961-028	Alexander Henderson
1947-102	Canada, Department of Mines and Resources
1983-069	Literary and Historical Society of Quebec
1968-114	Albertype Company Collection
1936-271	Canada, Department of the Interior
1974-316	Mme. Georges Menier
1979-242	Robert and Frances Flaherty
1996-94	Heart Lake Hunting Club
1962-41	Sydney Turk
1963-157	Jules-Ernest Livernois
1960-051	Thomas J. Grant
1958-179	Frederic Hatheway Peters

McGill University Archives, Montreal  
Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto  
York University, Special Collections, Toronto  
Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room  
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

*Government Documents:*

49 Victoria A., 1886. Sessional Papers No. 6. Report upon the suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories.

*Newspapers and Journals:*

- Art Journal [London, Eng.]  
New Series IV (1865) 95
- British American Magazine  
1863-1864
- Canadian Illustrated News [Montreal]  
January - March 1883
- Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News [Toronto]  
May 16 - August 1, 1885
- Dominion Illustrated News
- Family Herald and Weekly Star [Montreal]  
May 1 - July 31, 1885
- Globe [Toronto]  
May 1 - July 31, 1885
- Hamilton Spectator  
January - March 1883
- Illustrated London News  
January - March 1883, 1884, 1885
- Illustrated War News [Toronto]  
April 4 - May 9, 1885
- Manitoba Daily-Free Press [Winnipeg]  
January 1 - March 31, 1883, 1884, 1885
- La Minerve [Montreal]  
January 1 - March 31, 1884, 1885
- Montreal Gazette  
January 1 - March 31, 1883, 1884, 1885  
May 1 - July 31, 1885
- Montreal Herald & Daily Commercial Gazette  
January 16, 1863
- Nation [Toronto]  
April 1874 - September 1876
- Opinion Publique [Montreal]  
January - March, 1883
- Philadelphia Photographer  
3.29 (May 1866): 129, 130  
3.32 (Aug. 1866): 235-6  
4.39 (Mar. 1867): 79-80

4.40 (April 1867): 115  
 4.[?] ([?] 1867): 207  
 4.48 (Dec 1867) 398-399  
 8.89 (May 1871): 151  
 8.92 (Aug. 1871): 255  
 8.96 (Dec. 1871): 393

La Presse [Montreal]

January 1 - March 31, 1884, 1885  
 May 1 - July 31, 1885

Quebec Mercury

January 2, 1866  
 January 10, 1866

Toronto Daily News

January - March 1885

The Week [Toronto]

January - March, 1884, 1885

Wilson's Photographic Magazine

August 6, 1892, 470-473

*Books & Pamphlets:*

Becket, Hugh W. The Montreal Snow Shoe Club. Its history and record with a synopsis of the racing events of other clubs throughout the Dominion from 1840 to the present time. Montreal: Becket Bros., 1882.

Beers, William George. Lacrosse. The National Game of Canada. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869.

———. Over the Snow or The Montreal Carnival. Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co. and J. Tho. Robinson, 1883.

Biggsby, John J. The Shoe and Canoe or Pictures of Travel in the Canadas. 1850. New York: Paladium Press, 1969. 2 vols.

Blair, Hugh. An abridgment of Lectures on Rhetoric by Hugh Blair [Improved with additions] by Nathaniel Greene. Boston: True and Greene, 1824.

Bonnycastle, Sir Richard H. The Canadas in 1841. London: Henry Colburn, 1841. 2 vols.

Bourne, George. The Picture of Quebec. Quebec: D. & J. Smillie, 1829.

Canadian Illustrated News. Carnival Number and Supplement Montreal, January 27, 1883.

Cochrane, William, ed. The Canadian Album, Men of Canada; or Success by Example in Religion, Patriotism, Business, Law, Medicine, Education, and Agriculture. Brantford: Bradley, Garretson, 1891-1896. 5 vols.

Cockburn, James Patterson. Quebec and its Environs being a picturesque guide to the stranger [Quebec?]: T. Cary, 1831.

Dashwood, Richard Lewes. Chiploquorgan: or, Life by the Camp Fire in the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland. Dublin: Robert White, 1871.

Dawson, Samuel Edward. Montreal Winter Carnival, February 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup>, 1884. Supplement to Dawson's hand-book for the city of Montreal. [Montreal]: Montreal Gazette Printing Co., [1884].

Engleheart, Gardner D. Journal of the progress of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales through British North America; and his visit to the United States, 10<sup>th</sup> July to 15<sup>th</sup> November, 1860. [London?: 1860?]

Gilpin, William. Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting. London: 1792. Westmead, Eng.: Gregg, 1972.

Grant, Principal. Picturesque Canada. Part 1. Toronto: Art Publishing Co., 1882.

Grey Owl. The Men of the Last Frontier. 1931. Toronto: Macmillan, 1976.

Hawkins, Alfred. Pictures of Quebec with Historical Recollections . Quebec: Neilson & Cowan, 1834.

Heming, Arthur. The Drama of the Forests. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1921.

Hinshelwood, N. M. Montreal and Vicinity being a history of the old town, a pictorial record of the modern city, its sports and pastimes, and an illustrated description of many charming summer resorts around. Montreal: Desbarrats & Co., 1903.

Hughes, Thomas. Tom Brown's Schooldays. 1857. London: Macmillan, 1958.

Kalm, Peter. The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America/ the English version of 1770, Vol. 1. Trans. A.B. Bensen, New York: Dover, 1966.

Lambert, John. Travels through Canada and the United States in the years 1806, 1807

and 1808. London: R. Phillips, 1810.

Laurier, Wilfrid. Wilfrid Laurier on the platform, 1871-1890: collection of the principal speeches made in Parliament or before the people, by the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier, member for Quebec-East in the Commons, since his entry into active politics in 1871. Comp. Ulric Barthe and prefaced with a sketch of his career and work. Quebec: Turcotte & Menard, 1890.

LeMoine, James MacPherson. Maple Leaves: a budget of legendary, historical, critical, and sporting intelligence. Quebec: Hunter, Rose, 1863.

———. Maple Leaves: a budget of legendary, historical, critical, and sporting intelligence. Second Series. Quebec: Hunter, Rose, 1864.

———. Maple Leaves: Canadian History and Quebec Scenery. Third Series. Quebec: Hunter, Rose, 1865.

———. Maple Leaves: Canadian History,—Literature,—Sport. Fourth Series. Quebec: Augustin Coté, 1873.

———. The Explorations of Jonathan Oldbuck F.G.S.Q. in eastern latitudes: Canadian history, legends, scenery, sport. Fifth Series. Quebec: L.J. Demers & Frère, 1889.

———. Maple Leaves, 1894: Canadian history,—literature,—ornithology. Sixth Series. Quebec: L.J. Demers & Frère, 1894.

———. Quebec Past and Present: a history of Quebec, 1608-1876, in two parts. Quebec: Augustin Coté, 1876.

McNaught, M.K. Lacrosse and How to Play It. Toronto: Robert Marshall, 1873.

Miles, Henry Hopper. A catalogue of the products of Canada East at the International Exhibition, London, 1862. London: G. Norman, 1862.

Monck, Frances E. O. My Canadian Leaves: an account of a visit to Canada in 1864-1865. London: R. Bentley, 1891.

Montreal Business Sketches with a description of the city of Montreal: its public buildings and places of interest, and the Grand Trunk works at Point St. Charles, Victoria Bridge, &c. &c. prepared and published by the Canadian Railway Advertising Company. Montreal: M. Longmoore, 1864.

Montreal Daily Star Carnival Number. Montreal, January 20, 1885.

Montreal Ice Carnival: special issue Dominion Railway pocket guide for February 1884

carnival sports commencing Monday, Feb. 4, ending Saturday, Feb. 9. Montreal: Enterprising Pub. Co., 1884.

Montreal Winter Carnival, February 6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup>, 1893: under the distinguished patronage of His Excellency the governor-general, under the auspices and organization of the Montreal Athletic Association. [Montreal?]: 1893.

Morgan, Henry James. Sketches of Celebrated Canadians, and Persons connected with Canada, from the Earliest Period in the History of the Province Down to the Present Time. Quebec: 1862.

Notman, William. Portraits of British Americans by William Notman with Biographical Sketches edited by Fennings Taylor, Esq., deputy clerk and clerk assistant of the Legislative Council of Canada. Montreal: John Lovell Printer, 1865-1868. 3 vols.

Reed, Charles B. The Masters of the Wilderness. Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1914.

Report of the Delegation appointed to attend the American Forestry Congress held at Cincinnati, Ohio, April 25-29th, 1882 and subsequently at Montreal, Province of Quebec, August 21-23rd, 1883. Toronto: Blackett Robinson, 1882.

Robinson, Henry Peach. Pictorial Effect in Photography being hints on composition and chiascuro for photographers... London: Piper & Carter, 1869.

Root, Marcus Aurelius. The Camera and the Pencil or The Heliographic Art. Philadelphia: 1864. With an Introduction by Beaumont Newhall. Pawlet, Vermont: Helios, 1971.

Silliman, Benjamin. Remarks made on a short tour between Hartford and Quebec in the autumn of 1819. New Haven: 1820.

Small, H.B., ed. The Canadian Handbook and Tourist Guide: giving a description of Canadian lake and river scenes and places of historical interest with the best spots for Fishing and Shooting. Photography by W. Notman. Montreal: M. Longmoore & Co., 1867. Coles Facsimile Edition: Toronto, 1971.

Souvenir of the Montreal Winter Carnival, 1884: containing illustrations of winter and summer sports, with descriptive matter: also a fine large cut of the ice palace of 1884, with description, together with cuts of Montreal from the mountain, Victoria Bridge, Notre Dame Church, etc., and information relating to the Carnival. Montreal: Canada Railway News, 1884.

Taché, J.C. Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855. Toronto: John Lovell, 1856.

Walters, J. Cuming. Tennyson Poet, Philosopher, Idealist Studies of the Life, Work, and



Teaching of the Poet Laureate. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893.

What Women say of the Canadian North-West: a simple statement of the experiences of women settled in all parts of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886.

The Winter Carnival Illustrated or Bishop's Carnival Illustrated. George Bishop & Co., Montreal, February 1884.

Whyte, William H. The MAAA. Montreal: [Becket Bros.?], 1905.

### *Articles and Addresses:*

Beers, William George. "Canada in Winter," British American Magazine 2 (Dec 1863): 166-171.

———. "Canada as a Winter Resort," Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine 29.50 (February 1885): 514-529.

———. "Canadian Sports," Scribners Monthly 14 (May-Oct 1879): 506-527.

———. "Cheek," Canadian Monthly 11 (1872): 256-262.

———. "Hints to Players by a Native", Canadian Magazine vol. 1 (July-Dec 1871)

———. "A Land-Lubber at Sea," Canadian Monthly 11 (1877): 379-391.

———. "The Ocean Travels of Lacrosse," Athletic Leaves (Sept 1888).

———. "Rifle Shooting as a National Pastime for Canada," Dominion Dental Journal 12 (April 1900): 117-130.

———. "A Rival to Cricket," Chambers Journal 18 (Dec 1862): 366-368.

———. "The Voyageurs of Canada," British American Magazine 1 (1863): 472-479.

———. "Young Canada's Reply to Annexation," Montreal: Blaiklock Bros., 1888.

Burchett, Arthur. "Photography in Relation to Painting." Wilson's Photographic Magazine, August 6, 1892: 470-473.

F. G. "Our Canadian Cousins," Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes [London] 40.277 (March 1883): 214-218.

Foster, W.A. Canada First or Our new nationality: an address by W.A. Foster. Toronto: Adam, Stevenson, 1871.

Grant, Principal, ed. Picturesque Canada. Toronto: Art Publishing Co., 1882.

Haliburton, Robert Grant. The Men of the North and their place in History: a lecture delivered before the Montreal Literary Club, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1869. Montreal: J. Lovell, 1869.

"H.R.H. The Prince of Wales," Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes [London] 40.280 (June 1883): 373-377.

Notman, William. "Study of Art Recommended to Photographers." Photographic Mosaics, an annual record of photographic progress (1870): 44-46.

Wells, J.E. "Canadian Culture," The Canadian Monthly and National Review 8.6 (Dec 1875): 459-467.

### *Published Manuscripts:*

Hughes, Stuart, ed. The Frog Lake "Massacre". Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict. With an Introduction by Stuart Hughes. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976.

Kane, Paul. Paul Kane's Frontier: including Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America by Paul Kane. Edited with a biographical introduction and a catalogue raisonnée by J. Russell Harper. Austin: Amon Carter Museum, University of Toronto Press, 1971.

Kiewiet, C.W. and R.H. Underhill, eds., Dufferin - Camarvon Correspondence 1874-1878. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1955.

Durham, John George Lambton, Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America. 1839. Edited with an Introduction by Sir Charles Lucas. Oxford: Clarendon, 1912. 3 vols.

Macleod, R.C., ed. Reminiscences of a Bungler by one of the Bunglers. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### *Books:*

- Anderes, Fred, and Anna Agranoff. Ice Palaces. New York: Cross River Press, 1983.
- Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. 1983. London: Verso, 1991.
- Anderson, Karen. Chain Her By One Foot. The subjugation of women in seventeenth century New France. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Andrews, Allen. Brave Soldiers, Proud Regiments. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 1997.
- Andrews, Malcolm. The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1769-1900. Aldership: Scholar Press, 1989.
- Angus, Ian H. A border within: national identity, cultural plurality, and wilderness. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Appleby, Joyce, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob. Telling the Truth about History. New York: Norton, 1994.
- Aston, Major-General Sir George. His Royal Highness The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn. A Life and Intimate Study. London: Harrap & Co., 1929.
- Atwood, Margaret. Strange things: the malevolent North in Canadian literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- . Survival: a thematic guide to Canadian literature. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1966.
- Auerbach, Erica. Scenes from the Drama of European Literature. Theory and History of Literature vol. 19, 1959. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Bailey, Peter. Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Bak, James M., ed. Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Bakhtin, Michail. Rabelais and his World. Trans. Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Barkan, Elazar and Ronald Bush, eds. Prehistories of the Future: the Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Barrell, John. Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

- Barrett, Michèle, Philip Corrigan, Annette Kuhn and Janet Wolff, eds. Ideology and Cultural Production. London: Croom Helm, 1979.
- Barron, F. Laurie and James B. Waldram, 1885 and After: Native Societies in Transition. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1986.
- Battersby, Christine. Gender and Genius: towards a feminist aesthetics. London: Woman's Press, 1989.
- Baxandall, Michael. Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Bayer, Jonathan. Reading Photographs: Understanding the Aesthetics of Photography. The Photographers Gallery. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.
- Beal, Bob and Rod Macleod. Prairie Fire: The 1885 North-West Rebellion. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1984.
- Beauvais, Johnny. Kahnawake. A Mohawk look at Canada and Adventures of Big John Canadian 1840-1919. [Montreal?: 1985].
- Béland, Mario, ed. Painting In Quebec, 1820-1850. Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1992.
- Belsey, Catherine. Critical Practice. 1980. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- . The Writing of Canadian History. Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing, 1900-1976. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Berger, John, and Jean Mohr. Another Way of Telling. New York: Pantheon, 1982.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr. The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- Bermingham, Ann. Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Berton, Pierre. Why We Act Like Canadians: A Personal Exploration of our National Character. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.
- Bhabha, Homi K., ed. Nation and Narration. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Bharucha, Ruston. Theatre and the World: Performance and the Politics of Culture. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Blumin, Stuart. The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Bradbury, Bettina. Working Families. Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993.
- Breuille, John. Nationalism and the State. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Brown, Jennifer H. Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.
- Burgin, Victor, ed. Thinking Photography. London: Macmillan, 1982.
- Burke, Peter. New Perspectives on Historical Writing. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991.
- Butler, Judith. Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Canadian Encyclopedia. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988. 4 vols.
- Cannadine, David, and Simon Price, eds. Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Careless, J.M.S., ed. Colonists and Canadians 1760-1867. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971.
- Carpentier, Paul. La Raquette à Neige. Sillery: Boréal, 1976.
- Carter, Sarah. Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farms and Government Policy. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.
- Case, Sue-Ellen, and Janelle Reinelt, eds. The Performance of Power. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991.
- Cavell, Edward. Sometimes a Great Nation. A Photo Album of Canada 1850-1925. Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1984.
- Chartier, Roger. The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1991.
- . The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.
- Chatterjee, Partha. Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World - A Derivative Discourse. London: Zed Books, 1986.
- Clark, T.J. The Absolute Bourgeois, Artists and Politics in France 1848-1851 [1973]. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

- Coates, Colin M., ed. Imperial Canada 1867-1917. A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference - May 1995. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997.
- Cole, Douglas. Captured Heritage: the scramble for Northwest Coast artifacts. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985.
- Collins, Robert. The Age of Innocence 1870/1880. Toronto: Canada's Illustrated Heritage, 1977.
- Cook, Ramsay. Canada, Québec and the Uses of Nationalism. 1986. Second ed. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995.
- . The Maple Leaf Forever. Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada. 1971. Second ed. Toronto: Macmillan, 1977.
- Comoldi, Cesare, et al. Stretching the Imagination: Representation and Transformation in Mental Images. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Corse, Sarah M. Nationalism and Literature. The Politics of Culture in Canada and the United States. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Cosentino, Frank. Afros, Aborigines and Amateur Sport in Pre-World War One Canada. Canada's Ethnic Group Series, Booklet No. 16. Ottawa: CHA, 1998.
- Côté, Louise, Louis Tardivel and Denis Vaugeois. L'Indien Généreux. Ce que le monde doit aux Amériques. Quebec: Boréal, 1992.
- Coward, John, M. The Newspaper Indian. Native American Identity in the Press 1820-1890. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Craig, Gerald M. Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784- 1841. Canadian Centenary Series. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963.
- Craig, Gerald M., ed. Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867. Toronto: Macmillan, 1955.
- Crary, Jonathan. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century. London: MIT Press, 1990.
- Creighton, Donald G. The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850. Toronto: Ryerson, 1937.
- Cronin, M. and D. Mayall, eds. Sporting Nationalisms. Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation. London: Frank Cass, 1998.
- Cumming, Carman. Sketches from a Young Country. The Images of Grip Magazine. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Darnton, Robert. The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History.

- New York: Vintage Books, 1985.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the Middle Class, 1780-1850. Parts I & II. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987
- Davis, Susan. Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Deloria, Philip J. Playing Indian. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Deuchar, Stephen. Sporting Art in 18<sup>th</sup> Century England. A Social and Political History. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Deutsch, Karl and William J. Foltz, eds. Nation-Building. New York: Atherton Press, 1966.
- Dickason, Olive P., ed. The Native Imprint: The Contribution of First People's to Canada's Character. Vol. 1 to 1815. Athabasca University, 1995.
- . The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984.
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966—. 14 vols.
- Dippie, Brian. The Vanishing American: white attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.
- Driver, Tom F. The Magic of Ritual: Our Need for Liberating Rites that Transform our Lives and our Communities. San Francisco: Harper, 1991.
- Dunbar, Nancy. Images of Sport in Early Canada. Museum of Canadian History. Montreal: McCord, 1976.
- Dubey, Rob. Indecent Acts in a Public Place: Sports, Insolence and Sedition. Peterborough: Charivari, 1990.
- Dyer, Richard. The Matter of Images: Essays on Representations. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Eldridge, C.C., ed. Kith and Kin: Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997.
- Elias, Norbert. The Civilizing Process. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978.
- Elias, Norbert, and Eric Dunning. Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Finkel, Alan and Margaret Conrad. History of the Canadian Peoples. Vol. 2. Second ed. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1998. 2 vols.
- Flanagan, Thomas. Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered. Saskatoon: Western

- Producer Prairie Books, 1983.
- Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.
- Fournier, R. Lieux et Monuments Historiques de L'île de Montréal. Québec: Richelieu 1974.
- Foster, J.E. and D.R. Richeson, comps. The Fur Trade in Canada since 1787. Vol. 73 of Canada's Visual History. Slides. Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1986. 80 vols.
- Francis, Daniel. Copying People: Photographing British Columbia First Nations 1860-1940. Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1996.
- . National Dreams. Myth, Memory, and Canadian History. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997.
- . The Imaginary Indian: the Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.
- Francis, Daniel and Toby Morantz. Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983.
- Francis, R. Douglas. Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies. Saskatoon: Western Produce-Prairie Books, 1989.
- Freedberg, David. The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response. Chicago: UCP, 1989.
- Frye, Northrop. Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture. Ed. James Polk. Toronto: Anansi, 1982.
- Gagnon, Francois-Marc. Ces Hommes dits Sauvages, L'histoire d'un préjugé qui remonte aux premiers découvreurs du Canada. [Quebec?]: Editions Libre Expression, 1984.
- Gagnon, François-Marc and Denise Petel. Hommes effarables et bestes sauvages. Images du Nouveau-Monde d'après les voyages de Jacques Cartier. Montreal: Boréal Express, 1986.
- Germain, Jean Claude. Le Feuilleton de Montréal Vol. 2: 1793-1892. Quebec: Stanké, 1995.
- Goldie, Terry. Fear & Temptation. The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures. Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1989.
- Gougeon, Gilles. A History of Quebec Nationalism. Trans. Louisa Blair, Robert Chodos, Jane Ubertino. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1994.



- Greer, Allan. The Patriots and the People. The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Greer, Allan. and Ian Radforth, eds. Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Greenhalgh, Paul. Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs 1851-1939. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Greenhill, Ralph. Early Photography in Canada. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Greenhill, Ralph and Andrew Birrell. Canadian Photography 1839-1920. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1979.
- Gruneau, Richard S. Class, Sport and Social Development. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1983.
- Gruneau, Richard S. and John G. Albinson, eds. Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives. Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley (Canada), 1976.
- Gruneau, Richard S. and David Whitson. Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993.
- Guay, Donald. La Conquête du Sport: Le sport et la société québécoise au XIXè siècle. Montreal: Lanctot, 1997.
- Guttman, Allen. From Ritual to Record. The Nature of Modern Sports. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
- . Sports Spectators. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Haire, W.Scott. The World of the Paris Cafe: Sociability among the French Working Class 1789-1914. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Haley, Bruce. The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Hall, Arnon, Trevor Slack, Garry Smith and David Whitson. Sport in Canadian Society. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991.
- Hall, Roger, Gordon Dodds, Stanley Triggs, eds. The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth-Century through a Master Lens. Montreal: McClelland & Stewart, 1993.
- Harper, J. Russell and Stanley Triggs, eds. Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photographs 1856-1915. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967.
- Harris, Janet C. and Roberta J. Park. Play, Games and Sports in Cultural Contexts. Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics, 1983.

- Hart, E.J. The Selling of Canada. The CPR and the beginnings of Canadian Tourism. Banff: Altitude Publishing Ltd., 1983.
- Harvey, D. Social Justice and the City. London: Arnold, 1973.
- Harvey, Jean and Hart Cantelon, eds. Not Just A Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology. University of Ottawa Press, 1988.
- Hayden, Ilse. Symbol and Privilege: The Ritual Context of British Royalty. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987.
- Heick, Welf H. History and Myth. Arthur Lower and the making of Canadian Nationalism. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975.
- Henighan, Tom. The Presumption of Culture: Structure, Strategy and Survival in the Canadian Cultural Landscape. Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 1996.
- Hichberger, Joan W. M. Images of the Army. The Military in British Art 1815-1914. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Hildebrandt, Walter. The Battle of Batoche. British Small Warfare and the Entrenched Métis. National Historic Parks and Sites, Environment Canada, 1989.
- . Views from Fort Battleford: Constructed Visions of an Anglo-Canadian West. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1994.
- Hobsbawm Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J. The Age of Revolution 1789-1848. New York: Mentor, 1962.
- . The Age of Capital: 1848-1875. [1962] London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1995.
- . Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality. 1990. Second ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Hoffman, Ronald, Mechal Sobel and Fredrika J. Teute, eds. Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Hogarth, Paul. Artists on Horseback: The Old West in Illustrated Journalism 1857-1900. New York: Watson-Guptill, 1972.
- Holliman, Jennie. American Sports (1785-1835). 1931 Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975.
- Howell, Colin D. Northern Sandlots: a social history of Maritime baseball. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Howell, Nancy, and Maxwell L. Howell. Sports and Games in Canadian Life 1700 to the

- present. Toronto: Macmillan, 1969.
- Howes, David. Ed. The Varieties of Sensory Experience. A source book in the Anthropology of the Senses. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Hroch, Miroslav. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe 1968. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Hubbard, R.H. Rideau Hall: An Illustrated History of Government House, Ottawa. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967.
- Hubert, Henry A. Harmonious Perfection. The Development of English Studies in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Canadian Colleges. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994.
- Huizinga, Johan. Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture. 1938. London: Temple Smith, 1970.
- Hulse, E. A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Book Sellers and the Allied Trades 1798-1900. Toronto: Anson-Cartwright Editions, 1982.
- Hunt, Lynn. ed. The New Cultural History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Innis, Harold A. The Fur Trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian economic history 1930. Rev. ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Jackson, Peter. Maps of Meaning. An Introduction to Cultural Geography. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Jaenen, Cornelius. Friend and Foe, Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Historical Sites Branch, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1976.
- Jameson, F. The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act. New York: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Janson, Gilles. Emparons-nous du sport: les Canadiens français et le sport au XIXe siècle. Montreal: Guérin, 1995.
- Jasen, Patricia. Wild Things. Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Joseph, Nathan. Uniforms and Nonuniforms. Communication Through Clothing. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Katz, Michael B. The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Kidd, Bruce. The Struggle for Canadian Sport. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

- Kimmel, Michael. Manhood in America. A Cultural History. New York: Free Press, 1996.
- Kinser, Samuel. Carnival. American Style Mardi Gras at New Orleans and Mobile. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Koditschek, Theodore. Class Formation and Urban-Industrial Society. Bradford 1750-1850. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Koltun, Lily, ed. Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada 1839-1940. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984.
- Kosslyn, Steven M. Image and Brain. The Resolution of the Imagery Debate. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994.
- Lacapra, Dominick. Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Lacapra, Dominick, and Steven L. Kaplan, eds. Modern European Intellectual History. Reappraisals and New Perspectives. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Lai, Chuen-han David. Arches in British Columbia. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1982.
- Landry, F. Sport: The Third Millennium. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Quebec City May 21-25 1990. Quebec: Laval Press, 1991.
- Lanning, Robert. The National Album. Collective Biography and the Formation of the Canadian Middle Class. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996.
- Laszlo, Ervin, Robert Artigiani, Allan Combs, Vilmos Csányi. Changing Visions. Human Cognitive Maps: Past, Present and Future. Westport Conn.: Praeger, 1996.
- Lavin, Marilyn Aronberg. The Place of Narrative Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 1431-1600. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the transformation of American Culture. 1880-1920. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- Lemire, Maurice and Denis Saint-Jacques. La Vie Littéraire au Québec. "Un peuple sans histoire ni littérature". Vol. 3: 1840-1869. Sainte-Foy: Laval University Press, 1993.
- Lenskyj, Helen. Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality. Toronto: Women's Press, 1986.
- Lessard, Michel, ed. The Livernois Photographers. Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987.
- Linkman, Audrey. The Victorians. Photographic Portraits. London: Tauris Parke Books, 1993.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. North American Cultures: Values and Institutions in Canada

- and the United States. Borderlands Monograph Series 3. 1990.
- Lipsitz, George. Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.
- Lister, Raymond. Prints and Printmaking: A Dictionary and Handbook of the Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain. London: Methuen, 1984.
- Lower, Arthur R. M. Colony to Nation: a history of Canada. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977.
- Lowerson, John. Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870-1914. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- MacAloon, John J., ed. Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance. Philadelphia: ISHI, 1984.
- MacClancy, Jeremy, ed. Sport, Identity and Ethnicity. Oxford: Berg, 1996.
- Macdonald, Sharon, ed. Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe. Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1993.
- Mackay, Donald. The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987.
- MacKenzie, John M. The Empire of Nature. Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- . Orientalism. History, Theory and The Arts. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- . Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- MacKenzie, John M., ed. Imperialism and Popular Culture. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- MacNutt, W. Stewart. Days of Lorne, impressions of a governor-general: from the private papers of the Marquis of Lorne, 1878-1883 in the possession of the Duke of Argyll at Inverary Castle, Scotland. Fredericton, N.B.: Brunswick Press, [1955].
- Mangan, J.A. Athleticisim in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Mangan, J.A., ed. The Cultural Bond. Sport, Empire, Society. London: Frank Cass, 1992.
- . Tribal Identities. Nationalism, Europe, Sport. London: Frank Cass, 1996.
- Mangan J.A., and James Walvin, eds. Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class

- Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940. New York: St Martin's Press, 1987
- Mangan, J.A. and Roberta J. Park, eds. From 'fair sex' to feminism: sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial eras. London: Frank Cass, 1987.
- Marks, Lynne. Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Small Town Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Martin, Paul-Louis. Histoire de la chasse au Québec. Montreal: Boreál Express, 1980.
- Mathews, Robin. Canadian Identity: Major forces shaping the life of a People. Ottawa: Steel Rail Publishing, 1988.
- Mathieu, Jacques. Les Mémoires Québécoises. Sainte-Foy: Laval University Press, 1991.
- McClintock, Anne. Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McDougall, Robert L. Totems: Essays on the Cultural History of Canada. Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1990.
- McGregor, Gaile. The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Landscape. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985.
- McKay, Ian. The Quest of the Folk. Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- McKenzie, K. and Mary F. Williamson. The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada. Two Centuries of Art Magazines. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979.
- Meisel, Martin. Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth Century England. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Merchant, Carolyn. The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution. San Francisco: Harper, 1980.
- Metcalfe, Alan. Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987.
- Michaud, Josette. Le Vieux-Montreal. Montreal: Guérin, 1991.
- Miller, David, ed. American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth Century Art and Literature. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993
- Miller, J.R. Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens. A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada, 1989. Rev. ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. Iconology. Image, Text, Ideology. University of Chicago Press, 1986.

- Montpetit, Raymond. Le Temps des Fêtes au Québec. Montréal: Éditions de l'homme, 1978.
- Morgan, Cecilia. Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Morisset, Jean. L'Identité Usurpée: L'Amérique Écartée. Montreal: Nouvelle Optique, 1985.
- Morrow, Don. A Sporting Evolution. The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association 1881-1981. Montreal: MAAC, 1981.
- Morrow, Don, Mary Keyes, Wayne Simpson, Frank Cosentino and Ron Lappage. A Concise History of Sport in Canada. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Morse, Eric W. Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada/Then and Now. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.
- Morton, Desmond. The Last War Drum. The North-West Campaign of 1885. Toronto: Hakkert, 1972.
- . A Military History of Canada. From Champlain to the Gulf War Third ed. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992.
- Morton, W.L. The Canadian Identity. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Morton, W.L., ed. The Shield of Achilles. Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1968.
- Mott, Morris, ed. Sport in Canada: Historical Readings. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1989.
- Moyles, R. G. and Doug Owsram. Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.
- Murray, Joan. The Last Buffalo: The Story of Frederick Arthur Verner, Painter of the Canadian West. Toronto, 1984.
- Newman, Simon P. Parades and Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic. Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Noel, Jan. Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- North American Indian Travelling College. Tewaarathon (Lacrosse). Akwesasne, 1978.
- Novick, Peter. That Noble Dream. The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Nute, Grace Lee. The Voyageur. 1955. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1972.

- Oppel, Frank, comp. Tales of the Canadian North. Secaucus, NJ: Castle, 1984.
- Oppen, William A. The Riel Rebellions: A Cartographic History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- Orvell, Miles. The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Otter, A.A. Den. The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Owram, Douglas. Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West. Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1980.
- Paivio, Allan. Images in Mind: The Evolution of a Theory. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.
- Panzer, Mary. Mathew Brady and the Image of History. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Park, Julian. ed. The Culture of Contemporary Canada. Ithaca New York:: Cornell University Press, 1957.
- Parr, Joy. The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Pearce, Roy Harvey. The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization. Rev. ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1985.
- Pioneers. The Picture Story of Canadian Settlement. With an introduction by J.M.S. Careless. The Canadian Illustrated Library. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.
- Pointon, Marcia. Hanging the Head: Portraiture & Social Formation in Eighteenth Century England. Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Poitras, Jacques. La carte postale québécoise. Une aventure photographique. Laprairie, Que: Éditions Broquet, 1990.
- Pollock, Griselda. Vision and Difference. Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art London: Routledge, 1988.
- Poovey, Mary. Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Pope, S. W. Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Pope, S.W., ed. The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives.



- Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996.
- Pratt, Mary-Louise. Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Pursig, Robert M. Laila. An Inquiry into Morals. New York: Bantam, 1991.
- Rader, Benjamin G. American Sports from the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sports. 1983. Third ed. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996.
- Raitz, Karl B., ed. The Theater of Sport. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1995.
- Redmond, Gerald. The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada. London & Toronto: Associated University Press, 1982.
- Reid, Dennis. Our Own Country Canada. Being an account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979.
- Reid, W. Stanford, ed. The Scottish Tradition in Canada. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976.
- Rich, E. E. History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870. 1958-9. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960. 3 vols.
- Roper, Michael and John Tosh. Manful Assertions. Masculinities in Britain since 1800. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Theodore K. Rabb, eds. Art and History. Images and their meaning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Special edition of Journal of Interdisciplinary History 17.1 (1986).
- Rumilly, Robert. Histoire de Montréal. Vol. 3. Montreal: Fides, 1972. 5 vols.
- Rutherford, Paul. A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Ryan, Mary P. Cradle of the Middle Class. The Family in Oneida County New York 1790-1865. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Said, Edward W. Orientalism. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Scarry, Elaine. Resisting Representation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Schleretti, Thomas J. Cultural History and Material Culture. Everyday Life. Landscapes. Museums. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1990.
- Scott, James C. Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

- Senior, Elinor Kyte. British Regulars in Montreal. An Imperial Garrison, 1832-1854. Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 1981.
- . Roots of the Canadian Army: Montreal District 1846-1870. Montreal: Society of the Montreal Military and Maritime Museum, 1981.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism. London: Methuen, 1977.
- Shrive, Norman. Charles Mair. Literary Nationalist. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Silver, A. I. The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900. 1982. Second ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Silversides, Brock V. The Face Pullers. Photographing Native Canadians 1871-1939. Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1994.
- Sioui, Georges S. For an Amerindian Autohistory, trans. Sheila Fischman [1991]. Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1992.
- Smith, Anthony D. Theories of Nationalism. 1971. Second ed. London: Duckworth, 1983.
- . The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.
- Smith, Donald B. Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France. Mercury Series. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1974.
- Sontag, Susan. On Photography. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.
- Sprague, Douglas N. Canada and the Metis, 1869-1855. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988.
- Stonechild, Blair and Bill Waiser. Loyal till Death. Indians and the North-West Rebellion. Calgary: Fifth House, 1997.
- Struna, Nancy L. People of Prowess. Sport, Leisure and Labor in Early Anglo-America. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996.
- Suleri, Sara. The Rhetoric of English India. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Sutherland, Fraser. The Monthly Epic. Markham, Ont: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1989.
- Tagg, John. The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories. London: Macmillan Education, 1988.
- Taussig, Michael. Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses. London: Routledge, 1993.

- Taylor, M. Brook. Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans. Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Thomas, Ann. Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography 1860-1979. Exhibition Catalogue. Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979.
- Thomas, Nicholas. Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Tickner, Lisa. The Spectacle of Women. Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Tilly, C., ed. The Formation of National States in Western Europe. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Torgovnick, Marianna. Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. Reading American Photographs Images as History: Mathew Brady to Walker Evans. [New York:] Hill & Wang, 1989.
- Travers, Len. Celebrating the Fourth. Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.
- Triggs, Stanley. The Composite Photographs of William Notman. Montreal: McCord Museum, 1994.
- . William Notman's Studio: The Canadian Picture. Montreal: McCord Museum, 1992.
- . William Notman: The Stamp of a Studio. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan, Mann. The Dream of Nation. A Social and intellectual History of Quebec. Toronto: Gage, 1982.
- Tulchinsky, Gerald J.J. The River Barons. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Turner, Victor. Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Tye, Michael. The Imagery Debate. Cambridge: Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991.
- Underhill, F.H. and C.W. Kiewiet, eds. Dufferin-Carnarvon Correspondence 1874-1878. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1955.
- Valverde, Mariane. The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991.
- Vennum, Thomas Jr. American Indian Lacrosse: Little Brother of War. Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1994.

- Vertinsky, Patricia. The eternally wounded woman: women, doctors and exercise in the late nineteenth century. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Waite, Peter B. Canada 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny. Canadian Centenary Series. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971.
- Walden, Keith. Becoming Modern in Toronto. The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- . Visions of Order: the Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth. Toronto: Butterworths, 1982
- Wallace, Stewart W., ed. The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Fourth ed. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978.
- Walters, Suzanna Danuta. Material Girls: Making Sense of Feminist Cultural Theory. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Weatherford, Jack. Indian Givers. How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World New York: Crown Publishers, 1988.
- Wechsler, Judith. A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in Nineteenth Century Paris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Westfall, William. Two Worlds: the Protestant culture of nineteenth-century Ontario. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980.
- Weyand, Alexander M. and Milton R. Roberts. The Lacrosse Story. Baltimore: Herman, 1965.
- White, Hayden. Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Wiebe, Rudy and Bob Beal, eds. War in the West: Voices of the 1885 Rebellion. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985.
- Wilden, Tony. The Imaginary Canadian. Vancouver: Pulp Press, 1980.
- Wilks, Claire Weissman. The Magic Box. The Eccentric Genius of Hannah Maynard. Toronto: Exile Editions, 1980.
- Williams, Raymond. Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Wise, S. F. and Douglas Fisher. Canada's Sporting Heroes. Don Mills, Ont: General Publishing, 1974.
- Wolf, Bryan Jay. Romantic Re-Vision. Culture and Consciousness in Nineteenth Century American Painting and Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

- Woodcock, George. The Canadians. Don Mills, Ont: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1979.
- Woodring, Carl. Nature into Art: Cultural Transformations in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Zeller, Suzanne. Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the idea of a Transcontinental Nation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- . Land of Promise, Promised Land. The culture of Victorian science in Canada. CHA Booklet No. 56, 1997.

### *Articles:*

- Abbott, Frank. "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894." CHR 69.2 (1988): 167-202.
- Adelman, Melvin L. "The Early Years of Baseball 1845-60." Pope, North American Sport History 58-87.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards An Investigation)." Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. Trans. Ben Brewster. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.
- Andrews, David L. "Welsh Indigenous! And British Imperial?—Welsh Rugby, Culture, and Society 1890-1914." JSH 18.3 (Winter 1991): 335-364.
- Andrews, David L. and John W. Loy. "British Cultural Studies and Sport: Past Encounters and Future Possibilities." Quest 45 (1993): 255-276
- Arcand, Bernard, Marc Laberge and Sylvie Vincent. "L'Imagerie des Amérindiens. Un tour organisé." Recherches amérindiennes au Québec 10.102 (1980):132-135, 10.3 (1980): 205-207, and 10.4 (1981): 278-285
- Back, Francis. "The Canadian Capot (Capote)." The Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly 27 (1991): 4-15.
- Bairner, Alan. "Sportive Nationalism and Nationalist Politics: A Comparative Analysis of Scotland, The Republic of Ireland, and Sweden." Journal of Sport and Social Issues 23 (August 1996): 314-334.
- Bale, John. "Capturing 'The African' Body? Visual Images and 'Imaginative Sports'." JSH 25.2 (Summer 1998): 234-251.
- Balibar, Etienne. "The Nation Form: History and Ideology." Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities. Eds. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein. London: Verso, 1991. 86-106.
- Bara, Jana. "Through the Frosty Lens: William Notman and his Studio Props, 1861-1876." History of Photography 12.1 (1988): 23-30.

- Beinart, William. "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa." Past and Present 128 (1990): 162-186.
- Bell, Keith. "Representing the Prairies. Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada 1880-1980." Thirteen Essays on Photography. Ed. Raymonde April et al. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1990, 13-30.
- Bennington, Geoffrey. "Postal Politics and the Institutions of the Nation." Bhabha 121-137.
- Berger, Carl. "The True North Strong and Free." Nationalism in Canada. Ed. Peter Russell. Toronto: McGraw Hill, 1966. 3-26.
- Berger, Harry, Jr. "Fictions of the Pose: Facing the Gaze of Early Modern Portraiture." Representations 46 (Spring 1994): 87-120.
- Birrell, Andrew. "The Cabinet Portrait." Photo Canada (Nov/Dec 1977): 29-31.
- . "Survey Photography in B.C., 1858-1900." BC Studies 52 (Winter 1981-2): 39-60.
- Blackman, Margaret, B. "Studio Indians' Cartes de visite of Native People in British Columbia, 1862-1872." Archivaria 21 (Winter 85-86): 68-86.
- Bloch, Maurice. "The ritual of the royal battle in Madagascar: the dissolution of death, birth and fertility into authority." 271-297.
- Blumin, Stuart, M. "The hypothesis of middle-class formation in nineteenth century America: A critique and some proposals." American Historical Review 90 (April 85): 229-338.
- Bordo, Jonathan. "Jack Pine - Wilderness Sublime or the erasure of the aboriginal presence from the landscape." JCS 27.4 (Winter 1992): 98-128.
- . "The Terra Nullus of Wilderness - Colonialist Landscape Art." International Journal of Canadian Studies 15 (Spring 1997): 13-36.
- Bouchier, Nancy B. "Idealized Middle-Class Sport for a Young Nation: Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns, 1871-1891." JCS 29.2 (1994): 89-109.
- . "Canadian Sport History." Acadiensis 28.1 (Autumn 1998): 98-102.
- Bouchier, Nancy B. and K. Cruickshank. "'Sportsmen and Pothunters': Environment, Conservation and Class in the Fishery of Hamilton Harbour, 1858-1914." Sports History Review 28.1 (May 1997): 1-18.
- Breen, T. H. "The meaning of 'likeness': American portrait painting in the eighteenth-century consumer society." Word and Image 6.4 (Oct-Dec 1990): 325-351.
- Brennan, Timothy. "The National Longing for Form." Nation and Narration. Ed. Homi K.

- Bhabha. London: Routledge, 1990. 44-70.
- Broadway, Michael J. "Urban Tourist Development in the Nineteenth Century Canadian City." The American Review of Canadian Studies (Spring 1996): 83-99.
- Brown, David. "The Northern Character Theme and Sport in nineteenth century Canada." CJHS 10.1 (1989): 47-56.
- . "Prevailing Attitudes Towards Sport, Physical Exercise and Society in the 1870's: Impressions from Canadian Periodicals." CJHS 17.2 (1986): 58-70.
- . "Canadian Imperialism and Sporting Exchanges: The Nineteenth Century Cultural Experience of Cricket and Lacrosse." CJHS 18.1 (1987): 55-66.
- . "Militarism and Canadian Private Education: Ideal and Practice, 1861-1918." CJHS 17.1 (May 1986): 46-58.
- . "Sport, Darwinism and Canadian Private Schooling to 1918." CJHS 16.1 (1985) : 27-37.
- Bryant, L.M. "The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris." Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual. Ed. James M. Bak. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. 88-118.
- Brydon, D. "'Empire Bloomers': Cross Dressing's Double Cross." Essays on Canadian Writing No. 54 (1994): 23-45.
- Buckner, P.A. "Making British North America British, 1815-1860." Kith and Kin: Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War. Ed. C.C. Eldridge. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997. 11-44.
- Burant, Jim. "La chasse, or 'A-hunting we will go!'" The Archivist 117 (1998) 4-9.
- . "The Visual World in the Victorian Age." Archivaria 19 (Winter 1984-5):110-121.
- Burghart, Richard. "Gifts to the Gods: power, property and ceremonial in Nepal." Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies. Eds. David Cannadine and Simon Price. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 237-270.
- Burpee, Lawrence J. "The Beaver Club." The Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1924: 73-92.
- Butler, Judith. "Performative Arts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre. Ed. Sue-Ellen Case. Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 1990. 270-282.
- Cannadine, David. "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'invention of tradition', c.1820-1977." Hobsbawm and Ranger 101-164.

- . "Imperial Canada: Old History, New Problems." Imperial Canada 1867-1917. A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference - May 1995. Ed. Colin M. Coates. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997. 1-19.
- Careless, J.M.S. "Limited Identities' in Canada," CHR 50 (March 1969) 1-10.
- . "Limited Identities--Ten Years Later", Manitoba History 1 (1980) 3-6.
- Carlisle, Janice. "Dickens and the Working-Class Audience." The Performance of Power. Eds. Sue-Ellen Case Janelle Reinelt. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991.
- Carnes, Mark C. "Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual." Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America. Eds. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. 37-66.
- Chartier, Roger. "Intellectual History." Modern European Intellectual History Reappraisals and New Perspectives. Eds. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Cohn, Bernard S. "Representing Authority in Victorian India." The Invention of Tradition. Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. 165-210.
- Cole, Douglas. "The Problem of 'Nationalism' and 'Imperialism' in British Settlement Colonies." Journal of British Studies 10.2. (1971): 160-182.
- Cook, Ramsay. "Canadian Centennial Celebrations," International Journal 22 (Autumn 1867): 659-663.
- Cross, D. Suzanne. "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." Histoire Sociale/Social History 6.11 (April 1973): 202-223.
- Davis, Angela E. "Art and Work: Frederick Brigden and the History of the Canadian Illustrated Press," JCS 27.2 (Summer 1991): 22-36.
- Dawkins, Heather. "Politics of Visibility, Domestic Labor and Representation. The diaries and photographs (1853-74) of Hannah Cullwick." Parallelogramme 10.4 (1985): 47-50.
- Day, Robert, D. "Sport in Poetry: A Nineteenth Century Newspaper Study of Chatham, Ontario Journals." CJHSPE 10.1 (1979): 62-82.
- Day, S. P. "Economic Growth at Montreal in the 1860's". Craig, Early Travellers 265-276.
- Delâge, Denys. "L'influence des Amerindiens sur les Canadiens et les Francais au temps de la Nouvelle-France." Lekton 2 .2 (1992): 103-291.



- Donnelly, Peter. "Sport as a Site for 'Popular' Resistance." Popular Cultures and Political Practices. Ed. Richard B. Gruneau. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988: 69-82.
- Dubé, Timothy. "Tommy Atkins, We Never Knew Ye. Documenting the British Soldier in Canada 1759-1871. Military Organization and the Archival Record." Canadian Military History 4.1 (Spring 1995): 113-120.
- Dubinsky, Karen, and Lynne Marks. "Beyond Purity. A Response to Sangster." Left History 3.2 (1995): 205-220.
- Dufresne, Sylvie. "La Carnaval d'hiver de Montreal, 1883-1889." Urban History Review 11. 3. (February 1983): 25-45.
- Dyck, Noel. "An Opportunity Lost: The Initiative of the Reserve Agricultural Programme in the Prairie West." 1885 and After: Native Societies in Transition. Eds. Laurie F. Barron and James B. Waldram. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1986. 121-137.
- Dyreson, Mark. "Regulating the Body and the Body Politic." The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives. Ed. S.W. Pope. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. 121-144.
- Eccles, W.J. "Society and the Frontier," Readings in Canadian History, Vol. 1. Fourth edition. Eds. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1994. 95-98.
- Eitner, Lorenz. "Art History and the sense of Quality." Art International 19. 5 (May 75): 75-80.
- Elias, Norbert. "An Essay on Sport and Violence." Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process. Eds. Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986. 150-174.
- Fairs, John, R. "Sociocultural Control of the Body in Western Society: An Ethicoeconomic Interpretation." CJHSPE 7.1 (1976): 1-25.
- Gagan, David, P. "Class and Society in Victorian English Canada: an historiographical reassessment." British Journal of Canadian Studies 4.1 (1989): 74-87.
- Gaskell, Ivan. "History of Images." New Perspectives on Historical Writing. Ed. Peter Burke. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991. 168-192.
- Geller, Peter. "The 'True North' in Pictures" Photographic Representation in the Hudson's Bay Company's The Beaver Magazine, 1920-1945." Archivaria 36 (Autumn 1993): 166-188.
- Glassford, Gerald, R. "Sport and Emerging Nationalism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada." Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. University of Windsor, May 1872. Ottawa: Sport

Directorate, 1972: 15-26.

Goheen, Peter. "Parading: a lively tradition in early Victorian Toronto," Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective. Essays on the meanings of some places in the past. Eds. Alan R.H. Baker and Gideon Biger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 330-351.

———. "Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada." Urban History Review 18.3 (Feb 1990): 237-243.

Gordon, Alan. "Inventing Tradition: Montreal's Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day Re-examined." Paper presented to CHA Conference, Brock University, St. Catherine's, Ont. June, 1996.

Gowans, Alan. "The Canadian National Style." The Shield of Achilles. Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age. Ed. W.L. Morton. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1968. 208-219.

Greer, Allan. "The Birth of the Police in Canada." Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada. Eds. Allan Greer and Ian Radforth. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992. 17-49.

Gruneau Richard, S. "Class or Mass: Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport." Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives. Eds. Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson. Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley (Canada), 1976. 108-141.

———. "Freedom and Constraint: The Paradoxes of Play, Games, and Sports." JSH 7.3 (1980): 68-86.

———. "Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development." Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology. Eds. Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon. University of Ottawa Press, 1988. 9-32.

———. "Power and Play in Canadian Society." Power and Change in Canada. Ed. Richard J. Ossenberg. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. 146-194.

———. "Sport and 'Esprit de Corps': Notes on Power, Culture and the Politics of the Body." Sport: The Third Millennium. Proceedings of the International Symposium Quebec City May 21-25, 1990. Ed. F. Landry. Quebec: Laval Press, 1991. 169-207.

Guay, Michèle. "Notes de recherche sur la fête nationale des Canadiens-français." Que la fête commence!: actes du colloque national sur la fête populaire organisé par la société des festivals populaires du Québec, 1980. Ed. Diane Pinard. Montréal: Société des festivals populaires du Québec, 1982. 211-213.

Guttmann, Allen. "Eros and Sport." Essays on Sport History and Sport Mythology. Eds. Donald G. Kyle and Gary D. Stark. Arlington: Texas University Press, 1990: 139-154.

- . "Spectators and Crowds in Sport History." JSH 14 (Summer 1987): 209-225.
- . "Sports and Eros." The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives. Ed. S.W. Pope. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. 215-222.
- Handler, Richard. "Fieldwork in Quebec, Scholarly Reviews and Anthropological Dialogues." When they read what we write: the politics of ethnography. Ed. Caroline B. Brettell. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1993. 67-74.
- Hann, Russell. "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887." Essays in Canadian Working Class History. Eds. Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976. 35-57.
- Harvey, Jean and Robert Sparks. "The Politics of the Body in the Context of Modernity." Quest 43 (1991): 164-189.
- Henry, Wade A. "Severing the Imperial Tie? Republicanism and British Identity in English Canada, 1864-1917." Imperial Canada 1867-1917. A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference - May 1995. Ed. Colin M. Coates. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997. 177-183.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "Some Reflections on Nationalism." Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences: Essays in memory of Peter Nettl. Eds. T.J. Nossiter, A.H. Hanson, Stein Rokkan. London: Faber, 1972. 385-406.
- Hodgins, Bruce W. "The Attitudes of the Canadian Founders toward Britain and the British Connection. A Personal Re-examination." Imperial Canada 1867-1917. A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference - May 1995. Ed. Colin M. Coates. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997. 20-42.
- Holman, Andrew, C. "'Cultivation' and the Middle-Class Self in two Victorian Ontario Towns: Personal Conduct, Masculinity, and Class Expression." Paper presented at CHA Conference, Brock University, St. Catherine's, Ont. May 31, 1996.
- Homel, Gene Howard. "Sliders and Backsliders: Toronto's Sunday Tobogganing Controversy of 1912." Urban History Review 10.2 (October 1981): 25-34.
- Howell, Colin. "A Manly Sport: Baseball and the Social Construction of Masculinity." Gender and History in Canada. Eds. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996. 187-210.
- Hubbard, R. H. "Viceregal Influences on Canadian Society." The Shield of Achilles. Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age. Ed. W.L. Morton. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1968. 256-274.
- Hunt, Lynn. "The Political Psychology of Revolutionary Caricatures." French Caricature

- and the French Revolution, 1789-1799. Exhibition Catalogue, Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988. 11-17.
- Huskins, Bonnie. "The Ceremonial Space of Women. Public Processions in Victorian Saint John and Halifax." Separate Spheres. Women's World in the Nineteenth-Century Maritimes. Eds. Janet V. Guildford and Suzanne R. Morton. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994. 145-159.
- Iacovetta, Franca, and Linda Kealey. "Women's History and Debating Dichotomies." Left History 3.2(1995): 221-248.
- Ingham, Alan, and Stephen Hardy. "Sport: Structuration, Subjugation and Hegemony." Theory Culture & Society 2.2 (1984): 85-103.
- Jasen, Patricia. "Native People and the Tourist Industry in Nineteenth Century Ontario." JCS 28.4 (1993/4): 5-27.
- Jones, Kevin G. and T. George Vellathottam. "The Myth of Canada's National Sport." CAHPER Journal (Sept-Oct 1974): 33-36
- Kelly, Joseph, and Timothy Kelly. "Social History update: Searching the dark alley: New historicism and social history." Journal of Social History 25 (1992): 677-694.
- Kennedy, Howard Angus. "Memories of '85." Canadian Geographical Journal 11.2 (August 1935): 54-64.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." Journal of American History 75 (June 1988): 9-39.
- Kimmel, David. "Toronto Capitalists Respond to Industrial Workers, Immigrants, and Urban Conditions, 1880-1930: Culture and the Business Class." Paper presented at CHA Conference, Brock University, St Catherine's, Ont. May 31, 1996.
- King, J.C.H. "Woodland Artifacts from the Studio of Benjamin West 1738-1820." American Indian Art Magazine 17.2 (Winter 1991): 35-47.
- Koltun, Lilly. "Not the World of William Notman." JCS 30.1 (1995): 125-133.
- . "Pre-Confederation Photography in Toronto." History of Photography 2.3 (1978):
- Kruger, Michael. "Body Culture and Nation Building: The History of Gymnastics in Germany in the Period of its Foundation as a Nation-State." International Journal of the History of Sport 13.3 (1996): 409-417.
- Kulchyski, Peter. "Aboriginal Peoples and Hegemony in Canada." JCS 30.1. (Spring): 60-68.
- La France, Marc. "Le Projet Dufferin: La Conservation d'un monument historique à Québec à XIXe siècle." Le Parc de L'Artillerie et les Fortifications de Québec: études historiques présentés à l'occasion de la conférence des sociétés savantes.

- Québec, mai-jun 1976. Ottawa: Parcs Canada, 1977.
- Lake, Marilyn. "Mission Impossible. How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation-Nationalism, Gender and other Seminal Acts." Gender and History 4.3 (Autumn 92): 305-32.
- Lappage, Ronald, S. "The Physical Feats of the Voyageur." Canadian Journal of History and Sport 15.1 (1984): 30-37.
- Laurendeau, Ted. "Sport and Canadian Culture in the Border Cities 1867-1929." Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. University of Windsor, May 1972. Ottawa: Sport Canada Directorate, 1972: 198-231.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities." American Historical Review 90 (1985): 567-593.
- Leighton, Douglas. "The Manitoulin Incident of 1863. An Indian-White Confrontation in the Province of Canada." Ontario History 69.2 (1977): 113-124.
- Leja, Michael. "Modernism's subjects in the United States." Art Journal 55.2 (Summer 1996): 65-72.
- Lindsay, Peter L. "Historical Background." Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. University of Windsor, May 1972. Ottawa: Sport Canada Directorate, 1972: 3-6.
- . "George Beers and the National Game Concept : A Behavioural Approach." Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. University of Windsor, May 1972. Ottawa: Sport Canada Directorate, 1972: 27-44.
- . "The Impact of the Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America." CJHSPE 1.1 (May 1970): 33-43.
- Little, Kenneth. "Thinking History Through Spectacle: The Politics of Visual Representation at two cultural sites." Paper presented at Conference on Spectacle, Monument and Memory. York University, Toronto (April 1995).
- Loy, John W., David L. Andrews, Robert E. Rinehart. "The Body in Culture and Sport." Sport Science Review 2.1 (1993): 69-91.
- Lutz, Harmut. "Cultural Appropriation as a Process of Displacing Peoples and History," Canadian Journal of Native Studies 10.2 (1990): 167-182.
- MacClancy, Jeremy. "At Play with Identity in the Basque Arena." Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe. Ed. Sharon Macdonald. Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1993. 84-97.
- Macdonald, Sharon. "Identity Complexes in Western Europe: Socio-Anthropological

- Perspectives." Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe. Ed. Sharon Macdonald. Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1993. 1-26.
- MacKenzie, John, M. "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times." Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940. Eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987. 176-198.
- MacLaren, Ian S. "Notes towards a reconsideration of Paul Kane's art and prose." Canadian Literature 113-4 (Summer-Fall 1987): 179-205.
- Maroney, Paul. "'It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More': Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914." Paper presented to the CHA, Université du Québec à Montréal, August 1995.
- Marothy, Eva Major. "The Place of Art in the Study of History." Archivaria 38 (Fall 1994): 131-138.
- Martin, Ged. "Introduction: The North Atlantic Triangle Revisited." Kith and Kin: Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War. Ed. C.C. Eldridge. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997. xi-xxii.
- . "'Our advices from Canada are unimportant': *The Times* and British North America, 1841-1861." Kith and Kin: Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War. Ed. C.C. Eldridge. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997. 61-93.
- Martin, Raymond. "Objectivity and meaning in historical studies; toward a post-analytic view." History and Theory 32.1 (1993): 25-50.
- Mason, Jeffrey, D. "The Politics of Metamora." The Performance of Power. Eds. Sue-Ellen Case and Janelle Reinelt. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991. 92-110.
- Massicotte, Jean-Paul et Claude Lessard. "La chasse en Nouvelle-France au XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle." CJHSPE 5.2 (Dec.74): 18-30.
- . "Rôle ethno-historique de la raquette." CJHS 17.1.(1986): 1-10.
- . "Traîne et Glissoire à travers l'histoire du Québec". CJHS 19.2 (1988): 62-78.
- Matta, Roberto Da. "Carnival in Multiple Planes." Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance. Ed. John J. MacAloon. Philadelphia: ISHI, 1984. 208-240.
- McClintock, Anne. "'No Longer in a Future Heaven': Nationalism, Gender and Race." Becoming National: A Reader. Eds. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996: 104-123.
- McIntosh, Teresa. "W.A. Leggo and G.E. Desbarats Canadian Pioneers in

- Photomechanical Reproduction." History of Photography 20.2 (Summer 1996): 146-149.
- McLean, Don. "1885 Métis Rebellion or Government Conspiracy?" 1885 and After: Native Societies in Transition. Eds. Laurie F. Barron and James B. Waldram. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1986. 79-104.
- Messamore, Barbara J. "The Social and Cultural Role of the Governors-General, 1888-1911: British Imperialists and Canadian Nationalists." Imperial Canada 1867-1917. A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference - May 1995. Ed. Colin M. Coates. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997. 78-108.
- Metcalf, Alan. "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895." Mott, Sport in Canada 130-155. Originally published in Histoire Social/Social History 11:21 (May 1978): 144-66.
- . "Some background influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education." CJHSPE 1 (May 1974): 62-73.
- . "Organised Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840-1901." Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives. Eds. Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson. Don Mills, Ont: Addison Wesley (Canada), 1976. 77-101.
- . "Towards an understanding of sport and emerging nationalism in mid-nineteenth century Canada - A Marxian Interpretation." Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. University of Windsor, Ont. May 1972. Ottawa: Sport Canada Directorate, 1972: 7-14.
- . "The Form and Function of Physical Activity in New France, 1534-1759." CJHSPE 1.1(1970): 45-64.
- Michasiw, Kim Ian. "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque." Representations 38 (Spring 1992): 76-100.
- Montpetit, Raymond. "Fêtes et Société au Québec. La visite du Prince de Galles et la Construction du Crystal Palace à Montréal, en 1860." Rapport du Groupe de Recherche en Art Populaire, 1975-1979 Montreal: University of Quebec at Montreal, 1979: 258-284.
- Morgan, Cecilia. "Colonial Travellers and Imperial Subjects? The Gendered Representation of Canada's First Nations in Britain, 1890s-1900s." Paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, University of Sherbrooke, June, 1999.
- . "'Of Slender Frame and Delicate Appearance': the placing of Laura Secord in the Narratives of Canadian Loyalist History." Journal of the Canadian Historical Association 5 (1994) :195-212.
- Morrow, Don. "The Canadian Image Abroad: The Great Lacrosse Tours of 1876 and

- 1883." Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education University of Toronto, August 1982: 11-23.
- . "Frozen Festivals: Ceremony and the *Camaval* in the Montreal Winter Carnivals, 1883-1889." Sport History Review 27.2 (1996): 173-190.
- . "The Knights of the Snowshoe: A Study of the Evolution of Sport in Nineteenth Century Montreal." JSH 15.1 (1988): 5-40.
- . "Lacrosse as the National Game." A Concise History of Sport in Canada. Eds. Don Morrow, Mary Keyes, Wayne Simpson, Frank Cosentino and Ron Lappage. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989. 45-68.
- Morton, Desmond. "Aid to the Civil Power: The Canadian Militia in Support of Social Order, 1867-1914." CHR 51.4 (December 1970): 407-425.
- Mott, Morris. "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1870-1886." JSH 7.3 (1980): 25-36.
- . "Inferior Exhibitions, Superior Ceremonies: The Nature and Meaning of the Hockey Games of the Winnipeg Vics, 1890-1903." Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. University of Toronto, August 1982: 1-10.
- . "One Solution to the Urban Crisis: Manly Sports and Winnipeggers, 1900-1914." Urban History Review 12.2 (Oct 1983): 57-70.
- Mouffe, Chantal. "Working Class Hegemony and the Struggle for Socialism." Studies in Political Economy 12 (Fall 1983): 7-26.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Screen 16.3 (Autumn 1975): 6-18.
- Munroe, Kenneth. "The Crown and French Canada: The Role of the Governors-General in Making the Crown Relevant 1867-1917." Imperial Canada 1867-1917. A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference - May 1995. Ed. Colin M. Coates. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997. 109-121.
- Nauright, John. "Sustaining Masculine Hegemony: Rugby and the Nostalgia of Masculinity." Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity. Ed. John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler. London: Frank Cass, 1996. 227-244.
- Newall, Beaumont. "William Notman, 1826-1891." Images, Journal of Photography of the George Eastman House. November, 1955.
- Nussdorfer, Laurie. "Review Essay". History and Theory 32.1 (1993): 74-82.
- Nute, Grace Lee "Knights of the Waterways." The Beaver Outfit 298 (Summer 1967): 11-17.



- O'Brien, Patricia. "Michel Foucault's history of culture." The New Cultural History Ed. Lynn Hunt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. 25-46.
- O'Donnell, Lorraine. "Towards Total Archives: The Form and Meaning of Photographic Records." Archivaria 38 (Fall 1994): 105-118.
- Onega, Susana. "A Knack for Yarns': The Narrativization of History and the End of History." Telling Histories: Narrativizing History, Historicizing Literature. Ed. Susana Onega. Costerus New Series 96. Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA: Rodolphi, 1995. 7-18.
- Paraschak, Victoria. "Native Sport History; Pitfalls and Promise." CJHS 20.1 (1989): 57-68.
- Parenteau, Bill. "Angling, hunting and the development of tourism in late nineteenth-century Canada. A glimpse at the documentary record." The Archivist 117 (1998): 10-19.
- Park, Roberta J. "Physiology and Anatomy are Destiny!? Brains, Bodies and Exercise in Nineteenth Century American Thought." JSH 18.1 (Spring 1991): 31-62.
- . "Biological Thought, Athletics and the formation of a 'man of character': 1830-1900." Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940. Eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987. 7-34.
- . "Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective." From 'fair sex' to feminism: sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial eras. Eds. J.A. Mangan & Roberta J. Park. London: Frank Cass, 1987. 58-93.
- Parr, Joy. "Gender History and Historical Practice." CHR 76.3 (1995): 354-376.
- Parratt, Catriona M. "Little Means or Time: Working-Class Women and Leisure in Late Victorian and Edwardian England." International Journal of the History of Sport 15.2 (August 1998): 22-53.
- Payne, Michael. "The Sports, Games, Recreations and Pastimes of the Fur Traders: Leisure at York Factory." Sport in Canada: Historical Readings. Ed. Morris Mott. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1989. 50-77.
- Pearson, Andrea G. "*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly*. Innovation and imitation in nineteenth-century American Pictorial Reporting." Journal of Popular Culture 23 (Spring 1990): 81-111.
- Peiss, Kathy. "Making Up, Making Over: Cosmetics, Consumer Culture, and Women's Identity." The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective. Ed. Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. 311-336.

- Penfold, Steven. "Have You No Manhood in You?" Gender and Class in the Cape Breton Coal Towns, 1920-1926." Acadiensis 23.2 (Spring 1994): 21-44.
- Perlmutter, David D. "Visual Historical Methods: Problems, Prospects, Applications" Historical Methods 22.4 (Fall 1994): 167-184.
- Perloff, Marjorie. "Tolerance and Taboo: Modernist Primitivisms and Postmodern Pieties," Prehistories of the Future: the primitivist project and the culture of modernism. Eds. Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. 339-354.
- Pfister, Gertrude. "Physical Activity in the Name of the Fatherland: Turner and the National Movement (1810-1820)." Sporting Heritage 1.1 (1996): 14-35.
- Pinto, Barbara S. "Ain't Misbehavin': The Montreal Shamrock Lacrosse Club Fans, 1868-1884." Proceedings of the North American Society for Sport History Banff, Alberta, (1990) 92.
- Podruchny, Carolyn. "Festivals, Fortitude, and Fraternalism: Fur Trade Masculinity and the Beaver Club, 1785-1827." New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995. Eds. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith and William Wicken. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1998. 31-52
- Pope, Steven W. "Negotiating the 'Folk Highway' of the Nation: Sport, Public Culture and American Identity, 1870-1940." Journal of Social History 27.2 (Winter 1993): 327-340.
- Porter, Ray. "History of the Body." New Perspectives on Historical Writing. Ed. Peter Burke. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991. 206-232.
- Poulter, Gillian. "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric: The image of 'the Native' and 'the *habitant*' in the formation of colonial identities in early nineteenth-century Lower Canada." Journal of Canadian Art History 16.1 (1994): 10-19.
- Prioul, Didier. "British Landscape Artists in Quebec: From Documentary Views to a Poetic Vision." Painting in Quebec 1820-1850. New Views, New Perspectives. Ed. Mario Béland. Quebec: Musée du Québec, 1992: 50-59.
- Radforth, Ian. "Constructing Colonial Identities: The visit of the Prince of Wales to British North America, 1860." Paper presented to the Conference on "Spectacle, Monument and Memory." York University, April 1995.
- . "Royalty and Orangeism: Political Confrontation during the visit of the Prince of Wales to Upper Canada, 1860." Paper presented to CHA Annual Conference, Memorial University, St John's, Newfoundland, June 1997.
- . "Representing Royalty: The visit of the Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States, 1860." Paper presented to the Boundaries Conference, University of Edinburgh, Centre of Canadian Studies, May 1996.

- Redmond, Gerald. "Viceregal Patronage: The Governors-General of Canada and Sport in the Dominion, 1867-1909." International Journal of the History of Sport 6.2 (1989): 193-217.
- Reimer, Chad. "Religion and Culture in Nineteenth-Century English Canada." Review. JCS 25.1 (Spring 1990): 192-203.
- Retallack, G. Bruce. "Razors, Shaving and Gender Construction: An Inquiry into the Material Culture of Shaving." Material History Review 49 (Spring 1999): 4-19.
- Ribordy, François-Xavier. "Histoire sociologique du droit de la chasse et de la pêche en Ontario." Anthropologica [Canada] 30.2 (1988): 155-173.
- Riess, Steven, A. "Sport and the Redefinition of Middle-Class Masculinity in Victorian America." The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives. Ed. S.W. Pope. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. 173-197.
- . "From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport." JSH 21.2 (Summer 1994): 138-184.
- Roberts, Terry. "The Influence of the British Upper Class on the development of the value claim for sport in the public education system of Upper Canada from 1830-1875." CJHSPE 4.1 (1973): 27-47.
- Rombout, Melissa, K. "Imaginary Canada: Photography and the Construction of National Identity." Views: The Journal of Photography in New England 12.2 (1991): 4-9.
- Rotundo, Anthony, E. "Learning about Manhood: gender ideals and the middle-class family in nineteenth century America." Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940. Eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987. 35-51.
- Ryan, Mary. "The American Parade: Representations of the nineteenth century social order." The New Cultural History. Ed. Lynn Hunt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. 131-153.
- Ryan, Maureen. "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape: Colonial Expansion, National Identity, and the Image of a 'Dying Race'". Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review 17:2 (1990)138-149.
- Said, Edward. "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors." Critical Inquiry 15 (Winter 1989): 205-225.
- Salter, Michael, A. "Baggataway to Lacrosse: A Case Study in Acculturation." CJHS (Dec 1995): 49-64
- . "The Effect of Acculturation on the game of Lacrosse and on its role as an agent of Indian survival." CJHS 3.1 (1972): 28-43.

- . "Meteorological Play-Forms of the Eastern Woodlands." Play, Games and Sports in Cultural Contexts. Eds. J.C. Harris and R.J. Park. Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1983: 211-221.
- . "Mortuary Games of the Eastern Culture Area." CJHS 2 (1971): 160-197.
- Sangster, Joan. "Beyond Dichotomies. Re-Assessing Gender History and Women's History in Canada." Left History 3.1 (1995): 109-121.
- Schama, Simon. "The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850." Art and History, Images and their Meaning. Eds. Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb. Special edition of Journal of Interdisciplinary History 17.1 (1986): 155-183.
- Schrodt, Barbara. "Problems of Periodization in Canadian Sport History." CJHS. 21.1 (1990): 65-83.
- . "Sabbatarianism and Sport in Canadian Society." JSH 4.1 (1977): 22-33.
- See, Scott W. "The Orange Order and social violence in mid-nineteenth century Saint John." Acadiensis 13.1 (Autumn 1983): 68-92.
- Shifrin, Ellen. "Traditional French-Canadian Dance Iconography: A Methodology for Analysis." Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education. School of Physical and Health Education. University of Toronto, 1982. 298-307
- Shiner, Larry. "Reading Foucault: Anti-Method and the Genealogy of Power-Knowledge." History and Theory 21 (1982): 382-397.
- Shore, Chris. "Ethnicity as Revolutionary Strategy. Communist Identity Construction in Italy." Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe. Ed. Sharon Macdonald. Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1993. 27-53.
- Simpson, E. Wayne. "Toronto's Early Sporting Clubs: A 'Compact' History." Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the history of Sport and Physical Education. University of Toronto, August 1982: 199-204.
- Sioui, Georges E. "Why Canada Should Look for, Find, Recognize and Embrace its True, Aboriginal Roots, The Time of the Toad." Canadian Identity: Region/Country/ Nation. Selected proceedings of the 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Association for Canadian Studies, Memorial U, Newfoundland June 6-8, 1997. Canadian Issues 20 (1998): 45-54.
- Silver, A. I. "The Impact on Eastern Canada of Events in Saskatchewan in 1885." 1885 and After: Native Societies in Transition. Eds. Laurie F. Barron and James B. Waldram. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1986. 39-52.
- Smith, Allan. "The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada 1850-1914." CHR 59.2 (1978): 189-219

- . "Old Ontario and the Emergence of a National Frame of Mind." Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario. Ed. F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson, J.D. Wilson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. 194-217.
- Smith, Anthony, D. "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" Millennium: Journal of International Studies 20.3 (1991): 353-368.
- . "War and Ethnicity: The role of Warfare in the Formation, Self Images and Cohesion of Ethic Communities." Ethnic and Racial Studies 4.4 (Oct. 1981): 358-387.
- Smith, Anthony D. and Ernest Gellner. "The Nation: real or imagined? The Warwick Debates on Nationalism." Nations and Nationalism 2.3 (1996): 357-370.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "Captured Subjects/Savage Others: Violently Engendering the New American." Gender and History 5.2 (Summer 1993): 177-195.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll and Charles Rosenberg. "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Women and their Role in Nineteenth-century America." From 'fair sex' to feminism: sport and the socialization of women in the industrial and post-industrial eras. Eds. J.A. Mangan & Roberta J. Park. London: Frank Cass, 1987. 13-38.
- Sobieszek, Robert A. "Composite Imagery and the Origins of Photomontage." Part 1 The Naturalistic Strain. Artforum 16 (September 1978): 58-65.
- Spadoni, Carl. "*Grip* and the Bengoughs as Publishers and Printers." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada. 27 (1988):12-35.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism." Critical Inquiry 12 (Autumn 1985): 243-261.
- Springhall, John. "Up Guards and At them!' British Imperialism and popular art, 1880-1914." Imperialism and Popular Culture. Ed. John M. MacKenzie. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995. 49-72.
- Stack, Eileen. "The Significance of the blanket coat to Anglo-Canadian Identity." Paper presented to the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Symposium, The Costume Society of America, Sante Fe, New Mexico, May 22-25, 1999.
- Stanworth, Karen. "'The Body Corporate gets a Wiggle On': Public Spectacle, Allegory, and Symbolic Value in Montreal's celebration of Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and St-Jean-Baptiste Day 1897." Paper presented at CHA Conference, UQAM, Montreal, August 1995.
- . "The Appearance of Honesty: Simple Rhetoric, Ritual and the Fashioning of Public Memory in Washington's America." Paper presented at Conference on Spectacle, Monument and Memory. York University, Toronto, April 1995.
- Stearns, Peter N. "The Middle Class: Toward a precise definition." Comparative Studies

in Society and History 21(1977): 377-96.

Stemgass, Jon. "Cheating, Gender Roles, and the Nineteenth-Century Croquet Craze." JSH 25.3 (Fall 1998): 398-418.

Stonechild, Blair A. "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising." 1885 and After: Native Societies in Transition. Eds. Laurie F. Barron and James B. Waldram. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1986. 155-170.

Sturgis, James. "Learning about oneself: The making of Canadian Nationalism, 1867-1914." Kith and Kin: Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War. Ed. C.C. Eldridge. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997. 95-118.

Thérien, Gilles. "L'Indien Imaginaire: Une hypothèse." Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec 17.3 (1987): 3-21.

Thomas, Alan. "Photography and the Indian: Concept and practice on the Northwest Coast." B.C. Studies 52 (Winter 1981-1982): 61-85.

Thomas, Nicholas. "Partial Texts: Representation, Colonialism and Agency in Pacific History." Journal of Pacific History 25.2 (Dec 1990): 139-158.

Tooker, Elizabeth. "The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League." Ethnohistory 35.4 (1988): 305-336.

Tosh, John. "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class. The family of Edward White Benson." Manful Assertions. Masculinities in Britain since 1800. Eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh. London: Routledge, 1991. 44-73.

———. "What should Historians do with masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth century Britain." History Workshop Journal 38 (1994): 179-202.

Trachtenberg, Alan. "The Group Portrait." Multiple Exposure: The Group Portrait in Photography. Eds. Leslie Tonkonow and Alan Trachtenberg. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Independent Curators, 1995. 11-23.

Trépanier, Esther. "The Expression of a difference: The milieu of Quebec Art and the Group of Seven." The True North. Canadian Landscape Painting 1896-1939. Ed. Michael Tooby. Barbican Art Gallery. London: Lund Humphries, 1991. 98-116.

Trigger, Bruce G. "The Historians' Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present." CHR 67.3 (1986): 315-342.

Triggs, Stanley. "The Notman Photographic Archives." History of Photography 20.2 (Summer 1996): 180-185.

Trudel, Jean. "Un élite et son musée." Cap-aux-diamants 25 (Spring 1991): 22-25.

Vellathottam, George, T. and Kevin G. Jones. "Highlights in the Development of Canadian

- Lacrosse to 1931." Canadian Journal of Sport and Physical Education 5.2 (Dec 1974): 31-47
- Vipond, Mary. "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s." Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 5 (Spring 1980): 32-52. Reprinted in Interpreting Canada's Past, Vol. 2. Second Edition. Ed. J.M. Bumstead. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993. 446-462.
- Walden, Keith. "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920." Canadian Historical Review 70.3(1989): 285-310.
- Waldstreicher, David. "Rites of Rebellion, Rites of Assent: Celebrations, Print Culture, and the Origins of American Nationalism." Journal of American History (June 1995): 37-61.
- Walvin, James. "Symbols of Moral Superiority: Slavery, Sport and the Changing World Order, 1800-1950." Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940. Eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987. 242-260.
- Wamsley, Kevin. "Good Clean Sport and a Deer Apiece: Game Legislation and State Formation in 19th Century Canada." CJHS 25.2 (1994): 1-20.
- . "Cultural signification and National ideologies: Rifle shooting in late nineteenth-century Canada." Social History 20.1 (1995): 63-72.
- Watson, Petra Rigby. "Hannah Maynard's Multiple Exposures." History of Photography 20.2 (Summer 1996): 155-157.
- Whalen, Tracy. "'Imagine That!' A Social Semiotic Analysis of a Newfoundland Tourist Campaign." Canadian Issues 20 (1998): 111-124.
- White, Hayden: "Method and Ideology in Intellectual History: The case of Henry Adams." Modern European Intellectual History Reappraisals and New Perspectives. Eds. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982 280-310.
- . "The value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." Critical Inquiry (Autumn 1980): 5-27.
- Wiggins, David, K. "Work, Leisure and Sport in America: The British Travelers Image, 1830-1860." CJHS 13.1 (1982): 28-60.
- Wood, R. Derek. "The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820's." History of Photography 17.3 (1993): 284-295.
- Yiannakis, Thomas. "Notes on Torchlight Procession - Relay Race, The Eternal Symbol of Life." CJHS 23.1 (1992): 55-60.
- Young, Brian. "Positive Law, Positive State: Class Realignment and the Transformation of

Lower Canada, 1815-1866." Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada. Eds. Allan Greer and Ian Radforth. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992. 50-63.

*Unpublished Theses and Dissertations:*

- Abbott, Frank. "The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894: The Transformation of the City and the Festival in the Nineteenth Century." M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 1982.
- Anstead, Christopher J. "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario." Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, London, Ont, 1992.
- Bara, Jana L. "The Image of Canada. Iconological Sources of Canadian Popular Symbolism: nineteenth-century souvenir photographs." Ph.D. diss., Concordia University, Montreal, 1991.
- Brown, Robert S. "Football as a rhetorical site of national reassurance: managing the crisis of the Kennedy Assassination." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Dec 1996.
- Christie, Howard A. "The Function of the Tavern in Toronto 1834 to 1875 with special reference to Sport." M.P.E. thesis, University of Windsor, 1973.
- Cooper, Cynthia E. "Brilliant and Instructive Spectacles. Canada's Fancy Dress Balls, 1876-1893." M.A. thesis, University of Rhode Island, Providence, 1993.
- Cox, Allen E. "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900." Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969.
- Dufresne, Sylvie. "Le Carnaval d'hiver de Montréal (1883-1889)." M.A. thesis, Université de Québec à Montréal, 1980.
- Dunae, Patrick A. "British juvenile literature in an age of Empire, 1880-1914." Ph.D. diss. University of Manchester, 1975.
- Gems, Gerald Robert. "Sport and culture formation in Chicago, 1890-1940." Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland College Park, 1989.
- Hayes, Sean. "Blue Jay Fever and some other Sporting Formations of Canadian Nationalism: An Investigation into the Link between symbolic and Anthropologic Culture in the Creation of a 'Rest-of-Canada' Imagined Community." M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1994.
- Heaman, Elsbeth A. "Commercial Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions at home and abroad during the nineteenth century." Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1996.
- Herman, Daniel J. "The Farmer, the Naturalist and the Hunter in the Genesis of an Indigenous Identity." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995.



- Jones, Kevin J. "Sport in Canada, 1900-1920." Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1970.
- Lindsay, Peter L. "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867." Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969.
- Malszecki, Greg. "He Shoots! He Scores!: Metaphors of War in Sport and the Political Linguistics of Virility." Ph.D. diss., York University, Toronto, 1995.
- McAdam, Wanda J. "The British View of the Canadas as seen through the eyes of the Illustrated London News." M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, 1975.
- Mott, M.K. "Manly Sports and Manitobans: Settlement Days to World War One" Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, Kingston, 1980.
- Parkinson, Edward J. "From there to here: exploration and the colonizing of the Canadian landscape." Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, Hamilton, 1994.
- Poulter, Gillian. "Visual Representations of Native Peoples in Quebec: 1760-1840." M.A. thesis, York University, Toronto, 1992.
- Rajasingham, Darini. "The Afterlife of Empire: Immigrants and the Imagi(nation) in post/colonial Britain." Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1993. Abstract in Dissertation Abstracts International 54-05A (1997) 1856.
- Ramsay, Ellen L. "The Promotion of the Fine Arts in Canada, 1880-1924: the Development of Art Patronage and the Formation of Public Policy." Ph.D. diss., University College, London, 1987.
- Reynolds, Philip Graham. "Race, Nationality and Empire: Aspects of Mid-Victorian Thought, 1852-1872." Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, Kingston, 1978.
- Simpson, Robert Wayne. "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto 1827-1881." Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1987.
- Stempel, Carl William. "Towards a Historical Sociology of Sport in the United States: 1825-1875." Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1992.
- Vibert, Elizabeth. "Trader's Tales: British Fur Traders' Narratives of the Encounter with Plateau Peoples, 1807-1846." D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1993.
- Wamsley, Kevin B. "Legislation and Leisure in Nineteenth Century Canada." Ph.D. diss., University of Calgary, Alberta, 1992.