

From Left Field: Sport and Class in Toronto  
1845-1886

by

CHARLES ANTHONY JOYCE

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## Abstract

In Toronto between the years 1845 and 1886, sport developed dramatically in terms of the number of clubs operating, sports played and athletes participating. Despite this increase and the appearance of working-class men in clubs, sport was characterised by and accentuated a class structure imported by the city's early colonial elite. Initially, workers were prevented from playing organized sport by restrictive legislation and long working hours. Early sports clubs were the domain of British officers, government officials and the commercial elite and their rules, regulations, by-laws and constitutions reflected a hierarchically ordered society. Industrialization and urbanization changed the face of the city and the city's social structure. An industrial bourgeoisie replaced the commercial elite, the officers returned home and Canadians replaced British-born government officials. Class attitudes remained but blatant prejudice partially gave way to covert mechanisms of exploitation and discrimination. In this milieu the bourgeoisie, white-collar workers and skilled and unskilled labour pursued sporting interests particular to class. Identity and consciousness determined by a relationship to the means of production was reinforced by associational life and sporting activities.

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## Chapter 1

### "The State of the Field," An Introduction

Despite its undeniable social and cultural significance, sport has been neglected by the mainstream discipline of Canadian history. In a collection of essays dedicated to the memory of notable historian Arthur Lower, S. F. Wise reminisced on the time he spent with Lower at Queen's University. He recalls that:

when we were colleagues ... he more than once reproved me ... for wasting my time indulging my interest in sport. For him sport was not a matter to be taken seriously and he dismissed it from his mind .... [G]ames and pastimes had nothing of moment to contribute to the higher earnestness of the historian's calling, or to the understanding of a people's past, when compared to pursuits - political, religious, economic - of real significance.<sup>1</sup>

Wise ignored his colleague's counsel, maintained his interest in sport history and in 1974 coauthored with

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<sup>1</sup> Sydney F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," in His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower, ed. W. H. Heick and Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 94. Wise points out that Lower's observation on the relevance of sport to history was an extension of his evaluation of the role of sport in early Canadian society. Citing from Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada, (Toronto: Longmans, 1958), Wise suggests that Lower thought that "[s]port ... not only symbolizes the process of retrocession, it is an agent of that process. It relates 'to the lighter side of life,' sapping its dignity and reality." Furthermore, sport "deflected our development from rural to urban values, from Puritan to pagan." As Wise astutely observed, despite his utterances Lower gave "more attention to sport, and assigned to it greater significance than any previous historian ...."

Douglas Fisher Canada's Sporting Heroes, a compendium of the nation's Sports Hall of Fame members and their achievements.<sup>2</sup>

Lower's opinions reflected those of many historians at the time. Prior to the 1970s Canadian historians generally avoided serious scrutiny of sport and only in recent years has sport history become legitimated as a viable field of scholarly inquiry. The result of this avoidance was the emergence and development of sport history within faculties of Physical Education. Unfortunately, containment of the subject within these specific boundaries exacted a cost. Research focused on sport per se rather than on sport as an integral part of society and its interaction with various components of that society. This isolated approach examined athletics as a separate entity and obscured the reciprocal relationship that sport has with economic, cultural and political forces.

Ironically, scholars in the field of sport history recognised their colleagues' shortcomings. Commenting on the "state of the art" in 1982, Don Morrow observed that although it had progressed the field lacked analysis:

Without question there is a common basis of methodology

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<sup>2</sup> Sydney F. Wise and Douglas Fisher, Canada's Sporting Heroes (Don Mills: General Publishing Co., 1974). In his scathing critique of the state of the art of sport history published in 1983, see footnote 4, Morris Mott identifies Canada's Sporting Heroes as "[t]he best publication in Canadian sports history" and a "reasonably solid overview of the history of sport in Canada."

... namely narrative descriptive history .... The status quo in Canadian sport history has progressed from the 'first stage' one damn fact after another genre of descriptive history to thematic-history .... Perhaps Canadian sport historians as a group are at [the] middle level of analysis, only somewhat removed from chronicling.<sup>3</sup>

Although Morrow directed his comments specifically toward the Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Journal of Sport History, they applied to the state of sport history as a whole. The author concluded his review by commenting that "concentrated and focussed development" would be facilitated by a "move more toward history and away from purely sport history" and the incorporation of "better theory not better evidence."<sup>4</sup> Assessing contemporary Canadian sport history based on Morrow's criteria for progress indicates that the field has stagnated and remains

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<sup>3</sup> Don Morrow, "Canadian Sport History: A Critical Essay," Journal of Sport History 10 (Spring 1983): 71. Included under the rubric of "one damn fact after another" and thematic history are William Perkins Bull, From Rattlesnake Hunt To Hockey: The Story of Sports and the Sportsmen of the County of Peel (Toronto: George J. McLeod, 1934). Henry Roxborough, Great Days in Canadian Sport (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957), Canada at the Olympics (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), The Stanley Cup Story (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), One Hundred Not Out: The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport (Toronto: Ryerson Press, Toronto 1966). Maxwell L. Howell and Nancy Howell at the University of Alberta established sport history at the Ph.D. level and supervised the first degree awarded in this discipline in 1969. The title of the first three dissertations attest to their nature. Peter L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada 1807-1867" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969). Allan C. Cox, "A History of Sport in Canada 1868-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1969). Kevin G. Jones "Sport in Canada 1900-1920" (Ph.D. diss University of Alberta, 1970).

<sup>4</sup> Morrow, "Canadian Sport History," 79.



mired in the mud of narrative.

Morris Mott, a scholar trained in a department of history, was less kind in his 1983 assessment of the "new field." Labelling history produced by graduate students and teachers in physical education departments as "unsatisfactory," he claimed:

[a] disproportionate amount of it is awkward and ungrammatical, much is of value only to antiquarians; and complex subjects are often treated superficially. Even some of the work which is written in an acceptable style and places sport in a significant social context is marred by other shortcomings. Theses are not developed, trivia dominates the argument and cause and effect are not analyzed.<sup>5</sup>

Mott's stinging evaluation unnecessarily ruffled the academic feathers of several established scholars, but his comments although mean-spirited were not without validity.

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<sup>5</sup> Morris Mott, "Canadian Sports History: Some Comments to Urban Historians," Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine 12 (October 1983): 25. Mott focused his criticisms upon Gerald Redmond, Sport and Ethnic Groups in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1978). Danny Rosenburg, Don Morrow, and Alexander J. Young, "A Quiet Contribution: Louis Rubenstein" Canadian Journal of History of Sport 13 (May 1982): 1-2. Maxwell Howell and Nancy Howell, Sport and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada Ltd., 1969). Frank Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 6 (December 1975): 75-81. "Ned Hanlan - Canada's Premier Oarsman, A Case Study of 19th Century Professionalism," Ontario History 66 (1974): 241-250. Ian F. Jobling, "Urbanization and Sports in Canada 1867-1900," in Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, ed. Richard Gruneau and John G. Albinson, 64-77, (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley, 1976). Alan Metcalfe "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal, 1840-1901," Canadian Sport, ed. Gruneau and Albinson, 64-77. Significantly these researchers came from faculties of Physical Education.

Sport history in its nascent stages was characterized by a paucity of analysis and an abundance of minutiae. With some exceptions Canadian sport history remains unchanged.

Alan Metcalfe, a sport historian who according to Morrow demonstrated "a clear understanding of, and ability to use method," commented in 1976 that "both sport and social stratification have received scant attention from Canadian historians. Few systematic analyses of social stratification have been attempted and there have been even fewer inquiries into the changing relationship of systems of social stratification to sport."<sup>6</sup> At the time the dearth of enquiry was understandable. The majority of Canada's academics were from the middle-class and unlikely to expound philosophies conflicting with their backgrounds, or outside their sphere of comprehension. The deficiency was not isolated to any specific discipline but had implications across every academic field. In history, developments in social history and interest in labour, working-class, race and gender history in the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s have partially addressed and ameliorated the consequences of this phenomenon.

In 1987, Wayne Simpson, whose thesis "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto 1827-1881," sought to

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<sup>6</sup> Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal," 77-78. A notable exception was Metcalfe's own work "Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada 1860-1920," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New Orleans, 1972.

address the scarcity of class and sport studies observed that "[f]ew researchers have attempted to challenge the frontier concept of class and to show that sport like all other aspects of society was influenced by class division early in the evolution of colonial society."<sup>7</sup> With few exceptions, Metcalfe's and Simpson's observations made almost twenty-two years ago and ten years ago respectively, are appropriate today. Little research has been attempted where class and the form and function of sport provide the focus.

Surprisingly not all historians recognize the state of Canada's sport history as a theoretical wasteland. In an essay that examined how sport historians "have dealt with class" in the United States, Great Britain and Canada, Steven Reiss claimed that "[c]lass has always been one of the paramount issues in sport historiography."<sup>8</sup> This sweeping and inaccurate statement was later modified by Reiss's observations that "grand theory, particularly Marxism" only "moderately" remained a feature in Canadian literature and that Canadian scholars devote equal concern to issues such as colonialism, ethnicity and nationalism.

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<sup>7</sup> Robert Wayne Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto 1827-1881" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1987), 2. Simpson's comments on the fact-compiling nature of sport history echoed Metcalfe's observations made eleven years previously.

<sup>8</sup> Steven A. Reiss, "From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport," Journal of Sport History 21 (Summer 1994): 138.

Such statements and their modifiers misstate the Canadian case. Marxism and class analysis has not been a major, moderate, or even minor factor in the researching or writing of Canadian sport history. Furthermore, suggesting that the concept of class receives equal attention to that most Canadian of debates, nationalism, underscores Reiss's inaccurate assessment.<sup>9</sup> By citing sport sociologist Richard Greneau (sic) and one chapter of his admittedly excellent book, Class, Sports and Social Development<sup>10</sup> as the example of Canada's contribution to Marxist analysis of sport history, and then assessing the role of class and theory in Canadian sport historiography as "moderate",

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<sup>9</sup> Some of the studies that address directly or indirectly elements of Canadian nationalism and Canadian identity include Wise and Fisher, Canada's Sporting Heroes. Roxborough, One Hundred Not Out. Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns To Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987). Don Morrow, "Lacrosse as the National Game," in A Concise History of Sport in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989). "The Great Canadian Lacrosse Tours of 1876 and 1883," in Proceedings of the Fifth Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, (Toronto: 1982). Peter L. Lindsay, "George Beers and the National Game Concept: A Behaviourial Approach," in Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium of the History of Sport and Physical Education, (Windsor: 1972).

<sup>10</sup> Richard Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1983). An adapted historical portion of this work was published as "Power and Play in Canadian Society," in Power and Change in Canada, ed. Richard J. Ossenbunrg, 146-194. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980). and Working Paper Sport Studies Research Group, Queen's University, 1979. Although Reiss repeatedly misspells Gruneau's name, and his assessment of Canadian sport history is compromised, he correctly identifies Class, Sports and Social Development as the only Marxist analysis of Canadian sport at the time.

Reiss compounds his misinterpretation.

Alan Metcalfe's work, examines several variables associated with class. Simpson and Morrow share an admiration for his pioneering research, the former crediting Metcalfe with, at the time, "the earliest and latest historical analysis of class structure and organized sport in Canada ...."<sup>11</sup> Certainly Metcalfe's 1972 paper "Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto Canada 1860-1920" presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association was a pathbreaking study. Examining the Ontario Jockey Club, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto Hunt Club and golf and bowling clubs he correlated membership with religion, degree of education and political affiliation. He concluded that conservative, Anglican, university graduates formed the majority of members of the elite clubs. The study was not without flaws. Wayne Simpson questioned the source of data based on "recall and anecdotal information". In addition, he noted the lack of team sports, the use of the 1861 Census without justification and Metcalfe's claim that income guaranteed club membership without explanation of how that income was determined. Simpson's most trenchant critical observation was that "Metcalfe did not

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<sup>11</sup> Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership" 2. Simpson cites Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada" as the earliest. Two years previously, however, in 1970, Metcalfe presented "Sport and Class in Nineteenth Century Canada" at the American Historical Association Convention in New York.

differentiate between class and stratification in this study".<sup>12</sup>

In his article "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal 1840-1901" published four years later, Metcalfe broadened the scope of his inquiry and examined the ethnicity, occupation and religion of individuals involved with the growth of organized sport in Canada's first commercial centre.<sup>13</sup> Once again Simpson took Metcalfe to task over methodological and contextual problems but had little to say about the latter's conceptualization of class. In examining the variables of religion, (common to both studies) politics, education, ethnicity and occupation Metcalfe skirts the issue of class and its definition. Referring vaguely to "the different strata of society", "social elite", "Canadian mercantile, professional class", "commercial and professional groups", "political, industrial and educational power elite" and the "solid mercantile middle-class" Metcalfe sidesteps the essential components of class and class analysis. His

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<sup>12</sup> Given the centrality of class in Simpson's dissertation his lack of criticism of Metcalfe's failure to "differentiate" is puzzling. It reflects an inadequate conceptualization of the term on the part of both scholars. In a critique of Metcalfe's later work on Montreal, Simpson observed that "again the reader was left with the feeling that the categories established for analyzing occupation, ethnicity and religion were arbitrarily predetermined. Who decided what strata a particular member was in?" 8.

<sup>13</sup> Metcalfe, "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal," 78.

conception of class is saved until the last paragraph when he concludes that organized sport had a "rigid social system based heavily on occupation and ethnicity" but "the barriers of occupational differentiation may have been greater than those of ethnicity."<sup>14</sup> Thus, Metcalfe concludes "it was not language or ethnic background that was the major stumbling block to mass participation but rather that of social class."<sup>15</sup> Unmistakeably, Metcalfe equates occupation with social class - a questionable premise and one that is hard to understand from a scholar supposedly steeped in the Marxist analytical method.

Metcalfe in fact rejects Marxist interpretations of history. In an unpublished paper written in 1970 he declared that:

total acceptance of the idea of causation leads to the concept of historical inevitability ... man appears to be caught in the vice of inevitable historical forces, powerless to influence the course of history. Determinism leads to such one-faceted interpretations as those of Marxist historians ... these theories are unacceptable.<sup>16</sup>

Metcalfe also de-emphasizes Marxian definitions of class. In a 1974 paper that examined four background influences on Canadian sport he discussed the effects of Christianity, Liberalism, Darwinism and Marxism upon its development. In

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>16</sup> Alan Metcalfe, "What is History of Sport," Unpublished paper, University of Windsor, 1970, 15.

his discussion of the latter he announced "[I]t is not necessary to decide upon the validity of Marx's concept of class ...."<sup>17</sup>

Although published in 1987, Metcalfe's Canada Learns to Play still qualifies as the best historical analysis of Canadian society and sport.<sup>18</sup> Notable as the first survey of sport for many years, the book attempts to link athletics to wider social issues. In the context of examining the "emergence of organized sport" Metcalfe identified six "dominant influences" that he deemed "necessary ... to any understanding of Canadian sport."<sup>19</sup> Viewed against the backdrop of Canada's formation and growth, changes in population, urbanization and the development of industrial capitalism these influences included "the ethnic composition of the population, the population distribution, the economy, the relationship of Canada and Canadians to Britain and the United States, and in particular, the dominant role of the anglophone middle classes of Canada's urban areas."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Alan Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 5, (May 1974): 71. Although only a page long, the author's discussion of Marxism suggests a wealth of potential topics for analysis. Unfortunately none have been done.

<sup>18</sup> Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 10. Metcalfe recognized that focusing on six "elements" necessarily excluded others. Topics left for "treatment elsewhere" included French Canadians, native Canadians, workers and women.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 10.



Although Metcalfe deliberately excludes workers from his analysis he recognizes that they are "quite deserving of separate treatment" and peripherally but significantly mentioned throughout the book are working-class culture, agency, resistance and accommodation to bourgeois hegemony.

By its concentration on "elites" Wayne Simpson's dissertation also discusses class without defining the concept. But if the term "working-class" is ill-defined and poorly understood then his working hypothesis for the term "elite" taken from John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic is at least definitive:

Elites are more than statistical classes. Common educational backgrounds, kinship links, present and former partnerships, common membership in clubs, trade associations, positions on advisory boards and philanthropic groups all help to reproduce social homogeneity of men in positions of power.<sup>21</sup>

While such definitions clarify and delimit Simpson's work and his conclusion that "the elite used sport and business clubs in nineteenth century Toronto to further their class interests in society ...."<sup>22</sup> is well supported and argued, an important element of class analysis is reduced to a minor and passive role - the working class. Using class as an analytical tool in history may presuppose an acceptance of

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<sup>21</sup> John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965): 330. cited in Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership," 1. Porter's definition of elites suggested that this societal group had a distinct culture and that their experiences reflected particular social relations.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 484.

the Marxian concepts of "oppressor and oppressed ... in constant opposition to one another." It can, as well, condition the belief that if not "all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle" then at least the society under scrutiny and analysis is characterised by class conflict.<sup>23</sup>

By focusing on the sporting activities of elites with power and privilege and overlooking social control, bourgeois hegemony and working class agency and resistance, researchers present an incomplete and misleading picture. As Gareth Stedman-Jones observed in his 1975 critique of the trends of the social history of leisure:

[r]esearch has tended to concentrate upon the advance of a methodical capitalist rationality and the disappearance or decline of traditional forms of popular recreation in its wake .... As a result of this unevenness of knowledge or emphasis, the cumulative picture covered by popular recreation and leisure is out of perspective. The sharply delineated foreground is occupied by puritan, methodist and evangelical moral reformers, gentry deciding where to place their patronage, prescient magistrates, calculating employers, prurient municipal elites, entrepreneurial publicans and rationalizing merchants of leisure.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, in The Marx - Engels Reader, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 473-500, (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1978).

<sup>24</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, "Class Expression versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure," in Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 77. Two works cited by the author as particularly relevant to this theme are: Robert W. Malcolmsen, Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Brian Harrison, "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England," Past and Present 38, (1967).

What was apparent to Stedman Jones in 1975 of the social history of England is manifest in Canadian sport history in 1997. Characterized by the lack of research and writing on class conflict, working-class resistance or even general and descriptive histories of working-class sport and recreation, a significant portion of Canadian history remains in historical oblivion, a victim of, as Edward Thompson so eloquently stated, "the enormous condescension of posterity."<sup>25</sup> To borrow Stedman Jones' wry commentary, "[i]t is as if class conflict has been a largely one-sided affair conducted by capitalism and its representatives ...."<sup>26</sup>, and that class struggle, at least as far as what

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<sup>25</sup> Edward P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Aylesbury: Penguin Books, 1988), 12.

<sup>26</sup> Stedman Jones "Class Expression versus Social Control," 78. A notable exception in the Canadian context is Bryan Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton Ontario 1860-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979). Palmer examines a number of cultural expressions of working-class identity and solidarity, among them leisure and sport. Subsequent to Stedman Jones' remarks, a number of studies have been published which examine either centrally or peripherally working-class participation in sport and leisure in Britain. See Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978). Hugh Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780-c.1880 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980). Stephen G. Jones, Sport, Politics and the Working Class: Organized Labour and Sport in Inter-War Britain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988). Richard Holt, Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990). Thomas S. Henricks, Disputed Pleasures: Sport and Society in Preindustrial England (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991). Dennis Brailsford, Sport, Time and Society: The British at Play (London Routledge, London, 1991).

the working-class chose to do with their non-work hours was a bourgeois induced fait accompli.

Two sociologists who initially suggested the potential for an historical class analysis of sport but at the same epitomized the type of study to which Stedman Jones refers are Rick Gruneau and Bruce Kidd. Although the majority of their work concerns contemporary sports issues, occasionally and with effect they turn their analytical eye on the past. Expectedly, as befits sociology, their research is heavy on theory and light on empirical and historical evidence. In the former's Class, Sports and Social Development, and in the context of the "organization of play" in colonial development, the author emphasizes "the role of social class as a key factor in conflicts over various resources in Canadian society."<sup>27</sup> Taking to task pioneering sport historians Henry Roxborough, Maxwell and Nancy Howell, and even Arthur Lower's vision of "democratic frontier recreation", Gruneau emphasizes that recreation and the fun and spontaneity these researchers articulated was "mediated" by a "conservative political economy, the rigors of frontier life, and the constraints imposed by a semifeudal class structure."<sup>28</sup> Such a structure, complete with the sporting attitudes and activities of the colonial elite stressed

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<sup>27</sup> Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development, 93.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 95. Gruneau might have cast his critical net wider to include William Perkins Bull, From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey.

"hierarchy, deference, and class distance."<sup>29</sup> In the face of an elitist, paternalistic and antidemocratic "pattern of domination" Gruneau hypothesizes that games and pastimes might be viewed as "cultural components" of "forms of resistance." Unfortunately the author's analysis does not go beyond his observation of the existence of "class-specific involvement in different types of activities and in the meanings of these activities."<sup>30</sup> But the suggestion that the activities contributed to a history of "oppositional or 'profane' rituals that mocked the dominant classes and contributed to community solidarity among the underclass"<sup>31</sup> has implications for the future researching, writing and understanding of the role of sports and games in Canadian society.

Despite Gruneau's hypothesizing, he ultimately sides with historians and sociologists who interpret capitalism's progress as essentially unfettered and with few exceptions unchallenged. Without the traditions that so characterized long-accepted British games and pastimes, and in the context of rapidly changing social conditions and increasing class tensions, Gruneau suggests that the ruling class reacted

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 97. The author suggests these attitudes in sport came from influences and examples set by British military officers. Many were the sons of minor English aristocracy. With the dispositions of the social elite they organized the sports and continued the traditions associated with them.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

with "firm regulative rules" to "the possibilities of the formal incorporation of the culture of games into fundamentally oppositional social and political movements."<sup>32</sup> In his essay "Power and Play in Canadian Society" he goes one step further and declares unequivocally that "such activities were effectively regulated."<sup>33</sup> Legislation prohibited traditional recreations but evidence suggests they were not effectively regulated. The working class resisted middle-class moral reformers and judicial edicts and continued their traditional recreational pursuits, albeit in modified forms and in clandestine locations, throughout the nineteenth century. Gruneau's theoretical emphasis, lack of empirical evidence and reliance on secondary sources that support his "social control" conceptualization of history compromise his conclusions and his "effectively regulated" assertion. Despite his deterministic perspective Gruneau concludes his work with the optimistic observation that "[h]ope remains in the fact that bourgeois hegemony is far from complete and far from immune to the possibilities of change."<sup>34</sup> If, after approximately one hundred and fifty years of

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>33</sup> Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society," 163. Gruneau suggests that defences of traditional recreations were "less entrenched" than those in Britain and quickly disappeared when confronted with the political threat engendered by social disruption.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 189.

capitalist development in Canada the meaning of sport has not been completely subjected and subverted to bourgeois culture, it attests to the tenacity and historical significance of those sport forms and their meanings that have resisted and endured.

Bruce Kidd's The Political Economy of Sport similarly suffers from the same lack of empirical research and adherence to a "social control" paradigm, but it also suggests the potential for the analysis of sport forms as class expression. Kidd proposes analyzing the relationship between "forms of sport and the production, reproduction, and distribution of the conditions for human existence."<sup>35</sup> In so doing, he asks a number of questions. Among them, how has the distribution of the economic surplus influenced "individuals and classes" articulation of the "rules and ideas of sport?" This is an excellent question, and debatedly one that achieves more in the posing than Kidd achieves in the answering. While Sabbatarians, Puritans, entrepreneurs, the upper-class, the middle-class, English factory owners and well-established planters in the ante-bellum Southern United States are examined to various degrees, working-class agency and resistance are relegated by Kidd to such tip-of-the-hat citations as Dennis Brailsford's observation that in seventeenth-century

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<sup>35</sup> Bruce Kidd, The Political Economy of Sport (C.A.P.H.E.R. Sociology of Sport Monograph Series, 1978), 3.

England, men displaced and angered by enclosures acts used football as a means to regain their land.<sup>36</sup> Despite this shortcoming, ultimately Kidd's paper provides an interpretive framework and a "few starting points for further investigation"<sup>37</sup> and this, in the desert of Canadian sport and class studies, represents an oasis.

More recently, Kidd made up for his initial lack of empirical research and applied his interpretive framework to a study of Canadian sport in the 1920s and 1930s with the occasional backward glance at the end of the 1800s. Ambitious in its scope and detail, The Struggle for Canadian Sport examines how various interest groups vied for resources and control of sport at the national level.<sup>38</sup> Although the title suggests an overt class analysis and includes a chapter on "Workers' Sport, Workers' Culture" and a conclusion entitled "The Triumph of Capitalist Sport," Kidd displays uncharacteristic reticence in his approach. Accommodation rather than resistance marks his work and with few exceptions characterize his historical actors. His emphasis has shifted from questions about the distribution of "economic surplus" to competition for resources.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 20. Kidd also mentions cricket in the West Indies and the captaincy of the team as a symbol of the independence movement.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>38</sup> Bruce Kidd, The Struggle for Canadian Sport (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).



Nevertheless, Kidd's contribution is notable in that theory has been overtly applied to Canadian sport history. The result suggests, if understatedly, that conflict, with class, gender, cultural and political implications, on and away from the fields of competition, shaped the contemporary sporting scene.

Thirteen years ago, Gruneau organized a conference to bring together a "variety of disciplinary, theoretical and research" traditions in leisure and cultural studies which he felt had been neglected in Canada.<sup>39</sup> One participant, Peter Donnelly, presented a wide-ranging paper that suggested that sport as contested terrain provided a nuanced and contradictory medium in which "popular resistance in the broadest sense" had been employed.<sup>40</sup> While its chronological scope extended from the seventeenth century until what was then the present and its geographical scope included Bali, London, Ontario and many points in between, it was notable on two counts. First, it implied the feasibility of examining sport as cultural resistance to the

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<sup>39</sup> Richard Gruneau, "Preface," Popular Cultures and Political Practices, Richard Gruneau and others, (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988), 9. Gruneau achieved his goal. Scholars from Sociology, Cultural Studies, Physical Education, Philosophy, Communications and History, presented papers reflecting their attempts to "work through the limitations inherent in economistic and class reductionist explorations of popular cultural forms and leisure practices in capitalist societies."

<sup>40</sup> Peter Donnelly, "Sport as a Site for 'Popular' Resistance," Popular Cultures and Political Practices, 70.

dominant ideology in Canadian history. And second, while its focus was primarily on sport as conflict, it noted that "recent critical analysts" stressed that working-class sport be examined "as a meaningful element in cultural production that may frequently oppose the dominant culture and as an element of cultural reproduction through which individuals frequently contribute to their own domination."<sup>41</sup> This essential duality of resistance and accommodation by the working-class to bourgeois hegemony reflected theoretical developments in labour and working-class cultural history and for the first time they were juxtaposed with sport and, albeit peripherally, the Canadian context.

Despite its thought provoking nature, the observations in Donnelly's paper fell on the stony ground of Canadian sport history and not until 1995 and Colin Howell's Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Baseball and Community Life in Atlantic Canada and New England 1860-1960 was the first cultural Marxist work published. Drawing inspiration from Roy Rosenzweig's Eight Hours for What We Will; Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, a groundbreaking study of Worcester, Massachusetts workers in the nineteenth century and how they struggled for control of their leisure activities, Howell examines how the Maritime and New England baseball diamonds "provided a terrain upon which such

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 70.

battles were fought."<sup>42</sup> Evangelical reformers may have tried to instill acceptable ideas about "manliness and respectability" through baseball, but working-class players participated for their own reasons and the game became known for its rowdiness and roughness.

Howell asserts that the emerging patterns of authority and resistance in response to the transformation of capitalism facilitated cultural production through sport, but he also recognizes the salience of ambiguous working-class responses to bourgeois measures to control sporting activities. While resisting attempts at control by the dominant class, at times workers' actions actually reinforced that middle-class control. Occasionally, and illustrating "the different levels of possibility" that historical actors possessed for realizing their goals, "ethnic, denominational, gender and racial divisions ... fractured working class homogeneity."<sup>43</sup> Workers may have shared oppression, exploitation, alienation and the experience of wage labour and their decisions about what to do with their leisure may have been vetoed and legislated by the dominant class, but workers "made their own history." The interplay of workers' common experience in the face of

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<sup>42</sup> Colin D. Howell, Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Baseball and Community Life in Atlantic Canada and New England, 1860-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 4.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 5.

oppression and their individual lived reaction to it through their sporting activities, provides the basis for cultural production.

The development of sport in Toronto from 1845 to 1886 occurred during the transformations wrought on the city by industrialization, urbanization and the metamorphosis of merchant capital that characterized Canada's economy at the beginning of the century, to monopoly capitalism towards the end. Such changes and labour's reaction to them created Toronto's working class and a specific working-class lifestyle and culture. In the face of massive economic restructuring, proletarianization and the necessary day-to-day adaptations to them, Toronto workers initially sought protection, solidarity and agency in fledgling trade unions. In the 1860s and 1870s as industrial capitalism intensified and attempted to determine the fabric of Canadian society, workers rebelled against their bosses in the form of the "Nine Hour Movement" and free time for leisure activities after their toil. Their agitation for decreased working hours, time for physical and mental regeneration and the reaffirmation of the "self" found its rationale in Marx's observation that "[t]he worker ... feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself."<sup>44</sup> In the 1880s workers voiced their opposition to the new economic

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<sup>44</sup> Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," in The Marx-Engels Reader, ed. Richard C. Tucker, 74.

order by offering an alternative which they articulated through the Knights of Labor and for which they worked in "The Great Upheaval". Their visions not only included equitable rates of pay and decreased hours of work but also education, healthcare, politics and housing. Common concern for such issues created common customs, beliefs, traditions and cultural patterns.<sup>45</sup>

Opposition to factory-based industry and the accompanying destruction of craft labour, division of labour, child labour, exploitive practices of the owners and the social cost these ills exacted was not limited to action at the workplace. In E. P. Thompson's words "everything from their schools to their shops, their chapels to their amusements was turned into a battleground for class."<sup>46</sup> Sport was one such amusement as the playing fields of friendly competition at times doubled for sites of class conflict.

Four broad issues serve as the foci for this study: the response of the state to working-class pastimes and the "democratization" of sport in the 1870s and 1880s; the correlation between class and sport in terms of community, neighbourhood and spatial considerations; the

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<sup>45</sup> See Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980). Gregory S. Kealey, Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario 1880-1900 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1987).

<sup>46</sup> Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 914.

commodification and integration of sport as business into a developing capitalist system; and class divisions in sport and in individual sports. As a conclusion, a case study of Canada's first world champion, rower Edward Hanlan, coalesces these expansive topics and illustrates sport's role in the formation of class and class identities.

Based on Stedman Jones's observations, sport in nineteenth-century Toronto is not conceptualized exclusively as a manifestation of working-class inspiration and solidarity or as an ideological tool developed "in the context of bourgeois production relations" ... "and geared into the mechanisms of the capitalist system." The study of sport and class relations cannot be an either/or proposition, appropriately polarized to facilitate understanding. The complexities produced by the interaction of many social variables dictate an approach that examines capitalism's consolidation and the resultant social control and bourgeois hegemony, recognizing that "sport as forms of cultural experience are neither free-floating idealist entities nor mechanically determined reflections of an economic base, but rather are the active lived-out expressions of particular historical social relations."<sup>47</sup> For example, during the 1870s and 1880s some sport became a capitalist enterprise as commercialism promoted athletic

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<sup>47</sup> Hart Cantelon and Robert Hollands, "Introduction," Leisure, Sport and Working Class Cultures, (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988), 13.

events as products for consumption. Yet for the working class those same events provided a source of inspiration, self-actualization, and relaxation in restoring the energy for work. At sporting events common values were reinforced and meaning was forged from mutually supportive attitudes and activities.

The form, function and meaning of sport in the nineteenth-century dictates an approach that addresses the complexity and diversity of the changing patterns of popular recreational behaviours. During the period informal activities considered traditional games or pastimes "modernized" into sport. Spontaneous, violent and disorderly competitions gave way to sports characterized by regulation, codification and provincial and national administration.<sup>48</sup> Other activities resisted change reflecting the cultural tenacity of their initiators. The term "sport" in the context of this analysis embraces the polar opposites of "traditional" and "modern" sports and the multiplicity of recreational activities between them.

This study adopts Edward Thompson's conceptualization of class. The economic base of society created the parameters for life in Victorian Toronto but how the working

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<sup>48</sup> For an examination of "modernization" theory as it applies to sport see Allen Guttman, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978) and Melvin L. Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

class and the bourgeoisie lived within those parameters depended on customs, traditions, the pursuit of particular interests and the former's accommodation or resistance to capitalist imperatives. Class "entails the notion of historical relationship" and results from "social and cultural formation."<sup>49</sup> Culture, choice and pragmatism mediated the capitalist economy in lived reflections of social relationships.

The chronological boundaries of 1845 and 1886 represent years of consequence in the field of sport and class relations. In the former, enactment of the Lord's Day Act made illegal many leisure activities on the Sabbath. As the only free time for many workers bound by the dictates of the factory system and twelve-hour working days, Sunday became a day of conflict in the form of illegal activities rather than a day of rest. But despite their illicit participation in a number of pastimes, the Act eliminated overt organized sport for the working class. For those with the time, money and resources sport could be played on other days of the week. The latter date signals the opening of "Sunlight Park" and Toronto's first foray into openly professional sport. At the first baseball game between Toronto and Rochester of the International League, players, directors of the club, guests, reporters and spectators unabashedly

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<sup>49</sup> Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 8, 11.



concerned themselves with contracts, gate receipts, revenue from leases, the generation of profit both political and financial and value for hard-earned money. Heralding the contemporary money and sport symbiosis, the club's formation and operation confirmed working-class cooption as sport consumers. Accordingly, the four themes that form the cornerstones of this analysis are introduced through events and circumstances related to the May 23, 1886 opening of the ballpark.

From the years of legislative restriction to the years of commercial promotion, sport in nineteenth century Toronto was used by many groups and individuals in various ways to further their own interests and reaffirm their status and identity. Sport provided both a symbolic and lived-out means by which those groups and individuals formulated and focussed particular ideological motivations and beliefs. By fabricating and incorporating notions of what life should be and by reinforcing their validity through participation and behaviours associated with competition, those motivations and beliefs became reality thereby forging consciousness and identity.

## Chapter II

### The Development of Toronto and the Rise of Sport 1845-1886

The New World has been a field for making many experiments, having in view the material and moral advancement of mankind, from the days of the Jesuits in Paraguay down to those of Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, and Brigham Young at Salt Lake City. Unfortunately, extravagances characterize many of these efforts; fanaticism, superstition and a subtle though unconscious selfishness have led to failures which it might be supposed every reasonable man would have foreseen. On the other hand, where the more moderate principles that usually guide ordinary mortals have been followed, as amongst ourselves and other offshoots of the British stock on this continent, many examples of a very fair degree of success are to be met with. In this category, Toronto may be classed.<sup>1</sup>

Nineteenth-century Toronto historian Henry Scadding's nationalist remarks, published on the centennial of the Constitutional Act which politically created Upper Canada, reflected the sentiments and observations of many of the city's bourgeois residents. In 1884, C. Pelham Mulvany's paeon to growth and economic development referred to Toronto as "[t]he brilliant capital of English-speaking Canada ... in which English speech and English law sought asylum after the revolution of 1783."<sup>2</sup> A hundred years later, Peter

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. Henry Scadding, "Introduction" in G. Mercer Adam, Toronto: Old and New (Toronto: The Mail Printing Company Ltd., 1891), 1. Scadding compared Toronto with Philadelphia and Washington and suggested that its development was not the result of random industrial and urban sprawl but the product of and "in accordance with the theories of idealists ...." His observations ring with national and civic boosterism.

<sup>2</sup> C. Pelham Mulvany, Toronto Past and Present (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1884), 9.

Goheen, in a study of the Victorian era, concluded that "in 1860, and, at the turn of the century, [Toronto] continued to be a British city .... Indeed, Toronto might be thought to have been exclusively British, so great was the proportion of the total population that was of British stock."<sup>3</sup> After examining the 1891 Census records, J. M. S. Careless concluded that "[l]ate Victorian Toronto remained British-Canadian to an overwhelming extent ...."<sup>4</sup> By 1891, the city's population of over 42,000 English, Irish and Scottish-born, together with nearly 100,000 Canadian-born, most of British origin, ensured the continuation of Imperial influence, albeit in a diluted form.

British influence manifested itself in a variety of political, economic and cultural mechanisms and social phenomena, not the least of which was the entrenched apparatus of a class-ridden society. In seeking to establish and then maintain their status, colonial elites sought social distance and deference from an emerging commercial and industrial middle class. In turn the middle

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<sup>3</sup> Peter G. Goheen, "Currents of Change in Toronto, 1850-1900," Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston Ltd., 1982), 229-230. In 1860, less than five thousand of a population of 40,000 listed their origins as other than British.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. S. Careless, Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1984,) 120. Although it remained predominantly British, Careless notes the presence of Germans, Italians and Slavs indicating the start of ethnic variety.

class, seeking to elevate themselves, emulated their social superiors by their indifference to the working-class. Essentially, British influence perpetuated class tensions that seeped into and affected many aspects of the city's development.

Inevitably, as an integral part of society, the form and function of sport also reflected the cultural origins and class character of its initiators. Even after the turn of the twentieth-century, the ideal, if not the reality of English sport remained. A 1911 letter to the Globe remarked: "[s]port is a fundamental essential not only of English life but also of human life itself .... I say without a moment's hesitation, give me the man brought up to be a sportsman. That is the kind of man who in the past conceived the idea of Empire ...."<sup>5</sup> In 1845, the nature of Toronto sport cognitively and corporeally reflected imported English values.

British sporting heritage provided the ambience as Toronto sport emerged as a mass cultural phenomenon. During the mid nineteenth-century, sporting practices were transformed from a rough-and-tumble, spontaneous, utilitarian, frontier pastime to an activity resembling

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<sup>5</sup> Globe, 31 January 1911, cited in John W. Purcell, "English Sport and Canadian Culture, 1867-1911," (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1974), 41-42. Purcell concludes that by 1871 English attitudes increasingly influenced Toronto sport at the cognitive level - an ideal. After 1900 those ideals "were frequently not apparent in competition."

modern sport. This process can only be understood by an overall examination of the development of the city and its environment. As urban sport historian Stephen Hardy claims, "although ... sport has deep roots in rural society, it experienced the greatest growth and change within the context of the modern city."<sup>6</sup> An account of the rise of sport in Toronto thus necessitates cutting a broad swath through the city's nineteenth-century history, exploring the influences of urbanization and industrialization. Accordingly, this chapter examines a variety of societal components that contributed to class tension and conflict and affected the development of sport in the city.

From 1845 to 1885, sport in Toronto experienced phenomenal growth. In 1845, five sporting clubs existed. Among them, the Toronto Cricket, Turf and Curling Clubs listed many British military men among their ranks. Only the Caer Howell Bowling Club and the Upper Canada College Cricket Club were comprised entirely of civilians. By 1885, the total had grown to one hundred and eighty-six clubs. (Figure 1) In 1845, five sports were played, forty years later, thirty-three. (Figure 2) At mid-century the clubs' membership totalled ninety-five, while forty years later

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<sup>6</sup> Stephen Hardy, "The City and the Rise of American Sport: 1820-1920," Exercise and Sports Sciences Reviews 9 (1981), 184. Hardy applied his historiographical and theoretical perspective in How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation and Community 1865-1915 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982).

Figure 1

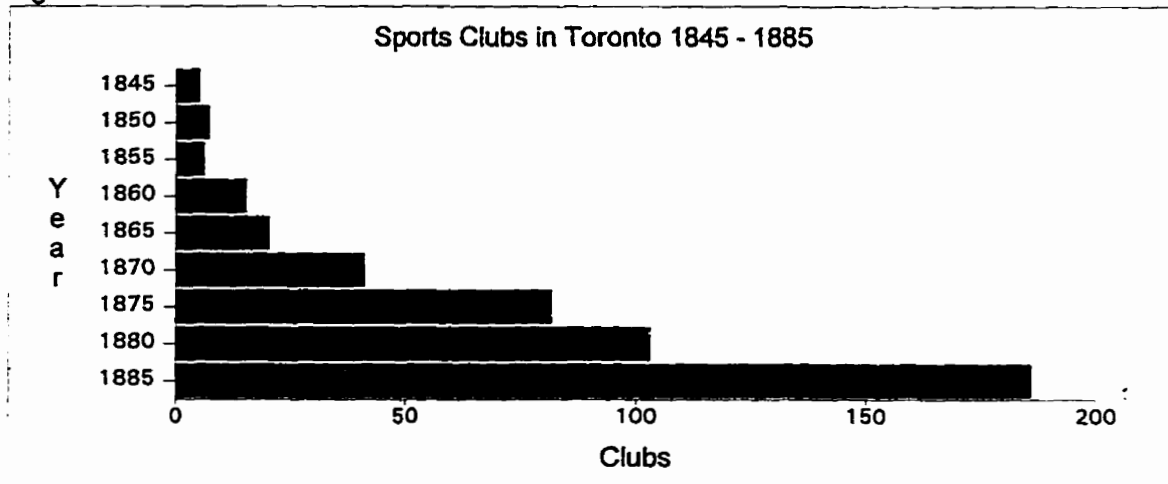


Figure 2

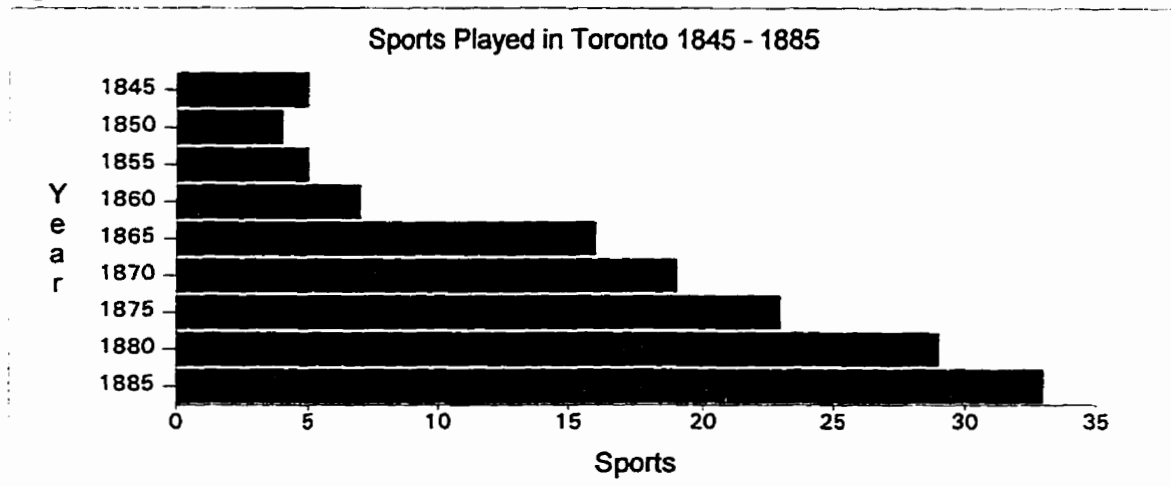


Figure 3



Source: Various Toronto City newspapers 1845 - 1886  
Various club records, diaries, journals, photographs, magazine articles, pamphlets, posters, scrapbooks, minutes of meetings and secondary materials.

such figures numbered four thousand five hundred and sixty-four. (Figure 3) In addition to those participating, countless thousands experienced sport vicariously as paying customers. Sport consumption became a socially sanctioned behaviour as many sports and clubs vied for the custom of workers and their expendable income. As sport became commercialized and its financial potential realized, many of Toronto's citizens came to depend on its revenue. By 1885, sport, rooted in decidedly British beginnings, had permeated many of the city's social institutions, including that of capitalist accumulation.

Since its inauspicious foundation as "Muddy Little York," Toronto's British character shaped the town's political identity. At its Incorporation as a City in 1834, the Family Compact, a British commercial, political and religious oligarchy, firmly grasped the reins of political power. It governed autocratically, extending its sphere of influence to the legislature. Motivated by John Graves Simcoe's ideas of creating a neophyte Canadian aristocracy based on the home country model, they also subscribed to his vision of "a free, honourable British Government" characterized by the "pure Administration of its Laws." Combining personal gain with colonial interest, this elite sought to maintain a hold over office and the incumbent rewards and continue Simcoe's efforts to "assimilate the colony with the parent State ... [by] inculcat[ing] British

Customs, Manners and Principals in the most trivial, as well as serious matters."<sup>7</sup>

Notable among the British-born Toronto contingent of the Family Compact were the Reverend John Strachan, D'Arcy Boulton, his son, Henry John Boulton, and John Beverley Robinson. Their accomplishments and attitudes toward social hierarchy and participation in sport epitomised the Compact's membership. Strachan, the heart and soul of the Compact, arrived in Toronto in 1811 to take up duties at St. James' Church and the Home District Grammar School. From these positions he rose swiftly to power and maintained his influence by controlling his pupils, many of whom later held posts of authority in the colony. General Brock made him chaplain of troops. In 1815, he was appointed to the executive council and in 1820 became a member of the Legislative Council. Reflecting the British model, Strachan believed that a "relatively fixed social hierarchy was essential to human happiness; that a man who got above himself was destined to suffer the ravages of envy, melancholy, hatred and chagrin."<sup>8</sup>

In petitioning for the founding of a university in Upper Canada he advocated "the training of opulence for the

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<sup>7</sup> Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 21.

<sup>8</sup> Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 91.



administrative offices and positions of public trust."<sup>9</sup>

Although Strachan's name does not appear on team or membership lists his attitude toward sport is manifest in his former pupils many of whom rode to hounds and played cricket.

D'Arcy Boulton also came to the colony from England before the turn of the century. He became Solicitor-General in 1805, Attorney-General in 1814 and Judge of Assize in 1818. His son, educated in England, became Solicitor-General in 1818 and Attorney-General in 1829. Both men participated in a variety of sports that emphasized class exclusivity. John Beverley Robinson acted as Solicitor-General in 1815, Attorney-General in 1818 and sat in the Assembly from 1821 to 1829. In the latter year he was appointed Chief Justice of Upper Canada, Speaker of the Legislative Council and President of the Executive Council.<sup>10</sup> A graduate of Upper Canada College, he excelled in a number of sports at school and continued his

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<sup>9</sup> George Dickson and G. Mercer Adam, A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892 (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1893), 15. Strachan suggested that a university would result in "greater intelligence" and "more confirmed principles of loyalty" in the sons of elite families. Even the tory chroniclers of the College's history found reason to criticize Strachan's rationale and questioned whether it was "wise or politic" to infer that "education was a class distinction" and that "loyalty could not be on the side of the lowly born."

<sup>10</sup> Biographical information from Robert E. Saunders, "What was the Family Compact," Historical Essays on Upper Canada, ed. J. K. Johnson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 127-128.

participation while rising through the ranks of public life. While these men formed the mainstays of the Compact they were ably supported by an extensive cast of lesser elite families and their male offspring, among them Chief Justice John Elmsley, Sheriff of the Home District William Botsford Jarvis, President of the Bank of Upper Canada William Proudfoot, Chief Justice William Campbell and city mayor Henry Sherwood.

Colonial elites, like the early members of the Toronto Family Compact, were, in reality, backwater aristocrats. Sons of minor gentry in Britain, excluded from family wealth by the custom of primogeniture, but with aspirations of social distinction, they sought the status, prestige and financial security beyond their grasp in the mother country. In the Canadas, in their efforts to gain and maintain political power, like the contemporary nouveau riche, they sought to distance themselves from the emerging proletariat. By using the British aristocracy as a model, their anti-egalitarian and anti-utilitarian behaviours contributed to the formation of class structure, consciousness and conflict.

Sporting activities and the Compact's attitude toward them was one such behaviour that reinforced class differences. As Gruneau suggested, their participation "tended to affirm the logic of a pattern of domination that, if not really feudal, was nonetheless highly traditional and

paternalistic in nature."<sup>11</sup> By reproducing the interrelated concepts of manly character and British national traits on Canadian playing fields, sport afforded overt displays of the symbolic representations of Empire. Furthermore, sport epitomised what Thorstein Veblen, in his study of ostentatious displays of wealth and rank, termed "conspicuous leisure." It provided a means by which Toronto's elite flaunted their status.<sup>12</sup>

Manly character, the ideology of athleticism infused with Christian morality, originated in the public schools of Britain. In inculcating the future leaders of the Empire with the values of "seriousness, self-denial ... rectitude ... robustness, perseverance and stoicism,"<sup>13</sup> the traits necessary for Imperial command, Victorian headmasters incorporated team games into their curricula. The ideology fused with educational process socialized public schoolboys and imbued them with a sense of British superiority and

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<sup>11</sup> Richard S. Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society," in Power and Change in Canada, ed. Richard J. Ossenburg (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 161.

<sup>12</sup> Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (Toronto: Viking, 1953). Veblen's satirical analysis criticized nineteenth-century society and its equation of success with the attainment of the status of the leisure class. Membership was characterized by exemption from industrial labour and the practice of conspicuous consumption - spending lavishly for no other reason than as a show of prestige.

<sup>13</sup> J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal (Markham: Viking, 1986), 18.

Imperial purpose and reproduced, in the colonial setting, the ideas of dominance and deference so entrenched in British society. In Toronto, athleticism manifested itself in the sporting attitudes and behaviours of the city's elite, many of them products of Upper Canada College. The College opened its doors in 1830 under the direction of the newly-arrived Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colbourne who fresh from the Channel Islands, modelled the school on Elizabeth College in Guernsey. Colbourne intended "to foster ... a love of the old, manly British field sports ... a characteristic of English Public School men." Recruiting teachers from Oxford University, Colbourne insisted on "men of scholarship, but more importantly men who would encourage and stimulate among the boys a love of healthy and manly games and good sportsmanship."<sup>14</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth-century, many college graduates were "engaged in the task of building up our young Canadian nation, or have been privileged to take part in the illustrious service of the Motherland in the wider and

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<sup>14</sup> Carolyn Gossage, A Question of Privilege: Canada's Independent Schools (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977), 41, cited in Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism, 151. Colbourne's recruiting was successful. In 1834, George Anthony Barber became College Collector, F. W. Barron, long-time cricketer and one of the first members of the Toronto Cricket Club, was appointed classics master and John Kent was master of the boarding school. According to G. G. S. Lindsey these three formed the "triumviri that posterity will remember as the fathers of Canadian cricket." Barron served as principal from 1843 to 1856 and encouraged a variety of sports including cricket, track and field and hockey. His own athletic interests included skating, yachting, boxing and fencing.

grander interests of the Empire."<sup>15</sup> G. G. S. Lindsay, nineteenth-century alumnus, cricketer, and author of a number of cricketing books and articles, assessed the role sport played in the production of such individuals.

If it be the public schools of England which have made her great it is the sports which, in turn have made the schools themselves famous. It is with cricket that the mind associates the names of Eton and Harrow, with football the name of Rugby. The academic halls have hardly exerted a larger or better influence in moulding the character of the schoolboy than has the playground; and what is true in this respect of English institutions is equally true of the Canadian public schools, foremost among which stands Upper Canada College. While she has been the alma mater of many of this country's greatest men she too has been the mother and progenitor here of many of the manly sports, in which the landmen of Ontario so freely and successfully engage.<sup>16</sup>

College graduates also demonstrated Veblen's assertion that "in order to gain and hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence."<sup>17</sup> Evidence took the form of three-day cricket matches for the prestigious Toronto Club or Upper Canada College Club. Scheduled for the middle of the working week,

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<sup>15</sup> George Dickson and G. Mercer Adam, A History of Upper Canada College 1829-1892 (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1893), 9. Among the authors' extravagant claims was that the state of the Dominion in 1893 was due to the "educational status" of the school and the "intellectual labour" of its "sons".

<sup>16</sup> G. G. S. Lindsay, "College Cricket," in Upper Canada College, 263.

<sup>17</sup> Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, 42.

many were accompanied by receptions and lavish dinners for the visiting team. Hunt Club meets, also held on workdays, were characterized by scarlet-clad Toronto elite figures riding to hounds on expensive hunters and chargers with dogs imported from established packs in Britain. Grand dinners followed the kill. The exclusive Caer Howell Bowling Club, formed in 1837, limited its membership to thirty and held matches on the Pleasure Grounds at the corner of College and University Streets, the country home of Speaker of the Legislative Council and Chief Justice, William Dummer Powell. Members maintained control by anonymous election balloting, high membership fees, playing matches during the working week and demanding expensive equipment, clothing, livestock and appearances be maintained. Toronto elite's sporting values "were indicative of much more than the mere spontaneous enjoyment of life." They endorsed what Gruneau described as "a cultural legacy which stressed hierarchy, deference, and class distance."<sup>18</sup>

Early Reformers attacked the oligarchic Compact at the Legislative and Executive levels of government and in Toronto opposed Compact-appointed officials and magistrates. In 1829, Robert Baldwin, son of Reformer and Assembly representative, Dr. W. W. Baldwin, captured York in a by-election, defeating Compact candidate Sheriff W. B. Jarvis. Baldwin enjoyed only a short term in office and lost his

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<sup>18</sup> Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society," 162.

seat to Jarvis the following year in a general election. Despite reformist cracks in the Tory-Conservative stronghold, Baldwin, like his father, held strong pro-British views and did little to erode the established structures of political authority. The man-in-the-street, faced with the choice of radical reform led by the headstrong and unpredictable William Lyon Mackenzie or established British custom, opted for the latter. Minor government officials, the beneficiaries of Compact sinecures and largesse, in turn voted for the hand that fed them. Businessmen favoured the political status quo as they sought government assistance and settled conditions for commerce.

Despite pro-British-Tory-conservative and reactionary sentiments in Toronto society, political adjustment, if not radical change, was inevitable. Reformers believed that Compact rule was riddled with patronage, nepotism, corruption and inefficiency. Tories might debate the first three but as the part-time magisterial administration of the expanding town became inadequate the latter became irrefutable. In providing for the needs of the growing town, the County of York with its ability to raise money limited to taxes on assessed property, permanently teetered on the brink of bankruptcy. An Incorporated city with greater powers of taxation separated county and city finances and made financially possible the installation of sewers and the provision of police, gaols and firefighters.

On March 6, 1834 Toronto became a city with five wards represented by two aldermen and two councilmen from each ward.<sup>19</sup> The following month, Council vigorously opposed by appointed officialdom, elected William Lyon Mackenzie as the city's first mayor.

Mackenzie's term in office lasted only one year but his election marked a changing mood in the Toronto populace. Mirroring the reform spirit in Britain, reformers won the majority of seats in the Assembly in 1834 and issued the Seventh Grievance Report which advocated curtailing the lieutenant-governor's office-granting powers. The report also proposed radical changes in the form of an elected legislative council and an executive council answerable to the Assembly. To mediate what it viewed as a groundswell of political discontent, the British government dispatched Sir Francis Bond Head to the colony with instructions to conciliate the factions and remedy the situation without conceding to constitutional changes. Due to a conjuncture of influences, not the least of which was Bond Head's abrasive personality, political and social dissatisfaction

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<sup>19</sup> St. George's Ward, Population 718  
Boundaries: Lakefront, Bathurst, King, Yonge Streets  
St. Patrick's Ward, Population 1472  
Boundaries: Queen, Bathurst, Dundas, Yonge Streets  
St. Andrew's Ward, Population 1748  
Boundaries: King, Bathurst, Queen, Yonge Streets  
St. David's Ward, Population 3394  
Boundaries: King, Yonge, Dundas, Parliament Streets  
St. Lawrence Ward, Population 1922  
Boundaries: Lakefront, Yonge, King, Parliament Streets  
Source: Mulvany, Toronto Past and Present, 31.



coalesced in insurrection in 1837.

Predictably, Compact forces responded to the insurgence swiftly and severely. After a series of skirmishes, the protestors were routed. In the harsh repercussions that followed, gaols filled with Mackenzie's supporters while the leaders hid or fled south. Two, Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews, despite petitions pleading for clemency, were hanged on April 12, 1838. Reactionary ideology had reasserted itself.

The legacy of the uprisings manifested itself in a number of ways. Conservatives, using the rebellions as rationale, decried a colonial policy that advocated conciliation with republican agitators and neglected those loyal to the British crown. They supported harsh reprisals against the hundreds of gaoled insurgents. Two border raids in June 1838, one across the Niagara River and the other across the Detroit River, hardened attitudes further. Tories applauded Parliament's decision to suspend the Assembly in Lower Canada and replace it with a Council appointed by the governor. In Toronto, political sentiment "moved decisively further right after the Rebellion of 1837."<sup>20</sup> The electorate returned a series of Tories to parliament, and in municipal politics, staunchly pro-British mayors and councils dominated city affairs until the 1850s.

The rebellions and reactionary attitudes resulted in

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<sup>20</sup> Careless, Toronto to 1918, 60.

paranoia about vagrants, vagabonds, insubordination, Sabbath desecration, drunkenness, alcohol consumption and public gatherings of the underclasses, whether for amusement or political organization. In Toronto, concern manifested itself in a series of By-Laws designed to curb what the council saw as disruptions and threats to an orderly existence caused by excesses in working-class associational life. On a parliamentary level, in the guise of pious concern, the 1845 passing of the Lords Day Act made illegal a number of activities on a Sunday, the only day free from work the working class had for leisure.

The Act profoundly and negatively affected the development of sport in Toronto. Twelve-hour days and six-day weeks left little time for recreational activities for those whose working habits were dictated by others. Without Sunday to enjoy traditional pursuits, working people were deprived of leisure activities that recuperated mind and body from the rigours of the factory system. Only those with time, resources and energy played sport. With few exceptions, those who played and those who supported the Compact and the political status quo were the same.

Despite repressive conservatism in Toronto, a Whiggish British government, liberal ideas from "Radical Jack", Earl of Durham, the new Lieutenant-Governor, and a revived if muted reform sentiment in the form of the city newspaper The Examiner and its editor Francis Hincks, heralded a more

egalitarian state. But if Canada moved politically toward liberalism and Responsible Government, civic politics in loyalist Toronto moved in the opposite direction. Licensing, preventing, punishing and regulating of theatrical performances, nuisances, taverns, hotels, public entertainment, tenpin alleys, bowling saloons, vagrants and disorderly persons became the practice as a predominantly conservative council counteracted what it saw as the disorderly elements of society.

Thousands of British immigrants seeking a new life in the colony strengthened pro-British sentiments in Upper Canada and Toronto in the late 1830s and 1840s. From 1830 to 1833 the province's population increased by almost fifty percent.<sup>21</sup> According to the Quebec Official Gazette, in 1830, 28,100 arrived in Quebec. One third stayed, 6,500 moved to the United States and the remainder settled in Upper Canada. British families also migrated to the Canadas via Oswego after landing in New York.<sup>22</sup> In 1834, the Coburg Star, commenting on the 8,000 emigrants that reached Toronto, stated "this year is a most pleasing proof that the Canadas continue to maintain their character among the people of the United Kingdom, as the most eligible country

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<sup>21</sup> Craig, Upper Canada, 228.

<sup>22</sup> Quebec Official Gazette, quoted in Montreal Gazette, 13 December 1830. Cited in Select Documents in Canadian Economic History 1783-1885, ed. Harold A. Innis and Arthur R.M. Lower, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1933), 104-105.

for the emigrant ...."<sup>23</sup> Despite outbreaks of cholera and the rebellions in the 1830s which retarded immigration, in the first sixteen years of Toronto's existence, the city's population increased more than three hundred percent. (Table 1) According to the 1851 census, of the total population of 30,775, 96.8% considered their ethnic origin as British with 18,432 or 60% of the inhabitants British-born.

Table 1  
Toronto Population, 1835-1850

Year	Population
1835	9765
1840	13092
1845	19704
1850	30775

Despite the deplorable living conditions factory workers left behind and the economic hardships suffered by tenant farmers as a result of free trade and the attitude of British administrators who considered them "surplus" and "burthensome", many immigrants felt steadfastly nationalistic. In 1872, R. A. Fitzgerald, captain of the English cricket team, wrote that after he set sail for Canada he was introduced to one hundred orphans taken from the streets of London. Their governess, aware of and perhaps in awe of Fitzgerald's celebrity, addressed them in his presence.

She pointed to the sun now setting in the West whom they would follow in his flight; they were leaving the

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<sup>23</sup> Coburg Star, quoted in Montreal Gazette, 18 July 1834. Cited in Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 117.

land of their birth for a land of new life and of promise to all of them, and concluded by exhorting them never to forget they were English girls and boys.<sup>24</sup>

At the other end of the social scale, feelings were no less patriotic. Arthur Lower, in an examination of recently-arrived immigrants cited William Radcliffe's letter home: "Canada is a colony not a country, it is not yet identified with the dearest affections and associations, remembrances and hopes of its inhabitants: it is to them an adopted, not a real mother." Radcliffe left no doubt as to what he considered his mother country: "I rouse myself by thinking on my College friends, my hunting days, the animating hounds, the green open fields and the scarlet coats."<sup>25</sup> Reinforced with British sentiment, the orphans and many immigrant families provided a medium by which British cultural traditions were transported to and transplanted in Canada.

Sport historian Alan Metcalfe, in an examination of "background influences" which affected nineteenth-century Canadian sport, refuted the idea of a "Canadian way of life or culture" at Confederation. Canadians, he asserted, "assimilated many of the contemporary British view points" as a consequence of being steeped in British economic,

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<sup>24</sup> R. A. Fitzgerald, Wickets in the West (London: Tinsley Bros., 1873), 15.

<sup>25</sup> William Radcliffe to Arthur Radcliffe, December, 1832. Authentic Letters from Upper Canada (Dublin: 1833, reprinted Toronto, 1953). Cited in Arthur R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1958), 208

political and cultural tradition.<sup>26</sup> Gerald Redmond states that "the most significant factor of the history of sport in Canada in the nineteenth-century was the paramountcy of British influence."<sup>27</sup> This influence manifested itself in two ways: first, the "sporting examples set by British army garrisons," primarily by the officers who socialized with the social elite where they were stationed;<sup>28</sup> second, after British troop withdrawals in the late 1860s sport was played by those who felt a "sense of duty ... to establish and maintain British culture in their new, only semi-civilized, part of the world."<sup>29</sup>

Toronto's early sporting practices unequivocally support Metcalfe's hypothesis and epitomize how sport sustained British culture in Canada. In the first half of the nineteenth century men with time and inclination raced horses, rode to hounds, curled, shot, bowled and played at racquets. Meanwhile, workers enjoyed traditional pastimes imported from Britain which included cockfighting, dogfighting and animal baiting. Even in the latter half of

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<sup>26</sup> Alan Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport and Physical Education," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport 5 (May 1974): 63.

<sup>27</sup> Gerald Redmond, "Some Aspects of Organized Sport and Leisure in Nineteenth-Century Canada," Society and Leisure 2 (April 1979): 75.

<sup>28</sup> P. Lindsay, "The Impact of the Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 1 (May 1970): 33.

<sup>29</sup> Mangan, The Games Ethic and Canadian Imperialism, 143.

the nineteenth century when British sporting traditions became diluted with the popularity of lacrosse and baseball, the editors of The Canadian Cricketer's Guide illustrated cricket's influence when they promoted the game as a means by which French Canada could be assimilated. "We only wish," they wrote, "we had a little of this cricketing spirit in Lower Canada for we have an idea that if we could only once get Jean Baptiste to handle a bat properly we should soon make him a good Englishman."<sup>30</sup> While French speakers resisted acculturation through bat and ball, early Canadian sport reflected the national roots of its initiators.

One school of cricketing and nationalist thought suggested attempts at assimilation wasted time and effort. "National amusements," the authors of Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket informed their readership, were "emblematic of national character." Extolling imagined English national characteristics and cricket, they claimed that "promptitude, activity, cheerfulness and noiseless vigilance" and the "noblest traits of English character [were] manifest in this game." The authors contrasted this litany of virtues with traits of other nationalities.

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<sup>30</sup> H. J. Campbell and T. D. Phillips, The Canadian Cricketer's Guide and Review of the Past Season (Ottawa: C. W. Mitchell, 1876), 9. C. L. R. James, in remembering his early days in Trinidad, claimed that through cricket the "British tradition soaked deep . . ." Beyond a Boundary (London: Stanley Paul and Co., 1986), 72.

The fiery restless Arab delights in the tournament of the jeered; the indolent sententious Turk strokes his beard and with the chess board before him whiles away hours without the motion of a muscle; the revengeful stormy souled Spaniard gazes with savage glee on the dying struggles of the bleeding bull.<sup>31</sup>

According to the prevailing wisdom of the nineteenth century, the sport played not only reflected national temperament but also dictated political orientation and instilled nationalist traits. In 1836, the Toronto Patriot claimed that "British feelings cannot flow into the breasts of our Canadian boys through a more delightful or untainted channel than that of British sports. A cricketer, as a matter of course, detests democracy and is staunch in his allegiance to his king."<sup>32</sup> Cricket and the experience of playing, the authors suggested, were essentially isomorphic to British society and provided a mechanism by which political socialization might be affected.

Acculturation, socialization, assimilation and the induction and maintenance of a British way of life provided a rationale for promoting immigration in Upper Canada. In 1832, Solicitor General and Kingston stalwart of the Compact, Christopher Hagerman, expressed his hope that "the influx of British Emigrants" particularly those "people of wealth and intelligence" would influence the population and

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<sup>31</sup> J. E. Hall and R. O. McCulloch, Sixty Years of Canadian Cricket (Toronto: Bryant Publishing Co. Ltd., 1895), 5.

<sup>32</sup> Patriot, 13 July 1836. Cited in Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society," 166.



save the colony from the "Canadian Native or the neighbouring republic." Security and political stability would be maintained by those who "strenuously adhere to the Unity of the Empire" and whose "predilections will be English."<sup>33</sup> In Toronto, the dominance of British political, commercial and cultural forms throughout the century attest to the success of the scheme.

For the Family Compact, however, mass immigration represented a double-edged sword. While the influx in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s ensured continued Tory support and perpetuation of certain British customs and beliefs, in many instances they were not the designated customs and beliefs. Contributing to the difficulties of recreating traditional English society were the conditions of pioneer Upper Canada, only one step removed from a frontier society. Conservatives hoped for either people of wealth and intelligence to act as gentry-in-training, or, failing this, the gentry's vassals: hardworking, subordinate, forelock-tugging, feudalized families that knew their position in society. In reality the newcomers displayed different traits. The gentry were "not much more than people with some education and a good upbringing."<sup>34</sup> Toronto society with its commercial, political and military elites, each scrambling to establish

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<sup>33</sup> C. A. Hagerman to John Macaulay, 17 April 1832. O. A. Macaulay Papers, Cited in Craig, Upper Canada 227.

<sup>34</sup> Lower, Canadians in the Making 201.

themselves on the social ladder, abounded with them. On the bottom rungs of the social ladder perched the proletarianized paupers, Chelsea-pensioners and human expendables from Britain's overcrowded cities. Also included in this latter group were the impoverished Irish. Stricken with the ravages of famine, financially and physically exhausted by the transatlantic adversities on ships described as "itinerant pest-houses," they arrived in their thousands, many weakened, sick with typhus and malnourished. Without state-sponsored programs, civic welfare institutions or private charity on the scale needed to address the crisis, the city reacted by shipping the marginally able-bodied out of town to fend for themselves. In the winter of 1847-48, the British Colonist, attributing a fictitious agency to the migrant, reported that during that year 38,560 had passed through the city.

While many Irish experienced Toronto as a temporary resting place, some settled, and some succumbed to disease and malnutrition and died in the city. Whatever their length of stay, Irish immigrants affected profoundly the city's and the colony's development. Their plight prodded reluctant provincial and civic governments, in the cause of self-interest as much as charity, to initiate social welfare programs. Such action heralded an increased role of government in the lives of citizens which, in an era of state consolidation, expanded to include education,

temperance, crime and poverty relief. At the local level a temporary Board of Health, first formed in the 1830s to combat outbreaks of cholera, was resurrected and reorganized. Following the 1832 example of Lower Canada and the 10,000 dollars provided by the Assembly for the creation of a quarantined area on Grosse Isle, public funds were made available for segregated hospitals for treating sick and dying immigrants. In 1847, with public coffers stretched to the limit under the burden of caring for indigents, the Province of Canada passed into law a bill requiring shipping companies to bear, in part, the expenses. In 1840, the Lieutenant Governor borrowed 40,000 pounds from the Bank of Upper Canada for the completion "of various public works ... affording employment to the numerous Immigrants who are now arriving and may still be expected to arrive."<sup>35</sup> Seven years later the President and Directors of the City of Toronto and Lake Huron Railroad applied to the Governor General for "substantial and efficient assistance" in the building of their railroad. The rationale for such public expense, they claimed, could be found in "providing employment for the abundance of emigrants who will this year overrun the Colony."<sup>36</sup> Such altruism did not go unrewarded.

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<sup>35</sup> Upper Canada sundries, 1840. Canadian Archives. Cited in Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 119-120.

<sup>36</sup> British Colonist, reprinted in Montreal Transcript 18 May 1847, in *Ibid.* 123.

Colonists who fell into debt shortly after arrival compounded social problems. The 1792 Act which created Upper Canada incorporated English civil law but excluded the tenets of the Elizabethan poor law which held local parishes responsible for the destitute. As a result, magistrates incarcerated debtors and gaols overflowed with assorted criminals, the homeless, the insane and those who had fallen on hard times. Colonial officials addressed the severity of the problem in 1843 by abolishing imprisonment for debt.

Irish settlement in Toronto in the late 1840s also affected the balance of the ethnic and religious makeup of the city. In 1848, the Irish-born provided 1,695 out of a city population of 25,503, accounting for 7% of the city's population. Only three years later, these Irish-born accounted for 37%, 11,305 of the city's total population of 30,775. Between 1848 and 1851 the city's Roman Catholic population rose by slightly over two thousand from 5,903 to 7,940 and by 1861 reached 12,135, only two thousand less than the dominant Anglican community. Michael Cross and Greg Kealey claim that such "rapidity of the peopling of Canada "guaranteed instability .... Friction and disorder were inevitable, especially when one of the elements, the Irish, had long traditions of disrespect for authority and of violence."<sup>37</sup> Although the Irish-Catholic influx

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<sup>37</sup> "Preface," Pre-Industrial Canada, ed. Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 10-11, 13-14.

challenged Toronto's Protestant culture and their presence influenced societal and institutional development, British authority remained intact. Many of the new arrivals came from Ulster and supported the Crown and the Anglican church, ensuring that "Anglo-Protestant ascendancy remained firm in the city."<sup>38</sup>

Irish Catholic immigration which threatened the health of Torontonians and established British cultural norms, contributed to the regulations imposed by Toronto members of the dominant class. Other factors included Victorian paranoia about the revolutionary potential of the underclasses, constant fear of the infiltration of democratic doctrines from the United States, and growing class tensions in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Temperance advocates campaigned to close the grog shops that flourished in Irish working-class areas like the notorious Stanley Street. Reformers sought to stem the flow of men and women charged with being drunk and disorderly, many of them apparently Irish. Egerton Ryerson advocated compulsory education as a means of exerting "control over the unreasonable, savage and disreputable at all social levels, but especially among the poor."<sup>39</sup> Ryerson included

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<sup>38</sup> Careless, Toronto to 1918, 73.

<sup>39</sup> Prentice, The School Promoters, 183. Ryerson envisaged a complex educational system in which the state would take an ever increasing role. By "co-option or control of the uncivilized poor" the gap between rich and poor would be breached - at least ideologically.

in his blueprint instructions for physical training and gymnastic exercises that promoted "not only physical health and vigour, but social cheerfulness," acting as "a most useful safety valve."<sup>40</sup> This overt policy of social control administered through athleticism and education epitomized Gruneau's observation that "Canada's commercial-political ruling class" designed "regulations which would maintain order, discipline, and health among the working population and promote the interests of liberal civility."<sup>41</sup>

Apart from their national and religious origins, Irish Catholics formed part of another visible, consolidating and potentially political insurgent force, the working-class. Coinciding with mass immigration, Canada experienced the onset of its industrial revolution in the late 1840s and Toronto "played a major role in this transformation."<sup>42</sup> Supplying the labour pool with landless labourers, unskilled

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<sup>40</sup> "Physical Training in Schools: Gymnastic Exercises," Journal of Education for Upper Canada 5, (May 1852).

<sup>41</sup> Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society," 167. Gruneau contends that members of the commercial-political ruling class were concerned about the lower orders. Specifically, they feared the spread of disease, reformist ideas, immigration and, after the rebellions, the threat of a population with "time on its hands."

<sup>42</sup> Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 3. Kealey cites capitalist initiatives in gaining protective tariffs and working-class leadership in organized labour as the city's main contribution to Canada's industrialization.

Irish workers numerically dominated labour-intensive, pick-and-shovel projects such as canal and railway building and urban construction. Common to this employment, workers suffered indignities and exploitation in the form of local resentment and discrimination, exhausting work, overly long hours, gang bosses who cheated and stole their pay, wages paid in scrip, and horrendous and degrading living and working conditions.

According to Ruth Bleasdale, unskilled labourers living under such intolerable circumstances formed bonds beyond "a common culture shared by ethnicity."<sup>43</sup> Living together or in proximity, whether for financial necessity, cultural reaffirmation or the dictates of the job site "reinforced and overlapped bonds formed in the workplace." Workers "shared day to day social interaction ... leisure activities, drinking together at the 'grog' shops ... the daily struggle to subsist, the material poverty and insecurity, the wretched conditions, and the threat of starvation."<sup>44</sup> When injustices became intolerable Irish workers sought retribution in united action in the form of strikes, marches, riots and civil disorder. Such behaviours challenged authority, contributed to the stereotype of the

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<sup>43</sup> Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s," in Canadian Working Class History: Selected Readings ed. Laurel Sefton MacDowell and Ian Radforth (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1992), 113

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

drunken, undisciplined Irishman, provided a visible group to whom social ills could be attributed, facilitating the change from pre-industrial ethnic consciousness to industrial class-consciousness.

What Greg Kealey refers to as the "triumphant march of industrial capital" spurred by the decline of colonial mercantilism, protective tariffs, railway building and the initiation of Confederation, starting in the late 1840s and early 1850s, also profoundly affected Toronto's skilled workers. In the face of economic transformation and sweeping changes in the workplace, Toronto's skilled labour "tenaciously maintained the political and cultural traditions of its ancestors" by adapting "to the new context of industrial capitalist society."<sup>45</sup> Action and solidarity among skilled workers took many forms. The formation of craft and trade associations and unions, strikes and assaults against bosses and scab workers, provided the means to combat exploitation at the workplace but collectivity was also solidified during work-free time, activities and associational life.

In Proletariat, a study of nineteenth-century culture and lifestyle of workers, Dietrich Muhlberg suggests that leisure customs assumed "varying national flavour[s]" and "British workers choose sport, betting, outings and a

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<sup>45</sup> Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 291



spectator culture ...."<sup>46</sup> Muhlberg's observation finds resonance in predominantly British Toronto. Workers organized cricket, lacrosse and baseball teams according to craft or workplace. For example, in 1874, two years after a city-wide strike for a nine-hour day, journeymen, apprentices and compositors at Toronto newspapers formed baseball teams, many of which competed at least until the 1880s. Other working-class trades and occupations which organized sports included bank clerks, Post Office clerks, Custom's House clerks, railway clerks, dry goods clerks, letter carriers, lathers, moulders, cigar makers, butchers, plumbers, bookbinders, hatters, policemen, firemen, broom-makers, shoemakers, cabinet-makers, carvers, tinsmiths, licensed victuallers, telegraphers, warehousemen, carpenters, bricklayers, journalists, tailors and stonemasons. Increasingly alienated by the division of labour at the workplace, many workers sought the company of their peers in athletic competition.

Fraternal societies organized according to national or religious origins. The Sons of England, Loyal Orange Order, Young Britons of Toronto, Young Irishmen's Catholic Benevolent Association, Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, German, Hibernian and St. George Benevolent Societies,

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<sup>46</sup> Proletariat: Culture and Lifestyle in the Nineteenth-Century, ed. Dietrich Muhlberg (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1988), 197.

sponsored trips and picnics where workers and their families escaped the confines of the workplace and the city.

Activities included football, hurling, racing, quoits, dancing, lacrosse, baseball, rowing, gymnastics, curling and many children's games. Unions organized picnics, at which many sports and recreational activities were played, donated prizes for sporting events, sponsored teams and coordinated labour parades and demonstrations which often culminated in athletic competition.

Contributing to solidarity but seeking cooption, paternalistic employers organized factory sports clubs. By sponsoring the teams, owners extended their sphere of influence and ensured a continued supply of refreshed labour. By 1886, companies such as distillers Gooderham and Worts, Grand Trunk Railroad, dry goods merchants John Macdonald and Co., American Watch Case Co., Great North West Telegraph Co., Singer Manufacturing Co., and safemakers J. J. Taylor and Co. organized a variety of sports including football, baseball and cricket. Many companies also sponsored annual picnics where organized and spontaneous sporting events took place.

When workers found their bosses' paternalism condescending they often formed their own clubs. Removed from factory and warehouse teams and obsequious behaviours that such membership demanded, teams competed free of constraint. Commonly, members understood their social

status and their mutual enjoyment in athletic competition. As Muhlberg claims, many clubs organized by workers served several purposes: "here was a chance to take pleasure in one's strength, keep fit for work and the worker's cause, shun the sphere of bourgeois influence in the company of one's peers and support the aims of the labour movement."<sup>47</sup>

The railway boom of the 1850s, fuelled by British capital, provided impetus to skilled and unskilled labour collectivity and to urban and economic growth. In Toronto, construction started on the Northern Railway at Front Street in October 1851, reached Barrie in 1853 and its terminus, Collingwood on Georgian Bay, in 1855. Rationale for its construction came from Toronto's commercial elite which envisioned restoring the fur trade route to the North-West thus creating the city as an economic focal point in the land and water trade to and from the West.<sup>48</sup> Access to an expanding and increasingly productive hinterland meant freight in the form of farm produce and lumber from the forests made its way to and through the city. Grain from

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 210. German turnverein, of which Toronto had at least one club, expressed their opinions of sport and status in song:

"Valiant cheer to dare afresh,  
Grows of our sportive play.  
We are yet slaves,  
But brothers come,  
Sport shall make us free."

<sup>48</sup> G.P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada Vol I: Continental Strategy to 1867 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 158.

American ports, after storage in Collingwood's silos, also made the journey to Toronto on its way to markets in Briatin, the Caribbean and southern states. As the Northern neared completion, Hamiltonian Sir Allan Macnab, president of the Great Western Railway, announced his intention of extending his network of rail by completing a Hamilton-Toronto line. Macnab's attempt at concentrating a burgeoning southwestern economy in Hamilton backfired. As Careless points out:

... Hamilton and the whole Southwest found themselves increasingly tied into Toronto. The much larger centre, with its greater trading facilities, business resources and market demands, exercised the stronger focussing power. In effect, the fast-rising western peninsula beyond Hamilton was opened to Toronto as never before, through Woodstock and London by rail to Windsor, where train ferries crossed to Detroit and American tracks to Chicago. Furthermore, since the Great Western also joined with lines to New York, Toronto equally gained direct rail access to the giant American supply and market centre, a major supplement to the Erie Canal route.<sup>49</sup>

A year later Toronto's economic supremacy over other cities in the province became confirmed when the Grand Trunk railway reached the city from Montreal and then extended westward eventually to reach Guelph and Sarnia. Over ten years later, providing further access to the "back country," the Toronto Grey and Bruce Railway reached Owen Sound and the Toronto and Nipissing Railway reached Cobocok.

The construction of a rail network, Ian Jobling asserted, "led to a spectacular rise in the amount of

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<sup>49</sup> Careless, Toronto to 1918, 81.

sporting activity."<sup>50</sup> Prior to the building of the railway, Toronto's athletes were restricted in who they might compete against, when and how often, by the limitations imposed by their geographical environment. Inter-urban competition necessitated tedious, tiring, time-consuming and expensive travel by steamer or stage. Train travel reduced the amount of time, money and energy that teams spent in transit, thus encouraging inter-city and inter-town competition. Toronto-Montreal contests became weekend events rather than week-long excursions. In addition, teams could play more than one match on a tour by visiting neighbouring towns and villages.

Travelling by railway also positively affected the quality and variety of play - a significant consideration when competition on the field became a product to be promoted, sold and consumed and winners took home a larger share of the gate receipts. With the advent of sleeper cars in the 1870s, athletes travelled overnight and arrived at their destinations refreshed and able to perform at optimal levels.

Facilitating the growth of sport, railway entrepreneurs, quick to recognize financial potential, advertised reduced rate fares to attract spectators. Whenever the Toronto or Ontario Lacrosse Clubs visited

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<sup>50</sup> Ian F. Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological Changes on its Development" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1970), 27.

Montreal in the 1870s and 1880s they were accompanied by many of the officers of the club, supporters and, in some cases, reporters from the city's newspapers. In the 1880s hundreds of spectators took advantage of the special fares that railroad and steamship lines offered for transport to the location of Edward Hanlan's contests. Race meetings in Hamilton, Ottawa, London, Whitby and London all benefitted from the patronage of Toronto horses, trainers, jockeys and fans. The interdependence of the construction of railways and the rise of sport prompted one scholar to ask why railroad companies reacted to sporting events rather than promoting them? By posing this question, Williams implies that perhaps the variables should be inverted and that sport may have facilitated the growth of railway building - an exaggerated proposal, but one that recognizes a correlational and symbiotic relationship.<sup>51</sup>

The development of an efficient transportation system within Toronto city limits also contributed to an increase in inter-club competition and spectator sport. Since 1849, horse-drawn buses had served the city. In September 1861, the Toronto Street Railway Company introduced the first horse-powered street railway in Canada. Eleven years later, in 1872, only six miles of rail ran through the city's main arteries but by 1891 sixty-eight miles of street railway

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<sup>51</sup> Trevor Williams, "Cheap Rates, Special Trains and Canadian Sport in the 1850's," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 12 (December 1981): 84-93.

carried fifty-five thousand passengers a day. Athletic competitions between local rivals that previously necessitated a lengthy walk or an expensive cab fare became commonplace as by 1881, the King Street line ran from the Don in the east to the Exhibition grounds in the west. By 1887, spectators could ride the rail to the gates of the Woodbine racetrack.

Streetcars also contributed to the territorial expansion of the city and changed the nature of existing industrial and residential areas. Before the cars offered reliable, inexpensive and extensive service, workers by necessity lived close to their places of employment. Twelve-hour shifts at manual labour or even clerking left little time or energy for a long walk home. As a result factories and houses of commerce coexisted in proximity to workers' houses. In the east end in the 1860s, many workers employed at distillers Gooderham and Worts and the Toronto Rolling Mills, located at the corners of Mill and Trinity and Mill and East Streets respectively, lived in the maze of tiny streets just north and east of the factories. In the centre of the city, bank and insurance clerks boarded at houses in the more genteel areas a short walk to the north or the west. Ease of transportation in the form of streetcars, omnibuses and cabs encouraged those who could afford it to move out of the city centre, away from the pollution, congestion and evils Victorians associated with a

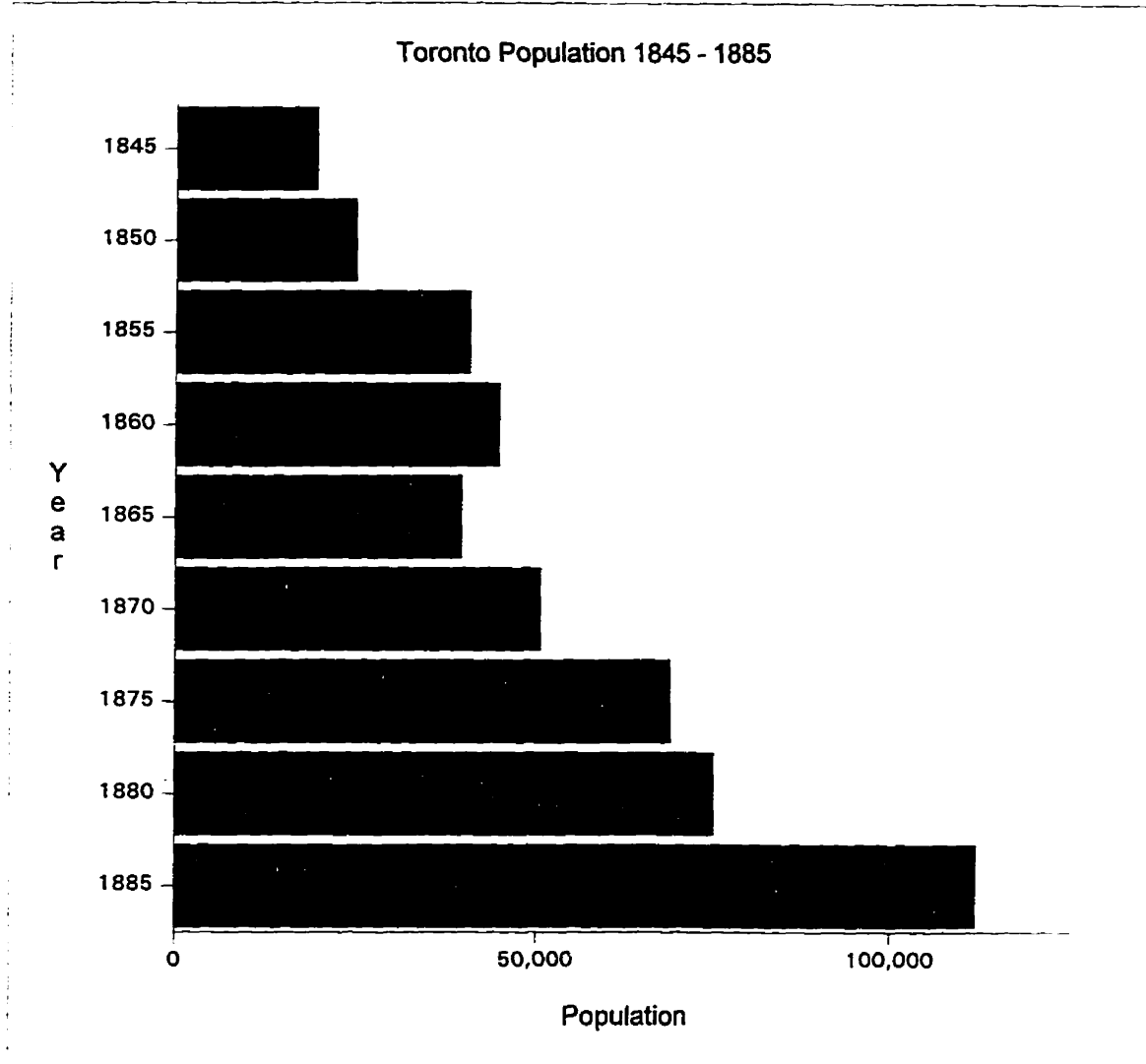
rapidly industrializing city. Furthermore, private carriages negotiated the improved roads on the outskirts and carried the well-to-do to the periphery. Accordingly, the city and the spatial and conceptual division between the classes expanded. The outskirts of the city were characterized by upper and middle-class suburbs such as Yorkville and Rosedale while urban core areas became numerically dominated by working-class families.

As a result of their migration from Toronto's centre, the middle and upper classes who moved to the suburbs freed themselves from the constraints of encroaching industrial construction. With space and lower property costs they built athletic facilities in choice locations close to their homes. The working-class which remained in the city played on vacant lots and garbage-strewn streets or walked to the city perimeter.

Population increases and changing demographics caused by the movement to the city's periphery resulted in a number of ward changes and three annexations before 1886. From 1845 to 1885 Toronto's population rose from under 20,000 to over 110,000. (Figure 4) Newcomers and core migrants settling on the edges of the city created community pockets that were gradually enveloped by the expanding metropolis. Expansion necessitated ward reorganization. Although historians tend to regard nineteenth-century Toronto as a culturally homogeneous city, the wards enclosed communities



Figure 4



Source: Toronto City Assessment Rolls 1867 - 1885. Rolls did not include population figures until 1867.  
Toronto City Directories 1845, 1850.  
Globe. 15 March 1860 for 1856 population.  
Census of the Canadas 1861.

that displayed their identities in terms of class, religion, ethnicity and language. Also integral to the development and maintenance of ward and neighbourhood identities were the associational activities in which people participated during their leisure time.

At the Geneva Congress in 1866, the International Working Men's Association, under the instruction of Karl Marx, proposed eight hours as the legal limit of the working day in all countries. In Toronto in 1870 however, workers still toiled twelve to fourteen hours a day and sixteen hours was not unknown. In the 1860s, half-holiday and early-closing movements to give labourers and retail clerks time for recreation had been discussed but with few exceptions discarded. The following decade, Canadian labour agitation to secure shorter working hours centred on the protracted battle between employers, led by George Brown, owner of the Globe, and Toronto printers.<sup>52</sup> In 1872, after a series of organizational meetings that involved a number

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<sup>52</sup> Noted labour historian Greg Kealey claims that the nine-hour movement is "undoubtedly the most discussed event in Canadian working-class history." His chapter "The Toronto working class enters politics: the nine-hours movement and the Toronto junta" in Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism uses workers' struggle to reduce their working hours as a backdrop to analyze their involvement in politics. Although historians have focussed on Toronto as the hub of the conflict, labour agitation in the city represented a wider movement "to secure social reform and a shift in the nature of productive relations." Bryan Palmer points out that the impetus originated in Hamilton where railway shops served as centres of organization. Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 107.

of trades in industrial centres, Toronto printers, contrary to a plan conceived and agreed upon by other labour groups, struck against their bosses. This breaking of ranks also broke the back of the movement and all but a few highly skilled workers returned to work without a reduction in working hours. Despite defeat, Greg Kealey recognizes the movement as "a significant benchmark both in the evolution of working-class consciousness and in the development of mature organizational forms."<sup>53</sup> As working hours became the focus of class conflict, worker resistance to "Capital's drive toward a boundless and ruthless extension of the working day"<sup>54</sup> became the determining factor. The labour unrest of 1872 and the resulting stirring of consciousness and the formation of nascent working-class organizations represented the opening skirmishes of a prolonged civil war.

The seeds of organized labour's efforts to reduce the hours of the working day also fell on other ground, stimulating change. In 1876, in what may have been an attempt to curry favour with the electorate, Alderman Wagner publicly announced that he had granted his workmen a half-day holiday on Saturdays. Segments of the working class acquired an awareness of the value of leisure time "to restore health and physical energies" and for "intellectual

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<sup>53</sup> Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 128.

<sup>54</sup> Karl Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, vol. 1, (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 411.

development, social intercourse, social and political action."<sup>55</sup> Shop clerks accustomed to working from early morning to late evening, six days a week, campaigned for shorter hours, including finishing work at six o'clock on summer evenings and half days on Saturdays. The "early closing" movement found support among a broad base of the community including churchmen who, from the pulpit, advocated the closing of stores at noon on Saturdays to allow employees time for physical and spiritual regeneration. At a 1877 meeting, the Reverend Mr. Pearson stated that "what he wanted to see was a sound mind in a sound body."<sup>56</sup> Success was mixed. In 1877, dry goods stores declared that during the summer hours they would close at five o'clock in the evenings. Many of the larger stores formed baseball teams that played in the Toronto Base Ball Association league. By the 1880s half day Saturdays and early closing in the city's biggest stores became the rule rather than the exception.

The rise in class awareness, acceptance of the need for physical regeneration and the reduction of working hours in some trades resulted in an increase in working-class teams and players. The New Dominion Rowing Club founded in 1873

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<sup>55</sup> Karl Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council," in The Karl Marx Library: On the First International, ed. Saul K. Padover (New York: McGraw Hill 1973), 79.

<sup>56</sup> Globe, 8 May 1877.

was "formed on the basis of being a working-man's club and to give the rowing men of Toronto an opportunity of coming out and showing their mettle."<sup>57</sup> Shortly after the labour unrest of 1872 Toronto's union printers formed their own baseball team and competed against other trades and established teams. On the Cemetery Commons, facilitating solidarity with competition, journeymen printers from the Globe played against apprentices from the same newspaper. In 1874, plumbers, brass finishers and steamfitters organized picnics at which a variety of games and athletic competitions were held. In 1878, the Toronto Trades Assembly converted the Burnside Hospital at Sheppard and Richmond Streets to a working-men's club at which games and sports were played.

Toronto's concentrated population and its increased participation in sports translated into a potential market for factory-produced equipment and consumables. The realization of that potential in turn translated into mass production of goods, which reduced prices, brought many previously expensive items within reach of working-class incomes and thus enabled even greater consumption and participation. Large scale production also "facilitated the development of uniformity"<sup>58</sup> which became a significant factor as provincial and national sport governing bodies

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<sup>57</sup> Globe, 6 February 1874.

<sup>58</sup> Jobling, "Sport and Technology," 140.

modified codes, rules and regulations. While many specialty items such as cricket and fencing equipment were imported from Britain, within the city manufacturers produced a range of sporting goods from baseballs to velocipedes. By the 1880s, hoping to catch the eye of the consumer with time and discretionary income, stores advertized their wares in newspapers, in periodicals and on street signs. During the winter months suppliers touted the latest technological improvements of their product and competed fiercely for the custom of the thousands of skate buyers. Toboggans, sleighs and suitable clothing for outdoor activity were also widely advertised. The spring and summer months became a frenzy of marketing for manufacturers, dealers, agents and storekeepers hoping to cash in on the latest sport or recreational fad from Britain or the United States capturing the public's imagination.

Advances in technology and science, the cornerstones of Victorian faith in progress, were also evident in developments outside the factory. Prior to the 1840s, the publishing of newspapers in Toronto involved laborious time-consuming hand setting of the day's issue. News concentrated on local, national and international politics, world events and trade with liberal doses of reprints from other newspapers on items of interest. Editors paid little attention to local social and cultural events and even less to sport. Occasionally brief reports mentioned horse

racing, curling or cricket, the pursuits of local elites.<sup>59</sup> The invention of the steam-powered press and the electro-magnetic telegraph in the 1840s revolutionized newspaper reporting. Newspaper offices were soon linked throughout North America and by 1866 the news could be relayed to and from Great Britain via the Atlantic cable.

Sports reporting flourished with the development of communication and improved printing methods. Toronto's population gained access to such diverse events as the Oxford and Cambridge boat race, horse racing from Saratoga and day-by-day updates of Edward Hanlan's whereabouts, training, diet, equipment and business negotiations for his next race. During Hanlan's reign as world champion in the early 1880s, crowds gathered at telegraph offices to hear up to the moment reports of his races. By the 1870s city newspapers published daily sporting columns with extensive reports of local action interspersed with news from other provinces, the United States and Great Britain. During the same decade The Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, a weekly periodical, reported on all events of interest to Toronto's considerable gambling fraternity. In the 1880s the Toronto publications Canadian Cricket Field, Bicycle and

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<sup>59</sup> By 1845, the following newspapers were published in Toronto: Banner 1834-1848, British Colonist 1838-1861, Christian Guardian 1829-1925, Church 1837-1856, Examiner 1838-1855, Globe 1844-1936, Herald 1837-1848, Mirror 1837-1866, Patriot and Farmer's Monitor 1828-1878, Star 1840-1846, and Upper Canada Gazette 1793-1849.

Canadian Wheelman promoted their sports and brought the news in detail to their readers.

Other technological innovations affected life and society in the city and facilitated participation in and consumption of sport. Serious athletes incorporated the latest scientific principles in their training regimen. In the early 1870s the bicycle made its appearance on the rutted roads and wooden sidewalks of Toronto. Initially heralded as a miracle of scientific advancement, the city's romance with the ungainly and difficult to ride penny farthing soon soured as the new "contraption", with novice riders, provided new hazards on the streets. But despite legislation to limit its use the high wheelers became an integral part of city transportation and recreational and competitive riding gained mass popularity toward the end of the century.

The advent of safe and clean electric lighting in the 1880s, replacing coal gas, facilitated indoor sport. At first only elite clubs could afford the expense, but with the money to be made from ice skating, curling and the spectator sports of pedestrianism, boxing and wrestling, arenas, concert halls, bowling alleys and roller skating and velocipede rinks soon converted to incandescent lighting.

By the 1880s sport had become ingrained in Toronto society. It had permeated education from Upper Canada College to the most humble public school. It formed an



intrinsic component of the economic system as it not only developed as an enterprise in itself but also stimulated peripheral growth. It played a role in Canada's relationship with Britain and the United States as international competition became more common. Its developing bureaucracy and immersion in economics necessitated increased involvement with law. Its widespread appeal, propagated by the media and entrepreneurs, and its ostensible egalitarianism provided an ideal medium for ideological and political interests. Religious, national and ethnic groups also used it to further their own ends. Sport even became incorporated in art in the form of poetry, paintings, photography and song.

By 1886, the ultra-tory, pro-British sentiment that characterized the Toronto of 1845 remained, albeit in a diluted form. Writing in 1891, G. Mercer Adam, claimed that "English speech and English ways are the custom of our people. In face and figure too, our population confess kinship with the Motherland across the sea, and betray customs, habits, and institutions here faithfully reproduced."<sup>60</sup> Mercer Adam's observation may have been tinted by more than a little nostalgia and a wish to return to the good old days. But by the time of his writing, the city was well on the way to the twentieth-century and not

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<sup>60</sup> G. Mercer Adam, Toronto Old and New (Toronto: The Mail Printing Co., 1891), 42.

just in terms of chronology. From "Muddy Little York" in 1845, with its nascent aristocracy, semi-feudal class system and imported rituals of sport and recreation, to Toronto in 1886, the city had developed into a thriving commercial and industrial city with a new bourgeois order and working-class opposition, complete with social and cultural foundations that characterized and gave shape to contemporary sport.

### Chapter III

#### Political and State Involvement in Sport

Over three thousand spectators witnessed His Honour, Lieutenant Governor Robinson, pitch the ball to umpire A. W. Corcoran inaugurating the game between the nines of Toronto and the Rochester Hop Bitters of the International League on May 22, 1886. Robinson made way on the mound for Toronto's starter, W. W. "Peek-a-Boo" Veach, who made short work of the Rochesters. After the game, the officers of the Toronto club invited the Governor's party, the visiting team's delegation and members of the press to lunch in the club rooms under the newly-constructed grandstand. President of the Toronto Baseball Association, E. Strachan Cox, proposed a toast to the health of the guest of honour and those gathered took up the refrain "He's a jolly good fellow". Flushed by the success of the day and the adulation the Lieutenant Governor affably replied that:

it afforded him great pleasure to be present at the opening of such a magnificent ground. It always pleased him to see the delight which all classes of Anglo Saxons entered into athletics of every kind. This was a spirit which ought to be fostered, for there was no doubt that it had a great deal to do with the manly, sturdy characteristics which distinguished the race. A great deal was said about Imperial Federation these days, but these manly sports and friendly contests at baseball, cricket and lacrosse, were doing more to cement the union between Englishmen, Australians, Americans and Canadians than any visionary.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Globe, 24 May 1886.

The ceremonial pitch and overblown rhetoric that officially opened the grounds of the Toronto Baseball Association underscored the symbiotic and complex relationship between politics and sport. Sport developed in the city in the context of a burgeoning and consolidating late nineteenth-century state. From the early restrictions of the Lords's Day Act in 1845, which prohibited many recreational activities on Sundays, and the early acts and by-laws which banned prize fights, blood sports and street games, to Governor Robinsons's gushing endorsement of "these manly sports" in 1886, the state in its many guises, banned, curbed, permitted, endorsed and promoted the various forms of sport, constructing leisure's many meanings.

In Colonial Leviathan, a study of Canadian state formation, Allan Greer and Ian Radforth suggest that "Canadian historians have long been interested in the middle decades of the nineteenth century," as during this time the "country took shape as a political entity."<sup>2</sup> In the aftermath of the rebellions of 1837-38 "Radical Jack", Earl of Durham, suggested union of all the provinces. Although vetoed by the Maritime colonies, other plans included a move to autonomy and increased self-government and a legislative union between Upper and Lower Canada. Britain finally

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<sup>2</sup> Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada, ed. Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 3.

granted responsible government in 1848. After much political wrangling Confederation followed in 1867.

The roles and functions of the nascent Canadian state in the context of a rapidly developing capitalist economy were, according to Canadian political scientist Leo Panitch, "often mutually contradictory," but accumulation, legitimation and coercion were the ultimate ends. By facilitating accumulation and legitimizing the process, the state created and maintained optimal conditions for capital accumulation.<sup>3</sup> The coercive function, use of "force to maintain or impose social order," usually occurred only when the legitimizing function failed.<sup>4</sup>

During the years of Union from 1841 to 1867, the Canadian polity created the preconditions for capital accumulation. The building of canals and railroads, many funded with public money, facilitated transportation of raw materials to production centres and the finished product to markets. By controlling immigration and land-granting policies the state fostered a particular labour market.

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<sup>3</sup> Certain aspects of the role of the state in capital accumulation and sport are covered in the chapter "Sport and the Cash Nexus,". The focus here, within the context of capital accumulation, is the state's function across society as a whole and how it affected patterns of sports participation.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Panitch, "The Role and Nature of the Canadian State," in The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, ed. Leo Panitch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 8. Even when employing the monopoly of the coercive function to maintain the conditions for social harmony, legitimacy remains paramount.

Discouraging American immigrants who held Republican ideas, Upper and Lower Canada opened their doors to transatlantic settlers. Upon arrival, however, many immigrants found most of the good land taken or in the possession of absentee landlords, speculators, or the clergy. Proletarianized, they flooded to the cities creating the surplus labour market necessary to a capitalist economy. The state also held jurisdiction over tariffs, enacted to counteract the free-trade ideology that had swept Britain in the 1830s and 1840s. The control and legislation of fiscal matters and banking also provided accumulation functions.

In the decades of the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s the state's activity on behalf of capital intensified. Political legislators expanded the range of their power and utilized the legitimizing and coercive functions, present but essentially dormant in the 1840s and 1850s. Confederation, an act of state formation, concurrently fulfilled and defined the responsibilities for the three state functions of accumulation, legitimization and coercion. Panitch suggests that "Confederation itself was produced by the desire to facilitate capital accumulation by guaranteeing loans from London to build the railways."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 14. To facilitate capital accumulation the state provided a favourable environment for the growth of business, underwritten "private risks of production at public expense," controlled immigration and land granting in creating a labour market and provided technical infrastructure projects considered too risky or costly by private capital.

The provinces and Ottawa shared the potential for legitimation; the former were responsible for hospitals, charity, education and the maintenance of local governments and the latter for matters of national importance such as John A. Macdonald's Trades Union Act of 1872 and the anti-combines legislation of 1889. Likewise, federal and provincial governments shared and exercised the coercive function. Local municipalities organized police forces and civil law fell under the auspices of the provinces, while the federal government assumed responsibility for correctional institutions, the military and criminal law.

The Canadian state's involvement in sport originated in an attempt to control a particular segment of the population, thus creating conditions favourable to capital accumulation. On March 29, 1845, the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty enacted "a law against the profanation of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, which day ought to be duly observed and kept holy."<sup>6</sup> Primarily aimed at preventing business and commerce operating on the Sabbath, the act stipulated other unacceptable activities:

nor shall it be lawful for any person or persons to play at skittles, ball, foot-ball, racket, or any other noisy game, or to gamble with dice or otherwise, or to run races on foot, or on horseback, or in carriages, or in vehicles of any sort, on that day; nor shall it be lawful for any person or persons to go out fishing or hunting or shooting, or in the quest of, or to take, kill or destroy, any deer or other game, or any wild animal, or any wild fowl or bird, or fish ... nor shall

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<sup>6</sup> Victoria 8, Cap. 44.

it be lawful for any person or persons to bathe in any exposed situation in any water within the limits of any incorporated City or Town.<sup>7</sup>

The Lord's Day Act was neither an insular nor isolated occurrence, but reflected international economic, political and cultural developments. The religious restrictions were debated, enacted and enforced within the context of a developing colonial capitalism that took its cue from transatlantic and trans-Great Lake influences. Beneath the guise of religious restriction, the Act was little more than a control mechanism by bourgeois paternalism and a nascent capital's adjustment to changing modes of production and the resulting shifts in the social relations of production.

The outlawing of "tippling in any Inn, Tavern, Grocery, or House of Public entertainment"<sup>8</sup> on a Sunday immediately negated much sport and recreational amusement for the working-class. For many workers the Sabbath was the only free day to enjoy the tavern, which provided a centre for associational life and the opportunity to engage in informal competitive games. Howard Christie's study of Toronto taverns suggests that although an 1841 law denied licences to taverns with a bowling alley or a fives court, these were "mere words rather than actual policy."<sup>9</sup> As an example he

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Howard A. Christie, "The Function of the Tavern in Toronto: 1834-1875. With Special Reference to Sport" (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1973), 45.



cites the Lovejoy House on King Street which in 1850 openly advertised its bowling alley in the newspaper. A game of cards, dice or bagatelle might be played in any one of numerous taverns, or the customer might watch scheduled and unscheduled boxing matches, cockfighting, animal baiting, pigeon shooting, quoits and horse races. Often these contests were prompted by the courage generated by strong drink. E. C. Guillet, in Pioneer Inns and Taverns, asserts that in sporting taverns "boxing contests and crude fights, as well as gambling were added to the usual drinking."<sup>10</sup>

The Lord's Day legislation partially addressed the Family Compact's concern over two related issues. First, working-class meetings were commonly associated with taverns and the contents of the bottle as much as ideology often supplied the fire and brimstone of political rhetoric. For working men, taverns and ale-houses served as centres of communication as well as associational life. They exchanged information about a variety of topics including where to find work, bosses, wages, working conditions, the causes of their oppression and the means of resistance. Union and political meetings were often held in taverns.<sup>11</sup> Little

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<sup>10</sup> Edwin C. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, vol. 1, (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1964), 98.

<sup>11</sup> See Bryan D. Palmer, "Tavern Life," in Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour 1800-1991, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992). Fred Landon, "The Common Man on the Eve of Rebellion in Upper Canada," in Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario, ed. Frederick H. Armstrong, 154-170. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

wonder middle-class lawmakers sought to control licensing hours and limit times when working men might congregate.<sup>12</sup> Second, gatherings of "roughs" were always suspect, and the possibility of violence existed no matter what the occasion. In 1865, the Globe informed its readers that:

[a] large number of youths of all ages make it a practice to assemble on a vacant lot on the corner of Simcoe and Wellington Streets every Sunday afternoon and make such a noise playing ball and using the most blasphemous language that the attention of the police would be beneficial.<sup>13</sup>

Nor was the problem confined to Sabbath desecration and blasphemy or to one geographic area. In an episode that resulted in violence:

[a] large number of youths who seemed to look on Sunday as a day of recreation got up a pugilistic encounter between two of their companions and assisted by a blackguard who ought to have known better they fought it out quietly on a field off Yonge Street near College Avenue.<sup>14</sup>

When taverns and alcohol were added to the equation the resultant mixture became all the more volatile and

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<sup>12</sup> By limiting when men might meet after work, the bourgeoisie sought to extend their control of the workplace. Divide and rule practices such as exploiting the rivalries between skilled and unskilled, inflaming national, religious and gender prejudices, and instituting piece rates, pitted worker against worker. Preventing workers from gathering would continue rivalries and preempt collectivity. For an examination of attempts to "lessen the tavern's importance or to eliminate it entirely," see M. P. Sendbuehler, "Battling the Bane of Our Cities: Class, Territory and the Prohibition Debate in Toronto 1877," Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine 22 (October 1993): 30-48.

<sup>13</sup> Globe, 31 July 1865.

<sup>14</sup> Globe, 7 August 1865.

threatening:

[o]n Sunday last, and in fact nearly every Sabbath, dog fights take place in a small field known as Allen's bush near the corner of Sherbourne and Isabella Streets. A lot of roughs always assemble there to witness the sport. The police authorities should see to the matter and have such desecration of the Sabbath put a stop to. The house of a man who keeps a low grog shop near the spot likewise requires attention.<sup>15</sup>

Bourgeois concerns about taverns and beer-shops as the cause of working-class transgressions were ever-present. As early as 1856 an expose headlined "Crime and Drink" lamented that "Groggeries and liquor saloons of the lowest class are in full blast at every corner, in every street, lane and avenue."<sup>16</sup>

Although passage of the Lord's Day Act suppressed working-class gatherings and recreation on Sundays, primarily it intended to create an obedient and subordinate labour force. As the country moved toward an industrialized economy the new capitalism deemed inappropriate and counterproductive traditional work methods. On-the-job drinking and the customary St. Monday holidays for those who had overindulged on Sunday soon came under attack.

An increase in legislation designed to curb drinking paralleled capitalism's intensification and gathering momentum. From the open salvo of the Lord's Day Act, the state's involvement in the production of a sober worker

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<sup>15</sup> Globe, 4 June 1867.

<sup>16</sup> Globe, 5 November 1856.

became a broadside. In late December 1846, Toronto Alderman Cameron introduced a bill "for the arrest and punishment of idle, drunken, vagrant and disorderly persons ...."<sup>17</sup> In 1849, the Legislative Assembly appointed a select committee to "enquire whether any, and what legislative measures can be adopted to repress the evils ... of intemperance."<sup>18</sup> One solution advocated giving clergymen the power to issue tavern licenses.<sup>19</sup> As attractive as this might have been for the Temperance movement, it did not appeal to legislative members, many of them tipplers. The solution agreed upon in August 1850, gave municipalities authority for "fixing the number of Taverns, Beershops and houses of public entertainment."<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, local authorities could prescribe the condition for licensing, setting and collecting the fees. In response, in February 1851, Toronto aldermen passed an "Act to license and regulate Taverns and Houses of Public Entertainment".<sup>21</sup> In November of the same year, they passed an "Act to license

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<sup>17</sup> Toronto City Council Minutes, 28 December 1846.

<sup>18</sup> Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the United Canadas, 3, ed. Elizabeth Gibbs, (Centre de Recherche en Histoire Economique du Canada Francais, undated), January 23, 1849.

<sup>19</sup> Debates of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 9, ed. Elizabeth Gibbs, (Centre de Recherche en Histoire Economique du Canada Francais, undated), 1586.

<sup>20</sup> Victoria 14, Cap. 65.

<sup>21</sup> By-Laws of the City of Toronto, (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1890), By-Law 168, 21 February 1851.

and regulate Ten Pin Alleys and Bowling Saloons."<sup>22</sup> Further legislation aimed at the "repression of Intemperance," limited hours of business; taverns closed at 8 p.m. in winter and 9 p.m. in summer and publicans were responsible for keeping a "peaceable, decent and orderly house . . . ." <sup>23</sup> The law prohibited gambling and demanded the Revenue Inspector visit licensed taverns every year. Opening hours and leisure opportunities for the working man were further reduced in 1869 when hotels, taverns and all shops selling alcohol closed on polling day.<sup>24</sup>

Legislation designed solely for maintaining a sober, stable and reliable workforce required taverns to close from "seven of the clock Saturday night till the hour of six of the clock Monday morning."<sup>25</sup> The same act granted authority to "any police officer or constable, . . . at any time [to] enter into any tavern, inn, ale house, beer shop . . . ." Four years later in a bout of paranoia, Ontario's politicians decreed that a gas light seen burning in taverns during prohibited hours constituted evidence of breaking the law.<sup>26</sup>

The second and interrelated reason for the suppression

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. By-Law 176, 3 November 1851.

<sup>23</sup> Victoria 15, Cap. 100.

<sup>24</sup> Victoria 32, Cap. 21.

<sup>25</sup> Victoria 32, Cap. 32.

<sup>26</sup> Victoria 36, Cap. 34.

of drinking and the strict control of licensing hours can be found in Gruneau's assertion that "moral levity among the underclasses (and the large gatherings often associated with popular amusements) led readily to political sedition."<sup>27</sup> Significantly the tavern served as a conduit for "moral levity" and the site for many "popular amusements" and its control became an imperative for those striving for social stability.

Despite the onslaught of legislation, working-class men seeking respite from the factory found ways and means to circumvent the law and in the process offend public sensibilities. Many working people visited Toronto Island on Sundays to escape from the city. The attractions included fresh air, swimming, fishing, an opportunity to meet the opposite sex and illegal drinking. In describing a bane to Victorian middle-class sensibilities, the Globe reported that a "number of moulders went to the Island to celebrate on Sunday."<sup>28</sup> After consuming copious quantities of liquor, fights broke out among the celebrants. Four days later the paper published an expose on whiskey selling on the Island.

To combat what they saw as a growing problem, sabbatarians pressured police to issue summons to captains

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<sup>27</sup> Richard S. Gruneau, "Power and Play in Canadian Society," in Power and Change in Canada, ed. Richard J. Ossenburt (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 164.

<sup>28</sup> Globe, 24 June 1869.

of steamers running to the Island on Sundays. Their voiced concern was that the "hands" on the boats were obliged to work. Previously, the ferries operated to allow Islanders to attend church in the city. All other excursions were prohibited. Naturally, workers seeking amusement on their only day off took advantage of the situation and flocked to the Island in the hundreds. The hypocrisy of such restrictive proposals masquerading as pious concern caused cartoonist and political satirist J. S. Bengough to comment:

Another thing is that these people who frown down on what they consider levity on the Sabbath, and commiserate so much with the people employed on the ferries, have their own "slaveys" at home preparing their meals and doing domestic work for them. There (sic) raise not up their voices at the rich who are driven to their respective churches in their carriages .... Neither do they pointedly rebuke those who have sufficient funds to hire a "rig" from a livery stable and taking their full money's worth out of the unfortunate "plug" which for the nonce is at their mercy. They do not reflect that, providing always you have the necessary cash and desire to go to the Island, any number of sail and row boats ... are at the public's disposal. Yet all these situations obliges somebody to work and much harder than some of the deck hands of an excursion boat .... No ... these people are all wrong; we must have some amusement for the masses.<sup>29</sup>

Capitalist efforts to produce sober and docile workers resulted in the movement to change workers' pay-day from Saturday to Monday. The paragon of bourgeois periodicals, Canada Illustrated, reprinted an editorial from Scientific American that suggested the change was "principally in the

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<sup>29</sup> Grip, 17, 3 September 1881.

interest of the employed ..."<sup>30</sup> and aimed at those "habitually given to squandering on Sunday the wages in hand ... [and] perverting it into a mischievous holiday ...". Advantages, according to the writer, would result from "encouragement" to the "weak and wavering" and the diversion of working men's wages into the hands of their families. As the article continued its true concern and agenda emerged. The writer believed this action "would operate directly and disastrously upon liquor establishments ... for credit is not popular in such houses; the labourer is welcome there only when his money keeps him company."<sup>31</sup>

If workers received pay on Monday night, the article continued, they would have no time for "carousal and debauching indulgences" and thereby be incapable of working the next day. Grudgingly the writer admitted that the results might prove "advantageous to the employers .... For if labour is capital ... then a simple gain of reliable capital in the shape of sober, rested workers, instead of sleepy, half drunk, enervated make-believes would be an item worth considering."<sup>32</sup> This statement revealed the reality behind evangelical dogma and political posturing. The suppression of taverns and the resultant curbing of sporting pursuits, facilitated nothing more than the production and

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<sup>30</sup> Canada Illustrated, 28 September 1872, 202.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.



reproduction of labour.

Legislation involving sport and recreation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, for the most part, fell into two categories: one, the elimination of particular traditional practices; and two, control and regulation for the purpose of raising revenue or facilitating the accumulation of capital. The concepts were not always mutually exclusive.

The prohibitive Lord's Day Act of 1845 and licensing laws were foreshadowed by a bill passed in 1839 that made it unlawful to "... hunt or shoot or go out with a gun in quest or pursuit of any Deer, or other wild animal or wild fowl, on the Lord's Day (commonly called Sunday)."<sup>33</sup> For those who toiled twelve hours a day, six days a week, the Act effectively prevented hunting legally and, in many cases, putting protein on the family table. Whether the bill was introduced by those who had the time, energy and resources to hunt through the week, and wanted to preserve the game for themselves is hard to determine. Its enactment however, favoured elite city-dwellers forced to travel further from home to bag their game, and those who delighted in the killing of obscenely large quantities.

Further limiting the working man's access to game animals and traditional recreation, bourgeois sportsmen in the mid 1880's advocated hunting licenses. A letter to the

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<sup>33</sup> Victoria 2, Cap. 12.

Globe accurately identified the purpose of this proposal:

Sir, A few days ago I saw in the Globe an account of a meeting of sportsmen, who advocated the paying of a license before any person could shoot or kill game. Now I hold that such a law would be very unjust to a great many poor people who are not able to pay a license and who, I maintain have as good a right to the game as the sportsmen who are able, not only to pay the license, but also to spend the whole time of the hunting season in pursuit of game ....

J. A. Donahue.<sup>34</sup>

Traditional working-class sports and pastimes became a primary target for legislation, particularly those that involved the killing of animals. Victorian revulsion and hypocrisy, in equal quantities, manifested themselves in legislation passed in an attempt to suppress inherently cruel sports. John Williams described a scene at Thomas Lloyd's Oakville tavern that epitomized reformers' concerns:

A black bear chained to a pole ran around the pole backwards and forwards and made the most horrible noises while being fed, specially when a live pig was given to it, a man holding the pig's legs while it was torn to pieces. It was awful to hear the growls and squeals but it drew a crowd of whiskey suckers and loafers.<sup>35</sup>

Seeking to prevent such entertainment, Toronto City By-Law No. 407, passed on May 30, 1864, "provide[d] against Bull-baiting, Dog fighting, etc." Significantly, the law did not prohibit the activity but made it illegal to "keep or use any house, pit, ground or other place for the purpose of running, baiting or fighting any bull, bear, dog or other

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<sup>34</sup> Globe, 5 April 1884.

<sup>35</sup> Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns, 35.

animal (whether of domestic or wild nature or kind), or for cock-fighting, or in which any bull, bear, dog or other such animal shall be baited, run or fought."<sup>36</sup>

Legislation against the activity itself fell to the federal government, which in 1870 made anyone "who in any manner, encourages, aids or assists at the fighting or baiting of any bull, bear, badger, dog, cock, or other kind of animal, whether of domestic or wild nature," subject to a fine of \$2 to \$40 according to the magistrate's disposition.<sup>37</sup> While these laws were enacted ostensibly for the protection of animals and the civilizing of society, dog and cock fighting and animal baits were primarily the leisure pursuits of the working-class and the "fancy". The latter, a pejorative term, described individuals born to "polite society" but with a propensity for slumming and attending sporting activities which existed on the edge of or beyond the law's reach. Other equally brutal sports such as fox hunting, coursing, hunting deer with dogs and pigeon shooting initially did not draw the ire of Victorian reformers or legislators. A cursory glance at the occupations of members of the Toronto Hunt Club provides insight why fox hunters avoided legal interdiction. Many came from the ranks of the political, administrative,

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<sup>36</sup> A Second Consolidation of the By-Laws of the City of Toronto (Toronto: Hunter Rose and Co., 1876), 140.

<sup>37</sup> Victoria 33, Cap. 27.

religious, and entrepreneurial elite. Coursing deer hunting and pigeon shooting, the domain of the propertied middle class, also came under moral attack in later years but avoided legislation because sportsmen only occasionally engaged in the former and the latter died out with the pigeons.

While magistrates imposed relatively light penalties for breaking laws that prohibited animal fighting, a period of imprisonment of not less than three months might be meted out to "whoever, within Canada engages as a principal in a prize fight."<sup>38</sup> Not only were penalties harsher for prize-fighting, but the broad-ranging power of the Act indicated its intent of eradicating pugilism for money as a means of recreation. The Act prohibited challenging or accepting a fight. Training for the purpose, or acting as the trainer for a fight, drew a fine of not less than one hundred dollars. Anyone present as "an aid, second, surgeon, umpire, backer, assistant or reporter, or advises encourages or promotes such fight"<sup>39</sup> was liable to a fine and or imprisonment. Similar sanctions applied to persons leaving Canada for the purpose of engaging in a prize fight. Sheriffs or constables suspecting a prize-fight between fighters from outside of the country could deputize "a force of the inhabitants of his district or county for the purpose

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<sup>38</sup> Victoria 44, Cap. 30.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

of suppressing and preventing such fight"<sup>40</sup> and arrest the participants and spectators. Such wide-ranging powers and their stringent application had an effect. While reports of illegal dog and cock fights were commonplace, newspapers rarely reported prize-fights because reporters covering the event became liable to prosecution. Subsequently descriptions of the few pugilistic encounters were cryptically worded and shrouded in secrecy.

In the 1880s, boxing staged a revival and became a popular spectator sport in the guise of "sparring". In Britain, aristocratic patronage by the Marquess of Queensbury and the codification of rules by John Chambers in 1867, provided an element of respectability to fights characterized by brutality and corruption. Gloves, introduced in the mid 1700s for practice by Jack Broughton, Champion of England for eighteen years, became commonplace.<sup>41</sup> In Toronto, by wearing gloves and engaging in a "sparring exhibition", the regulations and moral indignation against boxers and bouts relaxed. Such events trod a fine line between bourgeois acceptance and breaking

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Broughton invented boxing gloves after his April 1750 fight with Slack. After fourteen minutes Broughton was blinded by his opponent. His backer, the Duke of Cumberland, the "Butcher" of Culloden, in danger of losing his wager of 10,000 pounds berated his fighter. Beaten, bleeding and groping for Slack, Broughton replied "I can't see my man your Highness, I am blind but not beat. Only place me before him and he shall not gain the day yet."

the law. At times they degenerated into full scale fisticuffs much to the urging and delight of the crowd. In many bouts at Toronto's Albert Hall boxers displayed the behaviours that concerned lawmakers. After a fight between Gilmore and Bittle before a sold out crowd, the Globe reported that "to call such a contest a sparring exhibition would be a gross misapplication of the term. It was simply a glove fight from first to last."<sup>42</sup> Betting took place during the fight and with the exuberance provided by alcohol the crowd became "fairly wild with excitement, yelling at the men to go in and finish ...."<sup>43</sup> The result may have satisfied the crowd but the squeamish reporter declared the fight "something which no decent man would care to witness." Despite the brutality and anticipated legal intervention, the following week, local boxers Jack Stewart and Joe Pop faced each other in the ring. A month later, import boxer Lang met local boy Jack Moriarty and the gross mismatch and resulting savage beating and bloodlust caused the police to step in. From the start Lang "mopped the Toronto man all over the stage, punishing him terribly."<sup>44</sup> Obviously a boxing fan and relishing the violence, the reporter continued: "he fairly rained blows on his weak and trembling antagonist, knocking him down again and again while

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<sup>42</sup> Globe, 25 March 1884.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Globe, 30 May 1884.

Moriarty, his face streaming with blood, staggered to his feet time after time .... Whenever the poor fellow dropped upon the stage the floor was spattered and smeared with great clots of blood."<sup>45</sup> Mercifully for Moriarty, Detective Brown stepped in, stopped the fight and charged Lang. Later, adding legal problems to injury, Brown also committed Moriarty for trial.

For a while police action effectively curbed the fisticuffs, at least the organized prize-fights. But the bouts continued elsewhere. In October, 1884, a "painfully ostensible show of secrecy" among "a certain class of so-called sporting men" heralded the matching of George Fulljames of Niagara with local fighter Harry Gilmore in a bareknuckle fight. Reinforced with whiskey, Gilmore's supporters set off just before midnight on the steamer "Armenia" to a point four miles below Youngstown, Ohio, the site of the bout. Unfortunately it was "blowing pretty freshly" and this compounded the effects of alcohol consumption making the journey unpleasant. Gilmore decided not to endure the ordeal of the trip or the fight and failed to show. Many excursionists returned to Toronto by train, their constitutions unable to face another rough crossing.

Despite police action against prize-fights, when larger events occurred intervention did not take place unless promoters flagrantly disregarded the law. While organizers

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

stretched regulations they seldom broke the law as interests were served when the show went on. The Blake Act provides an example. Enacted federally in 1878, it targeted pool-sellers by prohibiting recording or registering any bet, holding money or property staked. The law's enforcement drove gambling underground and private wagering increased. Little time elapsed however, before wagering reemerged, using an ingenious scheme to evade the law rather than break it. Pool-sellers produced lithograph pictures of the contestants. Punters purchased pictures of their selection for the amount of the wager. If their selection won, the pool-seller repurchased the picture, paying the appropriate share of the pool - less the commission."

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"The mechanics of the pool were as follows:- When rower "A" competed against rower "B", bookmakers produced lithographs of the contestants. They sold the pictures for the amount wagered. For example, ten gamblers wager varying amounts but six bet in the following amounts that "A" will win and four that "B" will be victorious.

"A"						"B"			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
\$100	\$200	\$150	\$100	\$150	\$100	\$150	\$100	\$200	\$150
Amount wagered on "A" = \$800									
Amount wagered on "B" = \$600									
Total amount wagered = \$1400									
3% bookmakers commission = \$42									
Total pool payout = \$1358									
If "A" wins, gambler's 1-6 pictures are repurchased for the amount according to their share. For example:-									
1	2	3	4	5	6				
1/8	1/4	1/6	1/8	1/6	1/8				
\$169.75	\$339.50	\$226.33	\$169.75	\$226.33	\$169.75				
If "B" wins gamblers 7-10 pictures are repurchased for the amount according to their share. For example:-									
7	8	9	10						
1/4	1/6	1/3	1/4						
\$339.50	\$226.33	\$452.66	\$339.50						



Although pool-sellers and professional bookkeepers found ways to stay one step ahead of or circumvent the law, legislation gradually drew tighter as federal and municipal governments sought to stabilize the income of the working man and the money he gave his family. Federal law prohibited "three card monte, or any other game of cards, dice or other instrument of gambling" from being played in "any railway car or steamboat."<sup>47</sup> The law empowered employees, when authorized by the conductor, to arrest "with or without a warrant" anyone gambling. In addition, they could take action against anyone suspected of committing or attempting to commit an offense.

To encourage arrests, federal officials offered cash rewards to those who made arrests. Employees who failed to act were considered derelict in their duty and liable to arrest, and upon conviction a fine of not less than twenty dollars. Legislation passed the same day allowed magistrates to destroy any and all equipment used in a "gaming house" and made liable "[a]ny person playing or looking on while another person is playing in a common gaming house" to a twenty dollar fine.<sup>48</sup> Toronto City By-Law No. 371, passed in September 1862 and amended in October 1868, and September 1876 to plug loopholes, provided further muscle to the law. Gambling, cards, dice or other

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<sup>47</sup> Victoria 40, Cap. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Victoria 40, Cap. 33.

games of chance with betting were prohibited in "any such house, room or place, or in any hotel restaurant inn, saloon, grocery or shop ...."<sup>49</sup> Legislation forbidding wagering at out-door events and in "any of the streets, lanes, avenues, or public places of the City ..." completed the choke-hold.

While many activities became illegal, others with the potential of generating money for a cash-strapped city with increasing financial responsibilities, became regulated and licensed. Edicts utilizing the revenue potential of recreational pastimes reached back almost to the origins of Upper Canada. In 1810, George the Third decreed that taxes:

... shall be raised, levied, collected and paid yearly and every year unto his Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to and for the uses of this Province, and toward the support of the Civil Government thereof, of and from all and every person or persons having in his, her, or their possession, custody or power, any Billiard Table set up for hire or gain.<sup>50</sup>

Presumably, billiard rooms existed in sufficient quantity to justify the expenditures necessary to enforce the Act and collect taxes. In 1840, By-Law No.50 sought control of "Theatrical performances and other exhibitions."<sup>51</sup>

Regulation soon became licensing. With By-Law No.168, in February 1851, licensing of taverns and other houses of

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<sup>49</sup> A Second Consolidation of the By-Laws of the City of Toronto, 123.

<sup>50</sup> Acts of Great Britain Applying to Upper Canada 1792-1879 (York: R.C. Horne, 1898).

<sup>51</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 50, 17 August 1840.

public entertainment became means by which city aldermen, councilmen and civic officials could raise money, control the sale of alcohol and at the same time reward or bribe their constituents.<sup>52</sup> Ten months later "Ten-Pin Alleys and Bowling Saloons" became subject to the same regulations and licensing as the taverns.<sup>53</sup> Two years later Councillor Lee proposed and George Gooderham, of distilling fame, seconded the motion that theatrical performances, previously requiring regulation, now needed licences.<sup>54</sup>

As tavern owners and small-time leisure entrepreneurs tried to circumvent the law, Toronto's municipal representatives amended By-Laws and tightened loopholes. From February 21, 1851, the initial By-Law regulating and licensing taverns, to February 20, 1860 nine years later, City council passed an average of one By-Law a year concerning the licensing, regulation and control of hotels, taverns and places of entertainment.<sup>55</sup> By 1887, billiard

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<sup>52</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 168, 21 February 1851.

<sup>53</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 176, 3 November 1851.

<sup>54</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 201, 29 August 1853.

<sup>55</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 168, 21 February 1851.  
 " " " 222, 26 December 1854.  
 " " " 245, 20 July 1857.  
 " " " 256, 8 February 1858.  
 " " " 259, 26 April 1858.  
 " " " 264, 30 August 1858.  
 " " " 272, 14 February 1859.  
 " " " 281, 20 June 1859.  
 " " " 310, 20 February 1860.

tables, bagatelle tables, bowling alleys, ice skating rinks, roller skating rinks, rifle or shooting galleries, exhibitions of sparring or boxing and "tumbling or other acrobatic or gymnastic performances" needed licences.<sup>56</sup> Legislation limited opening-hours for billiard and bagatelle parlours and halls, from 6am to 12pm during weekdays, and from 6am to 10pm on Saturdays. Bowling alleys or Billiard rooms in taverns or where "intoxicating liquors were sold" faced even more stringent rules. Business ceased from seven o'clock Saturday night until six o'clock Monday morning and from eleven at night until five in the morning on weekdays.<sup>57</sup> Licensees also had the responsibility of posting their licenses and owners were expected to keep their premises free from "any disorderly person or any one who keeps or resides in any house of ill-fame or prostitute . . . ."<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, By-Law 1845 provided for the annual inspection of Bathing and Boat Houses by appointed government officials.<sup>59</sup>

Licensing fees gradually increased reflecting a "take what the market will bear" policy and an expanding civic responsibility and bureaucracy. By 1887, licenses for

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<sup>56</sup> Council Minutes of the City of Toronto (Toronto: John Y. Reid, 1888), 614.

<sup>57</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 477, 25 September 1876.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 1845, 8 July 1887.

bagatelle tables cost \$10.00 for each table; billiard tables, \$20.00 for the first and \$10.00 for each additional table; for bowling alleys, \$20.00 for "up to two beds" and \$5.00 for each additional bed.<sup>60</sup> Roller skating rinks paid an annual license fee of \$50.00.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to licensing and limiting hours of operation, legislation and state agencies also focused upon and dictated the location for recreation and amusement. In 1870, the Committee of Walks and Gardens dictated where and when "lacrosse and other games" might be played in city parks. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s regulations required clubs to apply to city council for permission to play in Queen's Park. By-Law No.467, passed on October 26, 1868 stated that "No person shall run or race on the streets or sidewalks ...."<sup>62</sup> The same law prohibited swimming from the wharves in the bay between the Rolling Mills on the east, (located approximately where the Don River drains into Ashbridge's Bay) to the Queen's Wharf in the west (located at the foot of Bathurst Street). For many of the city's working-class residents, those without bathing facilities in their homes, or without the funds to visit one of the commercial bath houses, and most in need of bathing after a

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<sup>60</sup> Toronto City Council Minutes 1887 (Toronto: John Y. Reid, 1888), 621.

<sup>61</sup> Toronto City Council Minutes 1886 (Toronto: E. F. Clarke, 1887), 447.

<sup>62</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 467, 26 October 1868.

long hot day at manual labour, the closest and most convenient location to swim was taken away. This necessitated a long walk on hot and humid evenings to bathing places on the lakefront beyond the prohibited area or heading to the east to the River Don where the promise of a cooling swim overrode the distaste of dipping into the polluted river.

City fathers possessed of a draconian spirit also addressed that recurring nightmare of polite bourgeois society: the gangs of unemployed men and boys that hung around street corners insulting passers-by, jostling ladies, playing games of shinny, and roughhousing on the streets. Frank C. Draper, Toronto's Chief Constable commented in his 1884 report to the City Council: "what a large number of idle, shiftless peoples there are in the City and as they cannot obtain work to earn their bread honestly, they, in many instances turn their hands to theft and pilfering."<sup>63</sup> Much of Toronto's middle-class society and Draper's contemporaries shared his view. Deputy Chief Constable John McPherson's report of 1883 on Juvenile offenders advocated that "[t]he proposed Industrial School under proper management would no doubt be the means of leading many of them to a life of industry and usefulness instead of filling up the ranks of the criminal class, preying upon and

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<sup>63</sup> "Waifs and Tramps," Chief Constable's Report, Toronto City Council Minutes 1884, Appendix, 193.

becoming a burden to the community."<sup>64</sup> Bourgeois minds equated street games with idleness, and idleness equalled criminal behaviour. In this context they should be eliminated. Accordingly the city fathers passed a series of By-Laws "to restrain and punish Vagrants and other Disorderly Persons."<sup>65</sup> By-Law No.194, passed in November 1852, prevented groups forming and obstructing sidewalks. By-Law No.467, limited street gatherings to two persons and stated that "[t]hree or more persons shall not stand in a group or near to each other on any street or sidewalk in such a manner as to obstruct a free passage for foot passengers."<sup>66</sup> Many ignored the law as strident letters to the editor and editorials complaining of groups of young men and boys playing in the streets attested. But legislation and the threat of zealous police action and an appearance before the magistrate hung over many street games. Laws precluded public parks, squares and grounds as playing areas. In 1860, By-Law No.322 stipulated that "No person shall play at football, or throw stones or snowballs ... or shoot with or use a bow and arrow, or play any game therein, without permission of the said Committee."<sup>67</sup> With

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<sup>64</sup> Deputy Chief Constable's Report, Toronto City Council Minutes 1883, 28.

<sup>65</sup> City of Toronto By-Laws 114, 15 March 1847. 478, 26 October 1868. 492, 8 March 1869. 581, 26 May 1873.

<sup>66</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 467, 25 September 1876.

<sup>67</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 322, 26 October 1868.

these laws in operation working-class children and young men intent on a pickup game of "shinny", "tag", "hare and Hounds" or marbles played on vacant lots or in back alleys. Often filthy, unhygienic and dangerous many citizens used these sites to dispose of refuse, night soil and the occasional animal carcass. Death, however, whether animal or human, did not deter those intent on playing, or so it seemed by the passage of By-Law No.465, in September 1868. The law made illegal "any game or sport or discharge [of] firearms ... in any cemetery or burial ground ...."<sup>68</sup> By legislating where, when and at what Toronto's population could indulge in sport the state attempted to eliminate those practices and pastimes that threatened or undermined customary structures of power. Concordantly the state endorsed those sport forms that contributed to the stability of society.

In his discussion of the role and nature of the Canadian state, Panitch claims that the legitimization function has been least developed.<sup>69</sup> His observation is correct only in the limited context of state legislation. Formal legitimation and rationalization of capital accumulation in the form of government edicts became necessary only when non-formal structures broke down. Panitch fails to consider that agents of the state

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<sup>68</sup> City of Toronto By-Law 465, 25 September 1868.

<sup>69</sup> Panitch, The Canadian State, 18.



constructed an effective legitimization process in the form of hegemonic ideas and behaviours. For example, in contrast to the spontaneous, non-utilitarian nature of working-class recreation and sport, the rites and rituals of sporting competition among an emerging bourgeoisie legitimated and reinforced what Gruneau terms "the logic of traditional domination."<sup>70</sup> Such behaviours, he contends, contributed to the maintenance of "a collective commitment to traditional beliefs in hierarchy, church and state and militated against the spread of rational thinking that might challenge the social and ideological foundation upon which traditional power rested."<sup>71</sup> In this context the state and members of the dominant class controlled and utilized sport. By developing in sports clubs the institutional and ideological components upon which class power was based, they reinforced and legitimized Canada's political economy.

Reflecting the hierarchical ordering of nineteenth-century society which Victorians embraced as the means for social stability, the organization and administration of sports clubs were also stratified. The rank order of roles among club officials depended on social status and worth. Presidents of clubs traditionally held more property, power, and subsequently, a higher social standing in the community. As a result their elections, at democratic Annual General

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<sup>70</sup> Gruneau "Power and Play in Canadian Society," 149.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

Meetings, were often uncontested and many, in established clubs, held positions of power and influence for years. Lawyer Henry O'Brien, held the presidency of the Argonaut Rowing Club for sixteen years, from its foundation in 1872 until 1888. Dr. E. M. Hodder, surgeon and founder of the Upper Canada School of Medicine, served as Commodore for the Royal Canadian Yacht Club from 1856 to 1877. O'Brien's and Hodder's terms in office were remarkable but John O. Heward at the Toronto Cricket Club, W. D. Otter at the Toronto Lacrosse Club, and William Arthurs at the Ontario Lacrosse Club also served extended terms. Changes at the top often resulted only with the incumbent's decision to retire. Vice-Presidents who had also served for many years often replaced them. In many cases retiring presidents continued to sit on the club's committee ensuring their continued influence. Continuity provided stability to club operations and fortified processes of social stratification.

Some clubs employed a military ranking system for their "officers", a mandatory code of dress that included uniforms and an atmosphere akin to an army camp. Bicycling clubs elected and appointed captains, lieutenants, buglers and sergeants at arms. The Rota Bicycle Club, formed in 1885, insisted its members wear particularly militaristic dark green coats and caps, mouse knee-britches and black silk stockings.<sup>72</sup> The Wanderers Bicycle Club

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<sup>72</sup> Canadian Wheelman, 2 (December, 1884).

designed its own club badge to be worn on the uniform of grey jacket and pants trimmed with black, grey and black hat and black stockings.<sup>73</sup> Club regulations dictated that members wear uniforms and club insignia at any club function. On club outings members organized themselves into unofficial corps or squadrons, officials awarded medals for outstanding performance and military formation characterized the parades in which clubs participated.

Militarism, evangelicism and state involvement also shaped early sport and physical education in schools. Alison Prentice claims school promoters "were deeply affected by the social and political dislocations that rocked their world,"<sup>74</sup> the tensions created by the aftermath of the 1837/38 insurrections, social and political unrest and the massive economic upheavals wrought by industrialization. In this environment if not morally and intellectually developed, humanity, they asserted, would be a "mere material being - a mere mass of bones and sinews, and bodily appetites and passions."<sup>75</sup> Accordingly, the development of formal education systems addressed these concerns. Educators adopted state-sanctioned curricula to inculcate students with factory regimes. The teaching of

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<sup>73</sup> The Bicycle, (January, 1883).

<sup>74</sup> Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 25.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

basic and specialized skills demanded by industrialized systems and increasingly complex divisions of labour found their way into the classroom. The Family Compact and emerging bourgeois elites reinforced and legitimized their social status by imposing occupational restrictions and rationalizing the beliefs, values and behaviour patterns of bourgeois society.

As an integral component of education, physical training and sport in schools contributed to political socialization. The values inherent in sport and nineteenth-century bourgeois society were remarkably similar. Both endorsed duty and loyalty to leaders and unquestioning acceptance of social hierarchical ordering. The rationale of equality in the ideology of capitalist society reflected an equally mythical notion of a "level playing field." Acceptance of the rules and the referee's decision made players good sports, and acceptance of society's rules made individuals good citizens.

The Ontario school system, instituted in the 1840s, incorporated many of the principles of the Reverend Egerton Ryerson. Advocating compulsory attendance through state legislation, he intended to eliminate class conflict and instill "traditional class deference."<sup>76</sup> Ryerson, Ontario

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 123. For an analysis of colonial administrators' attempts to impose education policies see Bruce Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West 1836-1871 (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1988), and Inspection, Education and State Formation in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

school superintendent from 1844 to 1876, believed that the "potential for class warfare" would be averted by an "institutionalized state and a new educational order under the general direction and control of the state."<sup>77</sup>

After studying the educational systems of more than twenty countries including the United States, Germany, Britain and Switzerland and influenced by notable educators such as Pestalozzi, Jahn, Ling and Guts-Muths, he concluded that physical training played an important role in the education process. The Toronto Normal School, built in 1851 on the southwest corner of Church and Gerrard Streets, introduced teachers to Ryerson's philosophy and trained them in his methods. Ryerson outlined his training regimen in a series of articles which he published in the Journal of Education for Upper Canada.<sup>78</sup> As a rationale for using his program Ryerson claimed of gymnastic training that it was "young men thus trained that composed the vanguard of Blucher's army ...."<sup>79</sup> Prof. W. Goodwin, responsible for the teaching of calisthenics and gymnastics at the Toronto Normal School was also affiliated with the Toronto Gymnasium which included in its course of instruction fencing, broadsword and single-

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<sup>77</sup> Prentice, The School Promoters, 171.

<sup>78</sup> See Journal of Education for Upper Canada, 5, (1852). 8, (1855). 13, (1860).

<sup>79</sup> "Physical Training in Schools: Gymnastic Exercise," Journal of Education for Upper Canada, reprinted in Frank Cosentino and Maxwell L. Howell, A History of Physical Education in Canada, (Toronto: General Publishing Co., 1971), 73.

stick fighting. His background in the military included the rank of major in the Queen's Own regiment. Not surprisingly, his classes resembled military drill and complemented Ryerson's aims.<sup>80</sup> In an editorial on the Normal School, the Leader concluded that "the Goodwin department of Dr. Ryerson's establishment is invaluable." Physical training, it opined "makes your guardsman the bravest, readiest and often the most powerful fellow on the battle field. Witness Balaklava."<sup>81</sup> By drilling, regimenting and militarising children, educators hoped to instill particular character traits valued by bourgeois society. On makeshift playgrounds and schoolyards, teachers conducted classes in gymnastics and calisthenics that socialized the sons and daughters of the proletariat. Military exercises disciplined and prepared them for integration into capitalist society with all the values and behaviours of the ruled.

While students at public schools were inculcated with the desirable proletarian traits of obedience, deference and unquestioning acceptance of authority, the sons of the elite learned an altogether different set of values at Upper Canada College. It emphasized producing "Christian gentlemen of character" inculcated with the "precepts of

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<sup>80</sup> Cosentino and Howell, A History of Physical Education in Canada, 14.

<sup>81</sup> Leader, undated, reprinted in *Ibid.*, 93.

public service, patriotism, duty, spartanism and loyalty."<sup>82</sup> On the playing fields of Upper Canada College "manly sports" and games socialized the sons of the elite, preparing them for capitalist society with the values and behaviors of the elite.

Sports club constitutions and by-laws also instilled deference to the church and reinforced dominant religious values. Curling clubs appointed local clergymen as chaplains and members of their teams of management. During the decades of the 1860s and 1870s at Toronto Curling Club functions, the Reverend Dr. John Jennings, pastor of the Bay Street United Presbyterian Church and the Reverend Dr. Barclay, presbyterian pastor of St. Andrews, gave opening prayers at club meetings and at dinners presided over grace. In the 1870s the Caledonian Curling Club appointed both Reverend Dr. Robb and Reverend D.J. Macdonell as chaplains and club officers.

Religious doctrine also found parallels with principles of athletic training. Captain of the Ontario Lacrosse Club, W. K. McNaught advocated sobriety and temperance in Lacrosse and How to Play It. He suggested to novice players that they abstain from intoxicating liquors and "be temperate in all things else." His advice became pointed when he warned that "[o]ne night of intemperance or debauch may undo weeks

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 150.

of careful training."<sup>83</sup> McNaught displayed his philosophy of lacrosse and summarized the attitude of many of his contemporaries toward sport, religion and social class by citing William Makepeace Thackeray's verse:

Who misses or who wins the prize,  
Go lose, or conquer if you can;  
But if you fail, or if you rise,  
Be each, pray God, a gentleman.

Gentlemanliness, in McNaught's opinion the quality inherent in all good players, included respect for, even complaisance to, figures of authority in the club. Such deference took the form of allowing "others to judge of your abilities" and giving club officers "fair" and "candid" support. Team captains deserved "hearty support ... implicit confidence and ready obedience."<sup>84</sup> To McNaught the captain's word was "law" and even if players disagreed with his decisions they should not weaken his influence by contradicting him. The Toronto Lacrosse Club's constitution stipulated respect for club officials. On the field and at practice the team captain refereed all disputes, "his decision being final."<sup>85</sup> Refusing to obey the Chairman or

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<sup>83</sup> W. K. McNaught, Lacrosse and How to Play It (Toronto: Rose Publishing Co., undated), 135. McNaught's remarks are similar to those of Dr. William George Beers, a Montreal dentist and "father of lacrosse". Beers' book Lacrosse: the National Game of Canada also advocated temperance and abstention from all "hot and rebellious liquors" and also cites Thackeray's verse.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 138-139.

<sup>85</sup> Constitution and By-Laws of the Toronto Lacrosse Club (Toronto: G. C. Patterson, 1873), Article 3, Section 2.



Captain drew the same sanctions as "improper language " or "ungentlemanly conduct." Guilt resulted in suspension or expulsion from the club.<sup>86</sup> During the years of McNaught's membership committee officials that he "respected" included honorary patron, His Royal Highness Prince Arthur; honorary president, His Excellency Lord Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada and honorary vice-president, Sir C. S. Gzowski, for many years president of the Dominion Rifle Association, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Canadian Militia and aide-de-camp to Her Majesty.

Support of the socio-political system was evidenced by athletic clubs' attitudes, deference to authority and in most cases their unwavering allegiance to the Crown. Members displayed respect for the monarch and her representatives at athletic contests and at club social occasions. Displays of patriotism were most prominent at sports associated with the players' and spectators' national origin: England and cricket; and Canada and lacrosse. At the Carlton Cricket Club's Christmas dinner, celebrated at long-time curler George Shears' Rossin House, on the corner of York and King, members and their wives enjoyed a sumptuous meal and settled back for the numerous toasts to follow. First proposed were "the Queen and the Royal Family", followed by a lusty rendition of "God Save the Queen". With typical and appropriate patriotic protocol the

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., Article 5, Section 1.

health of "the Governor General and the Lieutenant Governor" followed. "Army and navy volunteers" came third, with another song, "The British Lion" rendered. Somewhat out of place, but indicative of the esteem in which they held themselves, the "Carlton Cricket Club" were fourth, followed by the "Mayor and Corporation". The following toasts provided an atmosphere of bonhomie, peace and goodwill to all; "Kindred Clubs", "Carlton Football Club", "Our Visitors", "Professions and The Press", "The Ladies", "Absent Friends", "The President", "The Captain" and tipsily, last but not least, "Old Country Athletes".<sup>87</sup>

Two years later at the Toronto Lacrosse Club's Christmas dinner toasts and songs were, if possible, even more patriotic, fusing drink with nationalist rhetoric - a powerful concoction. With Edward Hanlan, Canada's pride and joy, present, members first raised their glasses to "The Queen", followed by "Prince of Wales", "Royal Family" and then raised their voices for "God Save the Queen" and "God Bless the Prince of Wales". Drinking resumed with toasts to "His Excellency the Governor General and Princess Louise", "The Lieutenant Governor and Misses Macdonald", "Army, Navy and Volunteers of Great Britain and Colonies", followed by a rendition of the "British Lion". Members and guests raised glasses again to "Our National Game" and "Other Manly

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<sup>87</sup> The Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 6, 15 December 1876, 277.

Sports". Hanlan gave a short speech, followed by toasts to "The Ladies" and "The Press". If any patriotic allegiance wavered before dinner, liberal draughts of God, Queen, Country, sport and alcohol reinforced the country's constitution while it undermined the toasters'.

The Royal Canadian Yacht Club also served as a bastion of patriotism and nationalism. Ralph Robinson's 1980 paean to the club spells out the values and beliefs upon which the founding members built:

the Club remains a private club and as such it has unabashedly maintained certain values and traditions which, blended together have given it a character all its own. First among these has always been a keen sense of loyalty to the Crown, and the patriotism which that entails.<sup>88</sup>

Certainly the club's qualifications for "blue bloodedness" were impressive. Less than six months after its official formation on March 20, 1852, members voted to change its name from the Toronto Boat Club to the Toronto Yacht Club and sought approval from Queen Victoria for use of the term "Royal".<sup>89</sup> In so doing the club confirmed "that it intended to serve the interests of the Crown in Canada".<sup>90</sup> The following March, the club petitioned the British government through the Governor General. But royal

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<sup>88</sup> Ralph Robinson, Royal Canadian Yacht Club: Our First Century on the Island (Toronto: 1980), 3.

<sup>89</sup> Minutes of the Toronto Boat Club, 13 July 1852. R.C.Y.C. Archives, Toronto.

<sup>90</sup> Robinson, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, 5.

decisions and government bureaucracy could not be hastened and not until August 4, 1854 was permission "graciously" granted.<sup>91</sup> The letter from A. T. Hamilton, Military Secretary to the Governor General, contained one small but fortuitous error. Through the various stages of communications from Her Majesty to Her Majesty's Secretary, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to his secretary, to the Governor General, to his secretary, the "Toronto Yacht Club" had become transposed to the more grandiose "Canadian Yacht Club" - a name immediately adopted by the Club.<sup>92</sup>

Even without the "Royal" appellation the Club was undeniably patriotic and militarily oriented. One of its earliest decisions invited military officers on active duty to become members. A cursory glance down membership lists throughout the years reveals captains, majors and colonels. Club officials' designated titles reinforced naval ties: Commodore, Vice Commodore, Captain, First Lieutenant and Second Lieutenant. During the American Civil War, Royal Canadian Yacht Club members joined the Naval and Pilot Brigade under the direction of G. H. Wyatt, vice-commodore of the club during the years 1866-1869. Wyatt, a ship broker, wharfinger and one of the founders of the Brigade,

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<sup>91</sup> Laws and Regulations of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club (Toronto: John Donough, 1855), R.C.Y.C. Archives. Toronto.

<sup>92</sup> Robinson, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, 6.

was appointed the command of government gunboats in 1866.<sup>93</sup>

Relations between the monarchy and the Club were further cemented by the visit to Toronto in September, 1860 of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Noted nineteenth-century historian and publisher J. Ross Robertson cited an unnamed Toronto writer hyperbolically describing the tenor of the times and the consequence of the visit. He states:

this was a somewhat momentous period in the world's history. The Franco-Austrian war had just terminated .... Garibaldi heading the Sicilian revolt ... brought about the birth of a new nation - Italia Una. The Chinese war was at its height, and the combined fleets of France and England lay in the Pehtang .... In the United States that fire was being kindled which, with the election of Lincoln ... burst into a blaze, which nearly consumed the heart of a great people.<sup>94</sup>

In the context of world events, and of equal importance, the Prince visited Toronto! The city on the outskirts of Empire was understandably impassioned over the Prince's visit.

Thousands lined the wharves and the embankment at the bay and cheered as the prince stepped from the steamer "Kingston" a little after six o'clock in the evening.

Robert Cellem, an eye-witness, described the significance of the event:

The seventh day of September, 1860 will long be cherished as the brightest day in the annals of Upper Canada. Many a year hence it will be told that on that

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>94</sup> J. Ross Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York (Toronto: By the author, 1908), 964.

day the Heir Apparent to the British throne made his entry into the chief city of the Western Province, and received a welcome surpassing in magnificence and enthusiasm all the public ovations ever before witnessed in the New World.<sup>95</sup>

Four days later the crowds and the Prince returned to the waterfront to watch the start of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club's regatta. The Prince had returned from Collingwood and Club Commodore William Durie met him at the station. The Commodore escorted his guest to an amphitheatre constructed for a reception. In the presence of "the Mayor and the City Council in full dress, officers of Militia, the Senior member of the city, ... a number of favoured visitors ... [and] members of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club,"<sup>96</sup> Curie asked the Prince to become a patron of the club. The following year the Prince donated the "Prince of Wales Cup", awarded for the club's annual competition. Unfortunately the Prince could not stay to watch the end of the first race of the regatta and missed future federal Liberal leader Edward Blake, crewing his yacht the "Rivet" to victory.

Eleven years later in an advertisement for tobacco, the menage a trois between monarchy, the club and free enterprise was consummated. In the first known touting of a

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<sup>95</sup> Robert Cellem, Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the British North American Provinces and United States in the Year 1860 (Toronto, 1861), 212, cited in Robinson, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, 13.

<sup>96</sup> C. H. J. Snider, Annals of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club 1852-1937 (Toronto, 1937), cited in Robinson, Royal Canadian Yacht Club, 14.

product by a club or an athlete, "The Prince's Own" brand, described as "An extra fine bright Navy Tobacco", followed in the listing by "The Royal Canadian Yacht Club" brand "allowed to be the finest ever made, was approved and recommended by members of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club."<sup>97</sup> Significantly, the manufacturers copyrighted the brands. What the club gained from this advertisement is unknown but financially astute members realized the value of their endorsement.

Representatives of the monarchy became a regular feature at sporting events. Thousands of people attended stadiums, arenas and waterfronts and these provided convenient venues where lesser aristocrats could deport themselves. Newspapers reported that visiting dignitaries, accompanied by a fawning entourage, had visited the exclusive annual athletic games of Upper Canada College, Osgoode Hall or other elite institutions. In 1879, a Vice Regal visit to Toronto incorporated appearances at rowing events and lacrosse and cricket matches to expose the representatives of the Crown to as many people as possible in superficially egalitarian locations.

A week before their arrival, newspapers hummed with expectancy over the visit of His Excellency the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne and Her Royal Highness Princess Louise. On Saturday, September 6, the Governor-

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<sup>97</sup> Globe, 2 October 1871.

General attended the Toronto Rowing Club's regatta. Aboard a steamer appropriated for him, The Marquis and his party, which included Edward Hanlan, watched the races. In the afternoon the Royal carriage carried the couple to the Jarvis and Wellesley lacrosse grounds to watch the Toronto team cross sticks with Montreal. As they arrived the Union Jack was hoisted up the flagpole and the Queen's Own Rifles band broke into "God Save the Queen". The Marquis and Princess alighted to a completely carpeted grandstand (ticket prices had been doubled to cover the cost) and a drawing-room suite decorated in scarlet and gold from which they could watch the action on the field in comfort. The committee of the Lacrosse Club extended themselves in a display of monarchist excess. They commissioned the building of an archway on King Street designed by E. J. Lennox, an old lacrossist, city architect and loyalist, under which the royal party passed on the way to the stadium. Lennox publicly and patriotically announced the waving of his fee. Workmen decorated the ceiling of the grandstand with flags, the "British Ensign" appropriately centred. On the back wall of the grandstand, city photographers Notman and Fraser's enlarged picture of the Toronto Lacrosse field and the club members hung beside pictures of the Royal Family. Fresh-cut and planted flowers adorned the grounds. Lord Lorne started the first game by throwing the ball out to the two teams. At the end of the



match the couple departed "amid the cheers of the spectators whose remarks showed that the royal pair had won the love and esteem of all present by their kind and nobly unassuming conduct".<sup>98</sup>

The following Wednesday the royal entourage visited the Toronto Cricket grounds at the southwest corner of College and McCaul streets and watched the visiting English team, Richard Draft's Eleven, demolish a Canadian team made up of twenty-two outstanding players from the area. At his arrival and departure the Governor was greeted "with a better sample of orthodox cheering than he had an opportunity of hearing elsewhere on his visit".<sup>99</sup> For cricketers and their supporters, their orthodoxy suggested that the cultural tenets they commonly held extended beyond religious faith and ideological doctrine to include the form of approval they meted out to the representatives of their faith and ideology.

Cheering echoed throughout the "Queen City" on May 24, every year as Toronto celebrated the anniversary of the birth of Victoria in a number of ways both patriotic and sporting. Flags adorned the city and parades and military reviews were the order of the day. The bells of St. James's Cathedral rang out with "God bless the Prince of Wales" and the National Anthem. Steamers ferried picnickers and

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<sup>98</sup> Mail, 8 September 1879.

<sup>99</sup> Mail, 11 September 1879.

excursionists to pleasure grounds, the Island and Niagara Falls. The Northern Railway shuttled visitors seeking excitement in the city from Collingwood to Toronto, and of course, Torontonians seeking to escape the city to Collingwood and stops along the way. Excursionists filled the carriages of the Toronto Grey and Bruce, and Toronto Nipissing Railways. In the afternoon and evening regimental bands entertained in the Horticultural Gardens and Crystal Palace with medleys of popular tunes interspersed with military marches. Bonfires burned throughout the evening and firework displays lit the night. In addition to impromptu races and games at picnics and outings, clubs played cricket, lacrosse, and baseball and the Crystal Palace hosted athletic events. In 1863, contributing to the fusion of monarchy, military and forms of sport the Toronto cricket Club announced that on the Queen's birthday "[a]ll soldiers or volunteers in uniform will be admitted free" to the games.<sup>100</sup>

During the months of May, June or July, Queen Victoria's spirit and blessing were present at one racecourse or another around the province. In 1837, the Halifax Turf Club unsuccessfully petitioned William IV for a "King's Plate", but three years later, immediately after the insurrections in the Canada's, in an attempt "to foster all sports which cultivate English habits and feelings," the

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<sup>100</sup> Globe, 23 May 1863.

Club received Victoria's assent.<sup>101</sup> In 1859, in a similar effort to instill those "English habits and feelings" and to bolster his administration's sagging popularity which had brought Upper Canada "nearer to rebellion than it [had] been since 1837,"<sup>102</sup> Governor General Sir Edmund Walker Head forwarded a petition from the Toronto Turf Club to the Queen. It requested a donation and permission for a "Queen's Plate" to be competed for annually at the Carleton Race Course in Toronto. Following a tradition of English monarchs presenting prizes for horse races held in their honour, Victoria, through her representative, the Duke of Newcastle, informed Sir Edmund she would donate a fifty guinea plate and that the annual race could use the title "Queen's Plate".

The Queen never witnessed the race named in her honour and despite the "royal" connection, other royalty visiting Toronto rarely attended the event. In 1861, Victoria's second son, Alfred, avoided the race, mourning the recent death of the Duchess of Kent. Twenty-two years later the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne and the Queen's fourth daughter, Princess Louise attended the race at Woodbine Park after weather conditions delayed it for a week. Finishing third that day, well beaten, was "Princess

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<sup>101</sup> Louis E. Cauz, The Plate: A Royal Tradition (Toronto: Deneau Publishers, 1984), 12.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

Louise" with "Marquis" finishing a distant fourth. Obviously bloodlines in royalty and horses did not run parallel.

The monarchy's namesakes may have finished third and fourth at the post but aristocratic patrons and patronesses were always listed first when sports clubs published the names of their officers in City Directories. In the early 1870s, the Argonaut Rowing Club listed the Governor-General, The Earl of Dufferin as its patron, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, P. W. Howland, was patron of the Toronto Rowing Club, Prince Arthur, patron of the Ontario Lacrosse Club and the Prince of Wales and Viscount Bury patrons of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. In 1876, most of the monarchy's representatives were spoken for which necessitated the Caledonian Curling Club listing Attorney-General and future Premier, Oliver Mowat, as its patron.

Clubs and individuals, seeking publicity, sanction and patronage, indicated connections, affiliations or sympathy with royalty by naming themselves or their equipment after the Queen or her subordinates. Victoria became the name of a skating rink and cricket, lacrosse and football clubs. Clubs also favoured "Wellington", "Windsor", "Dufferin" and "Albert". In the 1860s and 1870s one of the Toronto Curling Club's teams labelled itself "Her Majesty's Rink" and wore jackets of royal scarlet.<sup>103</sup> In the 1870s the "Royal" and

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<sup>103</sup> John A. Stevenson, Curling in Ontario: 1846-1946 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1950), 33-34.

the "Prince Arthur" skating rinks opened for business. The first Canadian vessel to challenge for the America's cup in 1876 was named after the Governor-General's wife the "Countess of Dufferin". In the same year, at the Philadelphia regatta, Ned Hanlan rowed to victory in the skiff "The Duke of Beaufort" - something of an irony since two weeks previously a magistrate had convicted Hanlan of selling liquor without a license.

The symbiosis between politicians and sport also served to legitimate one another in physical and intellectual environments of benevolence and mutual admiration. Between 1845 and 1886, of the eighteen mayors of Toronto elected to office, twelve were members of at least one sports club. Clubs that listed mayors among their members included the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Toronto Cricket Club, Toronto Rowing Club, Toronto Skating and Curling Club, Toronto Turf Club, Toronto Tandem Club, Ontario Jockey Club and Toronto Gymnastic and Fencing Club. Mayors, members of provincial parliament, aldermen and councilmen commonly appeared at sports events where they functioned in an official capacity at opening ceremonies or prize giving, spectated, played or served as club officers. Their participation, often covered by newspapers or periodicals, or emphasized on posters or programs that announced or gave a schedule of events, provided exposure and a platform for speeches. After a skating competition on the fashionable Victoria rink in

March 1863, Mayor John George Bowes presented the prizes. During the award ceremony he complemented all skaters and their parents, noted the health-giving properties of skating and mentioned that he had seven children who skated. James G. Worts, the distiller and father of one of the prize-winners, thanked the proprietors of the rink, the judges and the prize donors. In this atmosphere of bonhomie "three hearty cheers were given for the Mayor". In reply, His Worship said that "if it were near election time he would be tempted to inflict a speech on those present, but as that time was a good way off he would merely thank them."<sup>104</sup>

The ceremony probably garnered or solidified as many votes as any fire and brimstone political rhetoric. Moreover, his affiliation with skating and mention of his family's skating ability helped create his reputation as a representative of the people.

As sport achieved greater cultural significance office-seekers and incumbents increasingly aligned themselves with teams or athletic events for political gain. As early as 1871, politically astute members of the House of Commons and the Legislature from the city recognized the advantages of their association with the emerging proletarian sport of baseball. They donated a silver medal presented to the winners of a competition on the Queen's birthday. In 1876, Bryce's Canadian Baseball Guide claimed that in Canada in

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<sup>104</sup> Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto, 500.

the previous six years baseball had surpassed cricket and lacrosse as a "favourite summer out-door recreation." It then announced that through an Act of Parliament, sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture, a silver ball would be awarded to the "winningest club."<sup>105</sup> In 1885, with the bicycle craze at its height and three clubs operating in Toronto, Alderman Boustead presented a medal in his name for a competition.<sup>106</sup> Angus Morrison, member of parliament and mayor from 1876 to 1878 gained much political mileage from his sporting activities. Rowing champion of Toronto bay for three years, he continued his affiliation with the sport after retiring from competition. He served in various capacities, including president, on the Toronto Rowing Club executive for many years and turned his competitive spirit to curling for the Toronto Curling Club on whose executive he also served. But perhaps mayor William F. Howland curried the most political favour when he announced in 1886 that September 13, be known as "Citizens' Day" and by his decree workers could enjoy a half-day holiday. Significantly, Toronto's newly-formed professional baseball team was scheduled to play against its rivals from Hamilton. Papers reported that between six and seven thousand watched the game. In addition, equestrian, gymnastic and tandem

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<sup>105</sup> Bryce's Popular Books: Canadian Baseball Guide 1876 (London: William Bryce, 1876), 7.

<sup>106</sup> Canadian Wheelman, 2, (September, 1885).

riding exhibitions took place on the holiday.

Alderman William Henry Boulton, future mayor of Toronto and, in 1858, swimming pool owner and race course entrepreneur, epitomised municipal involvement in the leisure pursuits of Toronto citizens. Boulton, acknowledged as one of the pioneers in the business of sport and recreation in early Toronto, displayed an attitude about who should sport, how, and at what. His sporting businesses targeted Toronto's 'polite' society, the "ladies" and "gentlemen" of the city who had the leisure time, financial resources and inclination to mingle with people of their own kind in an atmosphere and display of self-congratulatory conspicuous consumption.

Boulton's attitude to the working man was markedly different. In 1845, his law firm partner and brother-in-law, Clarke Gamble, also notable for his ties to the political and business elite, became the first Vice President of the Athenaeum Club. Together with Boulton, Henry Sherwood, Solicitor General William Botsford Jarvis, Dr. E. M. Hodder, future Commodore of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club and executive member of the Toronto Rowing Club, and John Hillyard Cameron and Dr. Lucius O'Brien all "principled men of Toronto's elite society,"<sup>107</sup> Gamble hoped to "'civilize, refine and elevate' the common and

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<sup>107</sup> Robert Wayne Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto, 1827-1881" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1987), 356.



working man." At the Athenaeum, "the general strategy of rational recreation was clear. New amenities would divert the working man from the pub and provide the proper environment for his exposure to the superior example, whose values would ultimately be internalized."<sup>108</sup> Those new amenities included "plays, lectures, libraries, billiards and sponsored sports events" all conducted in an environment that emphasized "temperance, wholesome exercise and mental improvement."<sup>109</sup> As Wayne Simpson asserts in his study of Toronto elites and sport club membership, Boulton, his partner and others, by means of the Athenaeum Club, the Mechanics Institute, Horticultural gardens and the music hall created "institutional ways of controlling ... the working man and preparing him for the responsibilities of a work/rest existence."<sup>110</sup>

The satirical magazine Grip, on the opening of the Mechanics' Institute's billiard room in 1876, recognized the agenda of bourgeois paternalism. Speaking through various Institute organizers, including curling club chaplain Rev. D. J. Macdonell, it included the following illuminating and biting verse:

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 41, cited in Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto," 357.

<sup>110</sup> Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto," 357.

What do I see around me? - tables here,  
And there - and everywhere for bagatelle,  
For chess, for billiards, and for other joys  
Which drive dull care away. Ah recreate,  
Be happy, take your ease, surroundings here  
Are good and pure -...

So let the public billiards learn,  
And chequer tables play at,  
And from the taverns they will turn,  
And our amusements stay at.<sup>111</sup>

The largesse of middle and upper-class reformers fell short of encouraging working men to join the Toronto Hunt Club, Cricket Club, Turf Club, Curling Club, the Caer Howell Bowling Club or spending time at William Henry Boulton's swimming bath or race course. Regardless of his profit motive, Boulton believed in a separation of the classes and reserved the use of his establishments, whether the St. Leger race course or the swimming pool, for "ladies" and "gentlemen".

When working people sought recreations outside of the Victorian cult of respectability and rejected paternalistic overtures that functioned as justification for the existing social order, they encountered the state functioning in its third capacity, coercion. If they chose to step outside the boundaries of legal recreation, expressed their resentment of laws and practices that facilitated accumulation at their expense, or voiced their opposition to the legitimating structures of capital, they faced the military and police

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<sup>111</sup> Grip, 8, (16 December 1876).

acting as agents of the state in maintaining social order. Of course, in the nineteenth-century era of rampant capitalist and state development, the function of legitimation took precedence over the coercive function. As Panitch suggests, a "capitalist state that openly uses its coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes loses its legitimacy and hence undermines the basis of its loyalty and support."<sup>112</sup> Subsequently the state employed coercion only when legitimation failed. Despite the emphasis on legitimative functions, police and military presence at sporting events was commonplace and judicial action against transgressors swift and stringent. Prevention and intervention ensured order and the imposition of the law, and attested to the strength of the state's coercive principle in sport and recreation.

Police and magistrates executed the Lord's Day Act with vigour and religious fervour. In March 1864, Constable Archibald, arrested four boys for "behaving improperly on the streets."<sup>113</sup> On King near Church street they had "made a ring" and were "spinning tops and playing marbles" while "persons were going to worship." Two of the boys were released but two were held overnight in the city cells and faced the Police Magistrate the following day. On a Sunday

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<sup>112</sup> Panitch, The Canadian State, 8.

<sup>113</sup> Globe, 28 March 1864.

in 1868, police arrested a nine year old boy for playing with a ball on the street.<sup>114</sup> Even when no legal action was taken against participants, the Globe, watchdog of Toronto's morality, commented on questionable activities. After one winter weekend it reported that a "large number of boys [were] skating on the pond near the Northern Railway wharf," and that "it was indeed surprising in such a city as Toronto, that parents allowed their children to leave the house on the Sabbath day to go skating."<sup>115</sup>

During the hot summer of 1865 the same paper noted that on Sundays "ragged urchins" used the wharves at the east end of the city to jump into the lake and that "a policeman would do well to have an eye on them."<sup>116</sup> Apparently, the police turned a blind eye to the article as well as the illicit bathers as an editorial appeared the following week claiming that "[n]umbers of our citizens complain of youths being allowed to bathe ... on Sunday." The newspaper's religious indignation was compromised somewhat by the observation that it was "utterly impossible for ladies to walk along Front Street so intolerable is the nuisance". Pious considerations were secondary to the maintenance of bourgeois propriety.

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<sup>114</sup> Globe, 10 July 1868.

<sup>115</sup> Globe, 7 August 1865.

<sup>116</sup> Globe, 14 August 1865.

Not all charges resulting from Sabbath violations were as minor, nor could magistrates dismiss them as mere infractions of written laws. On Sunday May 13, 1860, Captain Prince arrested Patrick Farley on Melinda Street for being a "little the worse for liquor." According to Farley's statement at the police station he had been thrown out of the Great Western Hotel and only staggered a few yards before Prince confronted him. Farley's drunken statement led to charges against Metcalfe, landlord of the Great Western Hotel, for "selling liquor on Sunday and permitting unlawful games to be played on his premises."<sup>117</sup> Farley gave evidence at Metcalfe's trial and testified he was intoxicated and befuddled before entering the tavern between ten and eleven o'clock on the Sunday morning. Finding the bar closed he wandered into the backyard where he observed "four or five persons ... having stones which they were pitching."<sup>118</sup> Seating himself on a rail he observed the proceedings "between a quarter and half an hour" before quarrelling with Peter Shiels and being thrown out of the door. Perhaps as a result of intoxication or not wishing to alienate the landlord or the players, Farley's recollections are unclear. He testified not knowing how many people were in the yard, nor why he went there. He saw some people throwing stones but could not say for what

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<sup>117</sup> Globe, 23 May 1860.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

purpose. He knew Shiels and one other man but not the others. Further, Farley could not say whether he fought with Shiels nor who threw him out as he was "a little under the influence of liquor." He claimed not to have consumed any whiskey on the premises nor did he see any one drinking liquor in the yard. Farley suggested that his statement at the station "was not true, as [he] was drunk when arrested." Furthermore, he did not see betting going on in the yard and, he claimed to "know nothing about Metcalfe's house." John Shiels filled in some of the holes in Farley's story. Shiels, a boarder at the tavern, testified that he had a drink before breakfast, cleaned himself up and went into the backyard and sat on a plank. Another boarder was reading Bell's Life and Shiels commented on the Tom Sayers-Heenan prize fight the previous week. Apparently Farley took exception to the statement and a vociferous argument turned to violence when Farley struck Shiels with a shoe. As for drinking and sporting, Shiels claimed not to see "anybody getting anything to drink that forenoon" nor did he "know what the tossing of the stones meant" or "what the men were playing for." Faced with such infectious memory loss the magistrate dismissed the case.

At face value the story is nothing more than an amusing anecdote about the social life of the period. At a deeper level it illustrates, however, many of the issues that Canadian Victorians feared and the Lords Day Act addressed.

In Britain, Victorian society "particularly in the period before 1850, was shot through, from top to bottom with the dread of some wild outbreak of the masses that would overthrow the established order and confiscate private property."<sup>119</sup> In Canada in 1845 conditions were similar. Only seven years had passed since the 1837-38 insurrections and the aftertaste of dissent and violence still lingered with the Toronto contingent of the Family Compact.

Police frequently made arrests for Sabbath desecrations in the form of swimming, hunting, fishing or playing shinny, marbles, hoops, ball, football, throwing stones and, on one occasion, for spinning tops. Despite their zealousness letters to newspapers advocated even greater efforts by the constabulary.

The attention of the police is called to a nuisance which is becoming intolerable in the Avenue behind the Horticultural Gardens near Homewood. Every Sunday, boys and young men, sometimes to the number of upwards of a hundred, congregate in this locality, cursing and swearing, engaging in athletic games and insulting passersby in the grossest manner. The appearance of a constable occasionally would doubtless have a considerable effect in allaying this nuisance.<sup>120</sup>

Whether the authorities heeded the call is not known but Cabbagetown youth continued to favour the Horticultural Gardens and its immediate vicinity as their territory for recreation and competition. Less than a year later a letter

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<sup>119</sup> Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 55.

<sup>120</sup> Globe, 20 December 1869.

complained about "young roughs" practicing "dumbbells, racing, leaping etc." on Pembroke Street, north of the Gardens.<sup>121</sup> Chased from or harassed in one area or street the group merely moved to another in the vicinity.

Over the decades of the nineteenth-century the police continued to charge Sabbath-breakers but the nature of arrests changed. Activities that prompted action were illegal any other day of the week. Gradually police turned a blind eye to individual and non-threatening recreations such as skating, swimming and tobogganing participated in or played away from public view. By 1909, the latter pastime had become so popular on a Sunday that the civic government assumed responsibility for maintaining the slides and providing safety ropes and police patrols.<sup>122</sup> The relaxation of the strict enforcement of the Lord's Day Act signified the development of a sentiment advocating secularized Sabbath recreation. But if the execution of state authority declined in some areas, police maintained presence and action in others. The authorities continued to arrest and prosecute Sunday participants in potentially riotous activities such as cockfighting, dog fighting and

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<sup>121</sup> Globe, 18 August 1870.

<sup>122</sup> Gene H. Homel, "Sliders and Backsliders: Toronto's Sunday Tobogganing Controversy of 1912," Urban History Review 10 (October 1981): 25-34. In 1912, despite its popularity, civic sanction and endorsement by business and labour leaders, tobogganing on Sundays became illegal. Sabbatarianism reentrenched, and in February council passed a By-Law banning the activity on the Sabbath. Constables patrolled the slopes to prevent their use.



gatherings of young men and boys on street corners indulging in a variety of impromptu competitions in the public eye.

The Toronto police force, despite letters and editorials that suggested the contrary, maintained a high profile on the city streets. "Furious driving" charges, some resulting from spontaneous challenges in taverns and saloons, rarely appeared in reports of court proceedings after 1860 due to increased patrols. In their place, heralding a new age of recreation and technology, the velocipede made its appearance in 1869. Initially Professor May gave riding demonstrations on a specially constructed floor at Grand's Riding School. Two weeks later, astonished crowds witnessed ten of the machines manoeuvre on city sidewalks. After dodging the awkward bicycles for a time pedestrian patience soon wore thin. Less than a month later the Globe, in advocating a By-Law to address the situation, claimed that the "scores [of velocipedes] on the sidewalks ... have got to be a nuisance."<sup>123</sup> Although legislation against velocipedes was not enacted, police charged riders with obstructing sidewalks and relegated them to the streets with the wagons, carriages and cabs. Police procedure against the bicycles became so intense that in 1873 their actions were described as a "crusade".<sup>124</sup>

Until the 1870s the criterium of potential drunkenness

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<sup>123</sup> Globe, 17 April 1869.

<sup>124</sup> Globe, 3 November 1873.

and fighting dictated police presence at public sporting events. Most skating rinks policed themselves, the attendance of many military men as skaters or bandsmen ensured law and order. Cricket matches, curling, and athletic contests also required little help to maintain orderliness. Other sporting venues and events, however, required the police on hand to prevent, and in some cases, quell disturbances. In 1856, constables patrolled notorious areas on College Avenue to prevent prize fights whether "biped or quadruped."<sup>125</sup> Alcohol-induced incidents caused a delay of the mid-February 1858 trotting races held on the ice at the foot of York Street. On the day of the races 10,000 spectators gathered around the one mile track. Due to the number of spectators and trouble keeping the track clear, the races, scheduled to start at one o'clock were delayed until three. Left to seek their own amusement in the cold, many frequented the hastily constructed, illegal drinking booths on the ice. Thus fortified, hundreds indulged in a fox hunt on foot after the animal had been deliberately released for the crowd's sport. Others started snowball fights which inevitably led to mass fist fights. Faced with a drunken mob, the organizers abandoned the races until the next day. The following afternoon the police patrolled in force. The Chief of Police called a halt to the proceedings until his men removed four of the drinking

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<sup>125</sup> Globe, 27 September 1856.

booths. With enforced sobriety and under the watchful eye of the patrolmen the races went off without a problem.<sup>126</sup>

In the 1870s and 1880s, police patrolled most major sporting events, their increased visibility perhaps initiated by the events on the Queen's birthday, 1872. For the holiday, R. B. Blake, proprietor of the Toronto Cricket ground scheduled a cricket match between two sides made up from the Toronto club, a lacrosse game between the Ontarios and the Tuscarora Indians, a war dance by the visitors and a mile race. By the afternoon thousands of spectators had paid their entrance fee of twenty-five cents and more had climbed the fences. Shortly after three o'clock, while the cricketers finished their second innings, Blake announced that the Tuscaroras had missed their train connection for Hamilton and the game was postponed until the following week. He offered to give everyone a ticket for the game as they left the ground. Many took Blake's offer and went home, but some demanded the return of their twenty five cents. This Blake refused, as many of the crowd had gained admission without paying. The situation took a turn for the worse when a group of three or four hundred outside the grounds stormed the fences demanding tickets and then upon leaving reclimbing the fences for another ticket. Blake sought refuge in his ticket-office which further incited the crowd. The office came under attack and the rioters tore

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<sup>126</sup> Globe, 17, 18 February 1868.

planks off the front in an effort to reach Blake. Bundles of tickets were liberated and passed out among the crowd. If not for Sergeant-Major Cummins, who took into his possession the money in the office, all the gate receipts would have followed. Blake fled, seeking the comparative safety of the cricket club's committee rooms. The mob cut off his retreat. Meanwhile the cricketers, displaying incredible sang froid and some stupidity amid the battle, tried in vain to finish their game. But seeing Blake in distress they picked up their bats and wickets and went to his assistance. As their quarry escaped, the mob turned its attention elsewhere and set fire to the ticket office. An unfortunate peanut vendor also came under attack as the angry crowd sought a scapegoat and an outlet for its wrath. The reporter covering the proceedings described the few police present at the event as "perfectly powerless," although they did manage to extinguish the flames at the ticket office.<sup>127</sup>

The Toronto cricket ground disturbances resulted from a perceived fraud committed by the event's organizer, but as spectator sport grew, the potential for crowd violence increased for other reasons. Traditional rivalries fuelled by newspaper coverage, crowd attachment to team and high fan expectation, gambling and alcohol, produced contests filled with tension and excitement. Referees and game officials,

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<sup>127</sup> Globe 25 May 1872.

often incompetent or biased, angered players which in turn caused trouble in the grandstands. During an 1884 cross-town lacrosse match between the Torontos and the Ontarios, two teams who had little regard or respect for each other, fights broke out on the field. Police struggled to control the spread of violence to the stands and "had nearly as much exercise as the players." At one time it looked like a free-for-all might erupt and an extra squad from the local station were sent for. Essentially, then, the growth of spectator sport changed the nature of many athletic events. Games became spectacle, emphasis moved from participation to winning, the locus and rationale for play shifted from athlete to spectator, and large crowds displayed their capacity and propensity for collective violence.

Over the years police presence and intervention in the enforcement of state legislation shaped the development of sport and recreation in the city. By arresting and charging Sabbath breakers, prize fighters, cockfighters, animal baiters and gamblers the authorities drove many traditional pastimes underground or behind the doors of taverns situated on the outskirts of the city. Thus marginalised they gradually declined or reemerged in an altered and socially acceptable form. Police patrolled lacrosse, baseball and football games controlling the crowds, safeguarding gate receipts, and protecting visiting teams and dignitaries. They kept rowing, yachting and horse racing courses clear,

enforced licensing regulations at taverns, billiard halls, theatrical performances, roller skating rinks and bowling alleys, compelled licensees to comply with sanctioned hours of operation, cleared groups of young men and boys playing shinny or other games in the street, prevented bathing in the bay, ensured swimmers on the Island wore bathing suits, applied the game and gambling laws and broke up fights after athletic contests where a competitor or team committed some real or imagined foul against the opposition. Often these outbreaks resulted from a refusal to honour a gambling debt. Where legitimation failed and revellers, athletes or sportsmen transgressed the law, authorities used coercion, the state's "monopoly over the legitimate use of force to maintain or impose social order," in the form of police action.

Despite the plethora of legislation designed to eliminate, curb, license and promote sport, individuals and groups, motivated by their own specific interests, lobbied for even greater state involvement. In 1854, a letter to the Daily Leader suggested that the Inspector of Licenses rescind Vine's tavern license on the grounds that he kept "a regular pit for the purpose of torturing cocks and dogs."<sup>128</sup> In the late 1860s, in response to the growing numbers of complaints about bathing in the bay, letters to editors advocated copying Montreal and having the

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<sup>128</sup> Leader, 14 April 1854.

"Corporation" provide the city with free baths. Complaints and the suggestion of possible solutions continued for many years. In 1873, as a peripheral issue in the debate, the Globe reprinted an article from England that suggested that "effeminate types" should be "encouraged to take pleasure in healthy and manly sports by the erection and state patronage of gymnasiums and swimming baths."<sup>129</sup> Concerned citizens made repeated calls for the "Government" to legislate against, or at least control, the selling of liquor at sporting events. In a discussion of "dangerous amusements" which included tobogganing, skating and swimming, a newspaper editorial suggested that "our rulers might not be overstepping their province if they interfered more than they do .... One might surely expect some police regulations to give at least a moderate amount of protection ...."<sup>130</sup> The Toronto Lacrosse Club, in 1882 feeling the financial strain of maintaining their grounds within the city at Jarvis and Wellesley, petitioned city council to reduce their tax assessment of \$34,000 by eight or nine thousand.<sup>131</sup> Of course other individuals and groups decried the intrusion of government into their recreations and sport. But whatever people's personal opinions, increasing state involvement became inevitable as bourgeois

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<sup>129</sup> Globe, 3 November 1873.

<sup>130</sup> Globe, 11 February 1873.

<sup>131</sup> Globe, 11 July 1882.

society recognized the role of sport in political socialization, social control, civic boosterism, nationalism and capital accumulation.

Legislation against some sports and control and regulation of others produced three alternatives for those seeking recreation. First, join sanctioned clubs in the city; second, risk arrest and participate in the many illegal activities that flourished around the city; third, enjoy sport vicariously as a spectator at the increasing number of sporting events. In this way state legislation and its enforcement facilitated the growth of socially acceptable sporting clubs and created opportunity for capital accumulation by channelling recreational activity in acceptable bourgeois directions.



## Chapter IV

### Spatial Considerations: Neighbourhood and Community

... the economic map of Toronto ... shows a broad band of deprivation circling a still prosperous core. It cuts off sharply at the Metro boundary, where the booming outer suburbs begin and poverty virtually disappears. Toronto is acquiring a permanent underclass, and the underclass is acquiring a permanent home.

Globe and Mail, 20 November 1996.

Twelve days prior to the May 1886 opening of the Toronto Baseball Association's new grounds on Kingston Road, the Globe provided an update of workmen's progress in building the grandstand and levelling the field and gave a description of the \$7,000 eight-acre facility. The article included the location of the entrance, ticket office and refreshment booth, a list of the admission charges and a description of the physical characteristics of the ballpark. A seating capacity of 3,000, the writer claimed, ensured that "no one need stand unless he prefers it."<sup>1</sup>

The city's working-class baseball fans must have been impressed. Such spectating arrangements were rare at Toronto's sporting venues. Crowds were ordered by social status and accorded the appropriate space and accommodation. Ladies and gentlemen watched comfortably from the grandstands while factory hands, often herded together at

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<sup>1</sup> Globe, 6 May 1886.

the mercy of the weather jostled for position and a view of the proceedings.

Despite the new stadium's ostensible egalitarian seating arrangements, the newspaper report conveyed a sense of involuntary segregation. The directors of the Toronto club, by imposing restrictive prices, reinforced by hired hands, barriers, gates and fences, separated spectators into distinct hierarchical groups. At the bottom and excluded were the indigent. A high, smooth board fence enclosed the area and controlled access at the only entrance, the main gate on Kingston Road. Twenty-five cents admitted 1,000 ticket-holders to an open stand opposite the infield. For an additional ten cents they could sit in one of the 1,500 seats in the covered grandstand behind home plate. A further ten cents purchased a reserved seat with arms and cushions in the centre of the grandstand. The directors' box, with the best seats, was situated just above ground level. Other groups also had their designated areas. For the affluent, carriages could be driven into the ground and parked on either side of the field. The press box, immediately below the directors' box, afforded journalists an excellent view and no doubt influenced the glowing reports of the facility. Players and umpires, the hired labour responsible for the production of the consumable product, were enclosed on the field by fencing. Inevitably, such spatial restrictions imposed by economic means and

reinforced with physical barriers resulted in individuals coalescing into loosely formed groups and communities.

The patterns of spectating and the behaviours and attitudes of those segregated at the baseball grounds found dual parallels in city-wide settlement and housing and in the sporting activities of 1886. Capital dictated the nature of play and promoted its consumption. The social divisions at "Sunlight Park", merely reflected capital's influence in Toronto's industrial expansion and the city's social divisions. Likewise, shared experiences and attitudes in the social milieu of hierarchical ordering at the ballpark, mirrored the divisions within the larger social system and the expression of day-to-day living in communities it contained.

Community, urban sociologist Amos Hawley suggests, "ordinarily denotes a territorially localized population that carries on a collective life through a given set of institutions." Although he assumes that community is spatially determined he concedes that "of course," there are "other uses of the term." He mentions religious, professional and international communities as examples and cites G. A. Hillery, who identifies ninety-four definitions. Each definition, however, "implies the existence of a population sharing a common characteristic." Further:

the common interest concerns the system of interdependencies together with the instrumentalities, including the territory occupied, that the system employs in its routine operation .... The combination

of interdependencies, instrumentalities, territory and norms defines a setting in which most specialized, common interests are developed and cultivated."<sup>2</sup>

These mechanisms produce a sense of identity in the community and in the individual and their position in that community.

Community and individual identity are derived from, among other things, place. In sport, names involving place explicitly stated identity. In the 1860s rowers William Dillon and Michael Teedy named their shell "The Cabbagetown Pets". Professional runner Thomas Spence nicknamed himself the "Bay Street Kid". Clubs named after place included the Park Nine and Huron Baseball Clubs, Moss Park Curling Club, William Street and Parliament Street, Carleton and Rosedale Cricket Clubs, Eglinton Football Club and Grove Park Driving Club. On a broader perspective, place helped form the identity of the inhabitants of Cabbagetown, St. John's ward, Stanley Street, Irishtown, and Corktown on one end of the social scale. On the other, the early inhabitants of St. George and the later of St. James and St. Thomas wards, of Rosedale, St George's Square and Grange Road found confirmation of their status through territoriality. Knowing one's place in the world indicated social stability in class-conscious Victorian Toronto. But quite apart from

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<sup>2</sup> Amos H. Hawley, Urban Society: An Ecological Approach (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1981), 8. Hawley cites G. A. Hillery, "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology 20 (1955): 111-23.

its psycho-social implications, the phrase underscored the significance of locality in the construction of identity.

This chapter adopts Hawley's definition of community and its territorial bias in an examination of the development of sport, space and identity. Also considered are the multiplicity of definitions of the term "community". While space, specifically wards, provide the foundation for analysis, variables such as occupation, religion, place of work and ethnicity, when layered on unidimensional geographic boundaries, provide a nuanced and textured picture of the city's sporting activities.

In 1845, Toronto teetered on the brink of profound changes wrought by urbanization and industrialization. A capital-friendly environment attracted investment and catalyzed the city's industrial revolution. The influx of capital and the rapid expansion of the industrial sector affected the city, particularly along the bay. Dirty factories and warehouses defaced the waterfront - the hub of the transportation network. By 1886, distillers Gooderham and Worts and the cattle and pig pens that thrived on the waste from the factory, coal merchants Elias Rogers, Conger Coal Company and Ontario Coal Company and the factories of Consumers Gas, Toronto Fuel Association, Soho Machine Works, J. J. Taylor's Toronto Safe Works, Western Cattle Market among others, lined the Esplanade. Union Station, freight depots, multiple railway lines and the sheds, wharves and

elevators of the Grand Trunk, Credit Valley, Northern, Grey and Bruce and Midland railways testified to the significance of transporting raw materials and finished goods. They also blighted the landscape and radically changed the city's housing patterns.

The means of production has always determined human settlement but as capital combined raw materials, production, labour and markets in an urban environment its impact intensified. Factory growth dictated the locations and size of working-class, white-collar and bourgeois communities. Industrial expansion required a reservoir of labour and, by necessity, workers lived close to the factories. As business sought the advantages of proximity to the waterfront, proletarian housing developed amid and immediately adjacent to industrial areas. In turn, seeking to separate themselves physically and socially from workers, the bourgeoisie created their own areas of habitation. When these became threatened by the encroachment of industry and the accompanying noise, pollution and overcrowding, many moved to the periphery of the city creating satellite communities that were eventually annexed by the expanding metropolis.

At its incorporation in 1834, Toronto's boundaries stretched from Bathurst on the west to Parliament on the east, and from Crookshank's Lane and a line running parallel to, and four hundred yards north of Queen on the north, to

the bay. A much larger area designated as the "Liberties" lay adjacent to each ward.<sup>3</sup> The original five wards of St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, St. David and St. Lawrence remained in existence through 1845 (Figure 1) to 1847 when the city fathers created St. James by dividing St. David at Jarvis. Figure 2 illustrates the ward divisions in 1850.<sup>4</sup> The working-class ward of St. John, formed in 1853, divided St. Patrick at University Avenue and despite enormous increases in population and assessment values the city maintained that structure for twenty years until 1873. (Figure 3) At that date St. Thomas was formed by again dividing St. David, at Ontario. St. Stephen followed in 1875 by dividing St. Patrick at Bathurst. (Figure 4) In 1883, the city annexed Yorkville and it became St. Paul. In 1884, Brockton to the west and Riverdale to the east became St. Mark and St. Matthew respectively. (Figure 5)

Barrie Dyster's study of British influence in Toronto suggests that many ward divisions were motivated by economic considerations. He cites the creation of St. James from St. David in 1847 as an example. The area "carved" off was the

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<sup>3</sup> William 4, Cap. 23. Liberties extended north to Bloor St, west to Dufferin and east to the Don River and Maclean Avenue. The Act of Incorporation stipulated that a liberty became a ward when it had as many inhabitants and as much property as the smallest ward.

<sup>4</sup> Although the liberties were not abolished until 1859, Figure 2 includes the boundaries of ward and liberty. Substantive settlement had occurred around the city by 1850 with many club members living just outside the city limits.

Figure 1

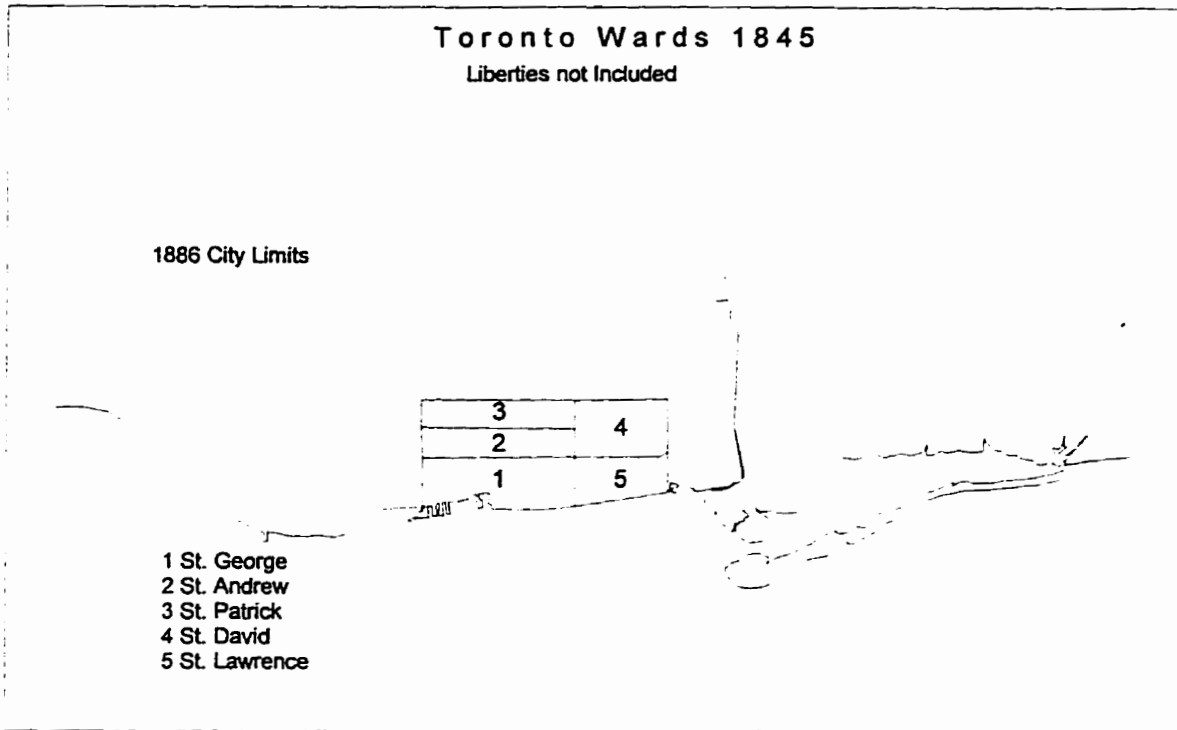


Figure 2

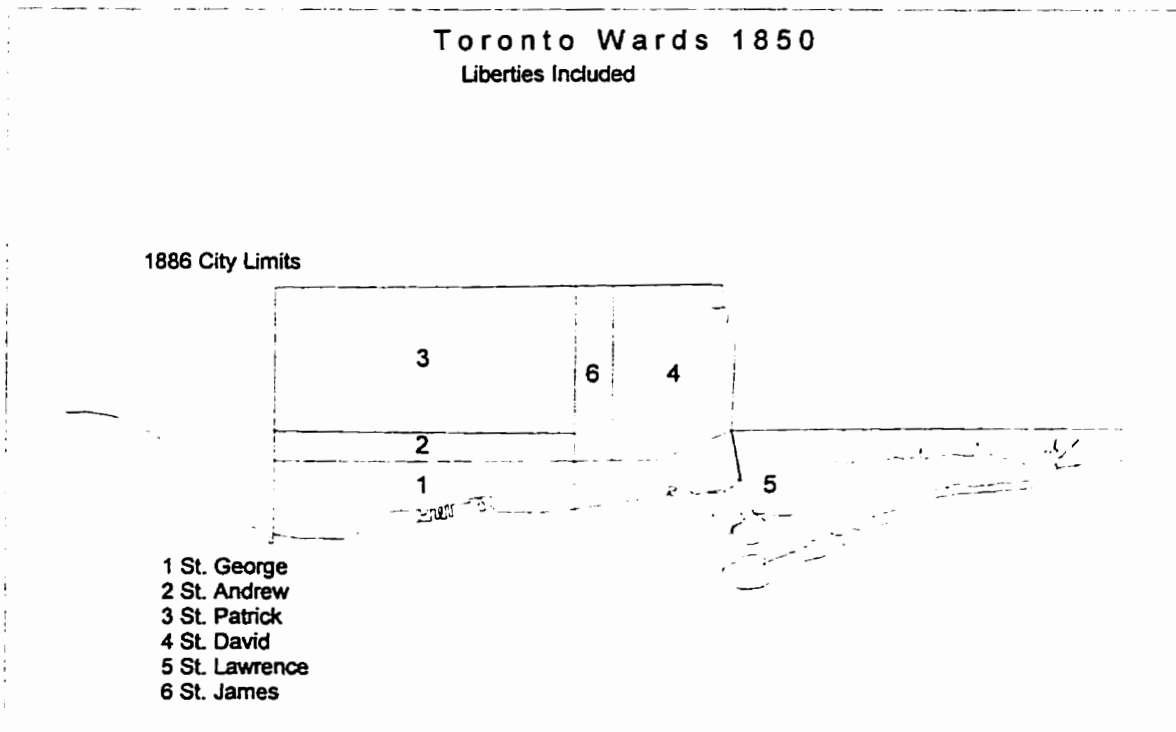




Figure 3

Toronto Wards 1855 - 1870

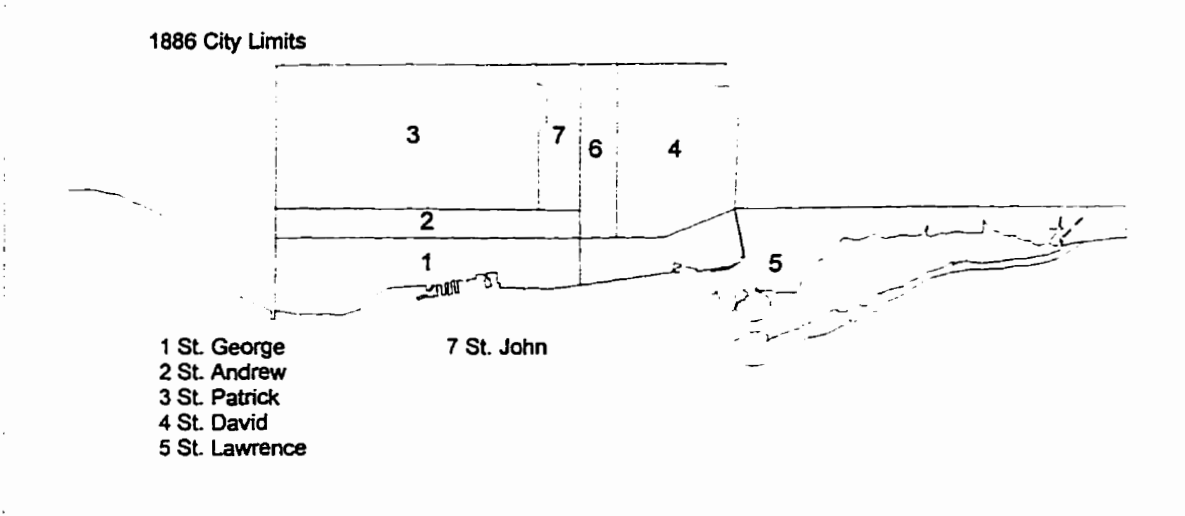


Figure 4

Toronto Wards 1875 - 1880

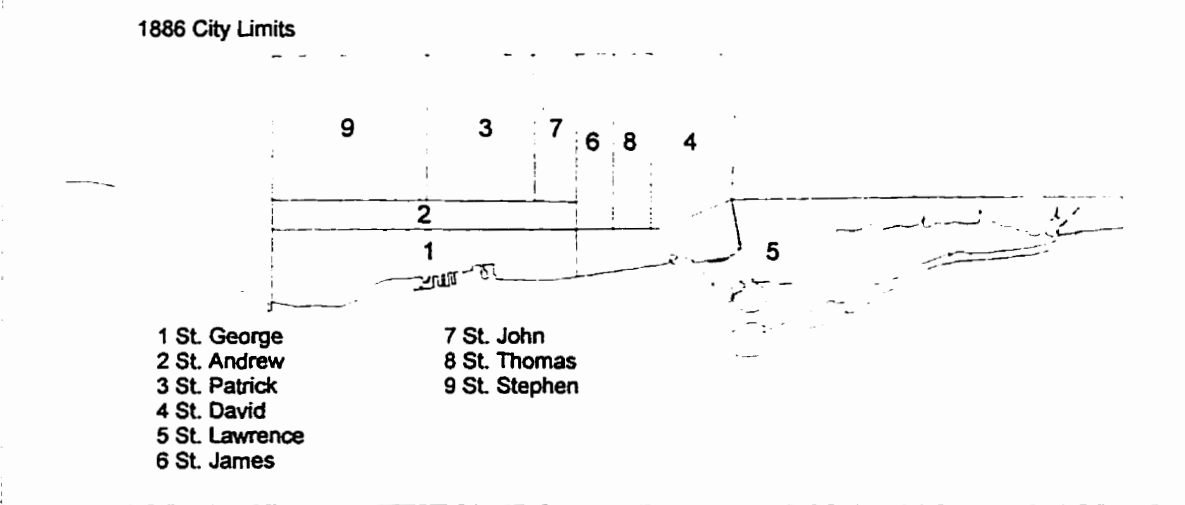
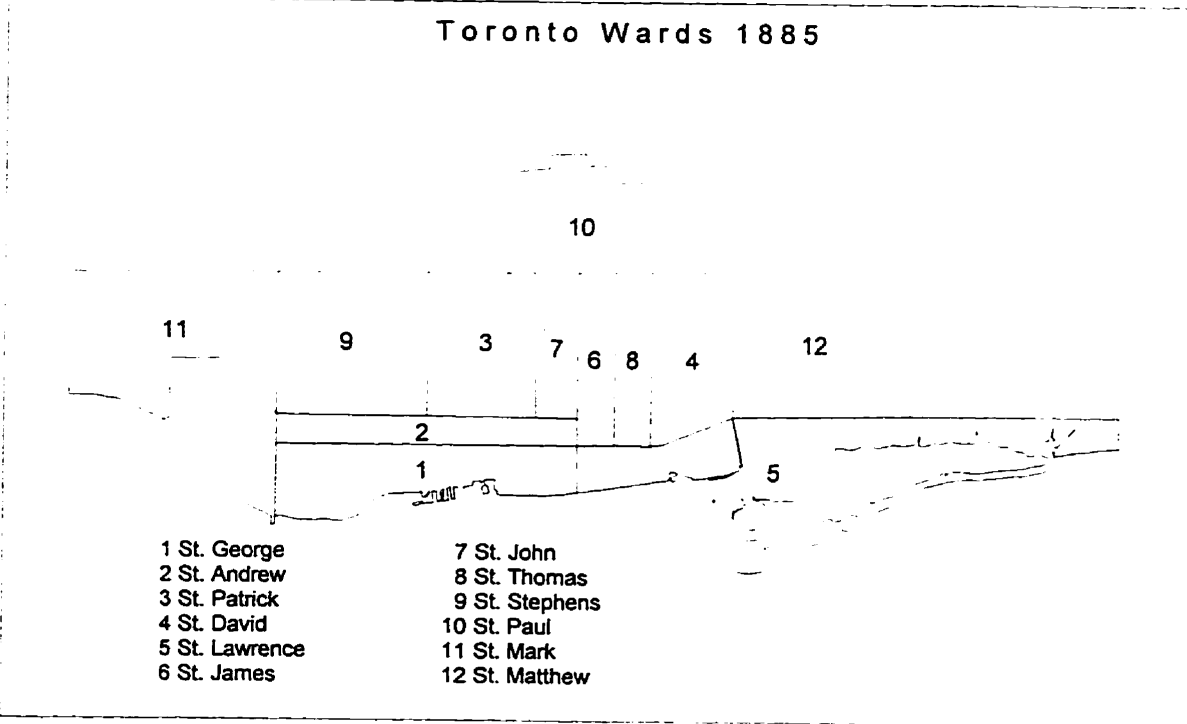


Figure 5



mercantile section between the Market and Yonge Street. It was an appropriate reflection of the value attached to rank and property that the haunt of provincial dignitaries, where the town's first families owned choice allotments, should enjoy such an inordinate advantage in representation over the original St. David's which sheltered much of the brute labour of Toronto on the brackish northern margin of the town.<sup>5</sup>

Tax assessment figures for 1847 support Dyster's hypothesis. (Table 1) Without the more valuable properties on and around Yonge Street, and with numerous smallholdings springing up on the city's periphery factored in, average property values in St. David's over five years dropped by 25.8%.

Table 1  
City of Toronto Tax Assessments 1847

Ward	No. of Records	Total Assessment	Average	%change from 1842
St. George	341	14266	41.83	+3.69
St. Patrick	773	11964	15.47	
St. Andrew	807	17604	21.81	-6.19
St. David	453	9074	20.03	-25.81
St. Lawrence	313	20212	64.57	+30.28
St. James	744	20678	27.79	

Source: Toronto City Assessment Records, 1847. Figures do not include liberties. Assessment in pounds.

In 1873, city council divided St. David again, creating St. Thomas, and the results were similar but less pronounced. Assessment figures reveal that before the division in 1870, the average assessment for the ward was \$254 per individual. After division in 1875, St. Thomas'

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<sup>5</sup> Barrie Drummond Dyster, "Toronto 1840-1860: Making it a British Protestant Town" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1970), 34-35.

average assessment advanced to \$457 and St. David's dropped to \$252, a difference of \$207. Ten years later the gap between the assessment figures of the two wards had increased to \$284.<sup>6</sup>

On the other side of Yonge the gap between rich and poor wards also widened with the creation of St. John from St. Patrick in 1853. Despite its prosperous Yonge and Queen boundaries, St. John assumed the dubious distinction of the city's poorest ward and became the scapegoat for many social problems. At the time of its formation it had the lowest property values and it remained that way until 1875. (Figure 4) Macaulaytown, a densely populated working-class area which lay behind the intersection of the ward's two main streets, Queen and Yonge, housed many of the city's poorest families which contributed to the depressed nature of the ward.

From 1845 to 1885, overall population figures and percentages of population in the wards fluctuated reflecting a variety of socio-economic factors including immigration, migration, recession and the industrial development of the central business district. Toronto's city council also periodically structurally realigned the wards and annexed adjacent areas, towns and villages as the city expanded. With a few exceptions, however, the city and ward

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<sup>6</sup> Average assessment figures were calculated by dividing total assessment after exemptions by ward population.

populations showed steady growth. (Tables 2, 3)

Table 2  
Toronto Population by Ward 1845-1885

	1845	% of city	1856	% of city	1866	% of city	1875	% of city	1885	% of city
St. George	1545	7.8	2822	6.6	2165	5.4	4054	5.5	4385	4.2
St. Andrew	3988	20.2	6786	15.9	5441	13.6	9690	13.3	12028	11.6
St. Patrick	4624	23.5	6181	14.5	5560	14.1	13312	18.2	17321	16.6
St. David	6931	35.2	7126	16.7	7595	19.1	8409	11.5	12982	12.5
St. Lawrence	2618	13.3	4086	9.6	2879	7.2	3354	4.6	3912	3.7
St. James			8054	18.7	7673	19.3	10266	14.0	10500	10.0
St. John			7694	18.0	8451	21.3	11875	16.3	12851	12.4
St. Thomas							7710	10.6	9838	9.4
St. Stephen							4364	6.0	10354	9.9
St. Paul									5767	5.5
St. Mark									1085	1.0
St. Matthew									3358	3.2

Sources: Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory 1846 - 1847 (Toronto: George Brown, 1846). Globe, March 15, 1860. Census of the Canadas, 1860 -61 City of Toronto Assessment Records, 1867, 1875, 1885.

Table 3  
% Changes in Toronto Population by Ward 1850-1885

	1856 % change	1866 % change	1875 % change	1885 % change
St. George	+82.6	-23.2	+87.2	+8.1
St. Andrew	+70.1	-19.8	+78.0	+24.1
St. Patrick	+33.6	-10.0	+139.4	+30.1
St. David	+2.8	+6.5	+10.7	+54.3
St. Lawrence	+56.0	-29.5	+16.4	+16.6
St. James		-4.7	+33.7	+2.2
St. John		+9.8	+40.5	+8.2
St. Thomas				+27.6
St. Stephen				+137.2

Wards developed distinct identities due to economic disparity, the national, ethnic origins and religious and class affiliations of their inhabitants. Such identities were reinforced by the values, attitudes and behaviours of inhabitants and political representatives. Robert Moodie, bowling alley owner and Alderman of St. John in the 1860s,

sarcastically labelled his representative area "the noble ward" in recognition of its widely acknowledged rowdy reputation.<sup>7</sup> Cabbagetown, situated in St. David, also developed its own notoriety. J. M. S. Careless paints a bleak picture of the area before the mid-1880s.

Daily living meant coping with ... the drab environment blemished by industrialism, and the struggles the bulk of residents repeatedly faced against sickness and want. Drabness appeared in the monotonous little streets of box-like, meagrely built homes. Blight stemmed from the dirt, debris and fumes of factories close at hand, their industrial dumps and coal heaps - not to mention stockyards, livery stables, cow barns and all their refuse .... All these posed serious threats to area health, compounded by dangers from choked privies, overflowing cesspools and contaminated wells.<sup>8</sup>

Primarily working-class, inhabited by poorer English, Scots and Protestant and Catholic Irish, Cabbagetown achieved celebrity as an unruly neighbourhood based on the reality of coping with life in such an environment. As early as 1845, Dyster claims, distinctions appeared between the waterfront wards. East of Yonge, St Lawrence housed the "urban amenities" including wharves, warehouses, markets and stores and residences of workers connected with them. To the west St. George housed the "provincial", including Osgoode Hall,

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<sup>7</sup> Barrie Dyster, "Captain Bob and the Noble Ward: Neighborhood and Provincial Politics in Nineteenth-Century Toronto," in Forging a Consensus: Historical Essays on Toronto, ed. Victor L. Russell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 92.

<sup>8</sup> J. M. S. Careless, "The Emergence of Cabbagetown in Victorian Toronto," in Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834 - 1945, ed., Robert F. Harney (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 39.

Government House and administrative offices and the homes of lawyers and government officials.' Such "distinctions" also manifested themselves in sporting activities.

Despite the relatively small numbers of sports played (4) and members of organized clubs (95) in 1845, several patterns and correlations emerge in population, settlement, sport played and wealth. St. George's ward housed only 1,545 or 7.8% of Toronto's population (Table 2), yet 30.2% of club members identified lived in its boundaries. (Figure 6) Assessment figures indicate it had the highest assessed average personal and real income per individual. (Table 4)

Table 4  
Average Assessment by Ward 1845-1885

	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885
St. George	8.29	8.09	20.59	96.49	94.17	1514	2351	2451	2321
St. Andrew	4.22	1.79	5.68	34.87	31.59	389	489	511	578
St. Patrick	2.29	3.57	5.46	28.59	18.49	314	378	367	411
St. David	4.12	4.55	5.75	25.35	21.93	254	252	305	313
St. Lawrence	7.36	10.32	17.68	89.44	112.73	2302	2905	2339	2599
St. James		5.37	8.98	39.61	39.52	586	772	946	1058
St. John			4.12	21.34	17.50	242	340	380	430
St. Thomas							457	551	597
St. Stephen							300	302	382
St. Paul									535
St. Mark									608
St. Matthew									222

1845 assessment in pounds. Annual Value of Tenement or Building. Does not include liberties.

1850, 1855 assessment in pounds. Annual Value of Tenement or Building. Includes liberties.

1860, 1865 assessments in \$. Annual Value of Tenement or Building.

1870, 1875, 1880, 1885 assessment in \$. Value of Property.

Sources: City of Toronto Assessment Records, 1845, 1850, 1855, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1885.

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<sup>9</sup> Dyster, "Toronto, 1840-1860," 30.

Figure 6a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1845

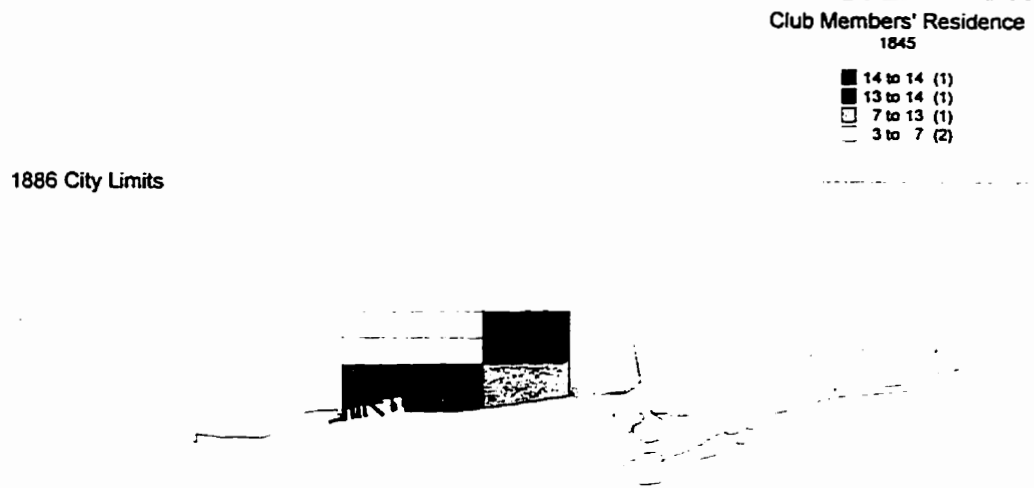
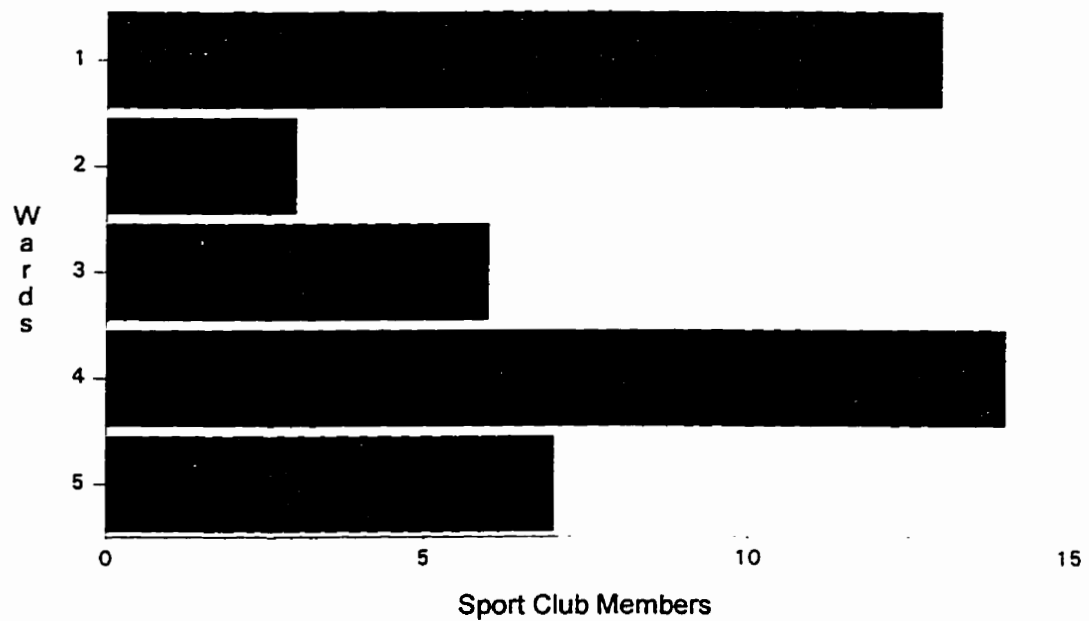


Figure 6b

Residence of Toronto Club Members 1845





Conversely, St. Patrick was the second most populated ward with 4,624 inhabitants or 23.5% of the population. (Table 2) St. Patrick had the lowest assessed average for personal and real income per individual (Table 4) and the second lowest percentage, 13.9%, of identified sports club members.

(Figure 6)

In later years, the growth of factories and commercial enterprises among and adjacent to residential areas compromised assessment figures for the wards as indicators of individual wealth. But in 1845 assessors' records depicted the divisions between wealthy and poor wards. Expensive homes lined the waterfront in St. George and behind them in Clarence and Victoria Square and Wellington Place lived the city's social elite. In St Patrick's ward, which encompassed Macaulaytown, lived those of lesser means. By 1855, Macaulaytown fell within the boundaries of the infamous St. John's ward which had the lowest average assessment values in the city. Of the six identifiable club members who lived in the ward in 1845, five had homes to the west of College (now University Avenue) some distance from Macaulaytown. Clustered around Mayor William Henry Boulton's estate, "The Grange", their residences reflected their status as lawyers and, in the case of George Anthony Barber, Superintendent of Education.

Barber, a founding member of the Toronto Cricket Club, introduced the sport to Upper Canada College. Through its

emphasis on "manly sport" the College produced athletes of the highest skill and social calibre who then went on to play for the Toronto club. In other regions of the country and province when cricket declined in popularity these institutions provided a British and patrician environment in which it flourished. Inevitably cricket became synonymous with social exclusivity.

Cricket's elitism was supported by its spatial and environmental exclusivity. The cricket ground, Caer Howell, on College and Beverley, lay on the estate of Judge William Dummer Powell's Georgian mansion, adjacent to the Boulton family estate. In 1860, at a cricket club meeting, members expressed their concern about the rapidly expanding city and the incursions by less desirable segments of the population. They proposed to mark their boundary by erecting a fence around the ground. Although money was short, as the club had financed levelling and resodding the ground that summer, president of the club, John O. Heward, personally paid and the fence was built the following season. By 1862, entrance fees and ground rental covered the cost of construction and the club raised money and limited access to those it deemed desirable.

The ground's location and the circumstances of its lease also reinforced elitism. In the 1840s, members of the Caer Howell Bowling Club also played and socialized on the green on the east side of Taddle Creek that ran through Caer

Howell. Powell constructed a "racket court" close to his residence for his friends and family but allowed cricketers and bowlers access to his property. The financial aspects of the cricket club's arrangement are unknown. Its long term nature, however, allowed cricketers to work extensively on the field and erect a permanent marquee as their club house. Protected from the ever encroaching urban commercial core, cricketers socialized, donned their "whites" and indulged in the game as a symbol and reaffirmation of their national, political and social community.

The nineteenth-century sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies' observed that "the metaphysical character of the ... town community is, so to speak, wedded to the land in lasting union."<sup>10</sup> Although he overstated the influence of locale on community, his assertion finds resonance in Toronto's cricketers in the 1840s and 1850s. The building of stately homes and townhouses attempted to introduce the British system of landed gentry to Canada. In many cases they represented little more than petty bureaucrats' and nouveau riche merchants' social aspirations. Sport, particularly cricket with its expansive and cultivated playing areas, became a symbolic representation of national and class interests by those who strove to implant British culture in the colony. On the periphery of the town, their residences

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<sup>10</sup> Ferdinand Tonnies, Community and Association (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), 240.

and recreational grounds neither part of the central business district or the howling wilderness of the frontier, they indulged in British cultural imitation with the belief that "national amusements" were "emblematic of national character." National character, in this case, came from a sense of place - the green fields of Britain, or at least its Upper Canadian equivalent.

British sentiment, although diluted, survived the nineteenth-century, but many of the fine homes in St. George's ward succumbed to the exigencies of industrialization. Competition among financial institutions, service businesses, hotels, government departments, retail and wholesale merchants, freight forwarders, jobbers, brokers and light and heavy industry, each seeking the advantage of easier access to hinterland, resources and U. S. markets drove land values up and established residents out. From 1845 to 1855, the assessed annual value of properties in St George's ward increased by over 314% from 14,019 pounds to 58,119 pounds.<sup>11</sup> The population of the ward almost doubled as workers in the freight sheds, depots and locomotive works sought housing near their employment. By 1842, threatened by an expanding business core and the encroachment of cheap housing, the commercial elite presented petitions against the polluted

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<sup>11</sup> Toronto City Assessment Records, 1845, 1855. Queen's University Archives, Kingston, text-fiche. Totals include liberties.

air and water that resulted from industrial buildup.<sup>12</sup> Unwilling to impede progress, city council did little and gradually, literally seeking greener pastures, they moved to the outskirts of town.

The movement of certain segments of the population from core to periphery reflects the decline of St. George's sporting community. Until 1860, more sporting club members resided in the ward than any other, despite having the lowest population count. (Figure 7, Table 2) By 1885, six other wards housed more athletes than St. George. (Figure 8) Massey Manufacturing, Patrick Burns Coal and Wood Yard and the Western Cattle Market built on open areas used for recreation. Winds from the south-west made residents particularly resentful of the latter. Garrison Creek ran through the market's property and allowed dumping of manure into the bay, less than half a mile away from the city's water works. Industrial pollution and municipal laws also drove all but the most desperate swimmers further away. Many curlers and skaters who used the ice near the Yonge, Queen's or Northern Railroad wharves, moved inland to constructed rinks. The Toronto Curling Club remained for a while using a covered rink near the Parliament Buildings in the early 1860s, but eventually moved to a temporary site in Yorkville before settling on the north side of Adelaide, between Peter and John. Even long-time resident, the Royal

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<sup>12</sup> Dyster, "Toronto, 1840 -1860," 31.

Figure 7a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1860

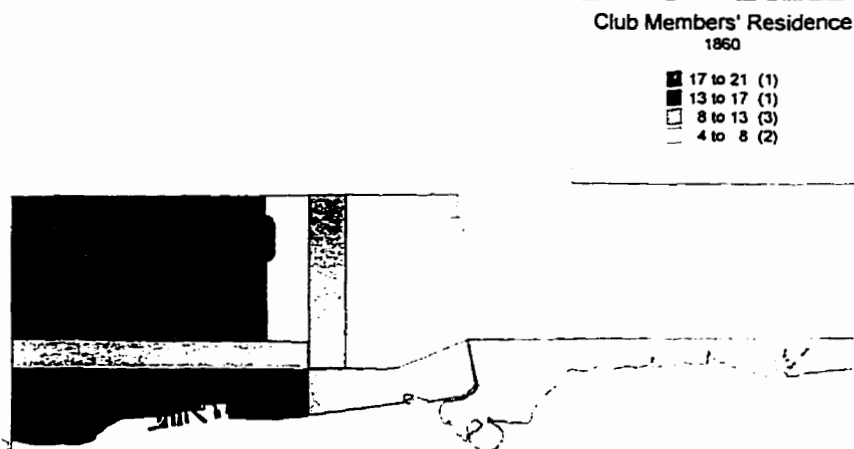


Figure 7b

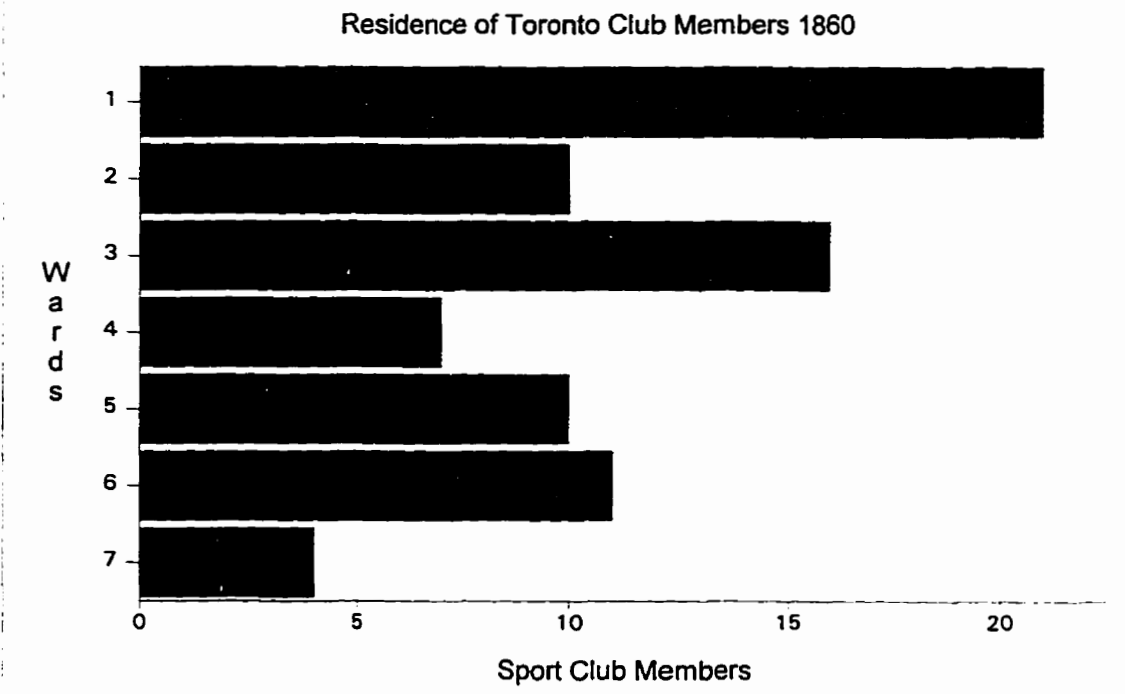


Figure 8a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1885

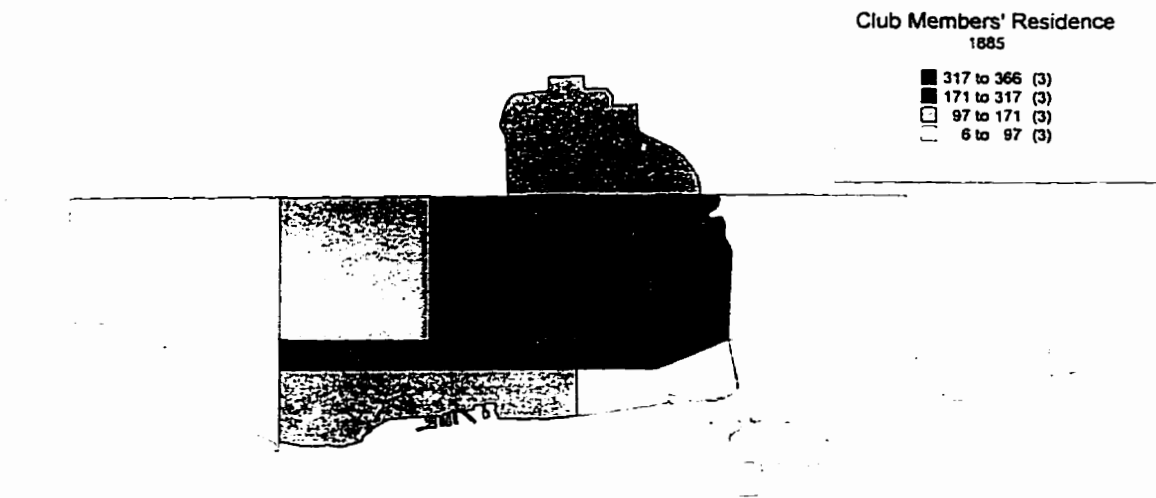
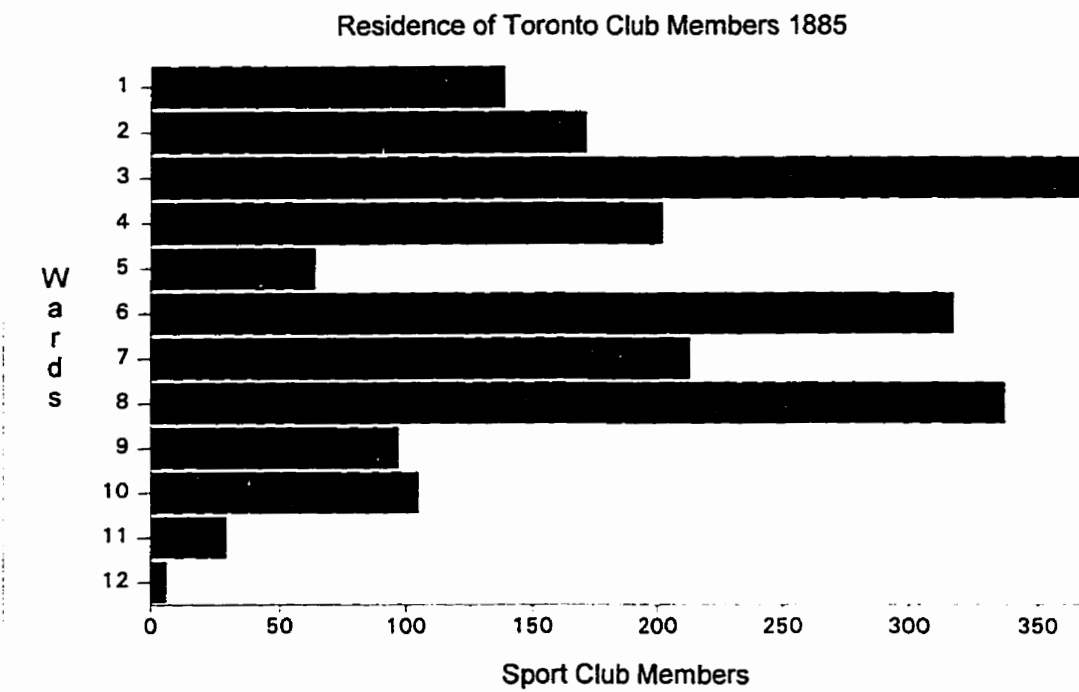


Figure 8b



Canadian Yacht Club, was driven out by the "encroachments made by the Grand Trunk in providing increased facilities for their business."<sup>13</sup> In 1880, they sold the luxurious two-storey clubhouse for \$9,500 to the railway and moved to Toronto Island. Other clubs remained, but their members moved away. The Toronto Yacht and Canoe Clubs and the Bayside, Argonaut and Toronto Rowing Clubs maintained modest club houses along the waterfront but in contrast to 1870 when the majority of rowers lived in St. George, (Figure 9) in 1885 the ward ranked fifth behind St. Thomas, James, Patrick and John. (Figure 10)

As a consequence of intra-city relocation and immigration, the wards on the outskirts of town, St. Patrick and St. David in 1860, experienced population increases over twenty-five years of 376%, from 5,809 to 27,675, and 188% from 7,904 to 22,820 respectively. Population growth expanded the built up area. Roads, houses, taverns, hotels, parks, small businesses and stores spread to the east and west. For a variety of reasons, including population growth, sport club membership soared over the same period of time. The areas covered by St. Patrick and St. David in 1860 experienced increases of almost 2,500% and 9,000% respectively. (Figures 7, 8) This growth intensified the relationship between urbanization and industrialization, and patterns of settlement and sport participation.

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<sup>13</sup> Globe, 20 May 1880.



Figure 9a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Rowing Club Members 1870

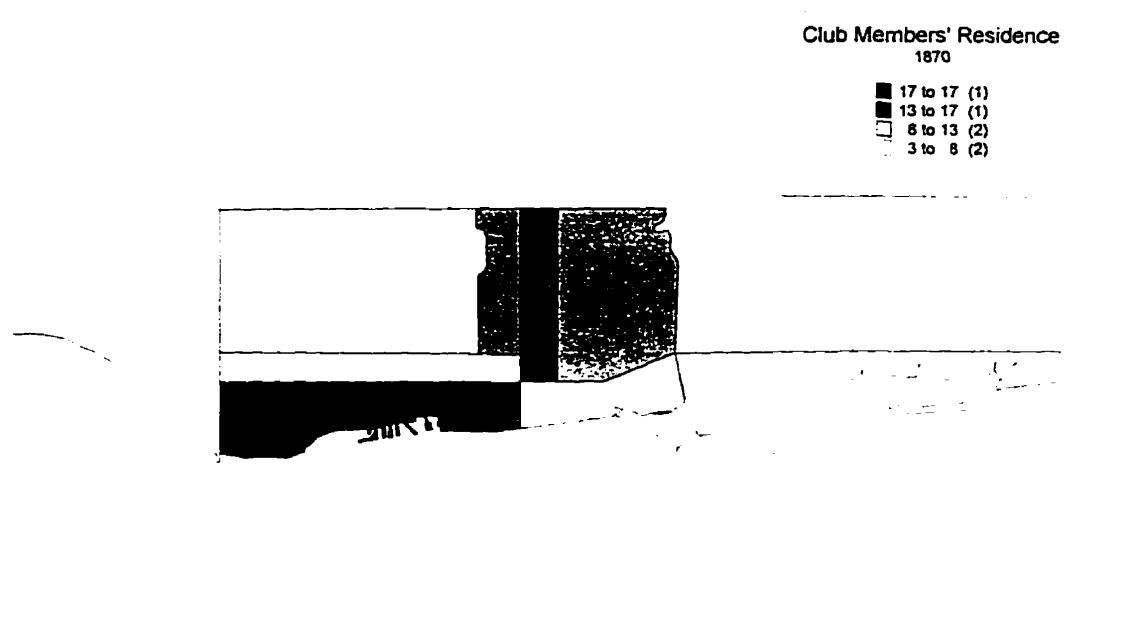


Figure 9b

Residence of Toronto Rowing Club Members 1870

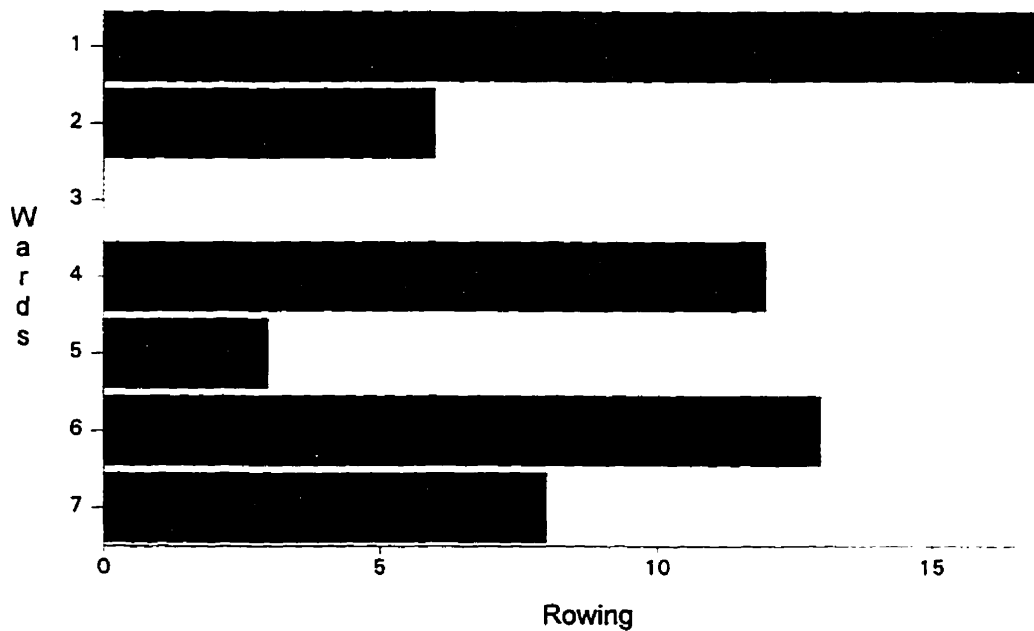


Figure 10a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Rowing Club Members 1885

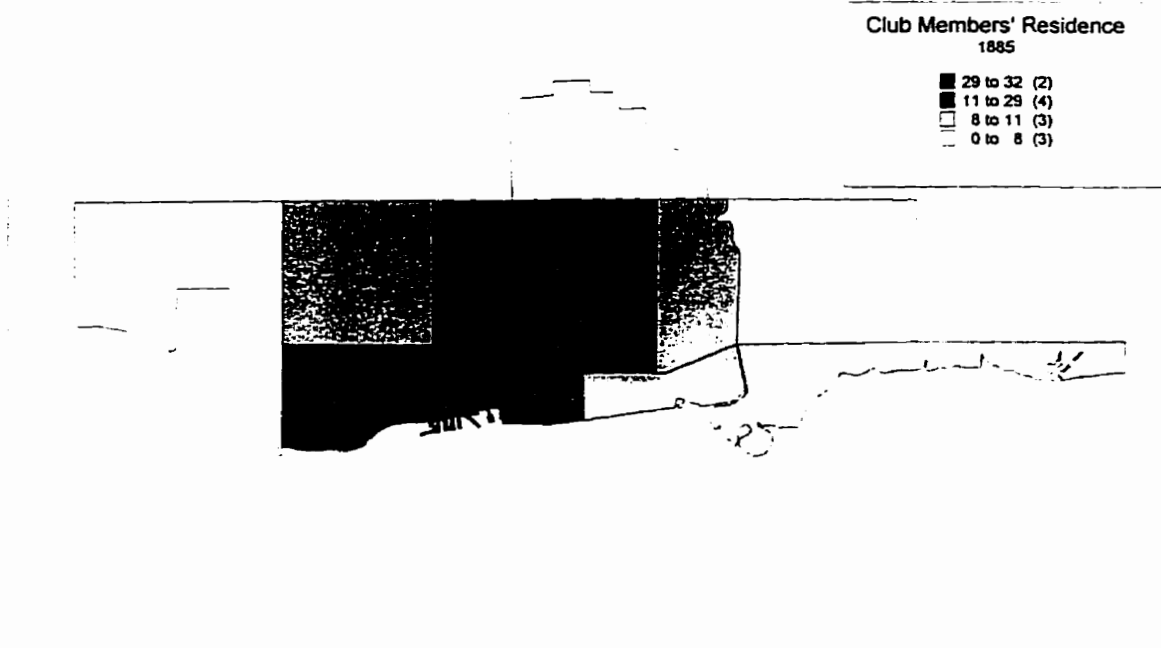
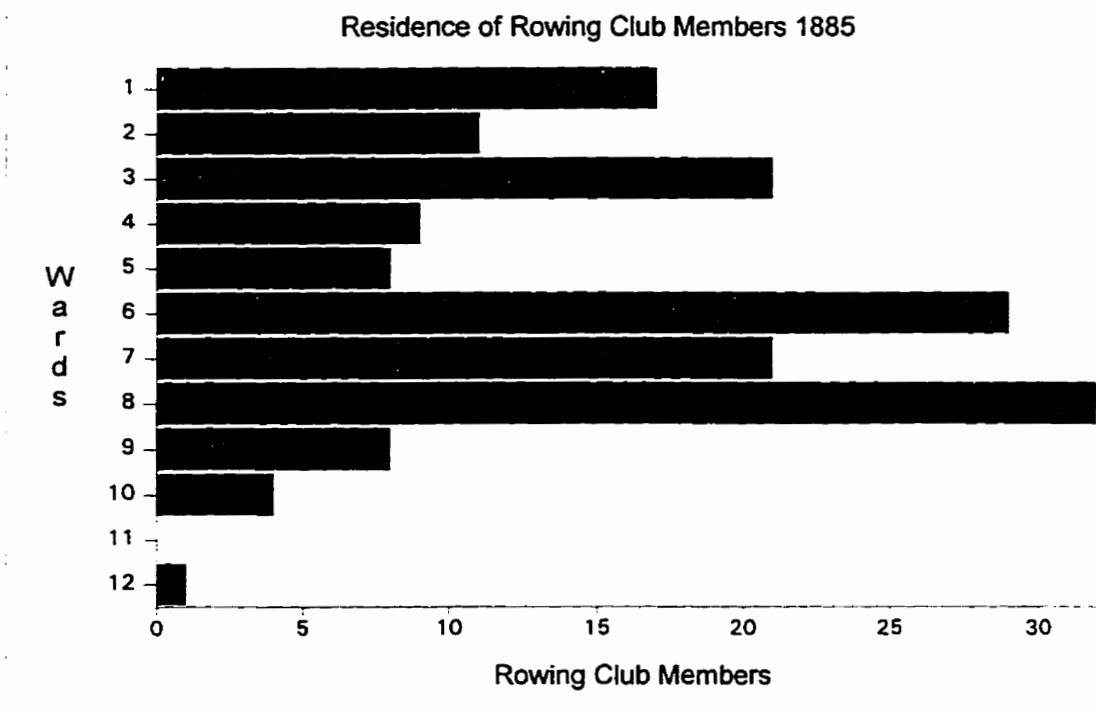


Figure 10b



At the start of the 1860s St. George housed more club members and had the highest assessment of any ward. (Figure 7, Table 4) Throughout the city, however, the range of sports played expanded and the opportunities for physical recreation increased. Traditional sports of cricket, curling and horse racing played almost exclusively by officers and well-to-do townfolk, remained popular particularly among the ward's inhabitants. But by 1860 other sports and clubs appealing to more diversified groups gained members. In that year fifteen clubs competed in seven sports and rowing, yachting and gymnastics rose to prominence. Other informal recreations and pastimes became the basis of formal clubs. Skating, snowshoeing, tobogganing, gun and cycling clubs found their origins in utilitarian turned recreational activities. Each contributed to the growing popularity of organized sport and the decline in significance of the traditional sports.

The advent of picnics also contributed to the diversification of sport and space. National, church, school and union groups organized outings. Free from the confines of the city, picnickers participated in a variety of games, dancing, boisterous sports, competitions and races. Often, national groups recreated the games of the home country. In the 1860s the Sons of England, played cricket during their picnics and trips. Later they formed a club that played at least until the mid 1880s. In August

1860, the Hibernian Benevolent Society travelled to Niagara Falls and played football and held hurling matches and athletic competitions. The competitive spirit continued in Toronto with the organization of hurling matches against Buffalo, football games arranged between teams from the east and western sides of the city, and the formation of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Society's tug-of-war team. Not all games and sports at picnics became formal but they contributed to a sense of solidarity and provided the day trippers with a taste of sporting competition.

Athletic activities in St. James and St. John epitomized changes in Toronto's residential patterns and sports' participation in the 1860s. The wards shared a common border, covered approximately the same area, had the highest density of population (Table 2) but developed distinct characters based on socio-economic criteria. Apart from the industrial wards of St. George and St. Lawrence, St. James had the highest average property assessment value from its formation to at least 1885. (Table 4) From the mid-1860s to 1880 it housed more sport club members than any other ward. (Figures 11, 12, 13) In contrast, St. John's assessment figures were consistently lower - until 1875, the lowest in the city, and up to at least 1885 averaging less than 50% of its more prosperous neighbour. (Table 4) Between 1855 and 1875, club membership totals correlated with average assessment values. Despite the comparative

Figure 11a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1865

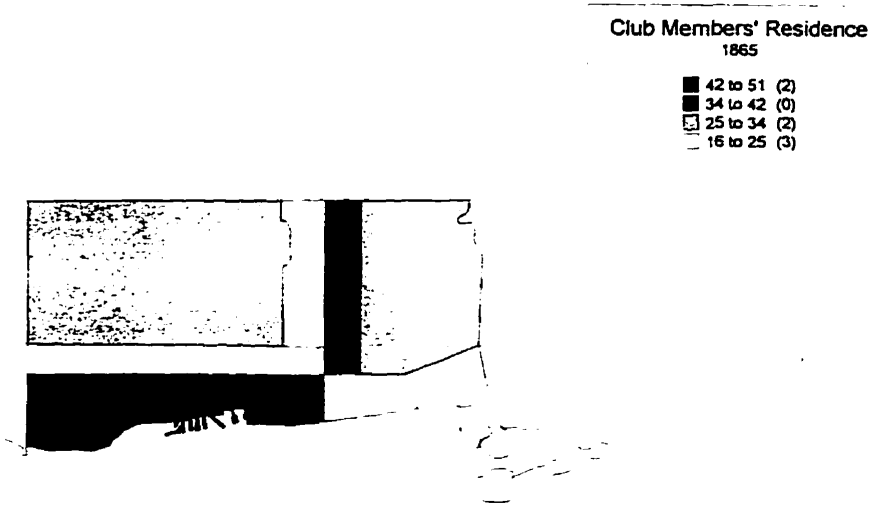


Figure 11b

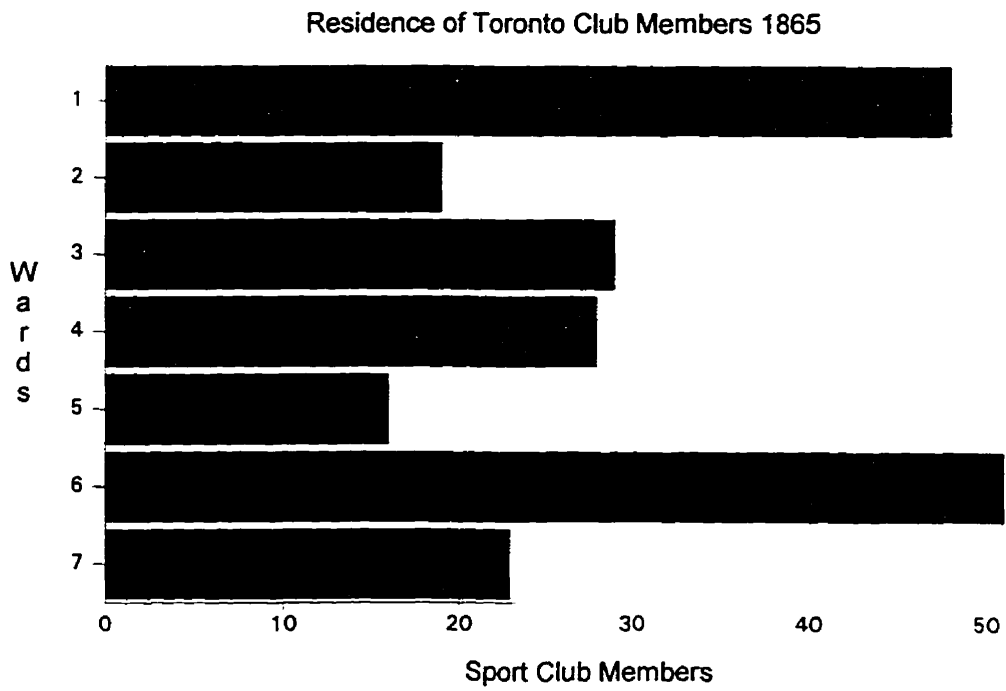


Figure 12a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1875

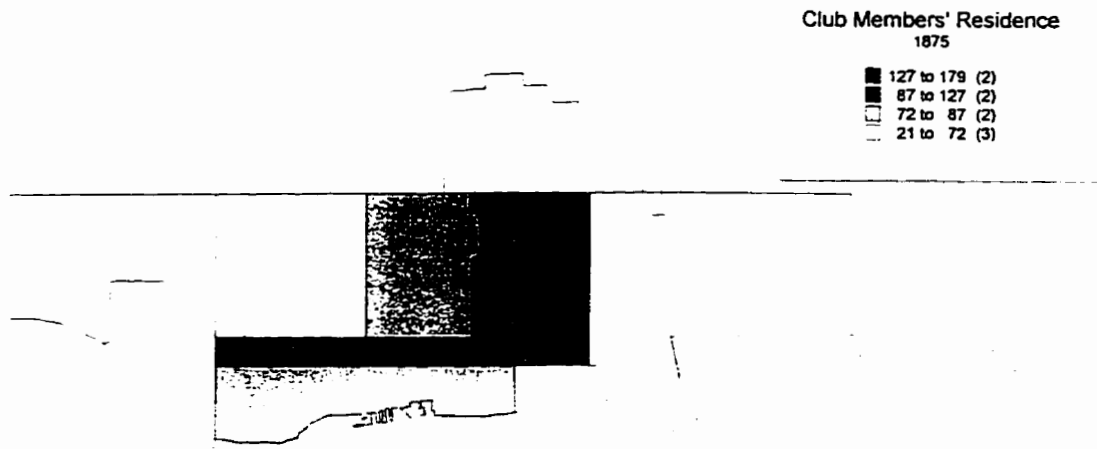


Figure 12b

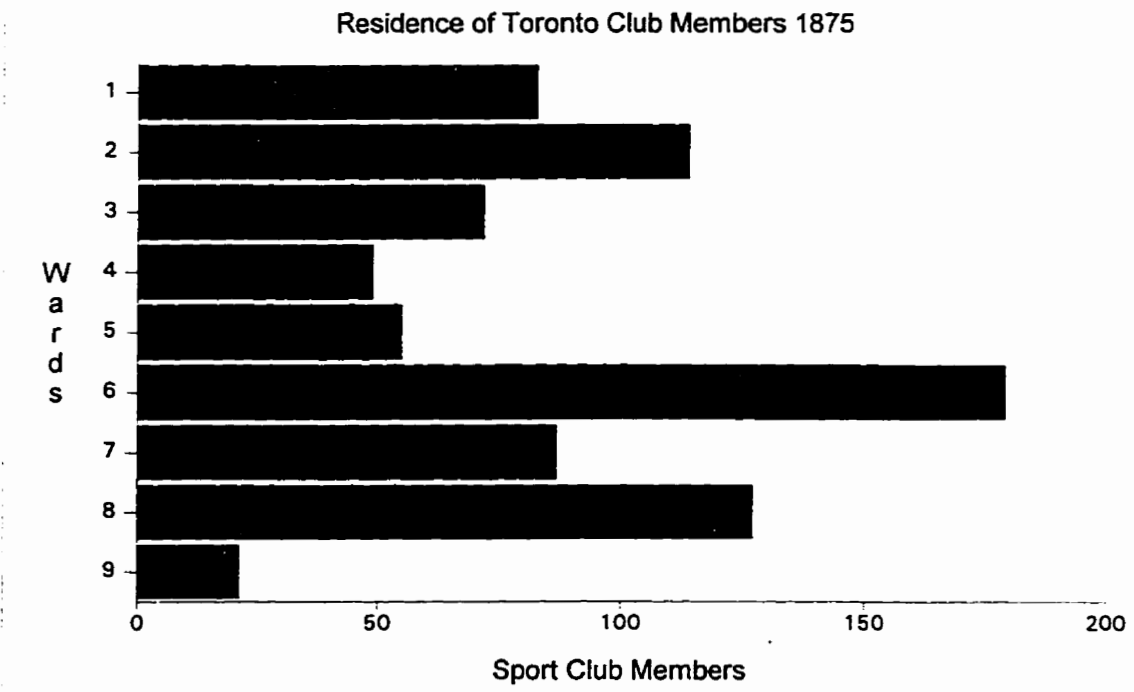


Figure 13a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1880

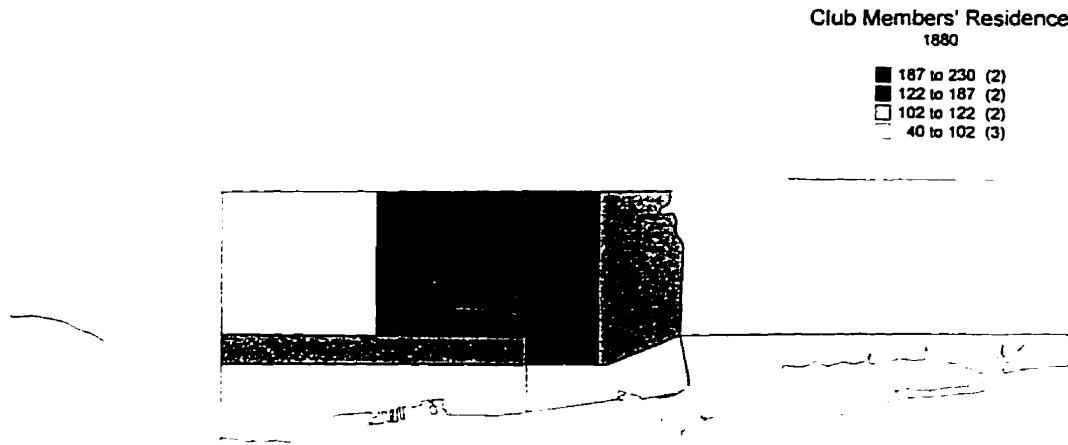
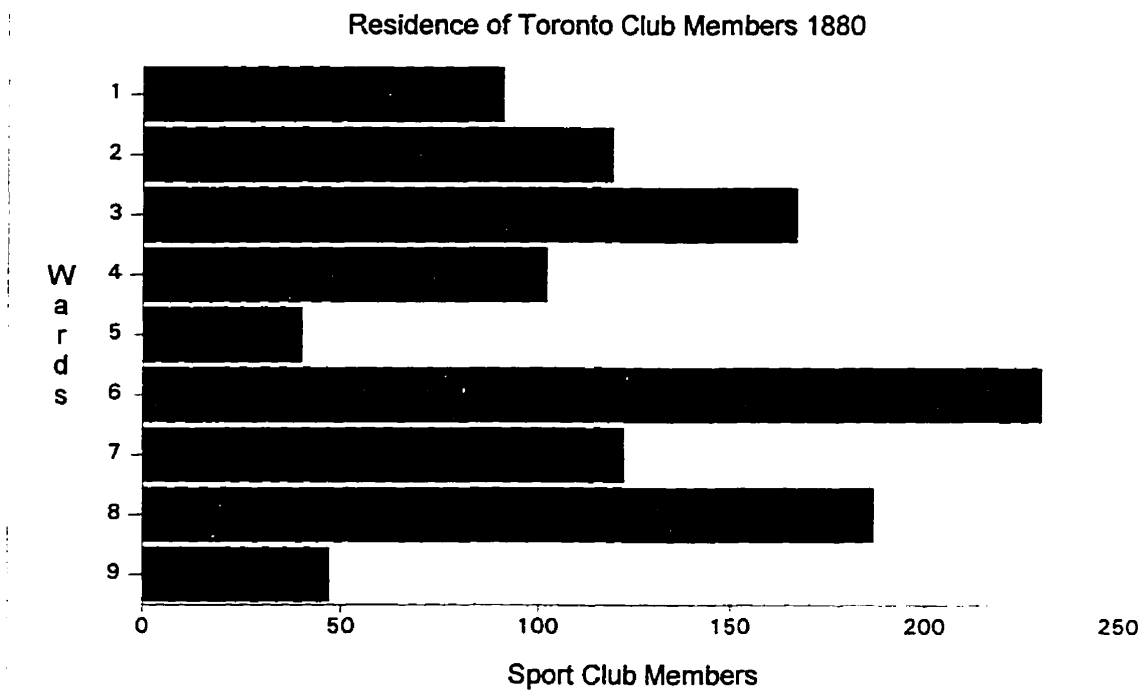


Figure 13b



size of populations St. John averaged less than 50% of St. James in the number of club members. (Figures 14, 11, 12) Differences occurred between other wards but the convenient juxtaposition of St. John and St. James casts city-wide phenomena of class, sport and space into sharp relief.

Two related aspects contributed to St. James conspicuous sporting fraternity; the rise in popularity of lacrosse and the location of the Toronto Lacrosse Club's grounds at Jarvis and Wellesley. In 1867, the newly-formed Toronto Lacrosse club announced practises at 6.00 a.m. and 7.00 p.m. every day at Queen's Park. Promoted throughout Canada by ardent nationalist, George Beers, the sport caught the imagination of the Toronto public and in August, under the headline "The National Game" the Globe reported an exhibition game played by the Toronto team. Later that month, the Queen's Own Rifles announced the formation of a club and in September Upper Canada College followed. Also in that month, after much excitement and expectation, Toronto played a team from the Six Nations. Three thousand watched the game on the Toronto Cricket Ground. A newspaper editorial concluded that:

[n]o better evidence could be wanted than was furnished yesterday of the hold which this favourite game has taken on the minds of the people. The universal verdict was that Lacrosse was superior to cricket, and well deserving of becoming our national game.<sup>14</sup>

By October, four months after the formation of the first

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<sup>14</sup> Globe, 26 September 1867.



Figure 14a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1855

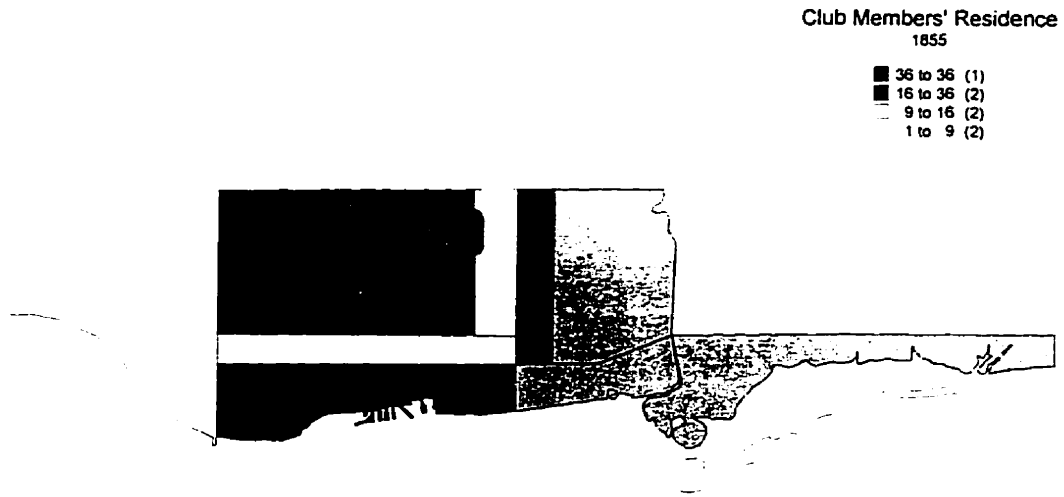
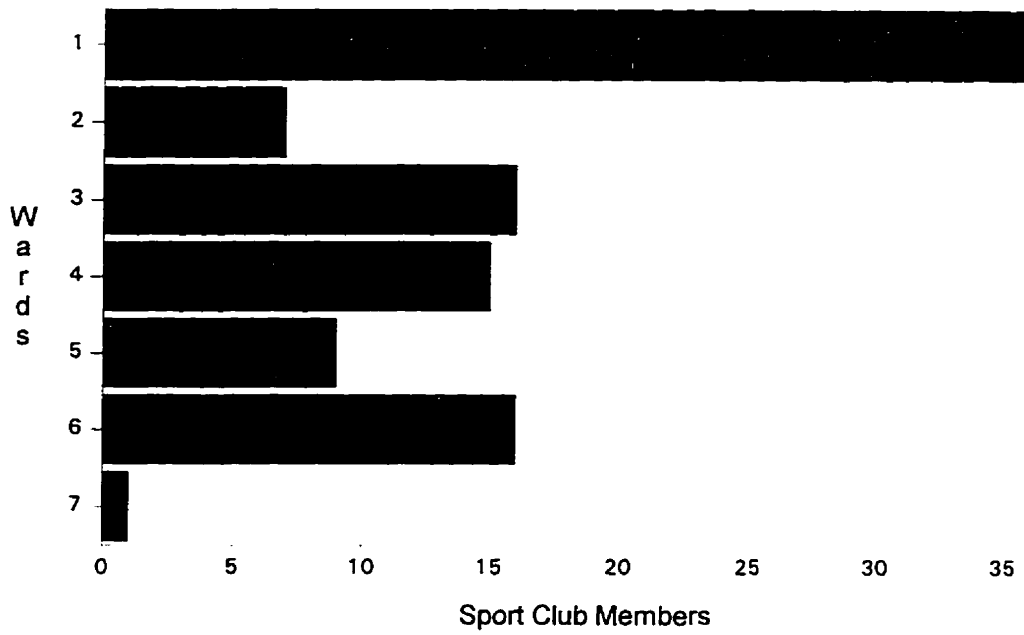


Figure 14b

Residence of Toronto Club Members 1855



club, Toronto had twelve clubs with almost six-hundred members spread throughout the city. More lived in St James than any other ward. (Figure 15) <sup>15</sup>

Whether the construction of the Toronto Lacrosse Grounds on the north-west corner of Wellesley and Jarvis resulted from the concentration of lacrosse players in the area, or prompted their settlement is difficult to determine. By 1875, however, two years after the grounds opened, many players in St. James and its neighbour St. Thomas, lived in the area north of Gerrard, clustered in and around the streets nearby the ground. Of course, their homes were also close to their work. For players who practised before and after work and whose primary mode of transportation was walking, the location of and proximity between home, work and sporting area was an important consideration.

The residences of curling club members and the location of their rinks also contributed to St James' sporting credentials. Their proximity also underscored the locational aspects of home, place of work and sport. From 1875 to 1885, St. James ranked second in the number of curlers it housed, surpassed only by its neighbour, St. Thomas. (Figures 16, 17) In 1884, two of the city's four curling clubs were located in the ward and a third in St. Thomas. The Granite Curling rink on Church backed onto the

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<sup>15</sup> Globe, 26 October 1867.

Figure 15a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Lacrosse Club Members 1870

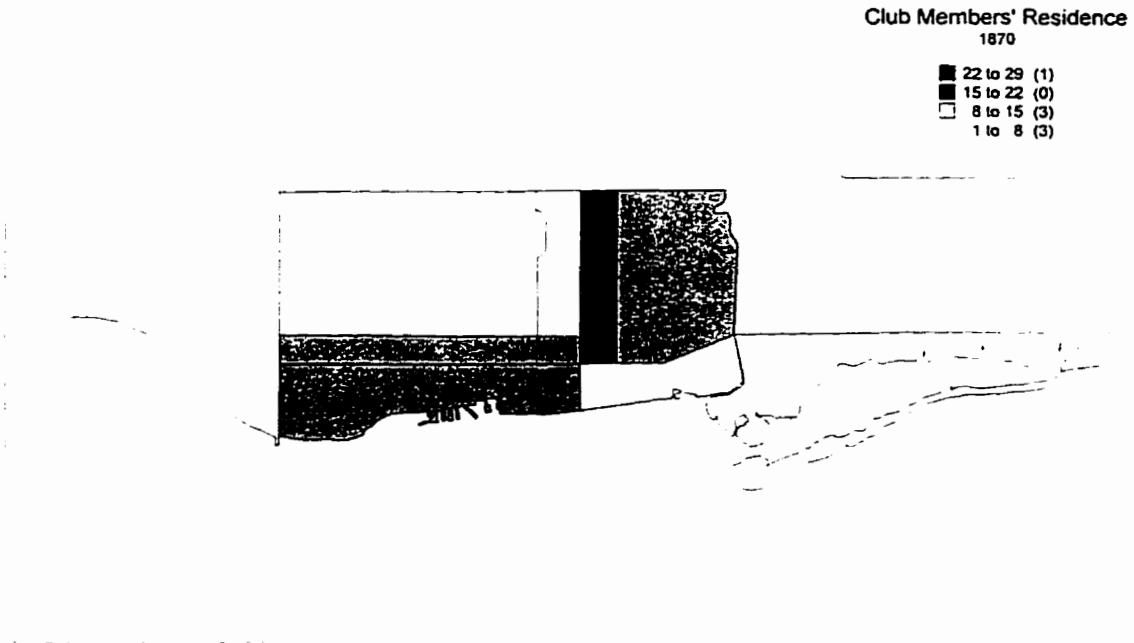


Figure 15b

Residence of Toronto Lacrosse Club Members 1870

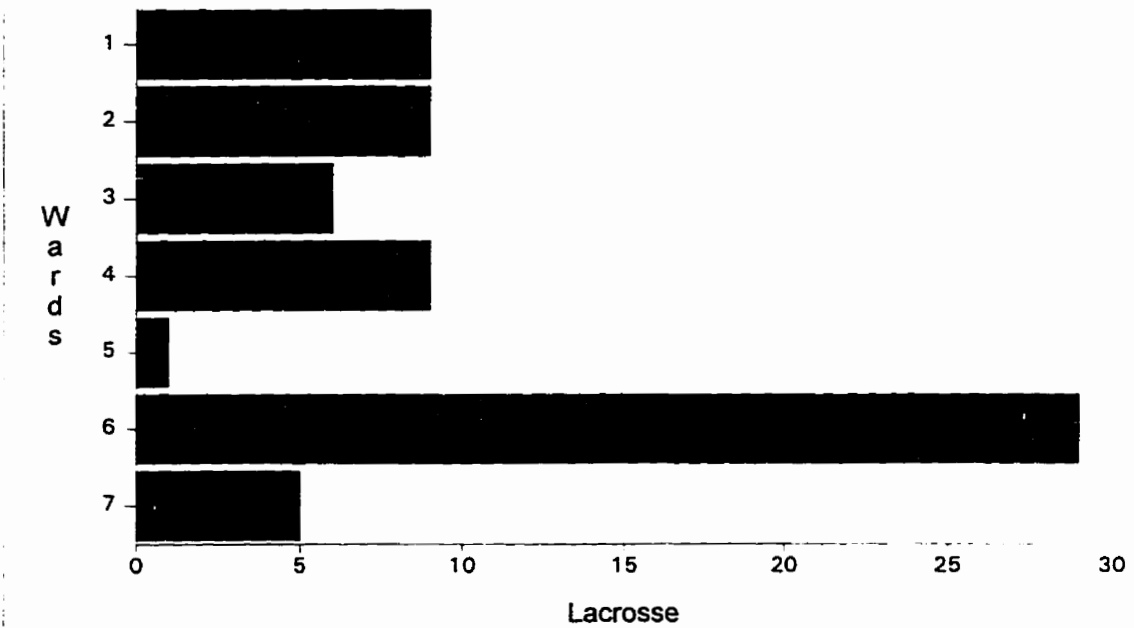


Figure 16a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Curling Club Members 1875

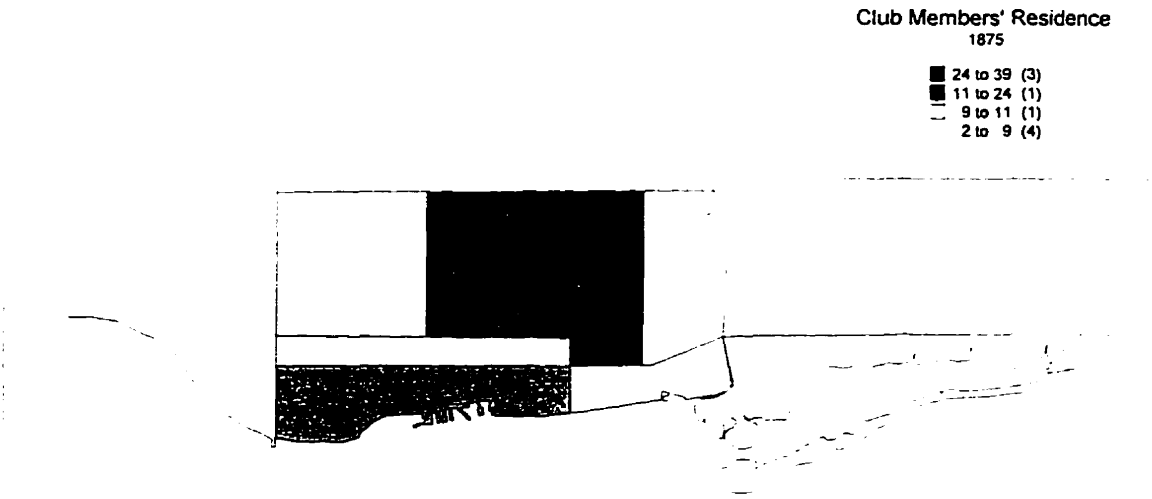


Figure 16b

Residence of Toronto Curling Club Members 1875

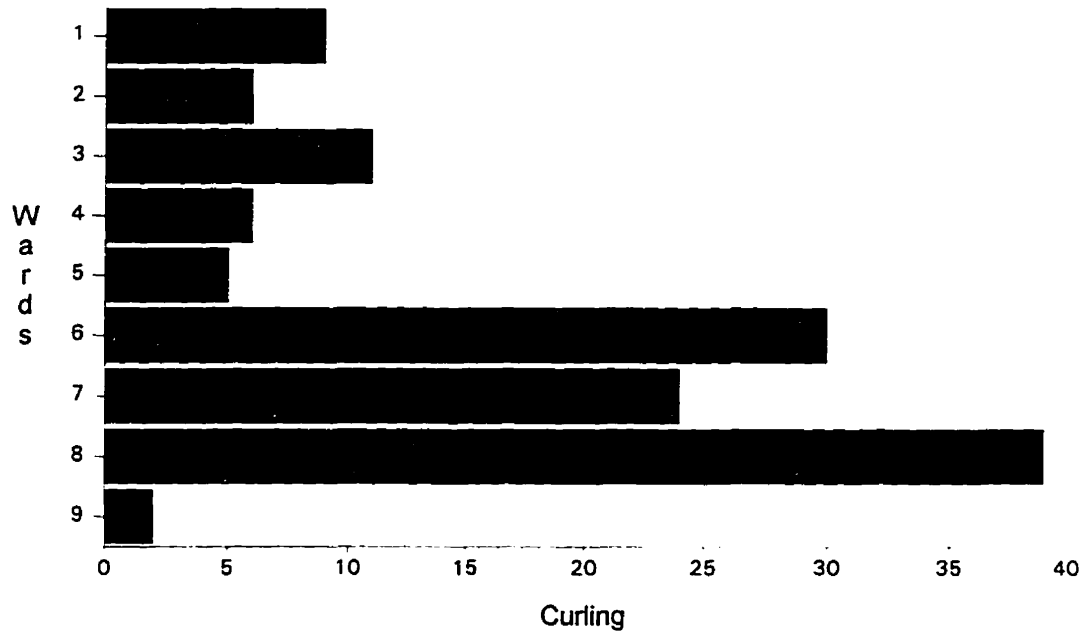


Figure 17a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Curling Club Members 1885

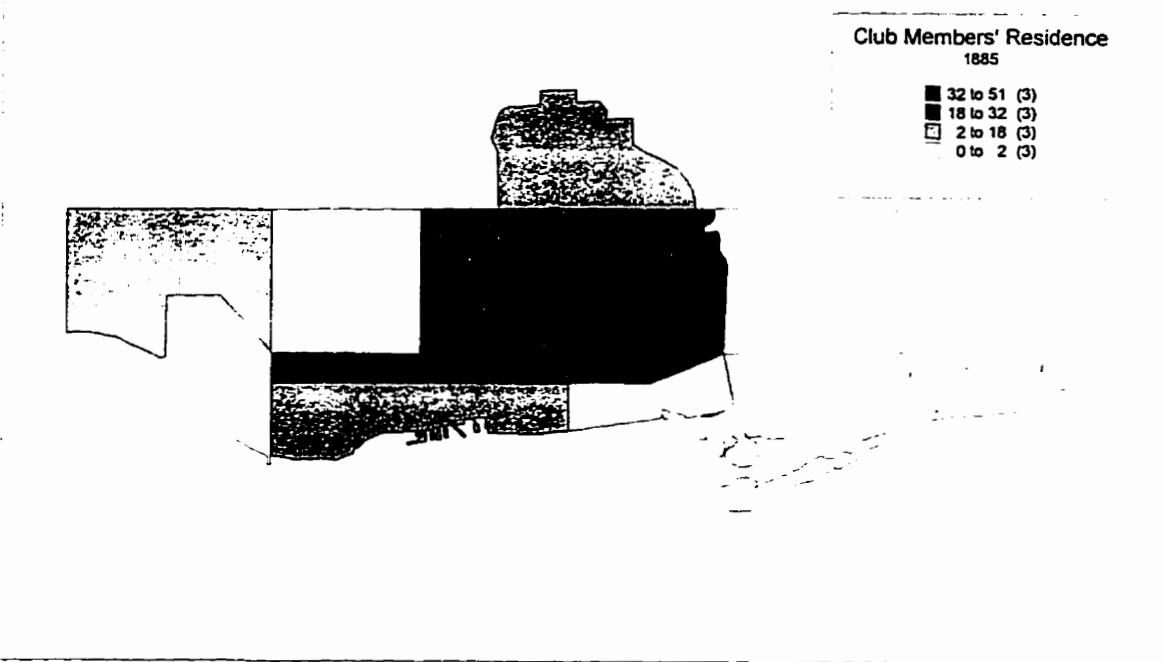
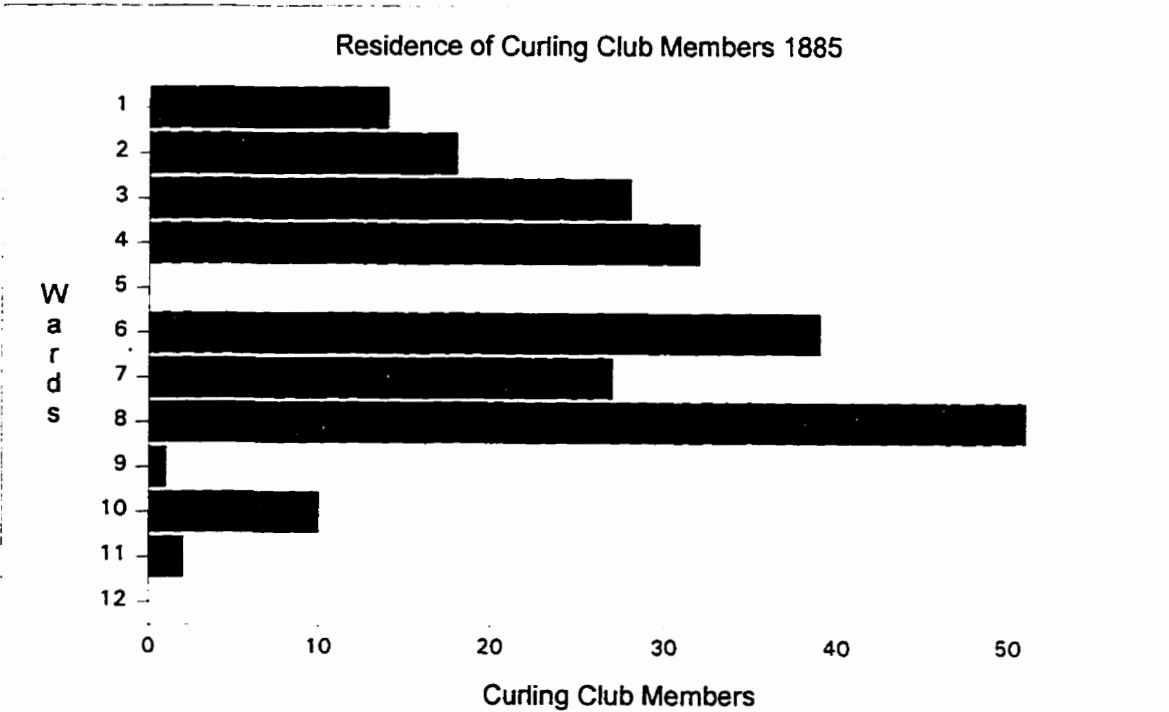


Figure 17b



Toronto Baseball Club grounds.<sup>16</sup> It emphasized the social aspects of the "roaring game" and reserved its grounds for the use of members. In summer they used the space of eight rinks of ice for bowls, croquet, quoits and tennis. The Caledonian Curling Club, on the west side of Mutual, emphasized competition. Accordingly its membership consisted only of active and experienced curlers. Without sufficient members to generate capital it opened its ice surface to skaters when not in use by curlers. Only two blocks away, Moss Park Curling Club's ice surface became a sunken garden for parties and picnics in summer. For curlers living, working and sporting in and around St. James and St. Thomas, the area between house, place of work and curling rink represented a home range.

On the other side of the Yonge streetcar tracks, St. John developed a different reputation and pattern of recreational participation. As respectable and white-collar as St. James purported to be, St. John's notoriety as a turbulent and unruly working-class area served as a polar opposite. In 1865, of the 23 club members in the ward, many lived on the periphery, or just off Yonge. Eleven owned businesses as saddlers, grocers, brokers and lawyers. The majority of the remainder were white-collar workers such as Post Office inspector, steamship agent, clerk, bookkeeper

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<sup>16</sup> By 1884 the Toronto Lacrosse Club had moved to Rosedale and sublet the grounds to the Toronto Baseball Club.

and sexton. Only three, a printer, fisherman and roofer were blue-collar. Skilled and unskilled labour that resided in the core of the working-class ward generally did not join organized sports' clubs. They sought alternative and at times illegal recreations that contributed to the ward's reputation.

Illegal recreational activities were not unique to St. John, but their frequent occurrence in an area adjacent to St. James attest to fundamental differences and attitudes in and toward the wards. Despite comparable size and population, in 1866, city council issued less than half the number of liquor licenses to St. John. Of all the wards St. John housed the fewest legal taverns. In conjunction with restrictive opening hours, Toronto's licensing practices reflected bourgeois concern with the drinking habits and recreational behaviour of male workers.

Scurrilous articles and editorials further denigrated the ward's reputation and reinforced stereotypes of the inhabitants. Reports of gangs of "roughs" verbally and physically harassing "ladies" and "gentlemen" impressed upon Victorian minds the association between respectability, neighbourhood and ward. Lists of petty criminals, their crimes, sentences, addresses and location of arrest appeared daily, drawing sarcastic reference to the area if from St. John. Although not without foundation, as life in the ward was undoubtedly rough and rowdy, the inflated rhetoric of

many reports reduced the ward to the lowest social rung.

Inevitably, newspapers included the ward's recreations in their attacks. Police raids and arrests for illegal liquor sales and "Sabbath Desecration" for fighting, gambling, card playing and street games were commonplace and testament to a vibrant, if unlawful, sporting culture. One Sunday in April 1866, a raid on Sayer Street (later Chestnut) resulted in seven charges for "gambling and other illegal pursuits." Police confiscated steel knuckles and three pairs of boxing gloves as evidence.<sup>17</sup> Authorities recognized the northern end of the same street as the turf of local prostitutes and dubbed the area "Cat Lane." Periodic reports of fighting reinforced the ward's reputation for rowdiness. In 1865, outside Robert Moodie's bowling alley on Terauley, a fight ensued over who should pay for a tenpin game. Fighting as pastime rather than an outbreak of hostility was also popular. In the summer of the same year, in a field off Yonge near College Avenue, a crowd gathered "who seemed to look on Sunday as a day of recreation." They cheered as two youths from the area fought it out. Dog fighting also had its followers in the ward. Sometimes the contests were spontaneous, conducted in open areas and laneways. The city magistrate fined James Ogden and William Farrell, a notorious dog fighter, five dollars each for matching their dogs in Park Lane near the

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<sup>17</sup> Globe, 6 April 1866.



corner of Christopher. Other contests were more organized. The Globe's report of "two bulldogs tearing and mangling one another," cheered by their owners and several spectators in a blacksmith's workshop on Edward Street, suggests an evenly-matched and, in terms of where the event took place, planned event.<sup>18</sup> Although many of the ward's recreations existed on the margin of legality and this coloured popular opinion, other activities were more conventional.

Although the effects of industrialization and urbanization upon recreation were most readily apparent in St. John and St. James, in the 1860s and 1870s they influenced the rise, decline and spatial alteration of a number of sporting activities throughout the city. According to Peter Goheen, the city's urbanization was characterized by differentiating land-use which resulted in social segregation.<sup>19</sup> Improvements in the roads allowed new suburbanites to escape the polluted and crowded city centre taking their recreations with them. Riders of the fad of the 1870s, the velocipede, also appreciated the better surfaces. In 1881, the city paved Ontario Street with cedar blocks making it ideal for cycling. Four years later, St. Thomas with the eastern boundary of Ontario, housed the second highest number of cycling club members.

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<sup>18</sup> Globe, 14 November 1865.

<sup>19</sup> Peter G. Goheen, Victorian Toronto, 1850-1900: Pattern and Process of Growth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

Improved roads meant increased cycling and by 1885 Toronto had three bicycle clubs with over two hundred members.

Introduction of the horse-drawn street car in 1872 and the improvement and expansion of the service also influenced profoundly the city's residential patterns and sporting activities. J. M. S. Careless claims that the street railway resulted in "greater spatial separation" and a "further sorting out in land use."<sup>20</sup> This sorting manifested itself in the establishment of middle and upper-class residential areas around the perimeter of the city, while "lower-class neighbourhoods" developed between the outskirts and the industrial districts.<sup>21</sup> Careless identifies two working-class areas: in the west, south of King near the railway lines and in the east, near the mouth of the Don River. Significantly, in 1885 the directors of the Toronto Baseball Association built their stadium adjacent to the latter and on a streetcar route. Streetcars also contributed to the rise in spectatorship of horse racing at Woodbine, lacrosse and baseball at Jarvis and Wellesley, football at the University grounds and track and field at the Crystal Palace.

Urban expansion and the gradual filling of vacant lots also pushed organized working-class and some middle-class

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<sup>20</sup> J. M. S. Careless, Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1984), 138.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 138.

sport to the periphery. Those workers who lived in the south-west, in St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick's wards found playing space on the Garrison Common. Those that lived in the east in St. Lawrence and St. David, played on the Don Flats or on Riverdale Park just south of the Toronto Necropolis. For safety reasons and in accordance with city by-laws, shooting clubs also vied for the same open areas. The gun clubs, popularized during the Fenian raid scares of the mid-1860s, also produced professional marksmen who participated in pigeon, blackbird, snowbird and skeet shooting competitions. These were held in locations such as the commons in Yorkville and Wellesley's Hill on Davenport Road in the north, Leslieville and the Don Flats in the east, and on the Garrison common and Pat Davies' half mile racetrack at Queen and Dovercourt in the west.

The organization and efficient operation of a military-style police force also drove sporting activities that existed on the fringe of legality to the fringe of town. For many years during the mid 1860s and 1870s, William Vine's tavern flourished as a centre for cockfighting. Located on the Don and Danforth Roads, outside of Toronto police jurisdiction, Vine's gained public attention and notoriety during William Greenwood's trial. In 1863, police charged Greenwood with murder. A particularly damning witness testified he saw Greenwood on the day of the killing with his hand covered in blood. Greenwood claimed that he

cut his hand on a broken spur handling one of the cocks in a fight at the tavern. Despite his testimony, the jury found Greenwood guilty and concern about cockfighting and criminality and calls for police action against the activity increased. As a result cocking mains were driven further afield. In 1866, under the headline "Disgraceful" a newspaper reported on cockfighting's illegality and its relationship with location.

A few of the thieving fraternity, have nothing else to occupy their time with during the past few days, have been engaged in the disgraceful and inhuman sport of cock-fighting, at a pit outside the eastern limits of the city.<sup>22</sup>

In 1869, at the other side of the city, a fight for \$1,000 a side took place in a building opposite the Peacock Hotel in Brockton. Birds from London and Toronto fought thirteen uninterrupted matches despite the knowledge of the County police force.

The founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in the early 1870s extended official power to those who sought to eliminate the sport. Society Inspectors, not limited by jurisdictional boundaries, ranged beyond the city in pursuit of offenders. Furthermore, county police who ignored information given by a member of the public could not look the other way after notification of a fight by a state appointed Inspector. In May 1877, suspecting that a fight might be in the offing east of the

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<sup>22</sup> Globe, 28 March 1866.

Don, Inspector Cooper of the Society, in the company of two policemen, investigated. They travelled nine miles, well outside city limits, before reaching Yates' tavern. In one of the stables they broke up a crowd gathered to watch a series of matches.<sup>23</sup> In the face of such official zeal cockfighting disappeared further underground or further beyond city boundaries and eventually gave way to dog fighting as the blood sport of choice.

Ethnic settlement patterns also created sporting fraternities peculiar to place. The mass arrival of starving and diseased Irish Catholics in the 1850s changed Toronto's ethnic nature and residential districts. Prior to the famines, the Irish were unobtrusive and although concentrated in certain areas, spread from Slab Town in the east to Corktown in the west. St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church, built in 1826 at Queen and Power, in the heart of Cabbagetown, served as the physical and spiritual centre for Catholics living in St. Lawrence and in the liberties along the Don River. Famine Irish settled where housing came cheap, close to potential employment and previously established community and church. The influx increased population in St. David from 3,204 in 1850 to 7,126 in 1856. (Table 2) Many early arrivals settled in Cabbagetown, east of Sherbourne around the General Hospital which opened in 1854 to deal with the myriad of health problems brought by

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<sup>23</sup> Globe, 26 May 1877.

the immigrants. Others settled in the west, within walking distance of the rail yards.

According to Murray Nicholson "the church accommodated Irish patterns of concentration and established parish nuclei."<sup>24</sup> St. Mary's Church, built in 1852 at Adelaide and Bathurst, served Irish Catholics living close to the railway terminals and freight depots. St. Patrick's Church, built on William and Caer Howell Streets in 1861 and St Basil's Church on St. Joseph Street reflected Irish concentration in St. John. St. Helen's Church was built in Brockton in 1875 and St. Joseph's Church in Leslieville in 1878. The church supplied a conduit for the cultural baggage of their homeland and the Irish developed a culture composed of a hybrid of traditions combined with behaviours resulting from living in an industrialized urban centre. Associational life, often in a boisterous form, provided a cornerstone for that culture.

Stanley Street in the 1860s epitomized this culture. Located south of King to the east of Yonge, the Irish ghetto became notorious for its overcrowding, slum conditions, "rum holes", drunkenness, prostitution and violent and illegal behaviours. Despite these conditions, it harboured a close knit community that worked together, drank together, addressed community problems together, celebrated together,

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<sup>24</sup> Murray W. Nicholson "Peasants in an Urban Society: the Irish Catholics in Victorian Toronto," in Gathering Place, 54.

fought together and played together. When, in 1867, city detectives cracked down on illegal liquor, the street's residents meted out their own justice, even beating women hired to snare the "grog" sellers. Street celebrations to honour those released from prison often deteriorated into drunken brawls. Neighbours attended magistrate's court, lending support to those arrested during the night's revelries. The following excerpt, one of a series of reports from city newspapers, typifies outraged middle-class attitudes to Stanley Street but also illustrates the closed nature of this inner-city working-class area and its resident's territorial attitudes:

Stanley Street was, the other evening, the scene of a row of more than ordinary magnitude, the occasion of the "rumpus" apparently being the attempt of a coloured man to locate himself in the centre of this Belgravian locality. Stanley Street objects to any common interlopers attempting to gain a footing within its precincts and especially a "darkee". The disturbance showed itself in a concentrated effort on the part of the female portion of the family to oust the traps of the coloured citizen from his newly-occupied mansion in his absence; and there being a plentiful lack of these, the job was too quickly performed for the demonstrative Stanleyites, who imbued with a love of war and bad whiskey, commenced a free fight among themselves as the last of their newly-arrived neighbours' "fixins" was made nothing of, renewing the contest with such spirit as to bring the police to the ground at the tail end of the fight. Various spoiled faces told of the sanguinary character of the contest but the police not being aware of the disturbance which all had an interest in suppressing, no arrests were made. It is a surprising fact that a locality such as this should exist in the heart of the city, and be a source of continual annoyance to a large number of citizens without some effort to break up the dens of iniquity and filth which constitute the larger

portion of its tenements.<sup>25</sup>

Irish cultural, national and territorial affinities were evident in more constructive activities. The Hibernian Benevolent Society, formed in the late 1850s, organized a variety of social events including sports. In May 1860, on the University grounds, 2,000 spectators watched a football game between two sides selected from the Society. Later that summer its members organized a trip to Niagara Falls which included athletic competition and football and hurling matches. In August, twenty-one of its members travelled to Buffalo to compete against that city's hurling club on the race course. On the water the Irish were represented by the Hibernian Rowing Club. Club headquarters were located in Michael Murphy's tavern on West Market Square, close to Stanley Street. Murphy also led the Fenian Brotherhood. The Murphy brothers, John and Michael, James Law and Daniel O'Halloran in their boat "Lalla Rookh" competed against Toronto's Union and Shakespeare clubs. Irishmen engaged in spontaneous games of hurling in Riverdale Park and on the Garrison Common throughout the 1870s. In 1871, the Erin Football Club of east Toronto played against the Shamrock Club of the west in a game characterized by rough and violent play. Of the O'Donahues, Clanceys, Murphys, Flannigans, Mahoneys, Sheehans, Sheadys and McCanns that played many were unskilled labourers. Throughout the 1870s,

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<sup>25</sup> Globe, 26 July 1866.



the Young Irishmen's Catholic Benevolent Association continued the social events started by the Hibernian Club by organizing outings at which athletic contests were prominent. In the 1880s, Irish-Catholic Benevolent Society tug-of-war teams competed against regimental and police clubs. Despite attempts to improve their standing in the community, Irish-Catholics remained at the bottom of the social scale and served as scapegoats for a multitude of social ills. Taking refuge from condemnation, they associated with their own and reproduced traditional cultural practices that accommodated to the reality of day-to-day life in an industrializing city.

Toronto's German population also reproduced its culture through community activities that included gymnastics and turnverein rituals and principles. Many of the city's Germans lived in and around the West Toronto Junction, close to their place of employment at the piano factory of Theodore Heintzman. Although only loosely gathered, as the neighbourhood contained a number of ethnicities, Germans congregated at social clubs, picnics and outings. Unfortunately, ethnic minorities that flaunted their cultural differences often met with opposition. At an 1863 gymnastic festival held at the Rosedale Pleasure Grounds, "rowdies" disrupted the exhibition declaring they "could fight any German on the ground."<sup>26</sup> Anyone wearing the

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<sup>26</sup> Globe, 28 July 1863.

uniform of the club, a white coat, became a target. Five years later, at a German Benevolent Society picnic, fighting between society members and "roughs" interrupted the sporting events. Despite violence, German athletic culture persisted behind the closed doors of the gymnasium. By the mid 1880s the Toronto Turnverein Club flourished, as part of a continent-wide social and political phenomenon.

As German athletic culture existed within certain confines, so too was skating subject to spatiotemporal considerations determined by the dictates of class. Nothing drew the ire of middle-class Victorian manhood more than the insults and obscenities directed toward wives, daughters and sisters, particularly by those they deemed socially inferior. Inevitably the comingling of the sexes on the ice meant a degree of physical contact away from parental or spousal control. While this partially accounted for the pastime's popularity, it presented a problem for middle-class males attempting to maintain propriety. To address this concern, chaperones provided protection inside the rink and restrictive admission policies tried to ensure that skating took place among those of a common socio-economic status. Delimiting boundaries took the form of solid fencing, gates, doormen and the club flag and Union Jack flying over the rink.

Even before the advent of private skating rinks, ideas existed on appropriate skating space for different social

strata. In 1862, "gentlemen" built and maintained a public rink at the foot of Peter in St George. Viewed as the preserve of a particular group, its use by another elicited the following comments in the form of a letter to the editor:

Judge of our disgust when we found that the pond became gradually filled with crowds of "the great unwashed" who jolted the ladies about in the most unmerciful manner .... Now is it not too bad that after so many gentlemen have taken the trouble of keeping the pond in order, that the mob should be allowed to monopolise it?<sup>27</sup>

The following October, at the opening of the Victoria Skating Rink, opposite the Horticultural Gardens, the proprietors claimed that ladies "will no longer be exposed to the annoyance of skating amidst a very promiscuous crowd."<sup>28</sup> They assured prospective customers that no "improper characters" would be admitted and a six foot high fence ensured privacy. The following day, the Toronto Curling Club declared its intention of building a gas-lit, fenced-in rink on the Esplanade near the Custom House. A week later, billiard table manufacturers Riley and May opened a rink at King and John. Built in affluent areas, such rinks dictated the purchase of a ticket for entry, meaning that skating and socializing would take place among

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<sup>27</sup> Globe, 12 February 1862.

<sup>28</sup> Globe, 29 October 1862.

people of similar social status.

Relegated to skating on the dangerous ice on the bay or the Don River, soldiers, workers, "roughs," "rowdies," and those without the price of a rink ticket often displayed their own aggressive territoriality. These behaviors confirmed societal labels and also reinforced self-conceptions of identity. Violent physical confrontations were often avoided as cursing and swearing and threatening behaviour maintained territorial integrity and "respectable" people moved away. Occasionally events turned nasty as boundaries were physically or symbolically crossed when aggressive behaviours were reciprocated. One skater related an 1863 Christmas day incident:

... a gang of young rowdies from near the Rolling Mill, ... make it a practice ... to go upon the Don and annoy any persons, who by their respectable appearance etc. may excite their malice, by tripping them up, scoffing and jeering, and upon remonstrance being made, will fall upon the party and beat him unmercifully with shinty sticks.<sup>29</sup>

Invariably, "ladies and gentlemen" were the targets and "roughs and rowdies" the perpetrators bent on mischief. Often those skaters insulted, offended or injured responded by calling for police patrols to reinstate control of a particular site.

Bourgeois dictates of appropriate recreational space did not go unchallenged as working-class incursions into opposing group space testified. Although excluded from many

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<sup>29</sup> Globe, 27 December 1862.

rinks either by want of the price of admission or by their appearance, young men and boys assembled at the foot of Yonge Street and insulted and hurled obscenities at customers of the Toronto Skating rink. Gangs also congregated around the Horticultural Gardens in St. Thomas and at Queen's Park in St. Patrick. Here they gambled, roughhoused and fought, creating recreation in shifting pockets of territory while the city changed around them.

By 1886, land use patterns, initiated in the 1840s, were consolidated and readily apparent. As assessment figures attest, production and commerce concentrated in St. George and St. Lawrence wards. (Table 4) Interwoven and immediately surrounding this district were working-class residential areas. Although some bourgeoisie remained in the core, their exodus to the outskirts, particularly the north, formed a feature of the developing city. More significantly, the transformation initiated by industrial capitalism intensified the economic and social differentiation of areas within the city.

In St. George and St. Lawrence wards, sporting venues requiring open tracts were relegated to the periphery. In the west, track and field events were held and cricket, lacrosse, baseball and shooting clubs used the Garrison Common and Crystal Palace grounds. Similar sports were played on the flats east of the Don River where the Toronto Baseball Club built its grounds. Some small indoor sporting

sites remained but these were attached to taverns and hotels such as quoit courts, bowling allies and billiard parlours, or commercial racquet courts and gymnasiums catering to the financiers and merchants who worked in the area.

What the central business district lacked in sporting sites it made up for in club rooms and administrative offices. Spatial proximity of business translated to congregation during work hours of an increasingly disparate and residentially scattered bourgeoisie. Business location influenced club room location. After work, members gathered, discussed club matters, socialized and then dispersed to their homes on the outskirts. In the 1880s, despite a proportionally declining number of members living in the area, many clubs conducted their business there. The Royal Canadian Yacht Club offices were located at 50 King west, Toronto Lacrosse club members gathered at 51 King east, Toronto Gun Club at 120 King east, Toronto Gymnasium Association at York and Millstone Lane, Toronto Base Ball Club at 100 King west, Toronto Bicycle Club and Toronto Swimming Club at 12 Adelaide east, Toronto Hunt Club at 30 King west, Toronto Fencing Club at 40 Church, Toronto Lawn Tennis Club at 140 Front west, Wanderers Bicycle Club at Jarvis and King, Ontario Jockey Club at 23 York and Toronto Turn Verein at 41 Wellington east.<sup>30</sup> Located along the

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<sup>30</sup> Information taken from Toronto City Directories. Toronto Reference Library, Toronto and Special Collections, Joseph S. Stauffer Library.

waterfront were the club houses of the Bayside, Argonaut and Toronto Rowing Clubs, Toronto Canoe Club, Toronto Yacht Club and the Toronto Skiff Sailing Club. All had their rooms, offices, boathouses and storage facilities within half a mile of Yonge and the waterfront.

The filling in of the central business district also had implications for workers' recreations. Open fields and lots rapidly disappeared. Corner lots, sometimes used for garbage, occasionally for carcass disposal and also for spontaneous games and contests, gradually became sites for warehouses. Manual workers found beer, conversation, camaraderie, music, song and in some cases sporting opportunities in the taverns but, for the most part, lack of space limited outdoor participation. Lacking viable alternatives many young men and boys took to the streets for their recreations.

City expansion also affected bourgeois and white-collar sports. As early as 1870, cricketers saw the writing on the walls of buildings closing in on their territory. At a meeting at the American Hotel they proposed raising \$1,500 to purchase a new ground by calling on "kindred clubs" for assistance. Donations were not forthcoming and the issue was shelved temporarily. In 1880, R. B. Blake, proprietor of the Toronto Cricket Grounds, unable to resist a profit, announced that the field would be divided into building lots. A lament for the grounds concluded that "in this

progressive age sport must give way to business."<sup>31</sup> The following year the prospects of the club looked poor as the committee was unable to secure a ground on the Garrison Common. Threatened with extinction, the players formed a joint stock company. Offering 333 shares at \$15 each they sold 122 subscriptions and secured an open lot behind University College. The Toronto Lacrosse Club, faced with a tax bill of more than \$100 a month at their Jarvis and Wellesley ground, also formed a joint stock company and purchased five acres in Rosedale at Sherbourne and Elm Avenue. Although their lease ran until 1885 at the former location they covered costs by sub-letting the ground to the Toronto Baseball Association until 1885 and other lacrosse clubs which needed playing space as Queen's Park gradually closed to organized sport. Other elite clubs such as the Toronto Hunt Club and Toronto Golf Club, by necessity, also sought their exercise and built their club houses further afield.

Without open areas for recreation, entrepreneurs recognized the possibilities inherent in indoor sports and for a price, offered a variety of diversions both participatory and vicarious. Billiard and bagatelle parlours flourished. Bowling alleys, attached to taverns and as separate businesses were found throughout the city. Roller skating rinks sought their customers from all strata

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<sup>31</sup> Globe, 17 March 1880.



of society. Gymnasiums and racquet courts catered to those in sedentary jobs. People paid to watch velocipede riding exhibitions, and if they felt adventurous, rent one at the rinks around the city. Boxing, sparring, wrestling and gymnastic, fencing, pedestrian and club-swinging exhibitions became a feature at the Albert Hall, Morrison's Opera House and the Coliseum. "Experts" from south of the border with dubious titles such as "Professor," "Champion," and "General" gave demonstrations of skill at shooting, skating, billiards. In the 1870s, the Y.M.C.A. sought converts if not customers by offering young men a variety of exercise equipment and programs as well as religious doctrine. By the 1880s, population growth, migration, urbanization of production and the filling-in of the central business district created many accumulation opportunities for recreation entrepreneurs.

A comparison of the population figures for 1885 and residence of club members, supports the hypothesis of the democratization of sport in terms of city distribution of sport club members. (Table 2, Figure 8) Of the twelve wards, nine had club membership percentages within 3% of their population percentages. St. Stephen was under represented by 4.5% and St. James and St. Thomas over represented by 6% and 7.6% respectively. (Table 5) Scrutiny of individual sports, however, suggests that declarations of sports's democratization are premature.

Table 5  
% of Toronto Population and % of Club Members by Ward 1885

	% of city population	% of club membership
St. George	4.2	6.8
St. Andrew	11.6	8.4
St. Patrick	16.6	17.9
St. David	12.5	9.9
St. Lawrence	3.7	3.2
St. James	10.0	15.4
St. John	12.4	10.5
St. Thomas	9.4	16.4
St. Stephen	9.9	4.8
St. Paul	5.5	5.1
St. Mark	1.0	1.4
St. Matthew	3.2	.2

Source: City of Toronto Assessment Records 1885.

Although the city metamorphosed from 1845 to 1886, similar patterns of population, settlement, sport played and wealth, observable in the mid 1840s, remained, while others were only moderated forty years later. Ward of residence remained correlated with sport played. More affluent wards housed a higher percentage of club members in some sports and the less affluent dominated others. (Tables 6, 7)

Table 6  
% of Population and of Team Sports with 100+ Membership 1885

	% of city	% of baseball	% of cricket	% of football	% of lacrosse	% of curling
St. George	4.2	7.7	5.4	4.3	2.9	6.3
St. Andrew	11.6	10.0	7.8	6.7	2.9	8.1
St. Patrick	16.6	20.5	20.8	23.2	10.0	12.6
St. David	12.5	8.3	11.1	13.4	18.7	14.4
St. Lawrence	3.7	2.4	4.0	.6	4.7	.0
St. James	10.0	12.7	11.4	12.8	14.0	17.6
St. John	12.4	16.7	4.0	13.4	13.5	12.2
St. Thomas	9.4	7.2	12.0	15.9	19.3	22.8
St. Stephen	9.9	8.9	9.7	1.2	1.8	.5
St. Paul	5.5	6.1	5.7	4.9	9.4	4.5
St. Mark	1.0	.0	1.4	3.0	2.9	.9
St. Matthew	3.2	.5	.7	.6	.0	.0

Table 7  
 % of Population and of Individual Sports  
 with 100+ Membership 1885

	% of city	% of cycling	% of yachting	% of rowing	% of T&P
St. George	4.2	5.5	18.1	10.5	5.6
St. Andrew	11.6	8.2	5.1	6.8	10.6
St. Patrick	16.6	11.0	12.6	13.1	20.6
St. David	12.5	9.0	3.6	5.5	7.5
St. Lawrence	3.7	2.7	3.6	5.0	1.9
St. James	10.0	22.6	14.5	18.0	15.6
St. John	12.4	8.2	5.8	13.0	11.9
St. Thomas	9.4	21.2	15.2	20.0	13.8
St. Stephen	9.9	3.4	.0	5.0	6.9
St. Paul	5.5	7.5	1.5	2.5	3.7
St. Mark	1.0	.0	.0	.0	1.9
St. Matthew	3.2	.7	.0	.6	.0

Continuing the trend that emerged in the 1860s, St. James maintained the highest assessment values apart from the industrialized wards of St. George and St. Lawrence. (Table 4) In contrast to 1870 when the ward housed 19.2% of the city's inhabitants, by 1885 its share had fallen to 10.0% with an increase in population of only 813. (Table 2) Despite negligible population growth, club membership increased by over 300%. (Figures 18, 8) In sports with more than one hundred identifiable members, St. James percentage totals exceeded its population percentage. (Tables 6, 7) Indicating the relative wealth and white-collar nature of the ward, more curlers and cyclists lived in its vicinities than any other. (Figures 17, 19)

St. Patrick's rise to prominence by housing most club members by 1885, accompanied a population increase of 29.1% from 1880. (Table 2) It also housed a greater percentage of

Figure 18a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Sport Club Members 1870

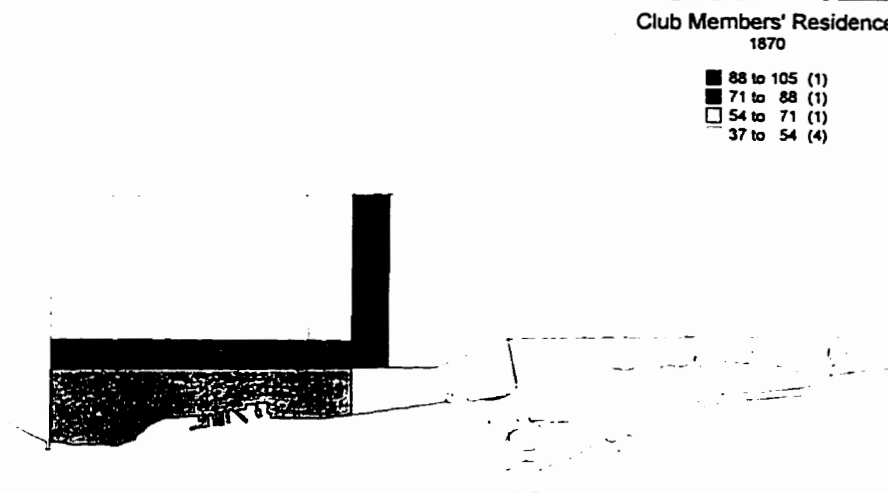


Figure 18b

Residence of Toronto Club Members 1870

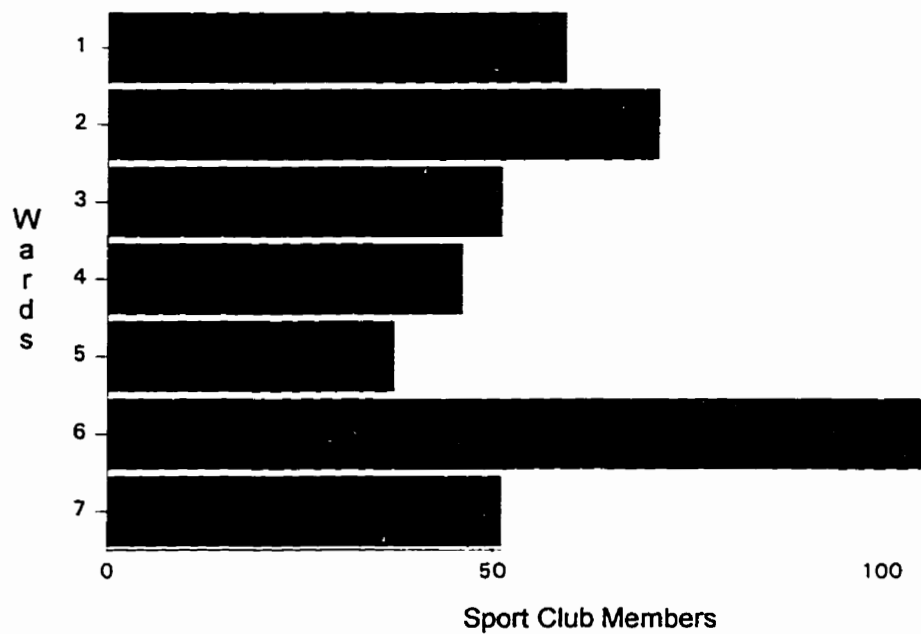


Figure 19a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Cycling Club Members 1885

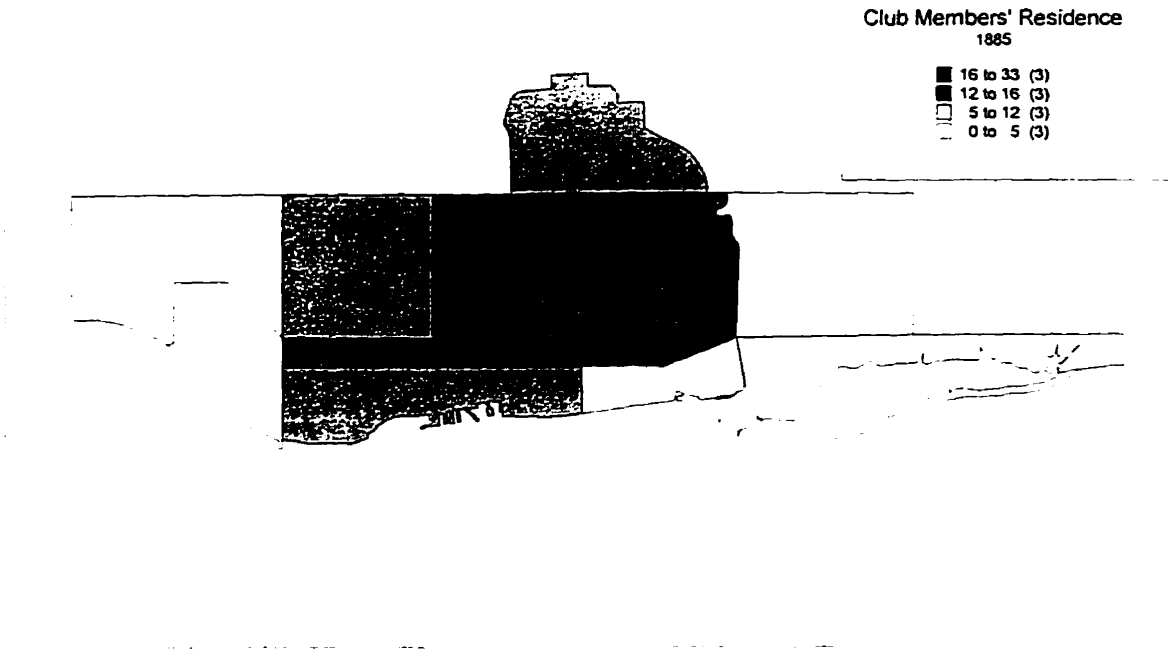
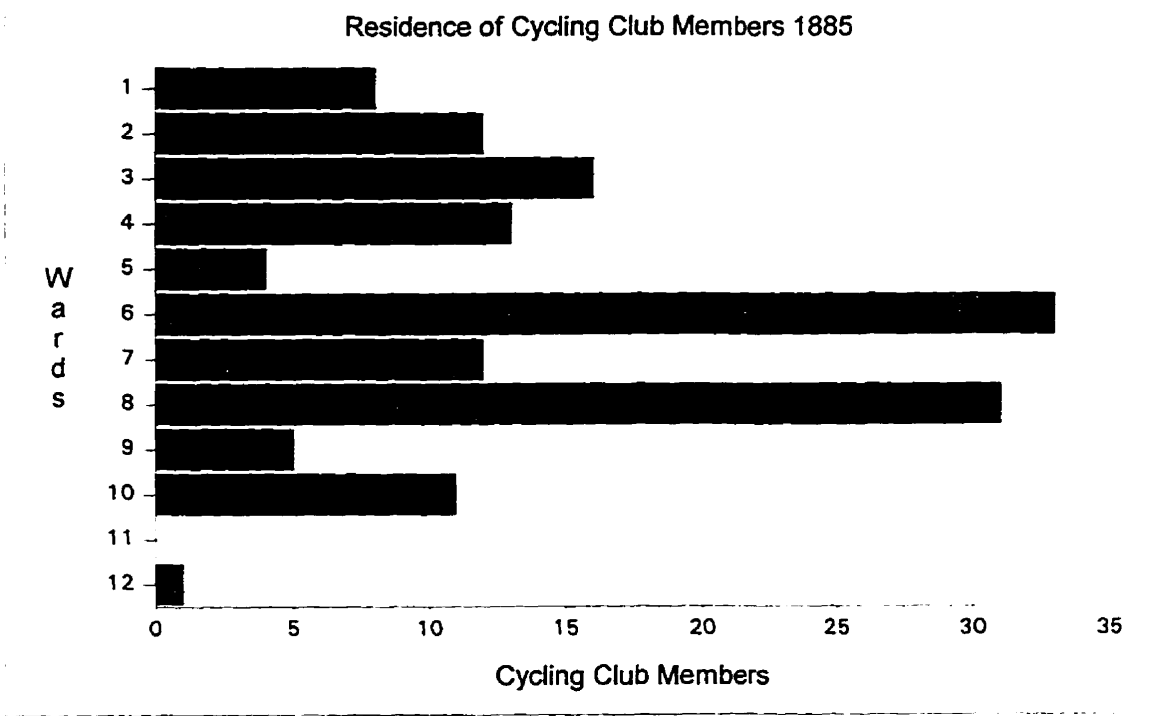


Figure 19b



club members than percentage of the population. (Table 5) Significantly, it ranked a lowly eighth in average assessment, even falling below St. John. (Table 4) Contributing to its standing, the ward housed more track and field athletes, cricketers, footballers and, paradoxically, baseballers and yachtsmen, than any other ward. (Figures 20, 21, 22, 23, 24) In each sport the ward housed a greater percentage of club members than percentage of population.

Closer examination of the location of residences of yachtsmen and baseballers in St. Patrick reveals a tale of two wards. It also explains why a majority of the former, an elite sport, lived in a poorer ward with the majority of the latter, a working-class sport. Of the forty-five yachtsmen identified, only seven lived in proximity to, or on the periphery of St. John. Thirty-eight lived away from the stigma of "The Ward" in the more fashionable areas surrounding the University. In contrast, ten of thirty-seven baseballers lived on the edge of St. John and with few exceptions the remainder lived in the south in the small streets running north from Queen. These areas contained the overspill from Macaulaytown and together with the undeveloped north-west portion of the ward contributed to the low average assessment values.

St. George displayed similar polarization. Despite a population share of 4.2%, it housed 18.1% of the city's yachtsmen and 7.7% of its baseballers. (Tables 5, 6, 7)

Figure 20a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Track & Field Club Members 1885

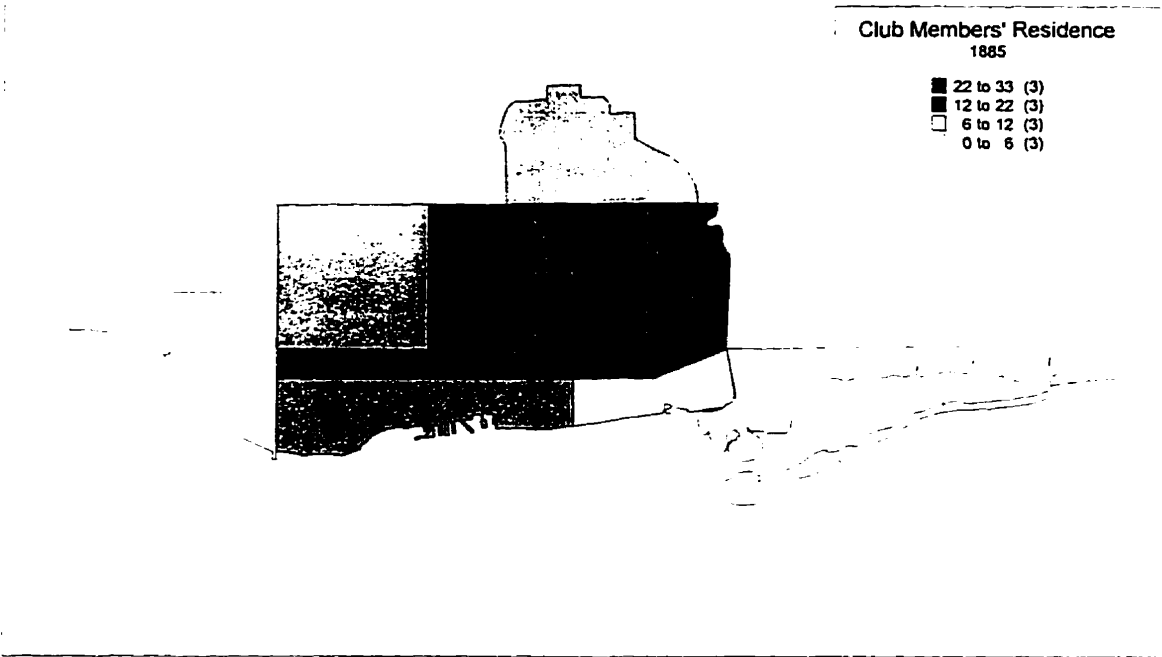


Figure 20b

Residence of Track & Field Club Members 1885

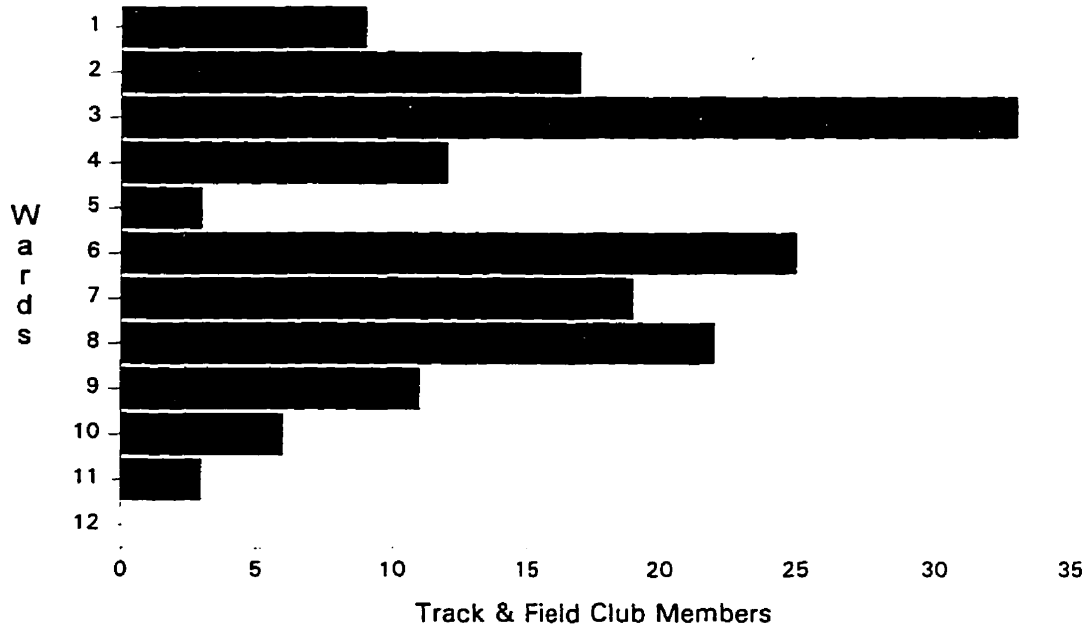


Figure 21a

### Wards of Residence of Toronto Cricket Club Members 1885

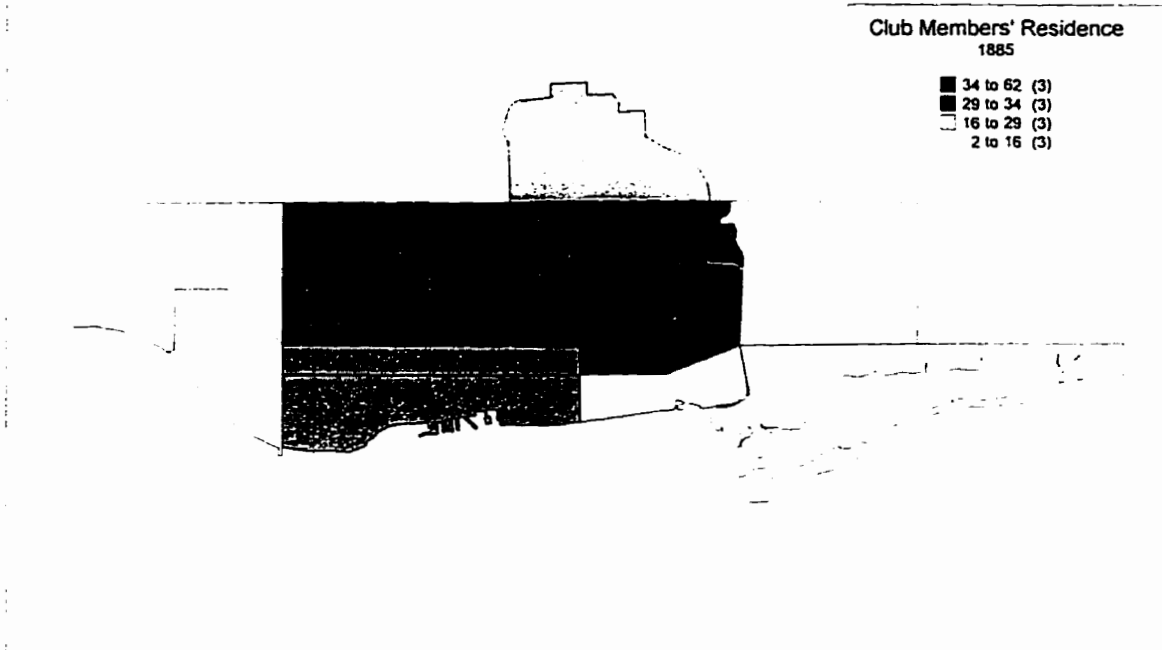


Figure 21b

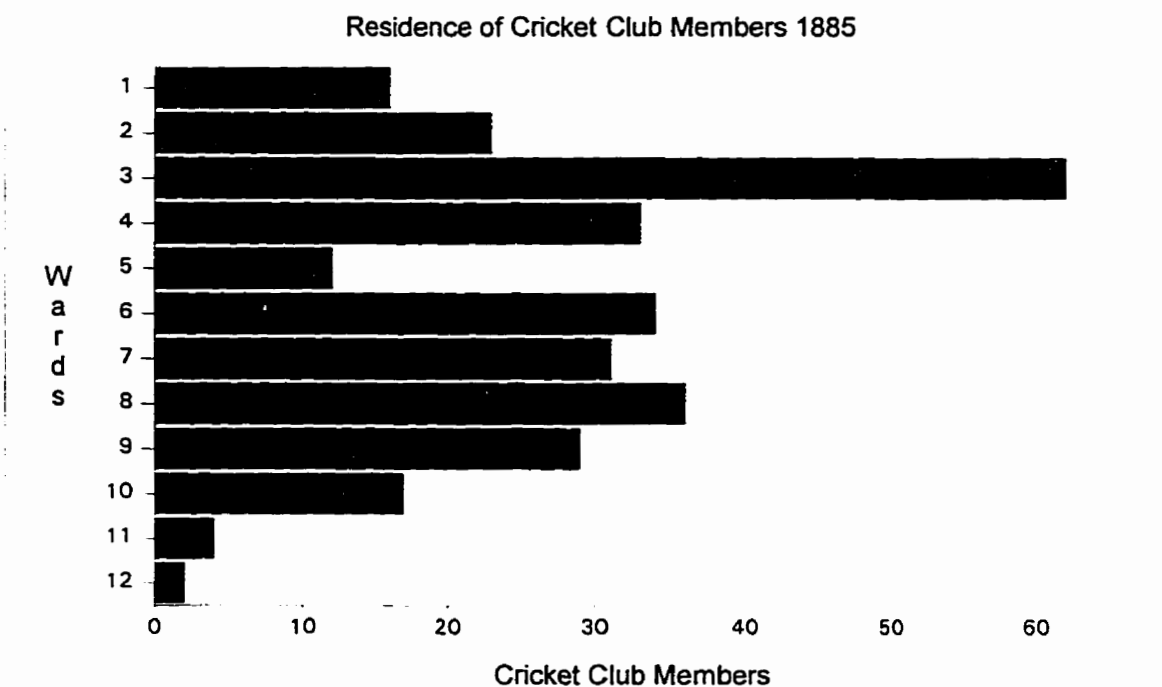




Figure 22a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Football Club Members 1885

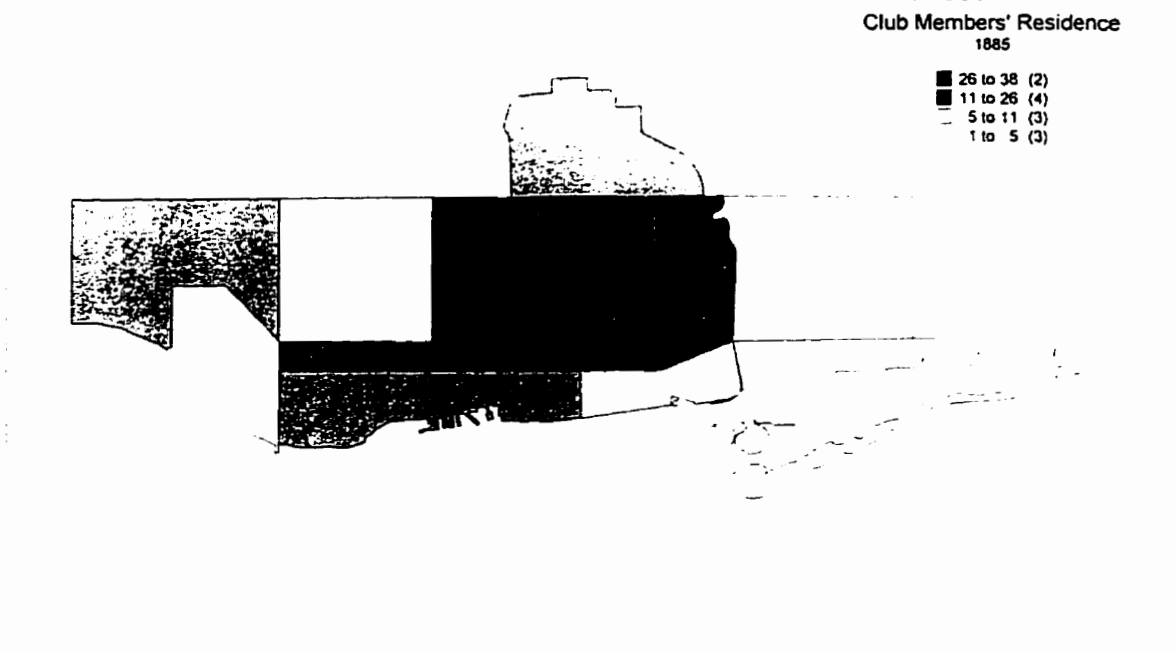


Figure 22b

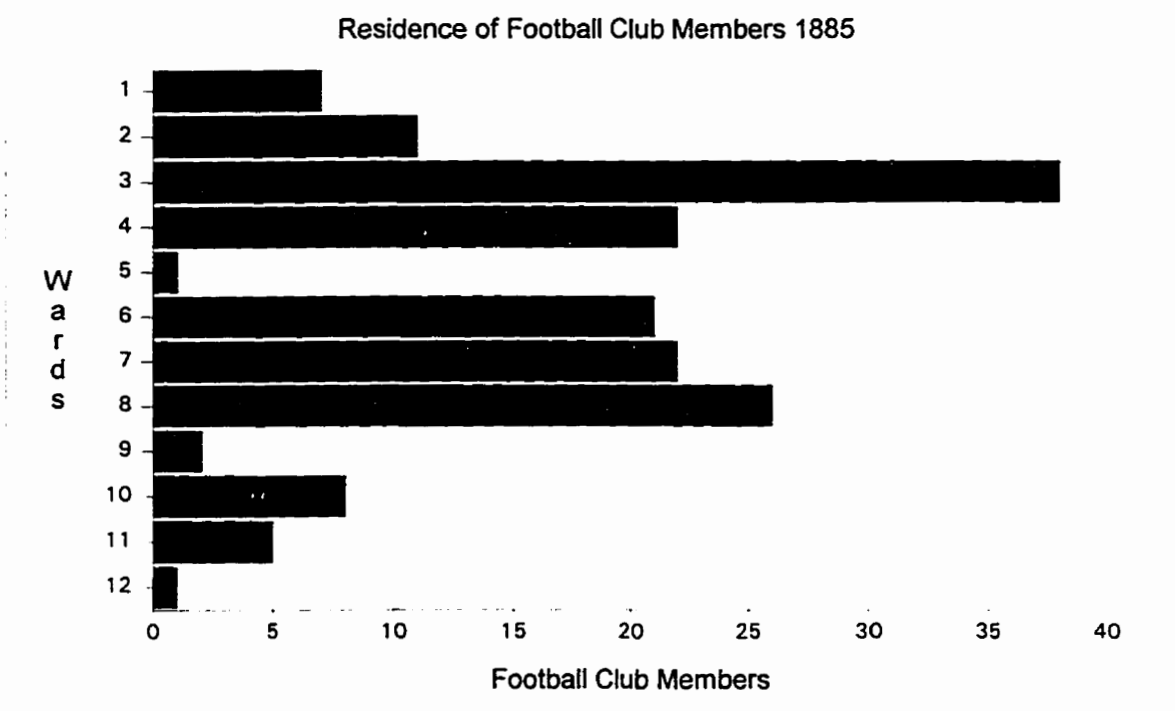


Figure 23a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Baseball Club Members 1885

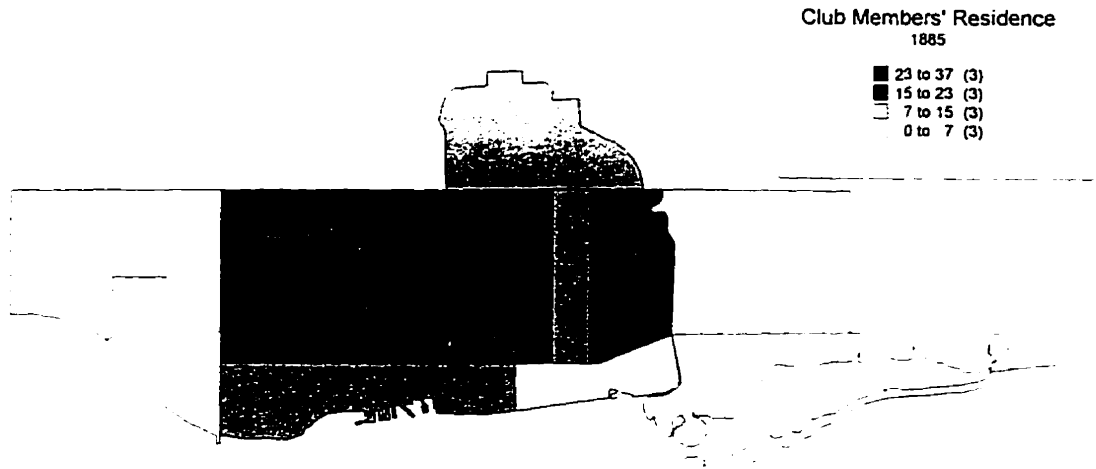


Figure 23b

Residence of Baseball Club Members 1885

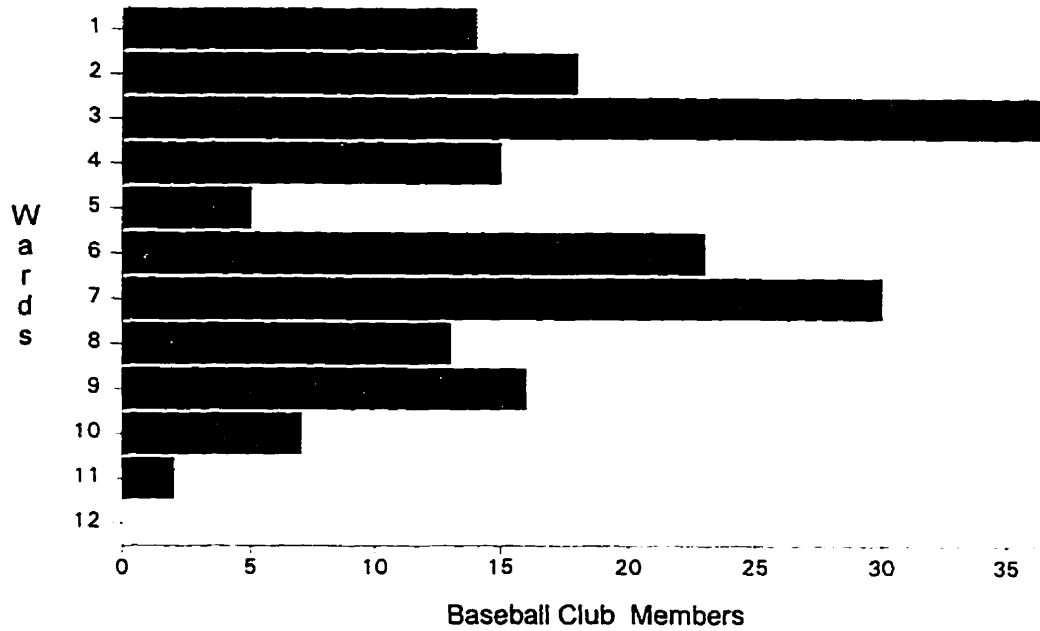


Figure 24a

Wards of Residence of Toronto Yacht Club Members 1885

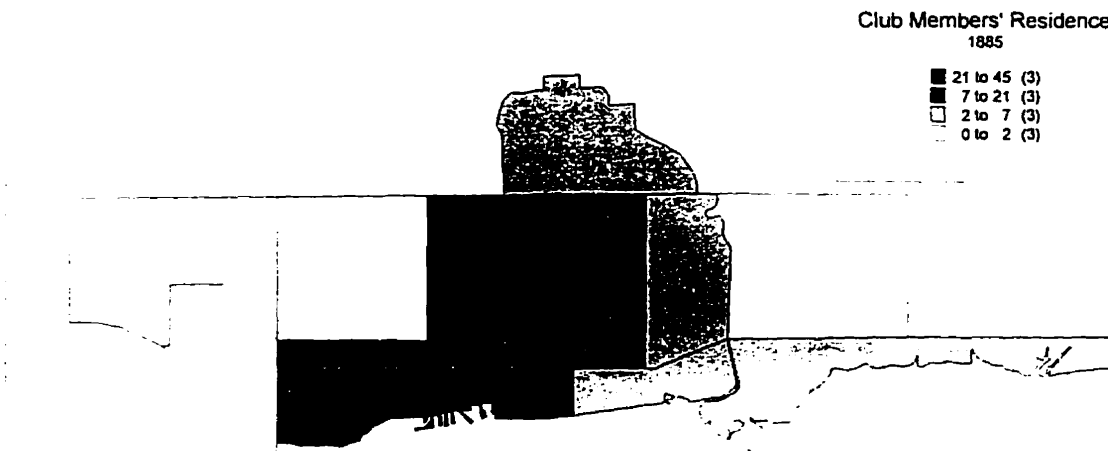
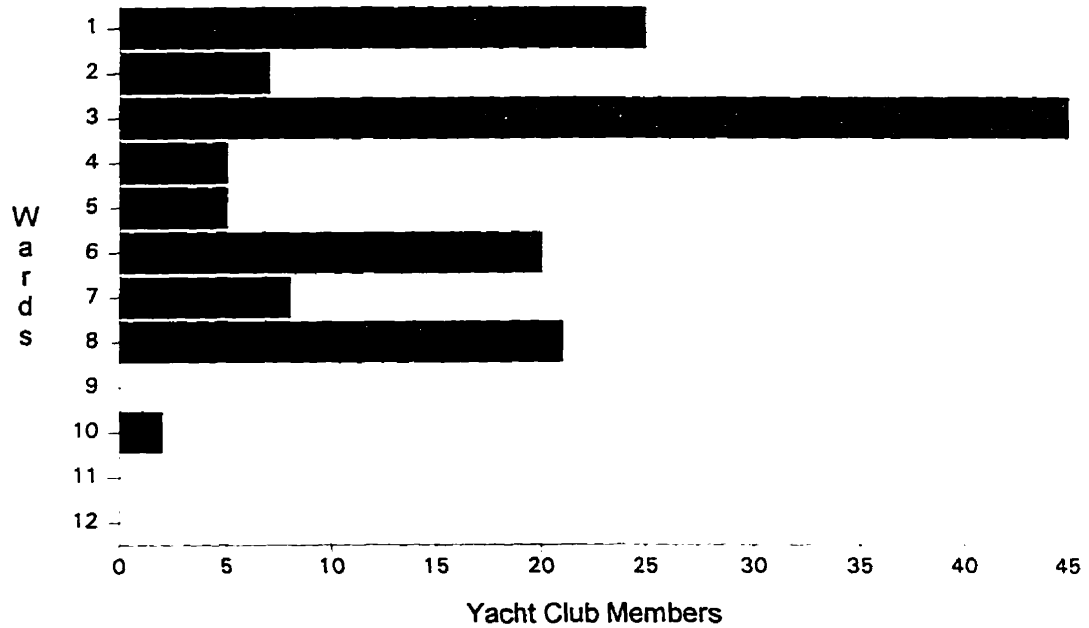


Figure 24b

Residence of Yacht Club Members 1885



Most of the fourteen baseballers lived in or around the working-class area of the "Junction" while the majority of yachtsmen lived in the commercial district along Front and Wellington, close to Yonge. Although housing a greater percentage of club members in all sports, except lacrosse, than population percentage, (Tables 6, 7) the ward had declined in significance. From 1845 to 1865 when it housed more members than any other, to 1885 it had dropped to sixth with only 6.8% residing within its boundaries. (Table 5)

As St. George declined in significance St. Thomas rose to prominence. By 1885, it had the greatest club member to population ratio of all the wards. (Table 5) In all sports, except baseball, it housed a higher percentage of club members than percentage of population, particularly in cycling, curling and rowing. (Tables 6, 7) Its juxtaposition with St. James illustrated that by 1885, the relative wealth of wards had become compromised as a predictor of participation rates. Similar in size and population but with St. Thomas average assessment only 56% of St. James, the ward housed more club members than its affluent neighbour. (Tables 2, 4, Figure 8)

St. John, with 12.4% of the population and ranked ninth in assessment also negates the wealth\participation rate hypothesis. (Tables 2, 4) Although only 10.5% of club members lived in the ward, it housed 16.7% of the city's baseball players and was under-represented only in the elite

sports of cricket and yachting with 4.0% and 5.8% respectively. (Tables 6, 7) From 1875 to 1885 the population increased by only 8.2% and assessment values by 26% but club membership increased 144%. (Tables 2, 4, Figures 12, 8) By 1885 the "Ward's" residents competed in most of team and individual sports, but perhaps not for the same club or on the same field as residents from St. James.

As St. John and St. Patrick compromise the assessment value\participation relationship, St. David, St. Stephen and St. Matthew support it. Poorest in terms of average assessment, they were all under-represented in percentage of club members. (Tables 4, 5) In 1885, St. Matthew ranked twelfth in average assessment, eleventh in population and twelfth in total club members, under-represented in every sport. St. David ranked eleventh in average assessment, second in population and fifth in total club members, over-represented only in lacrosse and curling. St. Stephen ranked tenth in average assessment, sixth in population and eighth in total club members, over-represented only in cricket. (Tables 2, 4, 5, 6, 7) Although comparative wealth remained correlated with participation, by 1885 it had declined in significance. Other factors influenced who played and at what. Toronto's sporting milieu was fractured. Some workers played cricket and joined yacht clubs. Some bourgeoisie played baseball, shot pigeons and boxed. Nevertheless, from 1845 and the elite agrarian

pastimes of bowling, cricket and horse racing with their broad expanses of open ground, to 1885 and the genesis of commercial sport played or watched by thousands, availability of space and the territoriality of those that controlled it played a major role in sport's metamorphosis.

The development of sport in terms of spatial considerations in Toronto can only be understood in the context of urbanization, the implosion of production in the central business district, the differentiating of space, and the separating of people these processes produced. Relationship to the means of production dictated location of habitation and living and sporting space, and separation occurred among classes, religions, occupations and ethnicities. Central to urbanization was the process of suburbanization and the polarizing of society in terms of space. Capitalism's exploitive mechanisms exacted a cost on the working class in the form of slums, overcrowding and poor sanitation. Seeking to separate themselves from the squalor, what they perceived as threatening behaviour and the higher costs of maintaining homes in the core, the bourgeoisie sought what urban historian Richard Walker describes as "the solicitude of nature in the landscape for their recreation, home life and literary fancy."<sup>32</sup> On the

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<sup>32</sup> R. A. Walker, "The Transformation of Urban Structure in the Nineteenth Century and the Beginnings of Suburbanization," in Urbanization and Conflict in Market Societies, ed. Kevin R. Cox, (Chicago: Maaroufa Press, 1978), 196.

outskirts they developed recreations appropriate to their status and left the working-class to their own responses, which oscillated dialectically between accommodation and resistance.

Chapter V  
Sport and the Cash Nexus

... professional baseball is a pure matter of business. Large salaries are paid to the players and heavy expenses are incurred in the management of teams ... Money must be forthcoming or the thing cannot go on ... Business is business and in baseball, as in everything else, owners are as much entitled to look out for number one as any other class of businessman.<sup>1</sup>

On May 24, 1886, after Toronto's victory over the Rochester nine at Sunlight Park, so called for its proximity to Lever Brothers soap factory, the Globe's "Sporting News" headline declared, "A Large Crowd, A Beautiful Game, A Brilliant Victory." Lieutenant-Governor Robinson's short luncheon speech also celebrated the occasion. By mentioning Anglo-Saxon characteristics, Imperial Federation, the union between nations and baseball in the same breath, he elevated the contest far above mere play. Unfortunately, Robinson's hyperbole and the gushing press reports obscured the economic facts of the event.

Two weeks prior to the game, George Sleeman, brewer and owner of the Guelph Maple Leafs, sought an injunction against Toronto and Hamilton from playing in the International League. Their decision to play against

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<sup>1</sup> Hamilton Spectator, 24 February 1886.



Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Binghamton, Utica and Oswego stranded the Maple Leafs in the smaller baseball markets of southwestern Ontario.

Toronto's decision to compete against American teams appeared justified as the crowd size augured well for the sport's financial potential. Although attendance estimates varied, reporters expressed surprise at the number of spectators. The Globe suggested that over three thousand attended - a number confirmed by the Mail. The News estimated the figure at nearly 4,000 - a number accepted by the World. Although newspapers exaggerated crowd sizes, a figure of 3,500 finds corroboration. The grandstand was "comfortably filled" reported one. Another mentioned that "a close call was made upon its entire seating capacity". The grandstand's capacity of 2,000 had 550 reserved seats situated in the middle at 45 cents per seat, one thousand four hundred and fifty seats at 35 cents per seat, and 1,500 general admission tickets at 25 cents. The total gate receipts amounted to \$1,130.00 - a considerable sum in an era when the Board of Health paid unemployed workmen \$1.00 per day for scraping the city streets.<sup>2</sup> After the game the Toronto Base Ball Association directors were jubilant. The season's schedule included ninety-eight games, forty-

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<sup>2</sup> Globe, 16 March 1886. The figures are quoted in a letter to the Mayor from the representatives of 1,100 unemployed workmen. The workers' petition pleads for a raise in rates as their wives and families were in "starving condition, without either food or fuel."

eight at home. In addition to gate receipts, revenue potential included the sale of refreshments and the lease of the grounds for practise and play to the Ontario Lacrosse Club, Toronto Football Club and a number of amateur baseball clubs. The financial potential of sport was finally realized in both the corporeal and psychological sense and signified the consummation of a lengthy and flirtatious relationship between sport and capitalism.

During the years between 1845 and 1886 the city's sporting development correlated with capitalism. But the relationship was not always reciprocal or positively connected. Initially, sports' and capitalism's interests were antithetical. Time for sport meant time away from work. Worker resistance determined the length of the working day in the absence of state legislation, and in the face of what Marx termed capital's "blind unrestrainable passion" for labour. Free time for anything other than efficiently restoring labour power resulted in conflict between capitalist and worker. Time away from work also allowed workers time and energy to form unions, trade associations and discuss strategies to further shorten the working day. Thus, leisure time, beyond that necessary for labour reproduction, whether organizing against the interests of capital or in recreation and sport, played a central role in the development of working-class culture. Gradually however, antagonism between sport and capital

eroded. Previously contested sporting time became sanctioned as various factions of capital recognized the financial potential of sport and sport consumption. Reflecting capitalist development, the mechanisms and structure of business infused and eventually saturated sport. By 1886 Toronto's sporting zeitgeist was indistinguishable from the cut-throat day-to-day activities of brokers, commission merchants, lawyers, petty merchants, and big-time entrepreneurs. The proliferation of sports and sporting teams resulted in competition for spectators and gate receipts. This chapter, in the context of vast economic changes in Canada in the nineteenth-century, examines the changing relationship between sport and capitalism, particularly the expropriation of athletics as a source of capital, the growth, promotion and commercialization of participation and the emergence of spectator sport as business enterprise.

Capital's opposition to sport originated in Puritanism and what Alan Metcalfe calls the "gospel of work."<sup>3</sup> Protestantism emphasized faith and hard work as a means of fulfilling God's calling. Such an ascetic philosophy, fraught with contradictions, had economic implications. Hard work often resulted in the generation of surplus and the development of acquisitive behaviours, processes that

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<sup>3</sup> Alan Metcalfe, "Some Background Influences on Nineteenth Century Sport and Physical Education," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 5 (May 1974): 72.

repudiated the Puritan belief that building wealth was an end in itself.<sup>4</sup> Resolution and thus absolutism were possible if the surplus furthered God's work and was not spent on frivolity or pleasure. In this sense, moneyed people who denied themselves pleasure in the face of temptation deserved salvation more than those without. According to Max Weber, the concepts of accumulation and austerity formed the cornerstones for what he termed the "spirit of capitalism." The tenets of faith that encouraged hard work and discouraged spending the fruits of labour on pleasure, found "elective affinity" with an economic system that valued labour as a commodity, accumulation and the reinvestment of labour-generated surplus.

The Protestant ethic negatively influenced sport. Emphasis on the spiritual dichotomized humans into spirit and body.<sup>5</sup> Sport played for pleasure, indulged the body and was deemed sinful. Play equalled profanity. It received sanction only if it provided a means to an end; the regeneration of the body for work. By 1845, the locus for salvation shifted from Christ to the individual. Sport became a means by which the body might be prepared to serve the Lord, giving rise to the phenomenon of muscular

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<sup>4</sup> For an examination of Calvinistic attitudes toward sport see Dennis Brailsford, "Puritanism and Sport in Seventeenth Century England," Stadion 1 (1975): 316-330.

<sup>5</sup> John R. Betts, "Mind and Body in Early American Thought," The Journal of American History 54, (1968): 787-805.

christianity.<sup>6</sup> But in frontier areas Puritanism still flourished. Drifters and vagrants unable to find a place for themselves in Britain or the United States sought better prospects in Upper Canada and congregated in urban areas. Marginalised, cut off from families, place of origin and their past, and uncertain of their futures, many sought solace and respite from exhausting labour in drink or gambling away meagre wages.

In this atmosphere of economic disorganization and social dislocation, evangelical and religious sects flourished. Without material possessions in this world, faith ensured riches in salvation. Even as late as 1876 preachers decried what they termed the new body ethic. At a public lecture in Shafesbury Hall, a "reverend gentleman" expressed his opinion that "in the great seats of learning of the present day, too much importance is attached to the development of the physical system."<sup>7</sup>

Others, less concerned with the eternal sought gratification in the here and now. Their propensity for

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<sup>6</sup> The role of sports and team games for boys in the development of Christians was introduced in Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays, (New York: Airmont Publishing, 1968). See also Guy M. Lewis, "The Muscular Christianity Movement," Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation 37 (May 1966): 27-28. William E. Winn, "Tom Brown's Schooldays and the Development of Muscular Christianity," Church History 29 (1960): 64-73. For the Canadian context see David W. Brown, "Athleticism in Canadian Private Schools for Boys to 1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Globe, 13 December 1876.

leisure, ability to pay and innkeepers' willingness to provide, laid the groundwork for sport's commercial nature and spawned a clandestine accumulative culture. Despite religious and legislative opposition, the underground economy and the maintenance of traditional forms of recreation generated full-time occupations. In dog and cock fighting alone, breeders, trainers and handlers, organizers, telegraphers, gamblers, owners of the venues, equipment makers, (spurs, harnesses, muzzles) hackmen, lookouts, refreshment sellers, prostitutes, reporters and policemen made at least part of their living from illicit competitions. The following 1839 announcement illustrates the extent of competition and the amount of money involved:

A challenge: We the Sportsmen of the City of Toronto Challenge the Province to fight a main of cocks, three days. Two days fighting for cocks, one for stags. Five battles each and one by-battle each day. The main will be for fifty pounds, and ten pounds per battle. Apply to John Power, Robert Blevins. Toronto May 3, 1839. (The Montreal Herald, The Kingston Chronicle, The Hamilton Gazette and The Niagara Reporter will please copy the above three times)<sup>8</sup>

The advertisement indicates the highly organized nature of cockfighting throughout the colonies before attempts to curb it. Even after legislation, the Leader in 1854, observed that the continuing participation by "members and officers of the Corporation"<sup>9</sup> ensured that the practice continued.

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<sup>8</sup> Cantelon Files, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

<sup>9</sup> Leader, 24 April 1854.

The pastime gradually faded toward the end of the century as policing became more efficient and alternative recreations rose to prominence.

Most animal fighting took place in or around taverns and the operation and financial success of innkeepers as sporting entrepreneurs drew criticism. Despite legislation that targeted some recreations and factory-imposed work schedules that curtailed others, the bourgeoisie condemned what remained. Activities that continued covertly or existed on the edges of legality, they claimed, compromised the labour force. By keeping workers from, or negatively affecting their toil and undermining family stability by squandering wages on gambling and drink, sporting events promoted by tavern owners were antithetical to the interests of an emerging industrial capital.

As early as the building of Toronto's first taverns, sport took place in a material context. Landlords recognized the profit in sporting events. Clubs' weekly and monthly organizational or selection meetings, annual general meetings, Christmas parties, post-game celebrations or commiserations and post-outing, trek or hunt, meant rental of rooms and increased sales of food and ale. Teams, officials and spectators from out of town needed accommodation. Spectators of competitions on the premises also boosted the takings. In addition to illegal activities such as animal baiting and fighting, prize fights and

gambling, innkeepers promoted bowling, track and field, pigeon, snowbird and skeet shooting, billiards, baggabelle, quoits, baseball, cricket and the city's first mass spectator sport, horse racing.

The promotion of horse racing for financial gain fell naturally to owners of inns and taverns.<sup>10</sup> Initially contestants held impromptu races on the streets, usually as a result of an idle and drink-induced boast. The first "public race" took place on Front Street starting at "Smalls Corner" and finishing at the Market Place.<sup>11</sup> In the early 1840s Nightingale's Tavern on Dundas Street served as the centre for racing men.<sup>12</sup> In the 1850s customers at the "Appii Forum" or "The Three Taverns" Collards Hotel, Joseph Church's Brown Bear Tavern, and Bob James' Queen Street Hotel at Dundas and Dufferin streets watched in "both summer and winter, [as] racing men tried out their horses and arranged contests."<sup>13</sup> While street racing died out over the years as promoters built appropriate venues for competition and arrests for "furious driving" increased, as

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<sup>10</sup> See Howard Angus Christie, "The Function of the Tavern in Toronto: 1834-1875. With Special Reference to Sport," (M.A. thesis, University of Windsor, 1973).

<sup>11</sup> J Ross Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York (Toronto: by the author, 1908), 752.

<sup>12</sup> Christie, "The Function of the Tavern," 50.

<sup>13</sup> Edwin C. Guillet, Pioneer Inns and Taverns (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1964), 92.



late as 1875 challenges were made, accepted, and contested on city streets. In July of that year John Brownridge of Brownridge's Hotel on Dundas Street, raced Walter White over ten miles. Their trotters travelled five miles out of the city and returned along the same route. Police laid no charges as racers and spectators avoided accidents.

Sponsorship by taverns became a fixture at race courses from an early date. In 1839, at Scarlett's course, horses competed for a plate worth fifty pounds donated by the city's innkeepers.<sup>14</sup> Many taverns were also associated with racecourses and common grounds where races took place. As early as 1808 the sportsmen and patrons at Campbell and Deary's tavern met to arrange to build a bridge over the river and gain access to an open area they could use for shooting and racing. Charles Gates, owner of the one mile Newmarket course on the north side of Danforth just west of Westlake, also owned the tavern that fronted the property. Primarily a trotting course opened in 1854, it provided Gates with symbiotic businesses and a springboard to Ontario's racing fraternity.

While horse racing often met religious opposition, the swimming pool, forerunner of the bourgeois-sanctioned sporting business, found compatibility with the religious doctrine "cleanliness is next to Godliness." Primarily for washing, pools also offered respite from the heat. They

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<sup>14</sup> Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto, 753.

also revealed the potential for catering to those with time and means for recreational pursuits. In 1836 James Cull, "a gentleman of means", and former editor of the Albion of Upper Canada, supervised construction of what to many curious citizens looked like a new wharf at the foot of Bay Street.<sup>15</sup> Utilizing cheap labour and plentiful timber, the finished product was "designed to bring profit to the builder and to the citizens pleasure and benefit."<sup>16</sup> The construction included ten warm, ten cool and vapour and steam baths. The pool had a shallow end for children and, as propriety prohibited the mingling of the sexes, one end for "ladies" and the other for "gentlemen". The "ladies" entered through a private doorway from an elegant drawing-room adjoining a dome-roofed promenade deck with trellis-work sides and ends. After swimming, customers relaxed in reading rooms where attendants sold tea, coffee, soda water, ginger beer and lemonade and a variety of desserts. The "Royal Floating Baths" flourished until September of 1838 when a storm sank them. The following year workmen raised and repaired the building, however Cull delayed its reopening for another twelve months. Learning from his previous misfortune, the baths no longer free-floated but were connected by bridge to the mainland. What he gained in safety the baths lost in cleanliness as sewage

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<sup>15</sup> Cantelon Files.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

and flotsam and jetsam washed through the swimming area and Cull medicated the water in an effort to counteract the pollution. Advertisements appealed for public support because repairs had been costly. In the construction and operation of his pool Cull displayed all the behaviours of an astute business man: advertising, utilizing cheap material and labour, shaping and manufacturing his product for the market place, and using the main product to generate additional sales in the form of refreshments.

By 1843, the construction had either sunk again, torn loose and floated away, or fallen into disrepair. The Toronto Patriot advocated the building of a new facility and took a stand in encouraging "the spirited proprietors of the water-works, or the Corporation, or some enterprising individual ..." to make "... any outlay which enterprise might feel justified in making to furnish the city of Toronto with such an indispensable accessory to the conveniences of every large town, would, we are certain be amply remunerated."<sup>17</sup> Appealing to civic pride and entrepreneurial spirit met with success. Never missing an opportunity, financial or political, Boulton, owner of the St. Leger racecourse, opened "for the public comfort" and to make a profit, "Hot and Cold Baths."<sup>18</sup> Ladies entered from King and gentlemen from the lane leading to the racquet

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<sup>17</sup> Patriot, 25 July 1843.

<sup>18</sup> British Colonist, 13 August 1844.

court, just west of Bay. Family season tickets sold for four pounds. While fences kept undesirables away from his racetrack, the prohibitive price of membership to Boulton's baths limited patronage to those with money.

In later years the prohibition of bathing within defined boundaries on the Toronto waterfront opened many commercial opportunities for Toronto businessmen. In July, 1858 the Toronto Swimming Bath opened at the foot of York Street. Surrounded by high board fencing, it met all the criteria for a successful business that pandered to Victorian prudery. Unfortunately, the track at Union Station, also situated at the foot of York Street, overlooked the pool and at a higher level than the fence it afforded arriving and departing passengers an excellent view of the nude bathers. Despite problems with modesty, numerous letters to newspaper editors encouraging official action against illicit bathers ensured the patronage and success of swimming baths.

In response to public demand, in June 1864, at a cost of \$11,000, Dr. Agnew and Mr. Wardell opened their baths at the corner of Yonge and Adelaide. Taking modesty to its ultimate, the proprietors separated men from women by a brick wall extending from the cellar to the roof.<sup>19</sup> Family tickets cost \$8.00 for the season and a single ticket for the season, \$4.00. The arrest several days later of two

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<sup>19</sup> Globe, 17 June 1864.

boys for bathing in the Don must have raised the awareness of other illicit bathers, boosted ticket sales and fattened Agnew and Wardell's pocketbooks.

While legislation barred the Toronto waterfront to swimmers during the summer months, once iced over it opened to all forms of winter recreation and classes. When the ice thickened in February, promoters organized trotting races on Ashbridge's Bay, complete with crowds of unruly spectators, pool-sellers and refreshment booths. In the 1860s people littered the ice, some with skates, but many without. This form of exercise and enjoyment was laden with risks and hardly a week went by without newspapers reporting a cold ducking, if lucky, and if not, another fatality. Tempted by the exhilaration of skating and the want of twenty-five cents admission charge to the rinks, skaters ventured onto the ice even in perilous conditions. Light frosts and air pockets produced treacherous ice conditions and intense cold caused cracking and uneven surfaces. Heavy snow sometimes made skating impossible. Skaters avoided such hazards with the payment of the twenty-five cent admission fee to a rink.

Adverse weather conditions and periodic reports of accidents and fatalities contributed to the popularity of skating rinks in the 1860s but a conjuncture of factors, not the least of which were astute business practices, assured financial success. Foremost, skating appealed to both sexes and by its nature did not draw religious criticism. Free

from alcohol and gambling, its advocates emphasized the healthful benefits of participation. Distiller James G. Worts, remarked at an awards ceremony that "he was glad to see that the young ladies took such pleasure in the invigorating exercise; and if they took plenty of enjoyment on the ice he was sure they would all have rosy cheeks and good health."<sup>20</sup> Advances in technology produced cheaper, more efficient and reliable skates. Prices dropped making them affordable to a greater portion of the market. Curling clubs with appointed chaplains and churchmen as members and committeemen constructed, managed and promoted the first commercial rinks. Their aura of respectability overcame most reservations about the impropriety of the sexes mingling on the ice which, of course, was a primary motivation for most of the young skaters. Skating provided an opportunity to meet members of the opposite sex in a casual atmosphere away from the immediate presence, if not the watchful eye, of chaperones. Covered rinks in the 1860s, enclosed rinks in the 1870s and the advent of electric lighting in the 1880s ensured that business continued despite extreme weather. Emphasis shifted from the social to include the entrepreneurial and at some rinks individuals previously deemed undesirable became less so if they could afford the price of admission. Egalitarianism

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<sup>20</sup> Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto, 496.

motivated by the potential of financial gain ensured the popularity of skating. Board fences facilitated the collection of gate money for both participation and spectating which, in turn, opened the doors to the mass consumption of sport.

Advance notice of the boom in skating occurred in January 1862, with an observation that "the healthy and inspiriting (sic) exercise of skating has been extremely popular among the elite of Toronto during the last few weeks."<sup>21</sup> In the late 1860s skating would become an integral part of the Toronto's recreational patterns with rinks opening in many locations throughout the city, and thousands of skaters attending skating parties, carnivals, exhibitions and masquerade balls on ice. By the end of 1862 three rinks opened for business; The Toronto Curling and Skating Club on the Esplanade, The West End Skating Rink owned by the billiard table manufacturers Riley and May, and the Victoria Skating rink owned by entrepreneurs P. Arnold and Orin Wardell. The latter, at the south-west corner of Sherbourne and Gerrard, opposite the Horticultural Gardens was, according to J. Ross Robertson, "[t]he fashionable skating rink of Toronto."<sup>22</sup> The picture of the rink in the April 4, 1863 issue of the Canadian Illustrated News, reproduced in Robertson's book, shows the rink enclosed by a

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<sup>21</sup> Globe, 11 January 1862.

<sup>22</sup> Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto, 497.

picket fence with change rooms and refreshment booth at one end. The ubiquitous Union Jack fluttered overhead. In early March 1863, the rink hosted a skating carnival attended by one thousand spectators including "hundreds of the elite". A series of competitions took place much to the delight of the "enchanted admirers" and despite or perhaps due to a slight thaw the event went swimmingly well. A week later in a masterful public relations and advertizing ploy by the owners, the Mayor presented the prizes. Notable among the winners was ten year old Alice Worts, daughter of James G. Worts. Moved by his daughter's distinction, he addressed the assembled. Praising and thanking everyone including the proprietors, judges, other competitors and the mayor, he promoted the rink by recommending that "every other gentleman ... follow his example and let their children engage in the pleasing and healthful exercise."<sup>23</sup> Following the example set by the Victoria rink, the Toronto rink hosted its inaugural masquerade carnival a week later. Organizers decorated the rink with flags and under the lights skaters circled to the musical renditions of the 10th Battalion Volunteer Band. The following evening champion skater Jackson Haynes from New York gave a skating exhibition to bring in the crowds.

The financial success of the initial three rinks in the first year of operation inspired a fourth. The Yorkville

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 500.



rink opened the following winter to take advantage of the 1863\64 season. Inevitably, competition emerged between the rinks to draw skaters and spectators alike. Early in January, Riley and May; advertised that champion skater Jackson Haynes would give demonstrations only at the West End rink and present prizes to the best skaters. Two weeks later the Victoria rink announced a skating competition with eight age and gender categories. Three judges evaluated the performances and awarded prizes such as silver cups, medals, flower stands and a malacca cane, all with an eye on advertising, donated by J. E. Ellis and Company. The store also sold skates. An advertisement for the Toronto Skate and Curling Club's rink suggested that prospective members take comfort in heated dressing rooms and skate on the gas-lighted rink to 10pm.<sup>24</sup> The following year, seeking to capitalize on its elevated social position and capture the market of middle-class skaters, the Victoria rink advertised that the business "has always been well-managed and being situated in a healthy and respectable neighbourhood has therefore been well patronized."<sup>25</sup> Significantly the advertisement emphasized respectability over facilities. Anticipating new business the proprietors established a ticket outlet, C. A. Backas at the New Depot, where customers paid for and collected their memberships.

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<sup>24</sup> Globe, 1 December 1863.

<sup>25</sup> Globe, 16 November 1864.

Entering the market in late 1864, the Royal Skating rink located on King and York Streets opposite the Rossin House Hotel, advertised that tickets could be purchased from various locations around the city. Featuring the largest covered rink in Upper Canada, a refreshment booth sold hot drinks and a skating teacher offered lessons for those with memberships. Subscription costs were prohibitive, which indicated the clientele the Royal wished to attract. Fencing "secure[d the rink] from outside observation"<sup>26</sup> and distanced the rink from those who could not afford its rates.

The owners of the skating rinks found the concept of selectiveness and exclusivity from social inferiors an eye-catching package in selling subscriptions. Even the Toronto Curling and Skating Club rink announced that for the 1864/65 season the number of membership tickets issued were limited. Reinforcing the concept that the rinks were for the "respectable" class, an early season discussion of the prospects for the 1866/67 skating season, asserted that the "great unwashed ... frequently practised in unbounded freedom on the Bay, the Don or the innumerable ponds."<sup>27</sup> The obvious but unspoken corollary to this statement confirmed that the rinks were the preserve of those physically distancing themselves from the unwashed.

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<sup>26</sup> Globe, 12 November 1864.

<sup>27</sup> Globe, 12 December 1866.

Five skating rinks operating and thousands more skaters using the Don River and the Toronto bay generated many directly and peripherally related businesses. Each rink operated refreshment booths which sold hot and cold drinks, gingerbread and cigars. In 1866, the Victoria rink added an "eating saloon". Ticket outlets became common with drugstores, bookstores, jewellers and hardware merchants selling subscriptions and receiving commissions. Contractors found work levelling the ground, building rinks, change rooms, refreshment booths and fencing. In addition to the annual upgrading of the existing rinks, entrepreneurs opened new rinks over the years. Newspapers and journals also benefitted from the "boom" in skating. During the season the rinks advertised liberally, providing details of exhibitions, carnivals, competitions, masquerade parties, and fancy-dress balls. Booths erected on the ice on the bay and the Don sold refreshments to the skaters. Skate manufacturers and distributors found their products in demand and store owners advertised in newspapers. Three or four advertisements for skates often appeared on one newspaper page. On Christmas eve 1863, hoping to catch the eye of last minute gift purchasers, the Globe carried advertisements for skates from ten stores around the city.

Although important to Toronto's economy, skating rinks' financial and profit potential was limited in three ways. First, although mediated by the profit principle they

restricted their clientele to the "respectable" segments of society. Second, although rinks admitted spectators, except for exhibitions their attendance was minimal. Participants primarily generated revenue. Third, and most important, early skating rinks operated according to the whim of the weather.

Apart from horse racing with its socially-censured but broad-based spectator appeal and the participant-centred activities of swimming and skating, sporting enterprise gestated during the early 1860s. Certainly promoters made money from sporting events. The cricket matches, track and field meets, pigeon shoots, and football, lacrosse and baseball games, however, took place intermittently and often entrance fees only covered visiting teams' expenses.

Despite dormancy, infrastructure and bureaucracy, foundations for the big business of sport, developed as sporting organizations became increasingly complex and their financial structures more sophisticated. Many of the mechanisms of sport's commercial roots were honed in early amateur clubs. Some manifested themselves in clubs' day-to-day operations but others operated on a intrinsic and subtle level. Central to the latter were the veneration of the axioms of commerce and the capitalist system, strict observance of Christian ethics and morality and the blind acceptance of the virtues of ambition and hard work.

Reflecting the organization of business, at their

founding meetings most clubs established Constitutions and By-Laws, elected officers and adopted specific rules for the financial management of the club. At the first meeting of the Toronto Argonaut Rowing Club, in 1872, Henry O'Brien, a prominent lawyer and President of the club for many years, outlined "the causes which originated the undertaking, the objects of the association and the successful (sic) results anticipated by the projectors."<sup>28</sup> Acting secretary Murray then read a draft of the "proposed constitution and rules, the gentlemen present then signed a roll of membership and the club was considered constituted". In accordance with accepted business and democratic procedures the secretary called for nominations for "President". As the founder and driving force behind the club, not surprisingly members acclaimed O'Brien. Other items on the club's agenda included the adoption of rules, the granting of power to the executive to rent a suitable club house, and the setting of the following week's meeting on at the office of the President. At that meeting, progress reports of the Committee's search for appropriate premises were read and financial considerations adopted. Members passed the motion that "all payments made for the club out of club funds shall be by order of the treasurer signed by the President or in his absence by the Vice-President and countersigned by the

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<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Toronto Argonaut Rowing Club, 21 June 1872, City of Toronto Archives, City Hall, Toronto.

Secretary".<sup>29</sup> The Yorkville Archery Club, established in 1864, after first establishing its name , announced its subscription rates.<sup>30</sup> Similar to the organization of stock companies, elected "officers" with a distinct and observable hierarchy managed the club. The 1873 By-Laws of the Toronto Lacrosse Club devoted a section with six clauses to dealing with subscriptions and how they should be paid.<sup>31</sup> The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer indicated the influence of commerce on the club's administration. In addition to recording the proceedings of all club meetings, keeping a record of the "name and place of business of each member," conducting the correspondence of the club, the Secretary-Treasurer prepared the Annual Report of the Committee. The club's constitution also decreed "it shall be his duty to receive all monies and disburse the same, subject to the order of the President. He shall keep a full and correct account of his transactions and report to the Committee when so required and to the Club at its General Meetings in March and November."<sup>32</sup>

Sporting clubs elected Secretary-Treasurers for

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 29 June 1872.

<sup>30</sup> Rules and Regulations of the Yorkville Archery Club, William Henderson Papers, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

<sup>31</sup> Constitution and By-Laws of the Toronto Lacrosse Club 1873 (Toronto: G. C. Patterson, 1873), 7. William Henderson Papers, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 9.

business acumen and financial expertise gained in their occupations. At the Argonaut Rowing Club, Treasurer, R. J. U. Chipman worked as Manager of the Colonial Securities Company. The Ontario Lacrosse Club's Secretary-Treasurer, William K. McNaught worked as a clerk as did W. D. Otter of the Toronto Gymnasium Association. The Royal Canadian Yacht Club's Secretary-Treasurer, W. Hope, owned a Brokerage and Estate Agency and W. M. Davidson and R. B. Hamilton, both bookkeepers, managed the finances of the Toronto Rowing Club and Toronto Lacrosse Club respectively. G. M. Donnelly of the New Dominion Rowing Club, earned his living in an occupation unrelated to the administration and running of business. That the New Dominion Club only lasted five years despite the membership of provincial champion Thomas Loudon, perhaps indicates the club's lack of expertise at the administrative level. In response to the increasing complexities of finance in day-to-day club dealings and the concomitant increase in work, in the larger organizations secretary and treasurer evolved into separate positions. A year after the club's incorporation, the Toronto Curling and Skating Club recognized the time, effort and expertise needed to complete their respective duties. It declared that:

the Secretary and Treasurer, to be hereafter annually elected by the Stock Directors, shall keep a correct record of all meetings and all matches played, of all business transacted during the season, and shall report the same to the annual meeting, he shall also keep a correct and distinct account of the receipts and

disbursements of club members.<sup>33</sup>

Members elected to the office of treasurer specialized in the handling of money and accounts. In 1873, W. D. Otter, of the Toronto Gymnasium Association took his responsibilities seriously and published the club's financial statement. He included a balance sheet, statement of assets and liabilities, lists of receipts and expenditures and profits and loss. The detailing of expenditures such as caretakers' wages, instructor's salary, insurance, rent, taxes, advertising and expense accounts reflect all the components of contemporary business.<sup>34</sup> Accordingly, a list of the 1886 treasurers included George Dunstan of the Argonaut Rowing Club, manager of the Federal Bank, James Healey of the Granite Curling Club, editor of Monetary Times, James R. Lawson of the Toronto Bicycle Club, cashier at the Globe, James K. Cameron of the Toronto Fencing Club, accountant, James George of the Toronto Snow Shoe Club, bookkeeper, Alexander Carmichael of the Toronto Rowing Club, accountant, and J. H. Mayne Campbell of the Toronto Toboggan Club, barrister. Some of the bigger clubs, realising the difficulties and time involved in balancing club books and keeping up to date with correspondence, made Financial Secretary and Correspondence Secretary separate

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<sup>33</sup> By-Laws of the Toronto Curling and Skating Club (Joseph S. Stauffer Library; Toronto: Globe Printing Co., 1875, text-fiche), 10.

<sup>34</sup> Globe, 18 February 1873.



positions and some appointed assistants to help with accounting procedures.

At times the clubs appointed auditors to oversee financial operations. As early as 1862 the Maple Leaf Cricket club appointed J. Cowan and W. Warwick to review the accounts. By 1886, the practice became commonplace with the Argonaut Rowing Club, Toronto Skiff Sailing Club, Toronto Row Club, Toronto Yacht Club and Independent Lacrosse Club appointing auditors to check ledgers. The Turners of the German Gymnasium even appointed three "Trustees" to oversee the running of the club.

Presidents of sporting clubs overwhelmingly represented the financial, legal and business institutions of the city. John Leys, Commodore of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1886, was a prominent barrister, John Massey of the Toronto Lacrosse Club, assistant manager of Western Canada Loan and Savings Company, William B. McMurrich of the Toronto Bicycle Club, barrister, and Peter Ryan of the Toronto Baseball Club, proprietor of Ryan and Co., wholesale dealers in woolens and dry goods. Even clubs with less prestige and social standing recognised the importance of having fiscal and managerial experience at the helm of their administration.

With businessmen occupying the ranks of sporting clubs, inevitably day-to-day operations emphasized commerce particularly as organizations grew and their financial

affairs became more complicated. For example, the Toronto Gymnasium in 1873 called its elected officers the "Board of Directors" and in acknowledgement of the financial and legal problems it might face appointed James E. Robertson an experienced barrister as its solicitor. On March 4, 1868, the Royal Canadian Yacht Club incorporated its organization under the Ontario Joint Stock Companies and Letters Act, and issued six hundred shares at \$50 each to raise capital stock of \$30,000. The terms of the purchase explained that

The holder of such stock, duly paid up, shall be a proprietor of an individual share of the real estate of the corporation and of the buildings thereon to be erected and shall be exempt from all liability beyond the extent of the stock he shall actually hold.<sup>35</sup>

Appointed officers oversaw and monitored the transaction, among them H. L. Hime, stock and money broker, B. R. Clarkson produce commission merchant, George M. Wyatt, wharfinger and steamboat merchant and Dr. E. M. Hodder, physician and founder of Upper Canada School of Medicine and founding member of the Yacht Club.<sup>36</sup> Why the club incorporated at this time is not known as unfortunately the early records and minutes of meeting burned in August 1904, when a fire at the Island clubhouse destroyed the building. Perhaps it occurred in anticipation of the move to the Island. The Club had occupied several premises but "various

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<sup>35</sup> By-Laws and List of Members of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club (Toronto: William Tyrell and Co., 1898), 9. R.C.Y.C. Archives, Toronto.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

interests in the city, both public and private," encouraged a move to Toronto Island.<sup>37</sup> Such a project required an enormous amount of capital and although the move to the sumptuous new two-and-one-half story clubhouse with tennis courts, boathouse, billiard room and swimming bath, was not made for more than a decade, the financial administrators and members of the club, leading merchants, bankers and industrialists of the city were nothing if not fiscally astute and longsighted.

The incorporation of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club set an example for other clubs seeking to raise money for acquisition, improvement or expansion of premises or facilities. In October 1873, the Toronto Riding and Driving Park Association announced its intention to incorporate,<sup>38</sup> and in November of the same year the Caledonian Skating and Curling Club applied for Letters of Patent in its effort to raise \$5000 by issuing 200 shares at \$25 each.<sup>39</sup> Four years later, after listening to proposals from architects William McCausland and Edward Lennox for the construction of a covered rink, the shareholders approved a Charter increase of \$45,000. Three months later, construction started on the state-of-the-art Mutual Street rink with its "gentlemen's

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<sup>37</sup> Ralph R. Robinson, Into a Second Century: A View of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club 1850-1980 (Toronto: Privately printed, 1980), 9.

<sup>38</sup> Ontario Gazette, 18 October 1873.

<sup>39</sup> Ontario Gazette, 23 November 1873.

and ladies waiting rooms, lavatories, ticket office, clubroom and caretakers apartments."<sup>40</sup> The Caledonian Club used the rink for curling competitions, socializing and raising revenue through skating carnivals and exhibitions, rental of the ice and other athletic and entertainment events until 1912.

Although more modest, other organizations' ambitions also indicated fiscal awareness. In 1874, the Toronto Rowing Club "... to encourage and teach the Science of Rowing and Swimming and Athletic Sports and for the erection of Public Baths therein ..." offered five hundred shares at \$10 each.<sup>41</sup> The St. Clair Flats Shooting Company was formed with the intent of running a retreat in Kent County for moneyed businessmen from Toronto. Twenty-five shares were offered at a cost of \$1000 each - presumably membership was limited to that number. Members included Stephen Radcliff, City Clerk, George Wharin, boat builder and John Maughan, Insurance Manager.<sup>42</sup> In 1885, the Toronto Racquet Court Company, was founded and stock offered for "... the establishment and maintenance of a Racquet Court and Bowling Alley ...."<sup>43</sup> The Toronto Cricket Club in 1881 formed a joint stock company to finance its maintenance and

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<sup>40</sup> Globe, 13 September 1877.

<sup>41</sup> Ontario Gazette, 6 June 1874.

<sup>42</sup> Ontario Gazette, 6 May 1876.

<sup>43</sup> Ontario Gazette, 21 March 1885.

guaranteed that "the ground shall be kept in good order for cricket, tennis, archery, bowls and other games."<sup>44</sup>

Complex financing characterized most supposedly amateur organizations. The Toronto Lacrosse Club, forced to move from its grounds at the northwest corner of Wellesley and Jarvis streets by escalating taxes, found a new site in Rosedale, at Elm and Sherbourne Streets. To facilitate the purchase of the grounds, club members formed a joint stock company, the Toronto Athletic Ground Company, with a capital stock of \$25,000. Twelve thousand dollars needed raising immediately with the balance to come from the club's coffers and the assumption of existing mortgages on the property. Stockholders would receive two-fifths of any operating surplus each year until outstanding mortgages were reduced to \$5,000 and then their dividends would be four-fifths of the surplus.

The Toronto Athletic Ground Company announced that "as the stockholders will hold deed of a property not only valuable now but ever increasing in value, the prospect of good dividends is very fair indeed."<sup>45</sup> The provisional list of Directors read like a who's who of Toronto's social world and included ex-Torontonians Erastus Wiman and George Massey of New York. Canvassers, the directors announced, would call upon "leading merchants, bank managers and

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<sup>44</sup> Globe, 23 April 1881.

<sup>45</sup> Globe, 4 December 1882.

influential citizens."<sup>46</sup> That the grounds opened and the club rooms, dressing rooms, grandstands and cinder running and cycling track around the field were built attests to the business acumen of the directors and the success of the canvassers.

Between the years 1868 and 1886, sixteen sport clubs incorporated their organizations and sold stock to the value of at least \$220,995. (Table 1) The cost of shares ensured the club remained under the right management.

Table 1  
Incorporated Sports Clubs 1868 - 1886

Club	Date	Stock	Shares
Royal Canadian Yacht C.	1868	\$30000	600 @ \$50
Toronto Riding and Driving Park*	1873		
Caledonian Skating and Curling C.	1874	\$5000	200 @ \$25
Toronto Rowing C.	1874	\$5000	500 @ \$10
Toronto Curling and Skating C.	1874	\$30000	1200 @ \$25
St. Clair Flats Shooting Co.	1876	\$25000	25 @ \$1000
Caledonian Skating and Curling C.	1877	\$45000	1800 @ \$25
Granite Curling and Skating C.*	1880	\$17000	
Toronto Gun C.*	1881		
Toronto Cricket C.	1881	\$4995	333 @ \$15
Toronto Athletic Ground Co.*	1882	\$25000	
Toronto Base Ball Assn.	1885	\$5000	500 @ \$10
Toronto Yacht C.	1885	\$5000	500 @ \$10
Toronto Racquet Court Co.	1885	\$10000	200 @ \$50
Toronto Base Ball Assn.*	1886	\$5000	
Queen City Driving C.	1886	\$5000	200 @ \$25
Glen Grove Driving C.	1886	\$3000	120 @ \$25

Sources: Ontario Gazette, various issues; Ontario Sessional Papers; and various newspapers.

\* Figures incomplete.

The most telling figure illustrating sport's immersion in commercialism was the announcement in 1886 that the city's

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

curling clubs "... with rinks and real estate [were] worth nearly a quarter of a million dollars."<sup>47</sup>

The movement of some sports from social pursuit to business enterprise was a gradual process characterized by periodic and significant events that illustrated opportunities for profit. The last five years of the decade of the 1860s, however, mark a period in which sport underwent the greatest changes. By the 1870s, all the mechanisms were in place for sport to assume its role as an integral component of Toronto's capitalist economy.

Although no one event instigated sport's cooption by business, the 1867 founding and operation of the Toronto Larosse Club provided an example to many would-be entrepreneurs. A bastion of amateurism, nevertheless the club capitalized on the phenomenal growth in popularity of the sport, both playing and spectating. In early June the players held their first practice in Queen's Park. In July, the club played an exhibition game at the same location between two sides selected from the seventy members. Over a thousand spectators witnessed the event.<sup>48</sup>

A combination of fortuitous circumstance, organizational skill and astute promotion contributed to the game's popularity. Introduced to Toronto in the same year as the formation of the Dominion of Canada, it readily

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<sup>47</sup> Globe, 4 December 1886.

<sup>48</sup> Globe, 26 October 1867.

adopted the title "Canada's National Game." More myth than reality, the title reflected W. G. Beers' dream rather than any act by Parliament.<sup>49</sup> Among white-collar dominated members of lacrosse clubs, nationalist rhetoric found resonance. Unlike cricket, lacrosse rarely lasted more than three hours - an important consideration for players and spectators who worked. Uniforms and equipment also cost considerably less than the regalia and paraphernalia of cricketers. Lacrosse, its promoters claimed, precisely recognizing who they should appeal to for support, "should be encouraged by merchants; it affords their young men good, healthy exercise, without at the same time interfering with their due attention to business." Furthermore, after daily practice at 6 am, lacrossists arrived at work "ready for business" at 8 am, "with energies and spirits daily renewed."<sup>50</sup>

The Toronto club's first game against another team took place in late September. Despite the timing of the match, Wednesday afternoon, over three-thousand packed the cricket grounds to watch them lose narrowly to the "Six Nations Indians". Organizers selected the location of the game to take advantage of controlled access and large crowds. Before the game club treasurer, George Leslie, stood at the

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<sup>49</sup> See William George Beers, Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1875).

<sup>50</sup> Globe, 26 October 1867.



gate and collected entrance fees. Newspapers described him conducting a "very thriving business." Just how thriving became apparent at the club's annual general meeting at the Mechanic's Institute in November. Leslie reported that gate receipts totalled \$424.25 and expenditures \$177.66. Profit totalled \$246.59. Even the day-to-day operations produced a surplus of \$243.43. The new club soon used the proceeds on incidental expenses, but the continued production of profit created a dilemma for the management committee - what to do with the money? The following May the Toronto team again played the Six Nations team and three-thousand watched. The club donated the profit, this time a little less, \$214.00, to the Boys and Girls Home. In 1869, the club repeated its act of generosity prompting its city rivals, the "Ontarios", to donate the profit from six thousand spectators at its October game against the Six Nations for the rebuilding of sheds and outbuildings at the Boys' Home. The practice of contributing gate receipts to charities continued until at least the turn of the decade. Such largesse, however was tempered by the onset of a different motivation. When the Toronto team played the Six Nations the following season, the committee announced that the proceeds would be invested with the intent of securing a permanent playing site. In November, Leslie reported that the year's receipts totalled \$915.35 and expenditures \$755.49 - a profit of only \$159.86. But the message was clear, capital could be accumulated by

producing and mass-selling a product on the field of play.

Toward the end of the 1860s, spectators assumed a new significance. Rowing had always drawn large enthusiastic crowds and the Toronto Rowing Club's 1869 regatta was no exception. Thousands of people lined the wharves and esplanade. Rooftops of houses along Front Street also afforded many a view of the races. Hundreds of boats including the steamers "City of Toronto", "Rochester" and "Norseman" blocked the course. At one point officials commissioned the tugboat, "Miser", under the command of club vice-president G. H. Wyatt, to clear a way for the rowers. Only two rowers competed in the showcase event, the Championship of the Bay. Two others withdrew citing the roughness of the water as the reason. Ottawa rower R. H. Haycock easily defeated "Black" Bob Berry of Toronto by several hundred yards. The following day, at the awards ceremony, local favourite Thomas Loudon who had withdrawn, complained that the race should not have been rowed as the water was too rough. In answering the charge, club officials stated that as the public had assembled to watch the races they should not have been disappointed by a postponement. By their response the organizers acknowledged that the emphasis for their competition had moved from primary involvement, competitors actively participating, to secondary involvement, spectators watching the event. Despite its amateur status, the committee of the Rowing Club

conceded that the event was organized and promoted primarily for public consumption.

Consumption and the generation of profit filtered into the rationale for many sport organizations. In 1869, time became a commodity in the commercialization of leisure. Billiard halls that previously charged by the game, installed "small time pieces" over each table and billed by the hour or portion of the hour. At the newly-opened velocipede rinks customers could rent the penny-farthings for twenty-five cents per hour or buy a monthly ticket for \$3 that allowed them an hour per day. Admission to the rinks to watch the antics and inevitable spills cost ten cents. At skating and roller rinks and indoor arenas the installation of electric lights extended hours of operation and increased revenues.

Spectator concern for time value for money changed the nature of amateur sport. According to Metcalfe, changes in lacrosse were central to the "shift from pre-industrial to industrial forms of sport" characterized by movement away from a "loosely structured game form to one with clearly defined spatial and temporal boundaries ...."<sup>51</sup> In September 1867, at a meeting at the Temperance Hall in Kingston, delegates from twenty-seven lacrosse clubs formed the National Lacrosse Association and adopted the rules

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<sup>51</sup> Alan Metcalfe, Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 189.

previously formulated by W. G. Beers and the Montreal Lacrosse Club. Rule 14 stated that a "match shall be decided by winning three games out of five ...."<sup>52</sup> Scoring a goal dictated the winner of a game. Theoretically, without a score the game and match might go on indefinitely. In reality many matches finished quickly much to the chagrin of the paying public. Concerned administrators, usually from the predominantly working-class club, Montreal Shamrocks, repeatedly raised the issue at N.L.A. annual meetings but their motions failed to gain the needed two-thirds majority. Even the newspapers entered the controversy. After an 1879 match between the Toronto Lacrosse Club and the Shamrocks where one game ended in 15 minutes, the Montreal Witness suggested "whether it would not be an improvement to introduce the custom of playing on time, an hour and a half or two hours, as is done in England. Thus the spectators would be guaranteed an afternoon's amusement ...."<sup>53</sup> Despite the clamour for change, administrators did not give official sanction to rule changes until the late 1880s when in response to bickering between Ontario and Quebec clubs two distinct organizations were formed; the Canadian Lacrosse Association and the National Amateur Lacrosse Association respectively.

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<sup>52</sup> Don Morrow, "Lacrosse as the National Game," chap. in A Concise History of Sport in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 51.

<sup>53</sup> Montreal Witness, 7 July 1879.

Established pre-industrial sporting practices often compromised the introduction of fixed time for play and affected spectatorship. Game delays, interruptions and unscheduled breaks in play for inclement weather, darkness, problems with transportation, disputes in rules, player tardiness, crowd intervention and contention over the appropriate sharing of gate money, plagued spectator sport in its early years. For working people with finite hours of leisure and little expendable money, holdups in play mitigated against continued patronage. In this context dependency on admission revenues dictated changes at both the administrative and playing levels of operations. Faced with increased competition, most clubs which relied on spectators to pay their bills streamlined their operations and took an entrepreneurial approach to the promotion of events.

The entrepreneurial reaction to the appearance of velocipedes on Toronto's streets epitomised the recreation for profit principle that emerged during the late 1860s. On February 22, 1869, astonished people saw two of the cycles wobble down King Street. Only two days later, carriage makers, Dixon Brothers of King Street West announced they had started making the machines which would sell for between \$40 and \$50. The following day Grand's Riding Academy on Wellington Street announced that a plank floor would be laid in the premises and customers instructed in the finer points

of riding by Charles May, professor of the art from New York. A gallery would accommodate spectators. On March 16, Dixon Brothers extended their involvement by undertaking the running of the covered St. George's rink at the north end of Maria Street. At the end of the skating season the rink would be boarded over and the facility open with a carnival and masquerade party. Meanwhile, in a publicity stunt to promote an upcoming exhibition, Professor May drummed up business for Grand's by leading a convoy of ten cycles down city sidewalks. The exhibition on March 22, complete with a band and the rink decorated with flags and evergreens, left spectators gasping at the "astonishing speed" the vehicles travelled. In early April, manufacturers announced the construction of a more sedate version of the machine, a three-wheeler to capture the market of the intrigued, wealthy but less adventurous or skilled. On April 15, the Toronto Curling Club opened its rink at Yonge for riding. The next day, the proprietor of the St. Lawrence Hall rink opened and promoted his business with a race, \$25 for the winner. On April 20, John Webster, opened the "Ontario" rink in Yorkville with thirty velocipedes for rent. A month later he replaced his used machines and advertised them for sale for ten dollars each. Apparel retailers, Rice Brothers, jumped on the bandwagon and advertised the correct dress for the activity. Indicating the entrepreneurial drive of Toronto businessmen and the receptiveness of the

population for recreational outlet, in the space of two months the business of velocipeding established itself in the city's economy.

Although male dominated, cycling suggested the financial potential inherent in sales to the other half of humanity. Women had always been valued as spectators at cricket and lacrosse games and athletic meets but by the end of the decade their role changed in some activities from merely passive onlookers to active consumers. In addition to purchasing velocipedes, membership to rinks and clothing, women entered the market for skates, toboggans, swim suits and equipment for tennis, archery and the mallets, balls and hoops of the other craze of the late 1860s, croquet.

Railroads and steamers vying for business also recognized the possibilities that increased leisure time and spectator sport generated. They offered special rates to selected events which had the symbiotic effect of increasing the number of passengers they transported and contributing to the consumption of sport.<sup>54</sup> Managers particularly targeted holidays for their promotions as thousands from the surrounding countryside poured into the city seeking entertainment and thousands of city dwellers sought escape to enjoy mass picnics complete with athletic events and games of all kinds. In the late 1860s horse racing, cricket

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<sup>54</sup> Trevor Williams, "Cheap Rates, Special Trains and Canadian Sport in the 1850s," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 12 (December 1981): 84-93.

and lacrosse received added publicity and promotion from transportation companies hoping to cash in on the public's thirst for entertainment.

Publishers of newspapers, books and periodicals also understood the lucrative aspects of growing participation and interest in sport. Although regular sports columns did not appear in newspapers until the late 1870s, reports of races, matches and games became daily occurrences during the summer months. Books such as Toronto Laws of Croquet, Croquet: Its Implements and Laws, A History and Description of Billiards, Robertson's Cheap Series Book of Records: Fast Times and Extraordinary Feats, A New System of Instruction in the Indian Club Exercise and Fastest Times and Best Performances were found on booksellers shelves.<sup>55</sup> All were written, published and bound in Toronto. Periodicals such as Canadian Sportsman, Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, Canadian Cricketers Guide, The Bicycle and Canadian Wheelman carried reports of past events and announced future competitions.

Toronto's sports emerged from the 1860's ready to

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<sup>55</sup> Toronto Laws of Croquet (Toronto: Copp Clarke and Co., 1866). Croquet: Its Implements and Laws (Toronto: Copp Clarke and Co., 1870). Samuel May, A History and Description of Billiards (Toronto: Hawkins and Co., 1867). Robertson's Cheap Series Book of Records: Fast Times and Extraordinary Feats ed. D. K. Brown, (Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1879). Samuel T. Wheelwright, A New System of Instruction in the Indian Club Exercise (Toronto: The Canadian News and Publishing Co., 1871). Fastest Times and Best Performances (Toronto: M. V. Lubon, 1887).



embrace the bureaucracy of an industrializing and capitalist society. The manufacture, importation, distribution, promotion and selling of sporting goods achieved a new economic significance. Riley and May advertized their billiard tables and bowling balls and pins, J. E. Ellis, the jeweller, his medals, ribbons and cups, T. Fane, his bicycles. The Paris House and J. G. Joseph carried baseball, tennis, croquet and cricket equipment. In the late 1870s pictures of sporting goods appeared in advertisements. A list of products reproduced by artists included skating rinks, skates, roller skating rinks, roller skates, bowling alleys, billiard tables, croquet sets, tennis raquets, bicycles, toboggans, lacrosse sticks and baseball and cricket equipment. Indeed, advertising sporting goods catalysed the production of pictures and drawings in newspapers. In 1885, Marshall's Games Depot and Toy Emporium published a booklet listing the products they stocked. Included in the list were lawn tennis sets; rackets, poles, nets, lines, runners, balls, books of rules, bags, shoes, suits and scoring cards. They also carried complete supplies for badminton, boxing, cricket, lacrosse, camping, baseball, croquet and single-sticks.<sup>56</sup>

In addition to certain sports inexorably sliding into the clutches of entrepreneurs, sport also influenced

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<sup>56</sup> Booklet, Marshall's Games Depot and Toy Emporium 1885, Joseph S. Stauffer Library, text-fiche.

economic growth in peripherally related areas. Clothing manufacturers designed their products to appeal to men and women skaters, swimmers and bicycle riders. Refreshment booths inside the rinks, arenas and grounds and itinerant hawkers and vendors sold a variety of products from cigars to hot chestnuts. Architects, engineers, contractors, labourers, watchmen, managers, caretakers and stewards found employment in the construction, maintenance and day-to-day running of sports facilities. Financiers, bankers and lawyers and pickpockets also gained financially from the expanding business of sport. Bookmakers and poolsellers conducted thriving businesses as the number of sports, events and matches on which gamblers could wager increased. The emergence of overtly professional sport created employment as trainers, equipment and financial managers, promoters, agents, coaches and officials. Newspapers, periodicals and telegraph offices capitalized on the increased interest in sport and the growing phenomenon of affiliation with particular teams and athletes. Other business endeavors created or stimulated by sport included advertising, ticket outlets, transportation, photography, equipment rental and musical entertainment. Many of these financial aspects were in their nascent stages at the end of the 1860s, but during the following fifteen years they became increasingly rooted in the capitalist economy. As it became an integral component of Toronto's economy, sport

inevitably reflected negative features of that system.

The many and increasing controversies and scandals perpetrated by the owners and administrators of sports teams reflected the shady dealings and unscrupulous and unprincipled practices of an emerging monopoly capitalism. Most sports were involved to some extent, and as the gate receipts and financial stakes increased, so too did the incidence of shady dealings. In 1881 the Globe warned its readers about the trend toward corruption.

Sport - that is to say, real sport - is deserving of all encouragement, but the bastard kind of sport which brings either man or beast together to make an exhibition of themselves for the public and to enrich either the pockets of railroad companies, steamboats or betting men is a thing that should be frowned upon.<sup>57</sup>

Horse racing with its emphasis on gambling, pool selling and "fast characters" had always been suspect. Notable Toronto horseman E. King Dodds, painted an accurate picture of horse racing during the era in his anecdotal book Canadian Turf Recollections:

When sport is degraded by being conducted for the sole purpose of money making evils and abuses creep in .... Men utterly destitute of sportsmanlike qualities went into the racing game solely because of the chances it offered to make big profits. Tracks were built all over the country, a liberal proportion of them by men of questionable reputation, in fact, many ... under the absolute control of professional gamblers. The management of such places was directed solely to extracting the largest possible amount of money out of their patrons.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Globe, 22 September 1881.

<sup>58</sup> E. King Dodds, Canadian Turf Recollections and Other Sketches (Toronto: By the author, 1909), 12.

Dodds identified the problem as originating in the United States and this "sent into Canada a class of owners of an undesirable kind, many of them owning a few cheap animals and in the game solely for the purpose of making money whether by fair means or foul."<sup>59</sup> Other problems he illustrated included the "personal interests" of track owners influencing stewards and judges decisions, bookmakers taking bets at tracks where their horses raced and sham transfers of horses between bookmakers and their acquaintances.

T. C. Patteson, founder and first President of the Ontario Jockey Club, pointed the finger in another direction.

[N]othing could be worse than ... the rottenness of the whole racing business in Canada. The open robberies committed through the pool box were notorious. My own trainers and partners in the year 1873 had put up a job which influenced me to sell out and have nothing more to do with the game - sport it could not be called.<sup>60</sup>

The principals involved in the swindles ranked high in Toronto society. Patteson's accusations situated Dr. Andrew Smith, Veterinary Surgeon, Principal of the Ontario Veterinary College, long-time member of the Toronto Hunt Club and paradoxically member of the Ontario Jockey Club, firmly in the middle of the scandals. Smith moved in rarefied social circles and was a well-respected racing man.

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>60</sup> Thomas C. Patteson papers, Ontario Archives, Toronto.

In 1874 he was one of the officials at a race meeting at Carlton Park. Other officials included Sir Casimir Gzowski aide-de-camp to the Queen, the Hon. D. L. McPherson who was later knighted, the Hon. C. I. Douglas, Angus Morrison M.P. and John Beverley Robinson, later Governor of Ontario.<sup>61</sup>

Corruption manifested itself in other sports. Although rowers prided themselves on their exemplary behaviour, by 1879, due mainly to the dubious exploits of professionals and their managers, the sport had fallen into disrepute. Grip, a satirical magazine, put aside humour when it observed "[t]o judge by the space devoted to them in the daily papers, one would imagine that Aquatics was some intellectual science, whereas it is generally admitted to be merely a trade, and a crooked one at that."<sup>62</sup> Without codified laws or amateur clubs to police events, corruption and "hippodroming", the deliberate losing of a competition, for monetary gain, became rampant. Boxing, wrestling, pedestrianism and track races were the main offenders. Outraged spectators suspecting a "fix" sometimes took the events and the administration of justice into their own hands. In October of 1878, a Toronto runner competed against an athlete from Ottawa over half a mile. Before they completed the race the competitors became involved in a brawl. After the restart, the crowd swarmed the track,

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<sup>61</sup> Dodds, Canadian Turf Recollections, 54.

<sup>62</sup> Grip, 1 November 1879.

tackled the Ottawa runner, allowing the Torontonians to win. Even cricket did not escape taint. In response to a report of gambling on games the Globe editorialized that "cricketers must put down the nauseous betting men, or the betting men will destroy true cricket."<sup>63</sup>

Curiosity events arranged and conducted solely for the purpose of making money appeared in 1878. In February of that year Miss Bertie le Franc walked fifty miles in twelve hours at Ryder's roller skating rink on Temperance Street. In April, James Duff Henderson embarked on a 25,000 mile, two year odyssey from the same rink. He planned to cover forty miles a day, the first four-hundred in Toronto before visiting other cities. The ten days he walked in Toronto were completed at the rink, at times with a band entertaining the spectators, the cost of admission set at twenty-five cents. The following year runners competed for \$100 on the ice on the Don River just above the Gerrard Street bridge, John Barnes sprinted 75 yards on a plank road at the Humber, and in March at the Agricultural Hall, Laura Warren from Philadelphia walked thirty-seven miles every twenty-four hours for two weeks. At arenas, halls, taverns, rinks and summer resorts around the city, exhibitions of strength, boxing, wrestling, club swinging, gymnastics, billiards, skating, swimming and posing became commonplace.

The Agricultural Hall hosted Toronto's first indoor

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<sup>63</sup> Globe, 29 September 1882.

competitive walking match. The twenty-five mile race contested by four athletes was won by local streetcar conductor, John Rooney. After this event Toronto's sporting attention was captured by the "peds". At the end of April 1879, the owners of the Adelaide street rink announced a six day "go-as-you-please" with prizes totalling \$800. Two tracks were laid out in the rink, the outer, at fourteen laps to the mile and the inner at sixteen laps to the mile. Judges, timers and reporters occupied their own stand and trainers and attendents had reserved space in the middle of the tracks. Even at the starting time of 12.30 a.m., five-hundred paid admission to the rink to watch the ten contestants set out in pursuit of fortune. By the end of the first day, paid admissions totalled 3,200. In addition to the the main event a series of shorter competitions on the inner track ensured that the public's attention remained on the action. A reporter described the first day as "Babel out-done." The "shrieking of the lemonade and candy sellers, ... the manic screams of partisans" in the immense crowd and the "crashing of the Engineer's band" contributed to an atmosphere charged with excitement. After the third day's competition the Globe reported that:

The great six days' race has become the all-absorbing topic of conversation in almost every quarter of the city. "How is the race going?" "Who's ahead now?" and "Who is going to win it?" are the questions that have taken the place of such commonplaces as "Fine day," "How are all the folks?" etc., etc. Theatres, lectures, concerts, billiard rooms and bowling-allies are comparatively deserted, and it is doubtful if even

a first-class fire would any longer draw a respectable crowd. Everybody appears to think or talk little but pedestrianism, and the crowds keep swarming to the rink to see the six-day pedestrians toiling on their long weary way.<sup>64</sup>

After newspapers had reported minutely on the proceedings, even publishing biographies of each contestant and hour-by-hour performance figures, the judges declared the aptly named, Walker, an American, the winner with a total of 434 miles, 5 laps.

Walker might be accused of carpetbagging and taking advantage of the Canadian rubes. Although pedestrianism arrived in Toronto in the late 1870s, according to Mel Adelman, by 1860 it was already one of the main spectator sports in New York City and other parts of the United States.<sup>65</sup> He cites Edward P. Weston's 1867 walk from Portland, Maine to Chicago and a purse of \$10,000 as the major impetus to pedestrianism south of the border. Weston's style, the awkward-looking but mechanically efficient gait of contemporary racewalkers, became his legacy to the sport. His prowess was such that walking races were dubbed the "wobbles" after his distinctive technique. To an artless Toronto public the "Weston style" that Walker employed looked aesthetically displeasing. At

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<sup>64</sup> Globe, 22 May 1879.

<sup>65</sup> Melvin L. Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 211.



the start of the race he walked erect, swinging his arms and had "an unpleasent looking jerk with his shoulders." This made him "anything but a favourite at the outset." More to the crowd's approval was the gait of local athlete O'Grady who walked with a "military stiffness" but ominously interspersed with "a good deal of resting." After the first twenty four hours he trailed Walker by thirty-nine miles and soon dropped out.

Although the craze of pedestrianism lasted only several years in Toronto, its significance went beyond its life span. For the first time an athletic event was conducted solely for profit using mass sport consumption. Pedestrianism, an unabashedly money-making concern had no pretence toward amateurism or the higher motives of character building, manly sport and unity of nations. Rhetoric about honourable competition and the virtues of fair play were notably absent. What took its place were the harsh financial realities of exhausting work. One competitor, Nelson, from St Catherines, described as a "poor man with a very large family depending on his exertions for support . . .,"<sup>66</sup> was plagued with diarrhoea but continued doubled over and walking stiffly. The pedestrian event of May 1879 dispelled forever any naivete that remained in Toronto's sporting milieu. While its organizers, the employers, demonstrated sport's profitibility and

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<sup>66</sup> Globe, 20 May 1879.

appropriated the surplus, its competitors, the workers, exhausted themselves in the pursuit of one another and a share of the purse. Ultimately, superior mechanics, efficiency of labour, scientific training and work, twenty-four hours a day, took home the first prize - an apt metaphor for the advance of capitalism's exploitive essence.

By 1886 sport had become entrenched in the start of what Loy, McPherson and Kenyon refer to as the "bureaucratic dimensions of a mass-consuming society [and] therefore an integral part of the marketplace."<sup>67</sup> Commercial activity and fiscal consciousness in sports paralleled economic growth rates and increased manufacturing output. Of the forty-three sports participated in and reported on by newspapers from 1880 to 1886, twenty-two charged entrance fees to watch games, exhibitions, demonstrations or events as in baseball, lacrosse and pedestrianism, or participate in the activity as in skating, swimming, billiards and bowling. (Table 2) Of the other twenty-one, the nature of the sport prevented many from collecting gate money. Competitions that required expanses of water or land on which to play out their drama, such as rowing, yachting, canoeing, snowshoeing and coursing suffered from the

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<sup>67</sup> John W. Loy, Barry D. McPherson and Gerald Kenyon, Sport and Social Systems, (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley, 1978), 256.

inability to capitalise on revenue from crowds.

Table 2  
Commercial Aspects of Toronto Sports 1886

Sport	Admission Fee	Membership Fee	Gambling	Advertising
1 Rowing		Y	Y	Y
2 Rugby Football	Y	Y		Y
3 Assn. Football	Y	Y		Y
4 Curling		Y	Y	
5 Cricket	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Lawn Tennis	Y	Y		Y
7 Rackets		Y		Y
8 Baseball	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Snowshoeing		Y		
10 Hunting		Y		
11 Horse Racing	Y		Y	Y
12 Trotting	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Yachting		Y		Y
14 Skiff Racing		Y		
15 Gymnastics	Y	Y		Y
16 Fencing	Y	Y		Y
17 Tug of War				Y
18 Pigeon Shooting			Y	Y
19 Target Shooting		Y		
20 Dog Racing		Y	Y	
21 Coursing				
22 Canoeing		Y		
23 Ice Boat Racing				
24 Lacrosse	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Quoits	Y	Y	Y	Y
26 Cycling	Y	Y		Y
27 Golf		Y		
28 Tobogganing	Y	Y		Y
29 Swimming	Y	Y		Y
30 Track and Field	Y	Y	Y	Y
31 Cross Country				
32 Boxing	Y		Y	Y
33 Skating	Y	Y		Y
34 Roller Skating	Y			Y
35 Lawn Bowling		Y		
36 Alley Bowling	Y			Y
37 Wrestling	Y		Y	Y
38 Billiards	Y		Y	Y
39 Hockey				
40 Pedestrianism	Y		Y	Y
41 Archery		Y		
42 Croquet				Y
43 Pigeon Racing				
Total	22	28	15	28

Initially, rowing compensated by receiving kickbacks from railroad and steamship companies transporting visitors to the events and providing facilities for spectators, and from hotels accommodating the crowds. Later, temporary fenced-off grandstands erected at finish lines provided some revenue. But as competition for spectator dollars intensified in the 1880s, rowing drew less attention. Eventually it became the domain of amateurs and joined the ranks of the other sports unable to charge admission.

Twenty-eight sports were played by clubs which charged for membership. For those clubs drawing large crowds membership fees played a lesser role in the finances of the organization. The balance sheet for the 1882 season of the Toronto Lacrosse Club shows that secretary Fred Garvin collected subscriptions in the amount of \$815 while receipts from matches totalled \$4613.60. Other clubs, operating in relative obscurity and without the financial support of gate receipts relied heavily on player subscriptions to finance their operations. They supplemented their coffers by organizing Christmas parties and club dinners, promoting choral evenings at which the public paid a small charge to hear the players sing, seeking donations by airing their financial plight through newspapers and giving exhibitions at which the more skilled members and imported champions or ex-champions of note displayed their talents.

Newspapers and periodicals reported that gamblers

wagered on fifteen sports - a figure that under-represents the pervasiveness of gambling and fails to illustrate its systemic nature. Competition of any kind admirably lent itself to wagering. The Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times openly supported gambling on all sports, legal or illegal. Even though amateur clubs prided themselves as free of the taint of gambling they could do little to curb the pursuit among their spectators and the city's pool sellers.

Advertising increased as competition for spectators and consumers increased. Clubs announced upcoming attractions, matches and excursions in newspapers and journals. For major events, promoters printed broadsides and posted them around town. Seeking publicity, professional athletes challenged one another through letters to newspapers and published the conditions of the competition when they made a match. For the convenience of those wishing to purchase tickets and grandstand reservations in advance advertisements listed appropriate businesses.

The newspapers' role in this unabashed promotion went beyond the mere publication of advertisements. Announcements of forthcoming games were little more than "infomercials" and testimonials to the event. In addition to team lists and playing records, generally gossipy articles stressed the possibilities and potential of the game. Often papers offered advice on the best way to travel

to the the competition.

As promotional aspects of events were well served by increasingly sophisticated advertising, sports capitalists sought to maximize profits through reduced labour costs. The promotion of the principles of amateurism and the stigma of professionalism served entrepreneurs well. The Ontario and Toronto lacrosse clubs maintained their amateur status in spite of crowds of up to ten thousand. The Toronto Baseball Club, however, was openly professional from its inception. Its primary motive was the generation of profit for the shareholders and its ball players little more than wage earners.

In 1877, a letter to the Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, claimed that efforts were being made to bring professional baseball to Toronto and it was the intention to form "something on the joint stock principle."<sup>68</sup> When incorporation finally took place years later, the stated object was curiously ambivalent: "[t]o encourage and promote Base Ball playing and other athletic exercises and the purchasing, leasing and owning of lands and premises and chattels requisite for same ...." In a reversal of the Victorian "business before pleasure" principle, pleasure was emphasized almost as though the directors wanted to obscure their real intentions - the making of money. After the 1886 season which the Globe

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<sup>68</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 24 August 1877.

termed "more or less financially successful ..."<sup>69</sup> six players from the Toronto Base Ball Club were reserved by the team. Catcher and manager J. H. Humphries, first baseman T. S. Faatz, left fielder D. Darling, pitcher W. W. "Peek-A-Boo" Veach, right fielder A. P. Albert and centre fielder J. Morrison found themselves "protected" from seeking tempting offers from other teams in the International League. This curbing of income potential obviously did not sit well with the team's stars and by November some were left unsigned. The World reported that Humphries was "anxious to get his release after the knifing he received and was ready to sign with Rochester," and Veach "was dickering with some other club."<sup>70</sup> The Globe reported that "some of the best men of the Torontos have held out for higher salaries than the directors would afford to offer them ...."<sup>71</sup>

The imposing of the reserve system may have been new to Toronto but south of the border in the National League avaricious owners bent on maximizing their profits had been using the system on and off since 1879. In that year Arthur Soden, the notoriously parsimonious owner of the Boston team proposed at an owners meeting in Buffalo that each team secretly reserve five players. Over the years the number of

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<sup>69</sup> Globe, 28 September 1886.

<sup>70</sup> World, 2 November 1886.

<sup>71</sup> Globe, 4 November 1886.

reserved players increased until the 1890s when all contract players could be covered by the reserve clause.<sup>72</sup>

As the reserve clause became universally adopted by owners seeking to control their labour costs, inevitably players organized in response. In 1885, John Montgomery Ward, an outstanding pitcher and shortstop for the New York Giants, formed, with the help of others, the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players. Lippincott's Magazine quoted Ward as astutely noting:

Ten years ago baseball was looked upon merely as a pastime .... Three institutions - the National League, the reserve rule, and the national agreement have changed entirely the nature of the game. What was formerly a pastime has now become a business, capital is invested from business motives and the officers and stockholders of the different clubs include men of social standing and established business capacity.<sup>73</sup>

While Toronto's commercial development of its sports teams lagged behind its counterparts in the United States the battle lines between players and owners were clearly delineated by 1886. Fully fledged class struggle it may not have been but the actions of the directors and stockholders in keeping their costs to a minimum and the players and athletes holding out for better salaries heralded a new era and attitude for Toronto's professional and semi-professional teams.

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<sup>72</sup> For an examination of the reserve clause and the evolution of labour relations in baseball see Andrew Zimbalist, Baseball and Billions, (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 5.



Taking advantage of the increase in leisure time, technology, amount of disposable income and the legislative manifestations of bourgeois concern about "idle" and potentially riotous activities, Toronto's entrepreneurs promoted athletic events and activities with no intent beyond a return on their investments. By 1886, sports businesses included swimming pools, billiard halls, billiard table manufacturers, bowling alleys, skating rinks, roller skating rinks, roller skate manufacturers, Sunlight Base Ball Park, gymnasia, bicycle manufacturers, sporting goods stores, newspapers and journals, fishing tackle, riding stables, race courses, driving parks, velocipede rinks, dance and calisthenic classes, boat builders, pleasure grounds, athletic clubs and grounds and gunsmiths. Events and sports staged as spectacles for profit included horse racing, rowing, boxing, wrestling, pedestrianism, skating carnivals, baseball, Caledonian games, horse racing and track and field. Other sports such as lacrosse, cricket, and football, although played primarily for the enjoyment of the players, also drew thousands of entrance-paying spectators. Even sports such as gymnastics, fencing, quoits, cycling and swimming drew crowds to watch exhibitions, annual games and races and club, provincial, and national championships. The ripple effect of the "boom" of sport, both playing and spectating, affected the economy considerably. People and businesses directly and

peripherally related to the development of sporting clubs and sports as a business activity included photographers, printers, reporters, policemen, gamblers, pool-sellers, railroads, steamers, newspapers, telegraphers, blacksmiths, harness makers, stewards, carpenters, labourers, caretakers, illuminators, taverns, hotels, uniform, shoe and equipment manufacturers, ticket-sellers, lawyers, doctors, architects, salesmen, vets, grooms, managers, athletes and refreshment sellers. All relied partially or wholly on sports' profit potential.

From 1845 to 1886, increasing numbers of males joined sports clubs where they paid to participate. Creating and fulfilling their interests promoted a new revenue-generating component of Toronto's economy. Sporting goods manufacturers and a host of peripheral industries benefitted from the rise in participation and expansion of opportunity for recreation. Workers in alienating jobs with little control but with a little leisure time and surplus money, flocked to sporting events which provided excitement lacking at work. At Sunlight Park the ballplayers became little more than material commodities in the generation of profit. In 1984, J. J. Coakley, in an analysis of the conflict theory of sport, stated that "the structure of sport is so much like the structure of work organizations and capitalist society as a whole that it serves to stabilize the system and promote the interests of people who are in positions of

power."<sup>74</sup> His observation could also have been made of Toronto's sporting milieu a hundred years earlier.

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<sup>74</sup> John J. Coakley, "Sport in Society: An Inspiration or An Opiate," Sport in Contemporary Society, ed., D. S. Eitzen, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 29.

## Chapter VI

### Class in Sport and Individual Sports

The rich man in his castle,  
The poor man at his gate,  
God made them, high or lowly,  
And order'd their estate.

Anonymous

The fact that a man is exceptionally brilliant as a player is in no way an excuse for the assumption of unwarranted social rank; quite the reverse.<sup>1</sup>

After the baseball game between Rochester and Toronto at Sunlight Park in May 1886, a reporter declared that the three-thousand spectators represented "all classes of society from the Lieutenant-Governor to the omnipresent schoolboy."<sup>2</sup> The Governor reinforced feelings of equality at the luncheon following the game. Addressing the assembled dignitaries he expressed delight "with which all classes of Anglo-Saxons entered into athletics."<sup>3</sup> After the first game with the city's first overtly commercial sporting enterprise, democratization of sport appeared complete.

Appearances were deceptive. The "omnipresent

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<sup>1</sup> Referee, 1878, cited in Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo, "Ways of Seeing: Control and Leisure versus Class and Struggle," in Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure, ed., Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo, (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1981), 134.

<sup>2</sup> Globe, 24 May 1886.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

schoolboy", many of the other "classes of society" and the players did not receive luncheon invitations. After paying their entrance fee and watching the game, spectators fulfilled their role as consumers in the financial success of the venture. Likewise, players whose performance newspapers described in language that reflected the values of the workplace, were absent. Despite "doing some good work in the box," "labouring without reward," "attending to business" and "producing the goods," the workers were not offered lunch. Only the directors of both teams, those who profited from their investment of capital and the Governor and members of the press who supplied the business with legitimacy and publicity attended. Class barriers affecting participation in sport appeared to relax by 1886, particularly in terms of spectatorship, but a rigid structure remained, manifesting itself in what sociologist Rick Gruneau terms a "differential accessibility of various aspects of sport involvement and athletic achievement."<sup>4</sup> This chapter examines the implications of social class on the development of sport. Specifically it analyses sport's early exclusivity and its transition to an ostensibly more egalitarian orientation.

In 1845, the Lord's Day Act effectively eliminated the

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<sup>4</sup> Richard S. Gruneau, "Class or Mass: Notes on the Democratization of Canadian Amateur Sport," in Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives, ed., Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson, (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley, 1976), 109.

Toronto working-class from organized sport. Workers still competed, spectated and gambled, but behind the closed doors of the tavern or away from the disapproving eye of the bourgeoisie and the reach of the law. In contrast, the commercial elite, the bourgeoisie and military officers with inclination, time and resources sported in clubs organized more for social exclusivity than athletic ability. Until 1870, Toronto's sporting milieu was "characterized by overt discrimination and rigid socioeconomic bias."<sup>5</sup> After 1870 and the rapid expansion of sport in the city, workers began to appear in organized clubs and sports. Furthermore, with the advent of sport as a product for consumption, entrepreneurs sought the patronage of almost anyone with the price of admission - subject to certain conditions.

The increase in working-class participation on the fields and in the stands lends credence to the notion of sport's democratization in the late nineteenth-century. Although democratization is a nebulous concept, at least as far as sport is concerned it can be defined as the "movement from elitism to mass involvement."<sup>6</sup> In essence, this "widening availability of, and diminishing separatism in varying forms of sport involvement"<sup>7</sup> resulted from a

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>6</sup> John W. Loy, Barry D. McPherson and Gerald Kenyon, Sport and Social Systems, (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley, 1978), 367.

<sup>7</sup> Gruneau, "Class or Mass," 108.

general and national trend toward egalitarianism in society. According to this line of thought, social mobility in the form of the emergence of white-collar workers and the improving social conditions of blue-collar workers created a more level playing field. In a study of London, Ontario, Echenburg concluded that during the late decades of the century "professional and skilled labour sectors became more proportionally represented in sport groups."<sup>8</sup> The process of democratization, in terms of a transition of sports participants from an exclusively social elite to a more egalitarian representation, appeared in operation.

Again, appearances were deceptive. Although white and blue-collar workers increasingly participated, they rarely infiltrated the ranks and membership lists of the elite clubs. Apart from the clubs formed and administered by workers, the decisions, management and subsequently the power remained with the social elite. The partitions of class structure did not crumble. Indeed, the increased participation, particularly of the working-class, in sporting activities tended to accentuate class divisions in society. Such divisions contributed to the development and reinforcement of collective identities that reflected social cohesion.

In Toronto, a city tightly controlled by the upper-

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<sup>8</sup> H. Echenburg, "Sport and Urbanization: London, Ontario 1850-1900" (M.A. thesis, The University of Western Ontario, 1979), 109.

class, the influences that directed the development of sport were numerous and diverse in the middle decades of the century. The city, however, was typical of others throughout Canada in that the paramount influence came from the sporting behaviours of British army officers, many of them second or third sons of aristocratic families. Although not indigent, as a commission necessitated a private income, many sought employment when, in customary British practice, the bulk of the family estate passed to the eldest son. Endowed with family name, mores and attitudes of the social elite they provided "[a]dministrative experience, opportunity, inclination and tradition ... in establishing the games of [their] homeland."<sup>9</sup> The Canadian Curler's Manual (1840), in a description of the rules, explained that "[t]his method has been practised at Toronto, since the Winter of 1837-38 - when military terms and ideas were infused into every department of life."<sup>10</sup> A more critical evaluation of British military presence by the New York Herald indicated their influence on class structures.

They have rendered themselves ... obnoxious in Canada, the men breeding debauchery and discord wherever they were quartered, the officers aided by the snobbery of

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<sup>9</sup> Peter Lindsay, "The Impact of the Military Garrisons on the Development of Sport in British North America," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 1 (May, 1970): 33.

<sup>10</sup> J. Bickett, The Canadian Curler's Manual or an Account of Curling as Practised in Canada (Toronto: Hugh Scobie, 1840), 21.



the native aristocracy, fomenting unwholesome divisions in society into upper and lower classes and aiding essentially to check the growth of a truly patriotic and Canadian spirit among the people.<sup>11</sup>

Biased and erroneous in ascribing the creation of "unwholesome divisions" solely to the officers, the article nevertheless conveys a sense of British aristocratic attitudes to social inferiors.

Many officers' attitudes manifested themselves in Toronto's early sporting clubs. The Tandem Club, organized in the late 1830s, was comprised mainly of officers from regiments garrisoned in the city. Several young men from socially prominent families also received invitations to join, among them W. H. Boulton, Charles Heath and James Magrath. After their outings, which provided an opportunity to display their decorated and expensive horses, harnesses and sleighs, club members dined together and recited verse based on the events of the preceding drive. Part of Lieutenant-Colonel Airey's recitation indicates the nature of the dinners.

The dinner o'er, the circling wine gave birth  
To many sparkling jokes and lots of mirth;<sup>12</sup>

Initially, army officers and the city elite in the form of the Toronto Turf Club, Upper Canada Turf Club, and the

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<sup>11</sup> New York Herald, reprinted in British Whig (Kingston), 2 June 1855.

<sup>12</sup> J. Ross Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York (Toronto: by the author, 1908), 1040.

Toronto Hunt Club, founded in 1828, 1837, and 1844 respectively, organized horse racing. Its utilitarian origins, aura of gentility and patronage from propertied citizens made it a difficult target for criticism or moral outrage. Only when attended by spectators from a broader social spectrum and the accompanying problems became publicized, were religious and civic-minded reformers moved to censure.

The impetus officers provided for horse racing and steeplechasing also contributed to class distinctions. Initially they used "The Bend" on the Island for informal competition but as the city developed, traversing the built-up area from the Garrison in the west to the access point in the east became problematic. In 1835, they constructed a course on the Garrison Reserve between the Old Fort and the New Fort just east of the Exhibition grounds. Military men travelled from as far as Fort Niagara to try their bloodstock against that of the Toronto regiments. Army officers were also prominent in the administration of the Garrison Common's successor, Scarlett's or the Simcoe Chase course, located on the bank of the Humber River north of Dundas Street. Of the sixteen stewards listed for a June 1839 race meeting, eight held commissions and Colonel MacKenzie Fraser, the Quartermaster-General, served as president.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 753.

Officer interest in horse racing stemmed primarily from the enjoyment and benefit and secondarily from the military training races provided. Entrance fees and spectators were incidental. For the young "bloods" the prestige of riding a winner took precedence. At a November 1840 race meeting at Scarlett's course, all the stewards served as army officers and they limited entries to "[h]orses bona fide the property of Officers belonging to the Garrison of Toronto, and to be ridden by Officers of the Garrison."<sup>14</sup> They withheld the results of the races from publication and shared the pride and distinction of victory only among themselves.

Although promoters sought widespread involvement at civilian race meetings, they prescribed roles for different sectors of society. Workers might spectate and gamble but active participation was limited to the officers and elite of the city. To many workers a day at the races meant a day of drinking and carousal. Racecourse stewards and sponsors struggled to contend with drunkenness, crime, rowdy behaviour and spectators and stray dogs interfering with the races. The city of Halifax closed its racetracks for ten years to curb the problems and urban centres like Quebec City and Toronto moved their courses to the outskirts, making working-class attendance difficult. At Toronto's St. Leger course, Toronto Turf Club members attempted to limit access. The club reserved the grandstand for members and

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 754.

disapproved of gambling, at least through bookmakers. In 1841, it sought to physically separate the grounds from the masses by building a fence around the course and limiting entrance to a gate from what is now Huron Street. Ironically, fenced-in venues for sport in later years ensured the collection of gate money, although Turf Club members intended Toronto's first enclosure to control access based on class affiliation.

Horse racing met with mixed societal reactions epitomizing class attitudes. Civic politician William Henry Boulton's horse racing activities emphasized competition and received sanction and patronage from the elite. Boulton's father donated part of the family's hundred acre lot bounded by Queen on the south, Bloor on the north, Beverley on the west and McCaul on the east, for the construction of a racecourse and grandstand. The Toronto Turf Club considered the St. Leger Course, named after the oldest and one of the classic horse races in England, as the racecourse for Toronto's elite to showcase their bloodstock. The less salubrious Union or Maitland track, which opened in 1842 under the Don Bridge at Broadview and Queen Street East, had an altogether different reputation. Entries were not limited to Toronto Turf Club members or their approval and spectators could watch from where they pleased. Richard Tinning, patriarch of the family of wharfingers, waterfront merchants and outstanding rowers, managed the course and

patrons made race meetings considerably livelier than at the St. Leger course. Not surprisingly it drew criticism.

Fox hunting and cricket also benefitted from the patronage of officers. Six of the first eight Masters of the Toronto Hunt Club, formed in 1844, were military men. Only after the withdrawal of British troops in the early 1870s did civilians assume control of the club. By that time elite attitudes were firmly entrenched. The Toronto Cricket Club, organized in 1834 to meet the challenges from a succession of regiments stationed at the Garrison, included officers in team and committee lists over the years.

Civilians who socialized with the officers and raced horses, curled, rode to hounds, bowled and cricketed came from the ranks of Toronto's social elite. Of the fifteen identifiable players of the 1850 Toronto Cricket Club, all came from elevated social positions:

J. B. Robinson	Chief Justice
G. W. Draper	Barrister
R. G. Anderson	Paying Teller, Bank of Upper Canada
W. H. Ranson	Manager, Quebec Bank
G. A. Phillpotts	Judge
J. O. Heward	Broker, Financier
B. Parsons	Clerk, Canada Company
F. Primrose	Physician
A. Morrison	Barrister
J. G. Horne	Accountant, Montreal Bank
W. B. Phipps	Manager, Farmer's Bank
C. Birch	Clerk, Provincial Secretary's Office
G. A. Barber	Classics Master, Upper Canada College
K. Tully	Engineer
T. Helliwell	Brewery owner

As business and societal leaders, many dealt with workers as

oppositional commodities and this in turn perpetuated particular attitudes. In his memoirs, T. C. Patteson, founder of the Ontario Jockey Club and wicket-keeper for the Toronto Cricket Club in the 1860s and 1870s, displayed a casual and deceitful indifference.

When I was editor and manager of the Mail, the printers threatened to strike for higher wages. A committee of men headed by E. F. Clarke, now M. P., waited on me. I temporised and sent Alex Dixon down to New York. He took with him a telegraph home, to this effect: "No difficulty in getting printers here. Can ship twenty tomorrow. Please authorise Bank of Montreal, Wall St. to honour my draft on you for \$300 expenses of transit. The men are efficient and reliable." This pardonable hoax saved the situation, and the Mail did not (as the Globe did) suffer from a strike.<sup>15</sup>

Patteson's attitude toward those he viewed as his social inferiors represented organized sport as a whole in the decades before Confederation.

To examine the stratified nature of sport, names of players and officials were taken from newspapers, magazines, books, scrapbooks and club records, minutes and archives for the period 1845 to 1885. The names were then cross-referenced with city directories and, if identified, their occupation noted. (Table 1) Often identification was facilitated by the team played for. For example, a player listed without initials might be identified by the company, craft, or union team. Each identified player was assigned an occupational category. Class 1 includes factory owners. Class 2 includes the petite bourgeoisie and government

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<sup>15</sup> Thomas C. Patteson Papers, Ontario Archives, Toronto.

officials. Class 3 includes white-collar workers whose interests were aligned with the bourgeoisie.<sup>16</sup> Class 4 includes students. Class 5 includes blue-collar workers. (Appendix A)

Table 1  
Players and Officials 1845-1885

Year	Names collected	Names identified	%
1845	95	63	66.3
1850	57	32	56.1
1855	201	103	51.2
1860	220	123	55.9
1865	553	266	48.1
1870	1032	584	56.5
1875	2202	990	44.9
1880	2738	1494	54.5
1885	4564	2509	54.9

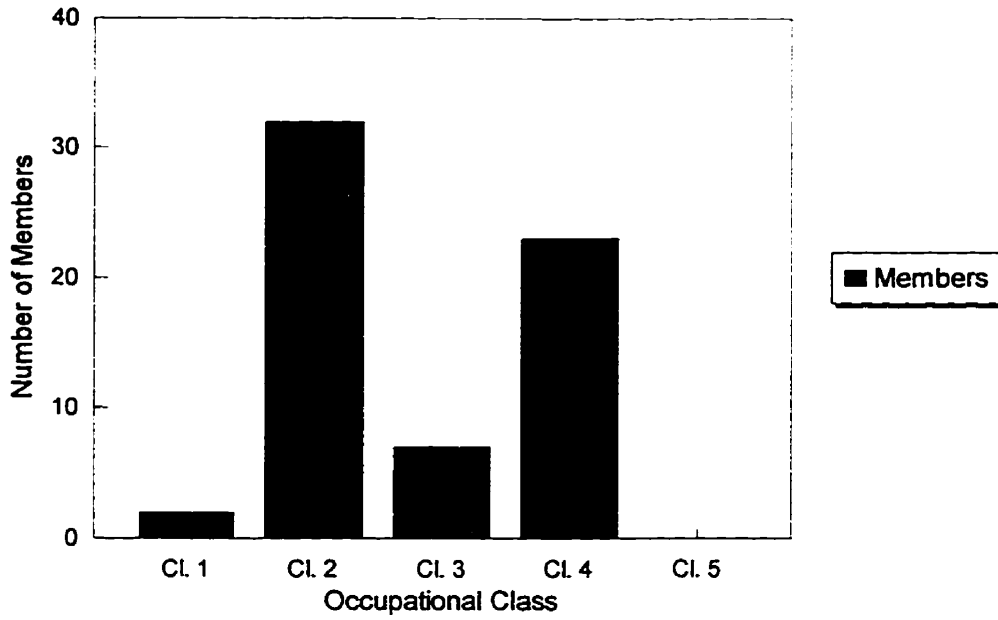
Until 1865, organized sports' elitism was manifest in more than attitude. (Figures 1-5) From 1845 to 1865, the combined percentages of Class 2 (petite bourgeoisie and government officials) and Class 4 (students primarily from Upper Canada College, St. Michael's and Trinity College) totalled 85.9%, 78.1%, 92.2%, 87.0% and 80.4%. (Table 2) During the same years, Class 3 (white-collar workers) was significantly under-represented with 10.9%, 18.8%, 6.9%, 5.7% and 14.7%. (Table 2) Until 1860, Class 5 (blue-collar workers) did not appear on club membership lists. In 1860

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<sup>16</sup> See Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet and Mark J. Stern, "A Two Class Model," The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). and Harry Braverman, "Clerical Workers," Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974). See Appendix A.

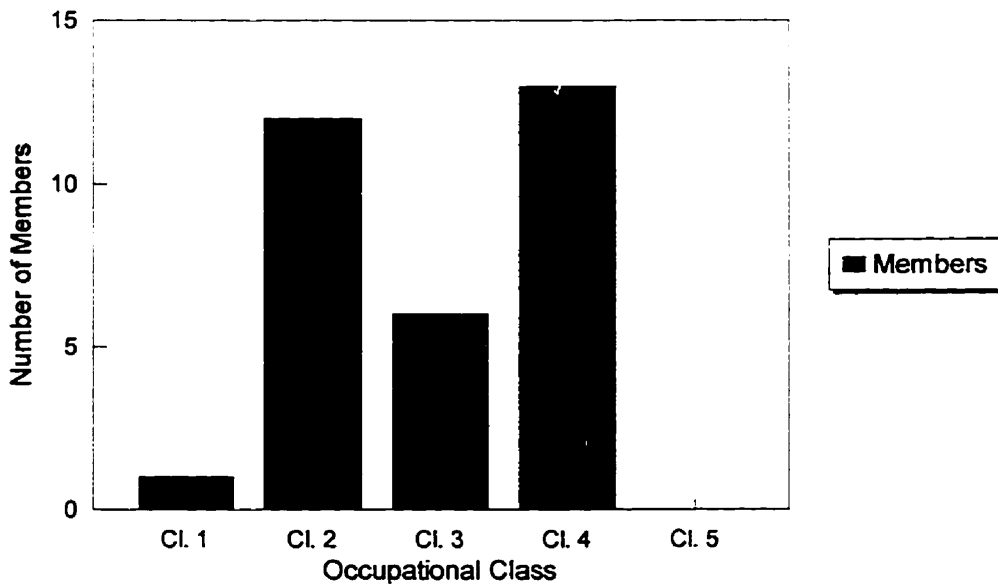
### Figure 1

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1845



### Figure 2

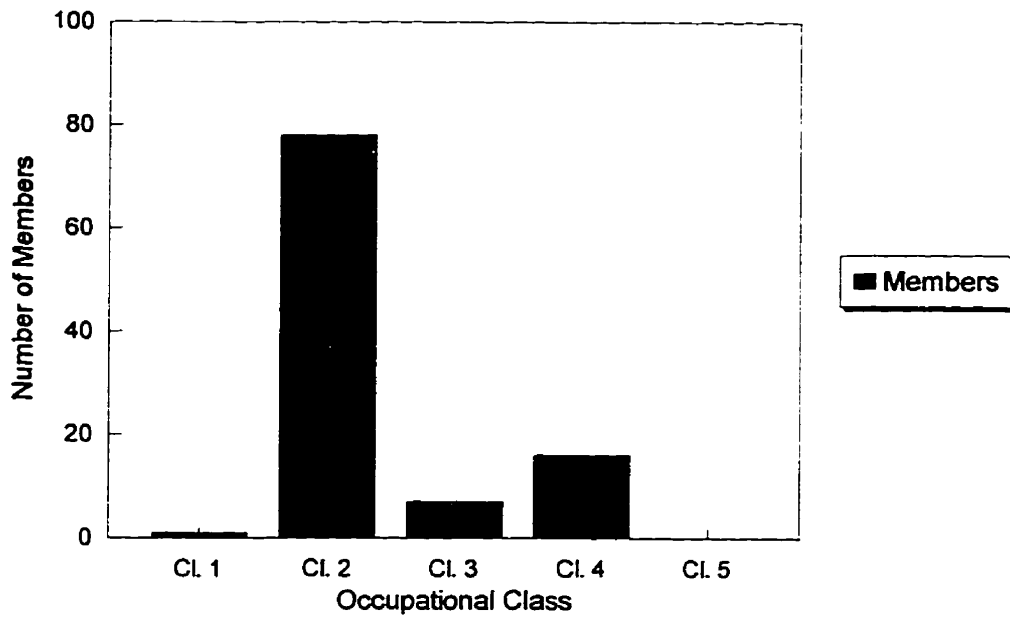
Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1850





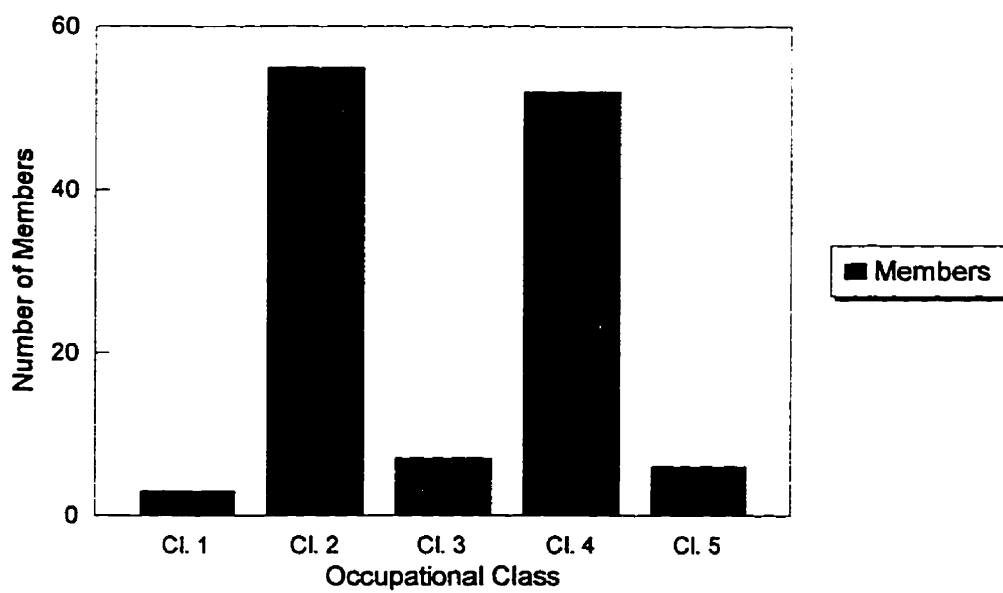
### Figure 3

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1855



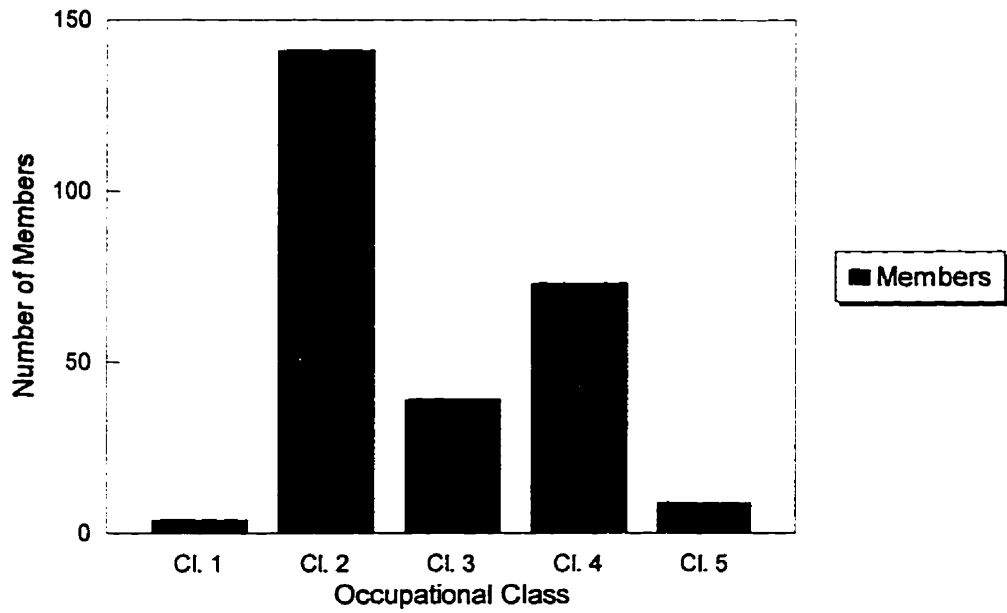
### Figure 4

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1860



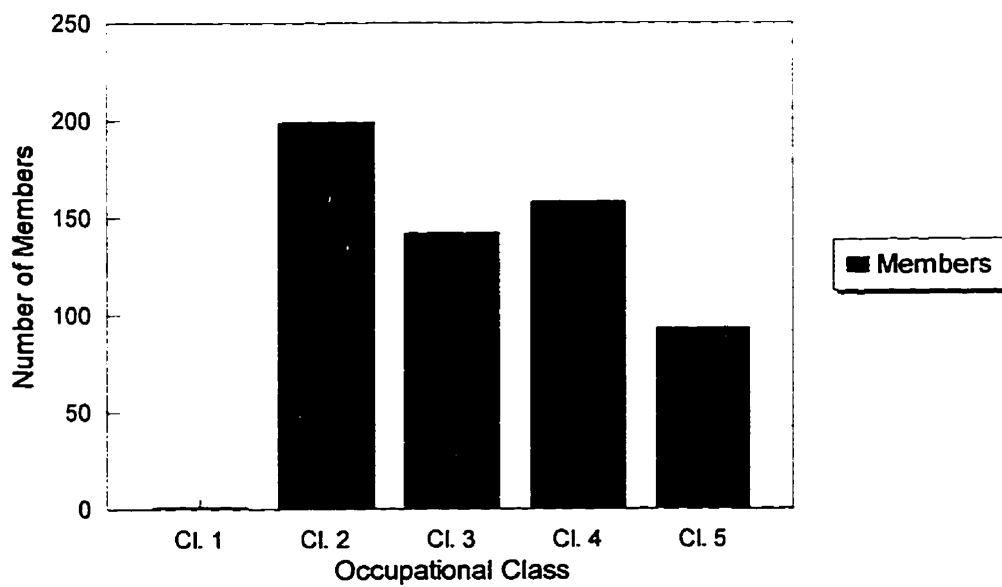
### Figure 5

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1865



### Figure 6

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1870



and 1865, Class 5 represented only 4.9% and 3.4% of club members respectively. (Table 2) Until 1870, organized sports clubs were the preserve of Toronto's elite, petite bourgeoisie and government bureaucrats.

Table 2  
Occupational Classification of Club Members, 1845-1885  
in %

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5
1845	3.1	50.0	10.9	35.9	0
1850	3.1	37.5	18.8	40.6	0
1855	1.0	76.5	6.9	15.7	0
1860	2.4	44.7	5.7	42.3	4.9
1865	1.5	53.0	14.7	27.4	3.4
1870	0.2	33.6	24.0	26.6	15.7
1875	0.9	35.2	26.2	22.7	15.0
1880	0.7	27.6	28.8	30.3	12.6
1885	0.1	26.7	36.2	23.0	13.9

Despite the elite nature of early sports clubs, members prided themselves on the egalitarianism of their sport. After a 1861 match involving the Toronto and Scarborough Curling Clubs off the Yonge wharf the Globe reported that "[o]n the ice all classes of men meet on the same level."<sup>17</sup> The classes of men that met on that particular day included clergymen, merchants, lawyers, two ex-mayors and ex-Inspector-General. In 1862, at a Toronto Curling Club dinner, Vice Chairman, Duncan Forbes, took up the refrain and remarked that curling:

embraced all classes of society among its members, for on the ice the noble lord met on equality with the lad that whistled at the plough. He had often seen the lord of the manor take the shoemaker or weaver by the hand and grasp it as eagerly when either of these made a good shot, laid a guard or made an excellent "in

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<sup>17</sup> Globe, 19 January 1861.

wick".<sup>18</sup>

From 1845 to 1886, not one shoemaker, weaver or lad whistling at the plough could be found on the club's membership. Indeed, until 1860 no blue-collar workers curled with "noble lords" of the Toronto Curling Club. Forbes may have been overcome by the libations accompanying his "beef and greens" or he may have been addressing his remarks to Thomas Flannigan, a carpenter, the club's first blue-collar member.

Social changes in the 1860s and 1870s heralded changes in the demographics of sport club membership and participation. The half-holiday movement, introduced in London, England in the 1860s, "to give merchants, mechanics, labourers and others Saturday afternoon for leisure"<sup>19</sup> gained momentum in Toronto. In November 1864, wholesale houses of the city announced they would close at 5 p.m. during the week and at 1 p.m. on Saturdays. In September 1868, with Mayor James Smith in the Chair, a meeting to discuss early closing resolved that "keeping open retail stores to a very late hour, especially on Saturday evening, is both physically and morally injurious to a large class of the community."<sup>20</sup> Skilled trades and unskilled labourers also agitated for reduced working hours.

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<sup>18</sup> Globe, 13 December 1862.

<sup>19</sup> Globe, 13 February 1860.

<sup>20</sup> Globe, 30 September 1868.

Agitation in the form of collective action at the workplace often extended to associational life during leisure hours. In addition to reinforcing solidarity, activities after work also raised awareness of athletic competition. In 1867, the first annual working-man's picnic was held in late August. Initially a modest affair, the following year the event expanded to include a procession from Queen's Park to the Great Western station. One hundred moulders, fifty bakers, one hundred shoemakers, twenty cigar makers, fifty tailors, sixteen harness makers, thirty bricklayers and a number of printers marched down the avenue to Queen, along Queen to Yonge, and down Yonge to the station. There they met family and friends and boarded a special train for Mimico. At the picnic, at a grove not far from the station, they listened and danced to the music of two quadrille bands and competed in games and races. Notable among the day's winners was John Scholes, later to become Edward Hanlan's manager. A rowing race for a prize of \$20 concluded the games. Workers returned home after enjoying time in the company of their peers, reinforcement of the aims of the labour movement and enervated by physical exercise free from the condescension of the bourgeoisie.<sup>21</sup>

In times of labour strife, factory and sponsored picnics extended management's sphere of influence but also suggested the potential of sport to workers. In the mid-

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<sup>21</sup> Globe, 27 August 1868.

1860s, capital and labour confrontations at foundries and rolling mills intensified. Labour agitation included striking for higher wages and while picketing threatening other workers. In May 1866, police arrested eight workmen at the Toronto Rolling Mill. The judiciary reacted swiftly and newspapers editorials labelled the strikers "malcontents". Attacks on trade unions soon followed. Undaunted, the following year moulders displayed a collectivity beyond the workplace and on a Sunday congregated on the Island to drink and celebrate. This also brought official censure and a renewed attack on unions but it also brought a reaction from capital. In the face of agitation and solidarity, the Soho Foundry sponsored a picnic for its employees complete with "running, leaping and quoits."<sup>22</sup> The picnic's success dictated that it become an annual event. A description of one outing claimed that "the utmost harmony prevailed, and evidenced the good feeling that marks the intercourse the employers and the employed in this establishment."<sup>23</sup> The idea attracted the attention of other large-scale employers and within three years picnics and outings became a paternalistic staple in the St. Lawrence Foundry, Northern and Toronto Grey and Bruce Railway's reproduction and control of its labour supply. By the early 1870s, some wholesale houses adopted the practice

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<sup>22</sup> Globe, 17 August 1868.

<sup>23</sup> Globe, 25 July 1870.

of organizing athletic sports for their employees. After a Hughes Brothers athletic meet at the Queen Street half-mile track, the Globe reported that "such amusements as these assist in producing good feeling between employer and employed."<sup>24</sup>

The examples set by factory picnics sparked worker-organized outings and events that ran contrary to the interests of capital. In 1868, the Boot and Shoemakers Union of the Province of Ontario, formed the previous year, held its first annual ball. In 1869, the Knights of St. Crispin, formed in Milwaukee and "one of the strongest and most important of the first wave of international unions in North America,"<sup>25</sup> expanded to Ontario and assimilated the local organization. They constructed and maintained solidarity by expanding a range of associational activities including parades, balls and picnics. If capitalists held doubts about the political motivations of the picnics they were dispelled when Steam Fitters, Brass Finishers and Plumbers advertized their outing under the headline "Union is Strength."<sup>26</sup> In the following seventeen years trades that organized picnics included, hatters, tailors, bricklayers, printers, iron moulders, bakers and

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<sup>24</sup> Globe, 25 October 1875.

<sup>25</sup> Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 37.

<sup>26</sup> Globe, 1 September 1869.

cigarmakers.

The creation of union and trade sponsored sports teams further reinforced solidarity. In September 1871, on the Cemetery Commons, the moulders from J. Armstrong's foundry played against a team formed from other employees. In 1874, the moulders successfully struck against their employer. Also in 1871, a nine from the Cigarmaker's Union of Hamilton travelled to Toronto to meet a nine of the city's Cigarmaker's Union. Cigarmakers struck in 1871, 1872 and 1873. In 1874, two years after a bitter clash with George Brown over a nine-hour day, Toronto Printer's Union formed a baseball club which played several games against established city teams and apprentices at the Globe played against journeymen. In the same year the Knights of St. Crispin, broom makers, cabinetmakers and carvers formed baseball teams. Up to 1886, unions and trades that formed sports clubs included telegraphers, bricklayers, butchers, warehousemen, police, letter carriers, railroad clerks, hatters, journalists, carpenters and tinsmiths.

By the 1880s sport had become an integral component of trade union solidarity. In 1883, at a "Monster Demonstration of Strength and Respectability" at Queen's Park that brought to mind the "Chartist agitation, and the bloody field of Peterloo," unions gathered to parade to the Exhibition Grounds. The parade consisted of ubiquitous military, lodge and brass bands, followed by the Trades and



Labour Council, Tailors Union, Stonemasons, American Brotherhood of Carpenters, Stonecutters' Union, Painters, Cigarmakers, Labourer's Union, Ironmoulders', Stovemakers' and Boilermakers' Unions, Plasterers' Labourers' Union, Longshoreman's Union, Hackman's Union, Tinsmiths Union, Varnishers' and Polishers' Union, Harnessmakers' Union, Typographical Union, Pressmens' Union and Bookbinders, Platerers' Union, Bakers' Union, Bricklayers' Union, Knights of Labor and the Gilders' Society. At the grounds the crowd, estimated at ten to twelve thousand, danced to the music of the bands, and watched and cheered at the horse races, athletic events and baseball game arranged for the occasion.<sup>27</sup>

The appearance and participation of increasing numbers of blue-collar workers on playing fields, arenas, rinks and in rowing races and regattas elicited a response from those who considered sport their private preserve. In the 1860s the officers of sports clubs began to enforce amateur codes and labelled those they wished to exclude as professionals.<sup>28</sup> Often professionals were nothing more than working-class athletes. As Richard Holt claims "[t]he

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<sup>27</sup> Globe, 23 June 1883.

<sup>28</sup> For an examination of the historical developments of amateurism and professionalism in sport see Kevin L. Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and the Changing Concepts of Amateurism," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1971). Frank Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1973).

amateur code was in practice frequently a means of excluding working-class players from high-level competition."<sup>29</sup> The controversy originated with commentary on the Canada versus United States cricket game in August 1860. Obliquely critical of the U.S. team, a reporter defined amateurs as "gentlemen who play cricket only as an amusement in the intervals of business pursuits." Professionals, he declared, "play the game for a livelihood pursuing it as a regular occupation, just the same as a gardener or a mason follows his trade."<sup>30</sup> Although the criteria for either amateur or professional was ostensibly whether sport was played as a pastime or an occupation, the underlying concerns were money and class. Amateurs were gentlemen, while professionals were gardeners and masons.

In Toronto the professional\amateur issue centred on rowing and fishermen competing against rowing club members. Writing of the rowing scene in the 1850s, Robert Hunter claimed that "[a]t this time of course there was absolutely no differentiation between amateur and professional. One might go so far as to say that there were no amateurs since all and sundry rowed for money prizes."<sup>31</sup> Hunter's observation is correct. Regatta organizers did not

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<sup>29</sup> Richard Holt, Sport and the British: A Modern History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 104.

<sup>30</sup> Globe, 2 August 1860.

<sup>31</sup> Robert S. Hunter, Rowing in Canada Since 1848 (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson, 1933), 14.

differentiate between amateur and professional, but his conclusion that rowing for prize money defined professionalism obscures issues of social class.

In 1865, the amateur\professional dichotomy in rowing surfaced with the suggestion of the exclusion of professional rowers from the Toronto Rowing Club's regatta. The writer hastened to add he had no objections to a separate race for professionals. He reasoned that gentlemen who rowed occasionally or made their living in sedentary work could not compete on even terms with fishermen who rowed all their working day or with those engaged in manual work. He neglected to mention the ignominy of possible defeat by social inferiors as a reason. The following year the club's officers introduced a fisherman's race to its regatta to accommodate those who rowed for a living and those that worked with their hands. Notable among the entries were the crew of John Hanlon's boat which included "a muscular negro named Berry, ... reputed to be one of the best oarsman in the vicinity."<sup>32</sup> In some minds professionalism in rowing became synonymous with fishermen and occupation became the rationale for who might compete in certain races.

In 1867, the Toronto Rowing Club regatta committee in a decision that cut across issues of race and class excluded "Black Bob" Berry from a race. In response to

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<sup>32</sup> Globe, 24 August 1866.

advertisements in the Globe, Leader and Telegraph that sought "all-comers" for an August regatta, Berry entered the championship race. In late July, the committee met and barred "coloured men" from the race but allowed them to row in the fishermen's race. It wasn't the first time Berry experienced discrimination. In 1863, he lined up to row the championship race only to have his opponents refuse to row because of his colour. At that time the incident drew little attention. In 1867, protests followed the regatta. An editor responding to a letter criticising the decision wrote that the committee acted "unjustly, illiberally and illogically."<sup>33</sup> The following year the regatta committee dropped their exclusionary policy and allowed Berry to enter the championship race. Despite rowing a heavier boat and winning by more than thirty seconds, they disqualified him for rounding the turning buoy the wrong way.

Although the Toronto Rowing Club accepted "all-comers" to row in its regattas in the following years, the matter of professionalism simmered just below the surface. After the 1872 races, they suspended regattas indefinitely. The following article explains the reasons.

At the time considerable dissatisfaction was felt because of the increasing number of professional rowers ... who carried off a large majority of prizes. This was felt to be an injustice to those members who joined the ranks ... for the honour of the thing, as well as for the real good they derived from the exercise .... it was not to be expected that young men fresh from the

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<sup>33</sup> Globe, 9 August 1867.

bank or merchant's counting room compete with men inured to the use of the oar for years .... this feeling became so strong and discontent ran so high that it was considered imperative ... to do something to counteract the rising storm.<sup>34</sup>

The suspension of the regatta only thinly-veiled an assault against fishermen and manual workers. But if the Toronto committee's intentions were in any way ambiguous, the 1879 announcement by the Henley Regatta committee in Britain that limited entries to amateurs dropped all pretence. They declared "... no person should be considered an amateur oarsman who was or has been by trade or employment for wages a mechanic, artisan or labourer."<sup>35</sup> It confirmed the reality of social exclusivity that hid behind the guise of an economic morality.

As a result of the Toronto Club's hostility toward working-class rowers and the suspension of the regatta, the New Dominion Rowing Club was founded and featured the notable ex-Toronto club rowers Thomas Loudon, champion of the bay, William Dillon and John Scholes. Thumbing their nose at the Toronto Club they organized their own unabashedly professional regatta in 1874, drawing outstanding scullers from south of the border. Berry, by then past his prime, rowed in the double sculls. Organizers did not include a fisherman's race on the programme.

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<sup>34</sup> Globe, 14 August 1876.

<sup>35</sup> Peter C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C. A. Watts, 1963), 179.

The professional controversy soon spread to other sports as clubs wrestled with the idea of admitting working-class players into their ranks or playing against working-class clubs. Initially, in the lengthy and sometimes bitter rivalry between the Toronto Lacrosse team and the Montreal Shamrocks, class differences played a substantial part in their animosity toward each other. As the leading teams from their respective cities, they played periodically to capitalize on the enormous gate receipts their competitions generated. Similarity between the teams began and ended with their club officers' drive to make money. In 1871, the Shamrocks, with a reputation for rough play, were "composed entirely of mechanics and others accustomed to hard work and out door exercise, their men were consequently possessed of great strength and endurance." In contrast, the Toronto club members "composed of quite a different class of young men being all in sedentary occupations [who] by their quiet and gentlemanly demeanour won many admirers."<sup>36</sup> Most of the time the team's dislike of one another manifested itself in violence on the field: a classic case of class conflict. Occasionally it erupted into political strife. In June 1877, two days before a game in Toronto, one of the Shamrocks was released from gaol where he had served two sentences for burglary and larceny. Upon arrival in

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<sup>36</sup> Reverend A. McClain Scrapbook, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

Toronto, the home team informed the Shamrocks they declined to compete if the player took the field. Displaying solidarity, the Shamrocks refused to accomodate the demand and returned to Montreal without playing the game. At a Canadian Lacrosse Association meeting in Montreal later that year, the National Lacrosse Association awarded the Shamrocks the Canadian championship as they deemed Toronto had defaulted. As crowds and gate receipts grew, gradually, animosities between the teams took a different turn.

Money soon entered the equation. Constructing explicit social barriers and drawing attention to social differences compromised illusions of egalitarianism but it was a small price to pay for sports clubs which sought to maintain social exclusivity and the ideals of amateur sport. Consequently, definitions of amateurism began to change from class criteria to monetary considerations. The Canadian Wheelman's Association adopted the following definition.

An amateur is a person who never competed in an open competition or for (sic) a stake, or for public money, or for gate money, or under a false name, or with a professional for a prize, or with a professional when gate money is charged.<sup>37</sup>

Other amateur sports followed suit by adopting similar definitions. Accordingly, disputes between the Shamrocks and Toronto lacrosse clubs focussed on the supposed professionalism of the former. Before an 1878 game, the

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<sup>37</sup> Canadian Wheelman's Association Guidebook Joseph S. Stauffer Library, text-fiche.

Globe snidely reported that the Shamrocks trained so hard during the week that none of them had been to work. The unwritten corollary suggested that the club paid their missed wages. Moreover, team managers hired a special Pullman car so Shamrock players might sleep on the overnight journey and arrive refreshed. Several sentences later, the newspaper reported that 8,000 spectators at the game had resulted in \$1204 gate receipts. Further rumours of Shamrock professionalism and regular defeats resulted in a special meeting of the Toronto club in 1879. The proposal forwarded suggested the withdrawal of the club from the National Lacrosse Association and the organization of a "purely amateur association." The Montreal Lacrosse Club, the poor relation of the Shamrocks, in terms of gate receipts and playing talent, wanted a larger slice of the financial pie and supported the move. It tried to exclude its richer but socially inferior neighbour by stricter definitions of amateur and professional. Ultimately the scheme fell through as gate receipts dictated the status quo remained.

As the amateur\professional schism widened, amateurs were stereotypically associated with positive traits and the professional with negative ones. In the midst of a purge of professionals from the ranks of cycling clubs, the Canadian Wheelman warned that "[o]ne of the most dangerous rocks which lie in the course of associations formed for the



purpose of fostering and regulating the different classes of sport is professionalism." Stopping short of labelling professionals "evil" but mentioning both in the same sentence, the editorial declared that "professionalism ... is not sport in the true sense of the term."<sup>38</sup> Continuing the attack nine months later, the magazine painted an idyllic picture of the amateur who cycled for "health and pleasure" and wanted a club of a "fraternal and social character ... bringing brother riders of the wheel together in friendly intercourse." In contrast, a professional made "discord of harmony" and should not be "implicitly trusted." Furthermore, he "brought this damaging suspicion deservedly upon himself."<sup>39</sup> In expressing disgust that sport had "degenerated into a trade or means of livelihood" a letter to the editor claimed that all "standing and respectability" had been lost. Professional sports provided "a refuge for young men who have neither the brains nor the industry to earn an honest living" and were indulged in by "disreputable, lazy and useless young men." The writer cast his net wide enough to indict rowing, pedestrianism, wrestling, boxing, lacrosse, football and cycling but laid bare his bias in his declaration that cricket "will probably survive the disgrace of professionalism."<sup>40</sup> The term

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<sup>38</sup> Canadian Wheelman, 2, (October 1884).

<sup>39</sup> Canadian Wheelman, 2, (July 1885).

<sup>40</sup> Globe, 1 November 1884.

"professional" had shifted from a descriptive, if pejorative, categorization to insult without losing any of its class overtones.

In 1883, accusations of professionalism became the weapons of choice in a war of words between the Toronto Baseball Club and the Toronto Lacrosse Club. In response to an article in the Mail which lamented the state of baseball in the city, a letter to the editor of the Globe accused the sporting editor of the latter of being in cahoots with the lacrosse club and that this motivated the "sarcastic attack." In retaliation for a comment on the professional nature of some baseball players the writer claimed, "it is a well-known fact that several players of the [Toronto Lacrosse Club] hold responsible positions solely owing to their lacrosse qualifications and generally ask for and obtain an increase in their salaries in the sweet spring time."<sup>41</sup> Response came swiftly and forcefully. The following day a lacrosse player replied noting that the first writer's comments could not be described as regretful as "[t]hey warrant a much stronger adjective." He labelled the comments "false and malicious" and countered with his own comments that the writer was "a traitor to Toronto" and that baseball players "don't seem to develop their moral attributes to any great extent."<sup>42</sup> This sparked a series

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<sup>41</sup> Globe, 1 November 1883.

<sup>42</sup> Globe, 2 November 1883.

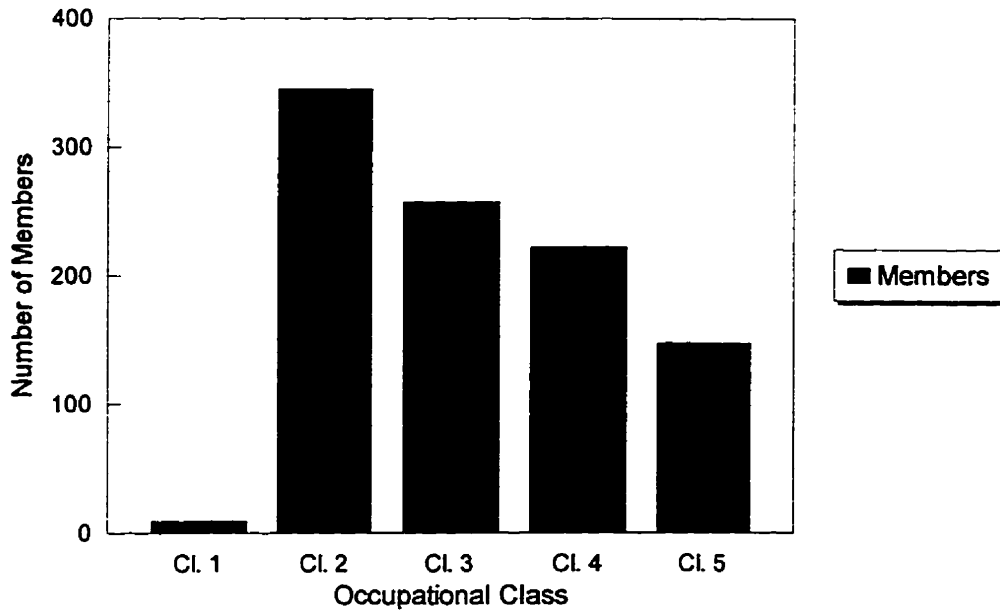
of letters of counter-accusation and ended only when John Guinane, President of the baseball club, sensing his club might lose the lease of the lacrosse club grounds the following season, called for a cessation of hostilities.

The lacrossist's vehement response to accusations of professionalism was indicative of white-collar aspirations of respectability and their new prominence in sports clubs. Although Class 2 continued to have more club members in its ranks in 1870 and 1875, (Figures 6, 7) by 1880, Class 3 members dominated the sports scene. (Figure 8) In 1885, Class 3 outnumbered Class 2 by 36% to 26.7%. (Table 2) White-collar workers joined and formed cricket, rowing, football and cycling clubs in the late 1870s and 1880s but lacrosse provided the springboard for white-collar numerical dominance.

The popularity of lacrosse resulted from a confluence of socio-cultural factors. But the main influences were the increase of white-collar workers and the flexing of their nascent political muscle in the form of the early closing and nine-hour movements. Many lacrosse players identified worked as clerks, salesmen and bookkeepers in the larger stores that fronted Yonge. Others worked as tellers and cashiers in banks and financial institutions. Some owned small businesses and stores. Prevented from playing on Sunday and unable to spend a whole day competing or spectating at a cricket match, lacrosse offered a viable

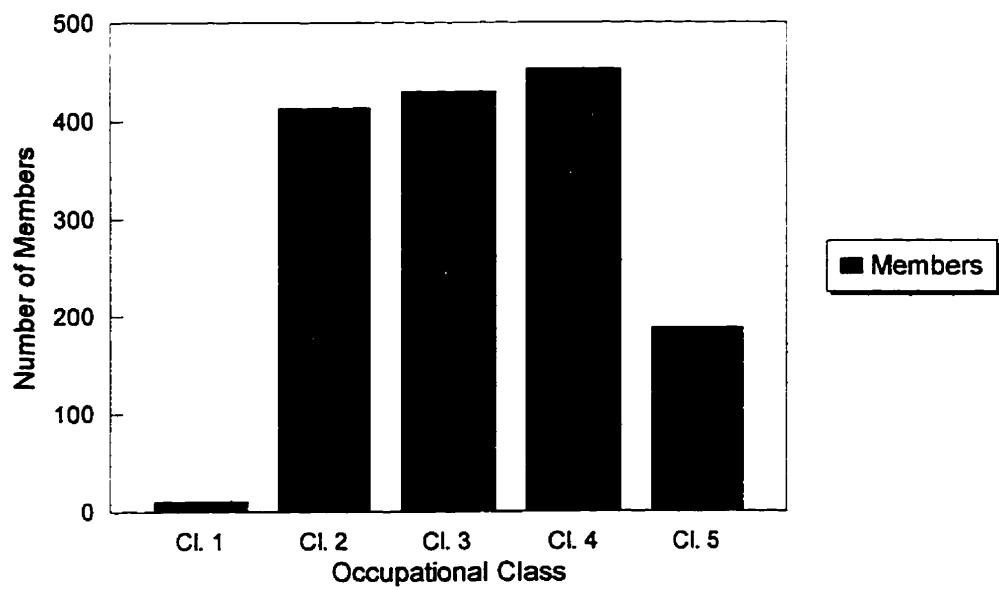
### Figure 7

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1875



### Figure 8

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1880



alternative for young men seeking exercise, excitement and camaraderie. A modest reduction of working hours, the increased practice of half-day closing on Saturdays and early closing on weekdays during the summer, provided many with the time and opportunity to take up that offer.

Church groups, motivated by their own agenda even advocated early closing and gave their blessing to some sports thus confirming their social acceptability. At an 1868 meeting to discuss reduced hours for retail stores, with cricketer and yachtsman Mayor Samuel Harman in the Chair, a clergyman claimed that late hours were "physically and morally injurious to a large section of the community."<sup>43</sup> In May 1870, at a lecture in the YMCA entitled "What shall we do with our evenings?", the Reverend F.H. Marling, pastor of the evangelical Congregationalist church on Bond Street, declared his concern with what young men might fill their free time. He warned his audience on the evils of "such places as the theatre, billiard and drinking saloons, gambling hells etc ..." but saw "no reason why innocent amusements such as skating, rowing, snow shoeing, lacrosse, cricket and the like could not be engaged in profitably."<sup>44</sup> The profit, in his opinion, no doubt came from the spiritual and physical regeneration of the athlete.

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<sup>43</sup> Globe, 30 September 1868.

<sup>44</sup> Globe, 23 May 1870.

The popularity of lacrosse represented an easing of social restrictions on the playing of sport but they did not reach skilled and unskilled labour. White-collar workers did not discard attitudes and behaviours long ingrained by a pervasive British class system but incorporated many in their sports and recreations. Aspects of cricket's exclusivity and of Toronto's hierarchical social ordering remained in lacrosse. In describing a May 1881 game between the Toronto club and the Montreal Athletics, a newspaper article captured the popularity of the sport and the essence of class attitudes. The paper reported that "a large and fashionable crowd ... graced the Toronto Lacrosse Grounds .... Long before the game commenced the grand stand and every available space ... was filled, while every knot-hole and crack in the fence was secured by members of the great unwashed ...."<sup>45</sup> Manual workers, the writer suggested, should know their position.

White-collar workers' sporting clubs emphasized competition but like their predecessors also promoted social aspects which reinforced team spirit and social exclusivity. Club rooms had pianos, billiard and bagatelle tables, magazines, journals and cards. The Wanderers Bicycle Club held social gatherings at members' houses during the winter months and organized a debating society. Rowing, football, lacrosse, tennis and cricket clubs held dinners, dances and

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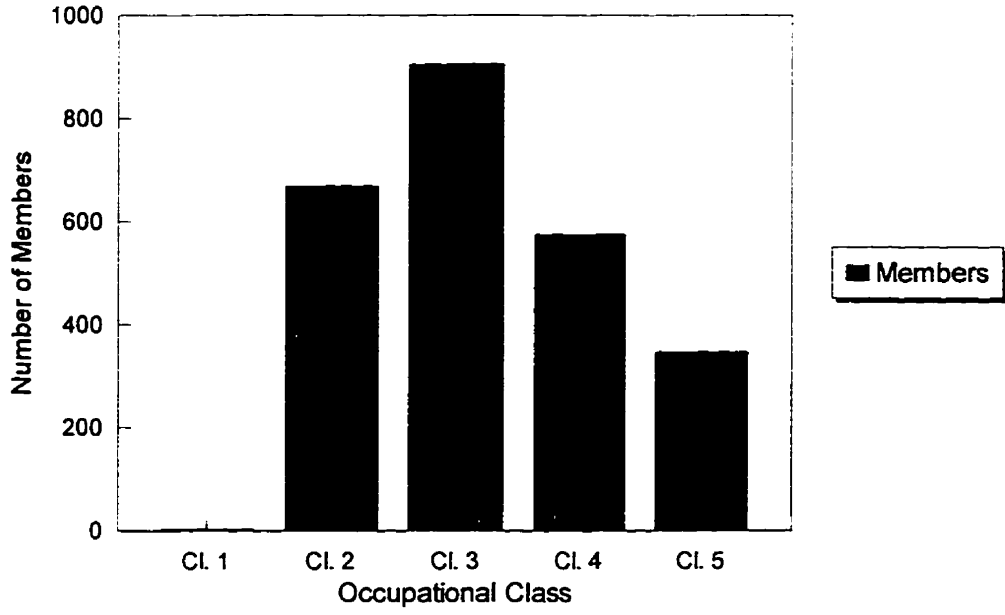
<sup>45</sup> Globe, 25 May 1881.

carnivals, staged concerts and exhibitions, organized track and field meets, picnics, parades and outings, and celebrated or commiserated with each other after games. When no games or competitions were scheduled, teams from the same club such as "married" versus "singles", "smokers" versus "non-smokers", "old-countrymen" versus "Canadians" and "Reformers" versus "Conservatives" played one another. The opportunity to participate in these activities depended on club membership which in turn depended on specific criteria, ascribed or, in some cases, achieved.

Two related phenomenon characterize the development of sport in the fifteen years between 1870 and 1885 (Figures 6-9): the rise to prominence then dominance of the white-collar worker and, although under-represented, the appearance of blue-collar workers. In 1865, 14.7% of club members came from Class 3, by 1870 the figure had risen to 24.0%. The totals correspond with the decreasing percentages of Class 2; 53.0% and 33.6%. In 1875, Class 3 totals continued to rise, 26.2% and in 1880 surpassed Class 2 which had numerically dominated the preceding thirty-five years. In the 1880s, white-collar figures continued to rise and by 1885, 36.2% of club members came from Class 3. Blue-collar workers also increasingly showed up in team lists. In 1865, nine members representing 3.4% came from Class 5. By 1885, the figures had risen to 347 and 13.9% respectively. (Figure 2)

# Figure 9

Occupational Class of Toronto Sport Club Members 1885





Increased white and blue-collar participation in sport prompted changes in the processes for becoming a member in clubs, but the underlying principle of control and exclusion intensified. In 1837, the year of its founding, the Caer Howell Bowling Club rules and regulations stipulated that members not exceed thirty in number. The club lasted for at least eight years and included in its membership barristers, brewers, agents, accountants, tellers and merchants. If one of the members withdrew, died or let his subscription lapse, every member had an opportunity to vote on a replacement from a waiting list. At a meeting, an existing member proposed and another seconded the prospective member. A secret ballot determined the candidate's success. Each member voted according to his opinion by dropping a white ball into a bag for acceptance, or a black ball for rejection. Two black balls from the total assembled excluded the candidate.<sup>46</sup>

The method of voting remained common to most sport clubs over the years but the nuances of control varied. In 1875, the By-Laws of the Toronto Curling and Skating Club outlined what appeared a more egalitarian approach. Exclusion resulted from one black ball for each five members present. Other circumstances, however, mitigated against indiscriminate membership. The club charged an annual

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<sup>46</sup> Caer Howell Bowling Club Records, 1837, Ontario Archives, Toronto.

subscription fee of \$5 making it beyond the means of many. Club days held Tuesdays and Fridays at 2.00 p.m., excluded those whose hours of work were determined by others. Furthermore, stockholders made decisions affecting the club and elected club officers. Each stock holder had at least \$250 worth of capital in the club and inevitably elected officers from among their own ranks. Approximately twenty stockholders from common economic backgrounds shared the power and tightly monitored and controlled who gained access to the club.<sup>47</sup>

At other exclusive clubs, control of membership rested entirely with club officers who restricted admittance to those with appropriate social rank. The Ossington Tennis Club whose officers included barristers, stockbrokers, accountants and bookkeepers, dictated that application for membership and the proposing and seconding should be in writing. Furthermore, applications should state "the candidates usual residence and occupation in writing and [should] be forwarded to the secretary for the approval of the Committee at least seven days before the ballot."<sup>48</sup> Although existing members elected new members, the officers pre-approved those worthy of consideration.

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<sup>47</sup> By-Laws of the Toronto Curling and Skating Club, (Joseph S. Stauffer Library; Toronto: Globe Printing Co., 1875).

<sup>48</sup> Rules and Regulations of the Ossington Lawn Tennis Club 1886, Joseph S. Stauffer Library, text-fiche.

In other clubs, by-Laws specified that decisions on new members were the sole responsibility of elected officers. Founded in 1864, the Yorkville Archery Club established a rule that "[a]dmission to the Club shall be by ballot in the Committee, the President to have the casting vote."<sup>49</sup> Eight members made up the committee, including Assistant Commandant-General R. M. Gardiner, Colonel Dennis, Dr. Berryman, stockbrokers C. L. Madison and G. L. Macpherson, contractor Frank Shanly and barrister L. Heyden. Drawn from a particular strata of society they limited membership to their social equals. In 1873, the thirteen officers of the Toronto Lacrosse Club cast their ballots after full consideration of "the name in full, the residence or place of business of the one proposed."<sup>50</sup> Accordingly the club's ranks were comprised of members from similar social positions. Stringent social criteria for membership effectively excluded many blue-collar workers from joining bourgeois clubs.

As clubs increased in size, the locus of control became focused on the officers of the club. Initially club decisions appeared democratic, much like the early membership election practices of the Caer Howell Bowling

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<sup>49</sup> Rules and Regulations of the Yorkville Archery Club, William Henderson Papers, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

<sup>50</sup> Constitution and By-Laws of the Toronto Lacrosse Club (Toronto: G. C. Patterson, 1873), 7. William Henderson Papers, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

Club. All members had an opportunity to vote on issues whether they exercised it or not. Even where committees made all the decisions, often the number of officers comprised a large portion of the club. In 1845, seven of nineteen members of the Toronto Cricket Club served on the executive. By 1885, nine committee members made decisions for almost one hundred club members. Gradually, as clubs became increasingly bureaucratized, the few at the top ran the affairs of more and more at the bottom.

Increasing membership and spectatorship resulted in larger revenues, which in turn led to a tightening of control by club administrators. The Toronto Lacrosse Club stipulated that "the Committee shall have the management of all the affairs of the club."<sup>51</sup> Larger clubs such as the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the Caledonian Curling Club and Toronto Cricket Club incorporated and control of the clubs stayed in the hands of the major shareholders.

In addition to control of membership, the Constitution and By-Laws of many clubs called for strict codes of dress and conduct and made provisions to expel those who did not abide by them. Cricketers and tennis players were expected to wear "whites". According to W. K. McNaught, Secretary of the National Lacrosse Association of Canada, appropriate dress had racial as well as class implications. He suggested that "[a]ll extravagant contrast in colours such

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., Article 3, Section 5.

as red, blue or green, or other such combinations should be left to Indian players - they do not suit the complexion of whitemen."<sup>52</sup> McNaught also advocated the use of Cuco leaves as "conservers of strength" during matches. It is not recorded whether he used them prior to his observation on uniforms. Members of the Wanderers Bicycle Club owned their bikes and uniforms which included coat, jacket, pants, hat, stockings and badge. W. G. Beers, a patriarch of lacrosse, advocated that a player "live temperately and abstain from all hot and rebellious liquors ... learn to control his temper under the most trying provocations, cultivate courage, self reliance, perseverance and above all .... Be each, pray God, a gentleman."<sup>53</sup> The Dominion Quoiting Association demanded that players "act toward each other in a friendly and gentlemanly manner."<sup>54</sup>

Failure to comply with rules, refusal to obey the Chairman or Field Captain, "improper language" or "ungentlemanly conduct" all resulted in expulsion or suspension from the club.<sup>55</sup> In reality this happened

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<sup>52</sup> William K. McNaught, Lacrosse and How to Play It (Toronto: Rose Publishing Co., undated), 34-35.

<sup>53</sup> William George Beers, Lacrosse: The National Game of Canada (London: Sampson Low, Marston Low, and Searle, 1875), 41.

<sup>54</sup> Constitution and By-Laws of the Dominion Quoiting Association, (Joseph S. Stauffer Library; Toronto: Moore and Co., 1883, text-fiche), 13.

<sup>55</sup> Constitution and By-Laws of the Toronto Lacrosse Club 1873, 11.

infrequently. Usually players with a grudge against a club left quietly and appeared later on another team's roster. Occasionally, a group dissatisfied with a club's policy of selecting older, established players for competition would break away and form their own club. A notable exception was the ejection of members from club ranks for the decidedly ungentlemanly crime of professionalism. The boom in cycling in the 1880s with increased race meetings and purses made the sport particularly susceptible to such influence. In January 1885, the officers of the Wanderers Bicycle Club dismissed two members for professionalism. The following June, another, avoiding the ignominy of expulsion, resigned after announcing his intention of turning professional.

The arbiters of misconduct and the decision makers were the officers of each club. Usually officers consisted of presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurers and committee members.<sup>56</sup> In the years 1845 to 1860, club officers from Class 2 dominated sports clubs, (Table 3) and were consistently over-represented in terms of percentages of members versus percentage of club officers. Despite declining percentages of members, Class 2 officers continued to be over-represented from 1870 to 1885 (Figure 10) only surpassed by Class 3 in 1885. (Table 3) Although Class 2

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<sup>56</sup> As clubs increased in size they appointed other officers such as auditors, commodores, vice-commodores, 1st lieutenants, 2nd lieutenants, buglers, financial secretaries, fixtures secretaries, assistant secretaries and treasurers and board members.

control slipped from 1880 to 1885 in response to increasing participation and officer representation from Class 3, its legacy of bourgeois attitudes toward sport remained.

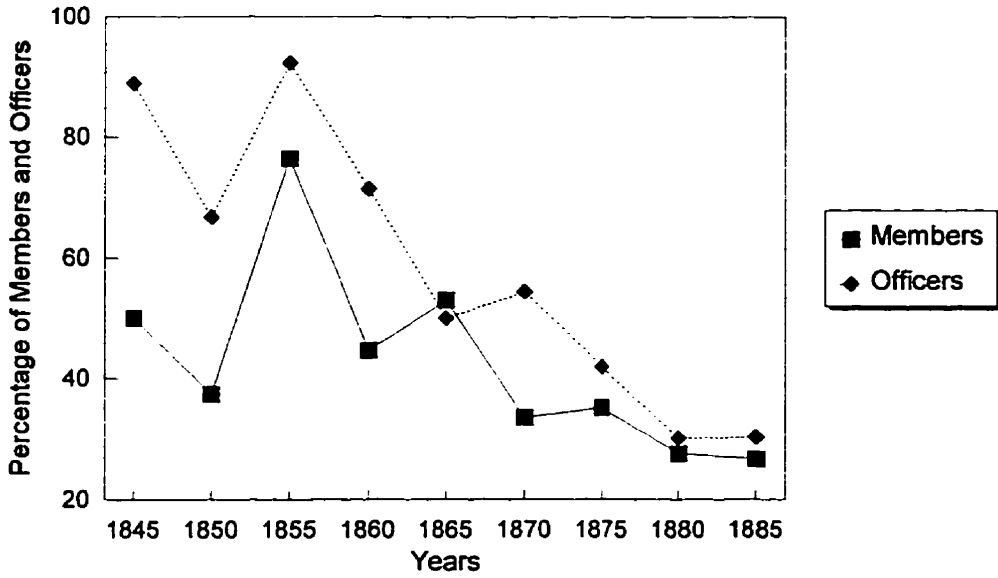
Table 3  
Occupational Classification of Club Officers 1845-1885  
in %

	Cl. 1	Cl. 2	Cl. 3	Cl. 4	Cl. 5
1845	0	88.9	11.1	0	0
1850	0	66.7	33.3	0	0
1855	0	92.3	7.7	0	0
1860	5.7	71.4	14.3	5.7	2.9
1865	0	50.0	34.1	13.6	2.3
1870	0.8	54.5	32.5	4.1	8.1
1875	2.3	42.0	33.3	13.5	9.0
1880	0.3	30.2	29.3	35.1	5.1
1885	0.1	30.4	38.2	21.0	10.2

The increasing numbers of Class 3 members and their control was reflected in the rising percentage of Class 3 club officers. (Table 3) After 1855, Class 3 was over-represented every year among club officers. (Figure 11) In contrast, Class 5 was consistently under-represented from 1860 when blue-collar workers first appeared as club members. (Figure 12) Although their increasing numbers and percentages of members indicates a process of democratization taking place, their lack of representation at the management level indicates the reverse. Power remained with the bourgeoisie and the white-collar workers whose interests they served.

An examination of individual major sports in terms of numbers playing, from 1875 to 1885, further refutes theories of democratization. Curling, despite its aspirations of egalitarianism, remained the domain of Class 2 with only

**Figure 10**  
**Percentage of Class 2 Members and Officers 1845 - 1885**



**Figure 11**  
**Percentage of Class 3 Members and Officers 1845 - 1885**

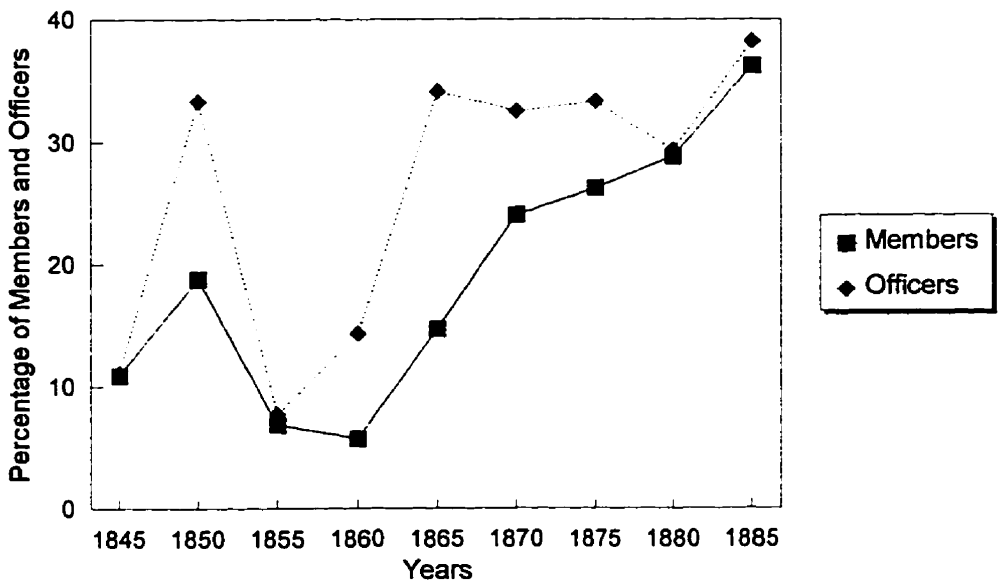
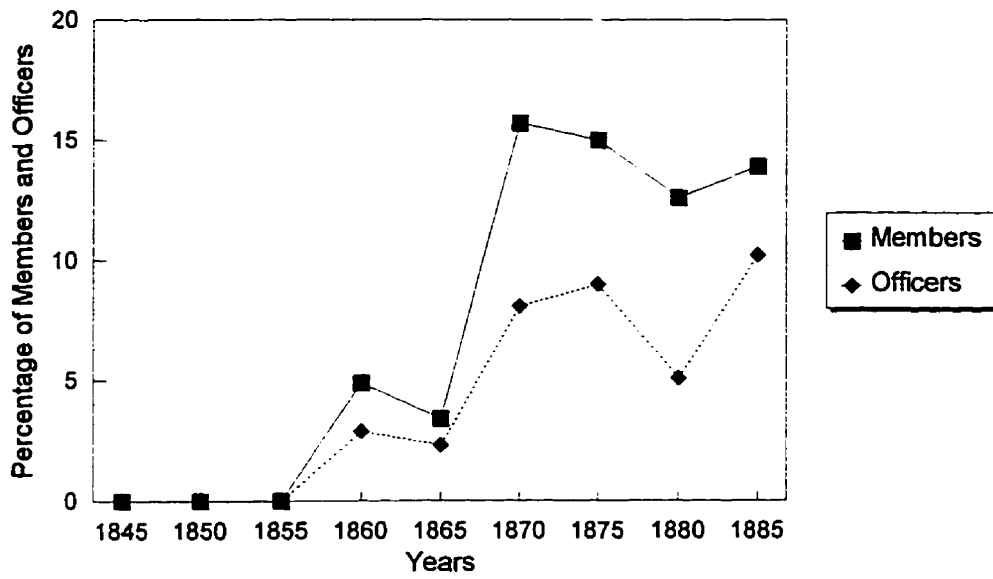




Figure 12

Percentage of Class 5 Members and Officers 1845 - 1885

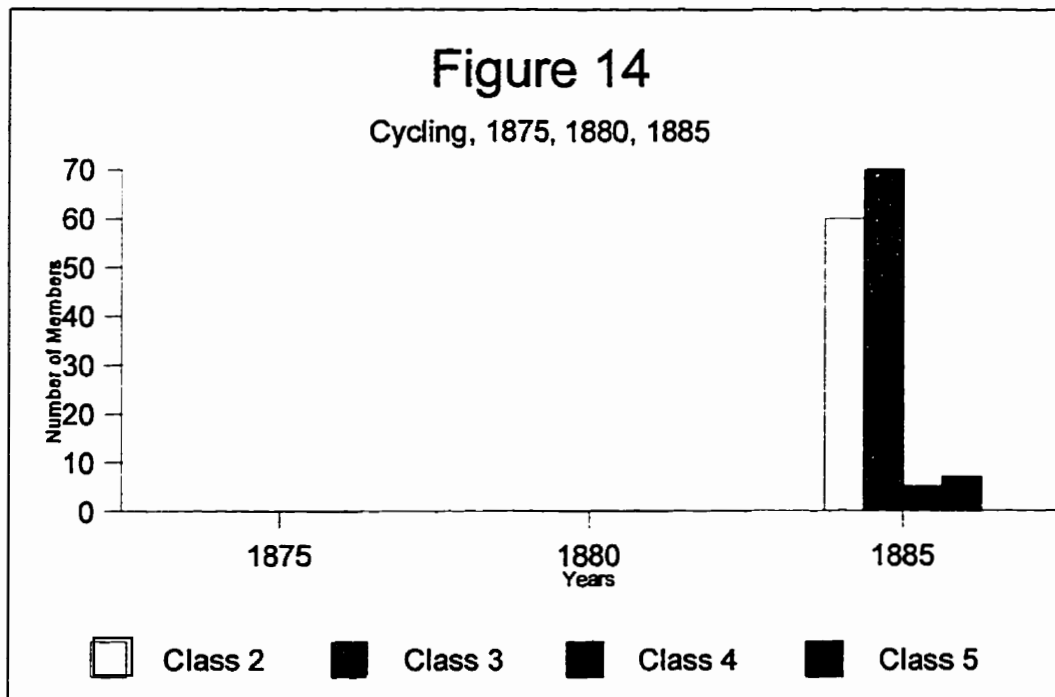
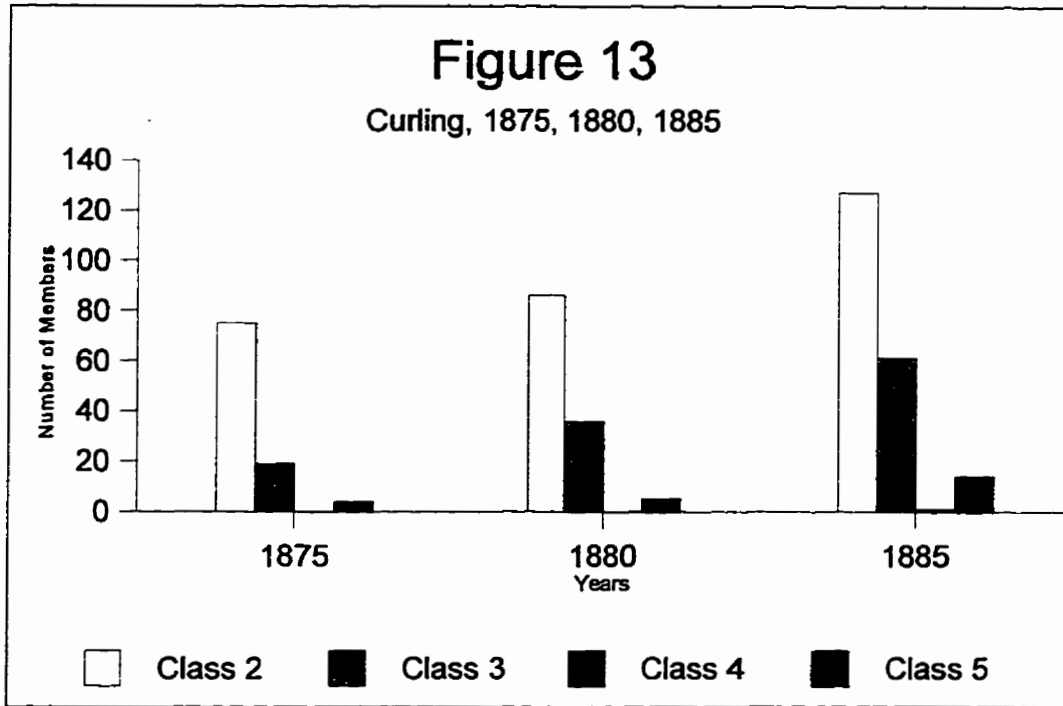


about half the number of Class 3 and few Class 5 members. (Figure 13) Cycling, the fad of the 1880s with its expensive equipment and uniforms, was dominated by Class 2 and 3 members. (Figure 14) In 1880, football and rugby players were primarily students with Class 3 taking to the sports in 1885. (Figure 15) Class 5 cricketers and rowers had the lowest representation of the occupational classes throughout the years. (Figures 16, 17) In lacrosse, Class 5 players increasingly took to the game but were in a minority compared to Class 3 players. (Figure 18) Only in baseball were Class 5 players in the majority in 1875 and 1880. (Figure 19) By 1885, however, as the sport gained societal approval, Class 2 and 3 players formed teams to play in the business sponsored city league. Although blue-collar workers played sport in the late 1870s and 1880s, significant participation was limited to rowing, lacrosse and baseball.

Just as working-class athletes were initially pejoratively labelled professionals, baseball - the sport they dominated - became the target for bourgeois criticism. In a quote attributed to "one writer of the period" Louis Cauz indicates the prevailing attitudes: "Cricket is for elders; lacrosse is for younger socialites; but baseball is just a sandlot sport played by undesirables."<sup>57</sup> The

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<sup>57</sup> Louis Cauz, Baseball's Back in Town (Toronto: Controlled Media, 1978), 11.



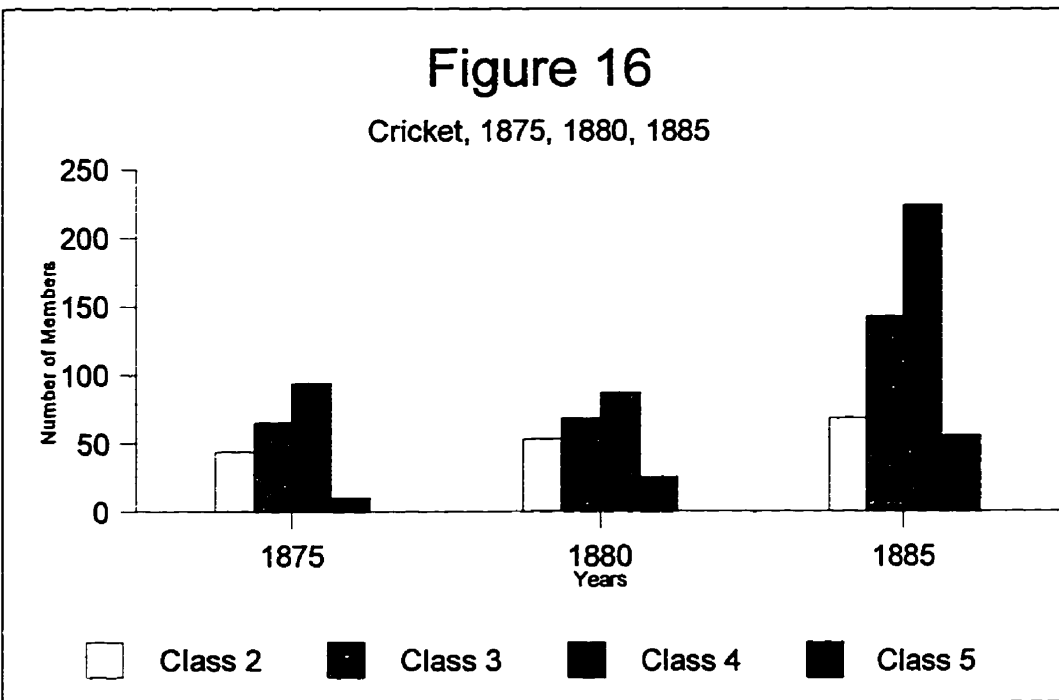
# Figure 15

Football, 1875, 1880, 1885



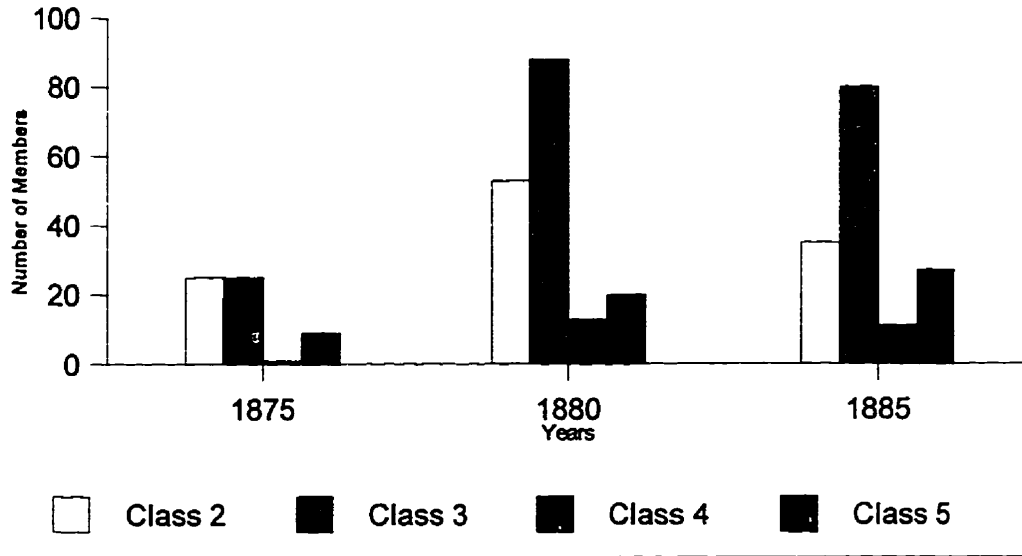
# Figure 16

Cricket, 1875, 1880, 1885



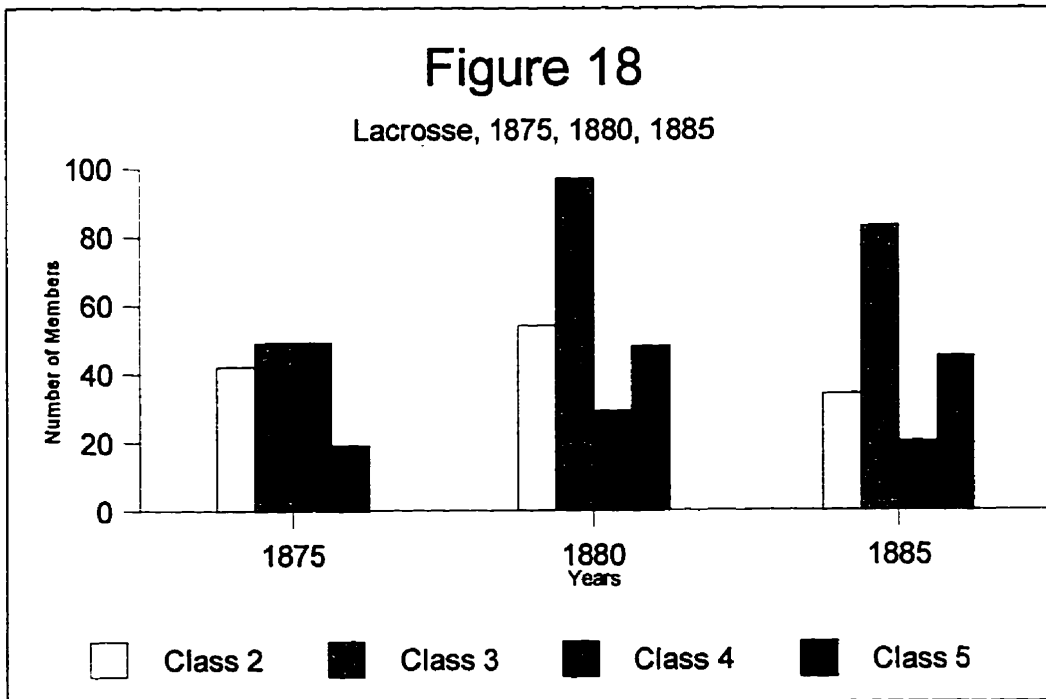
# Figure 17

Rowing, 1875, 1880, 1885



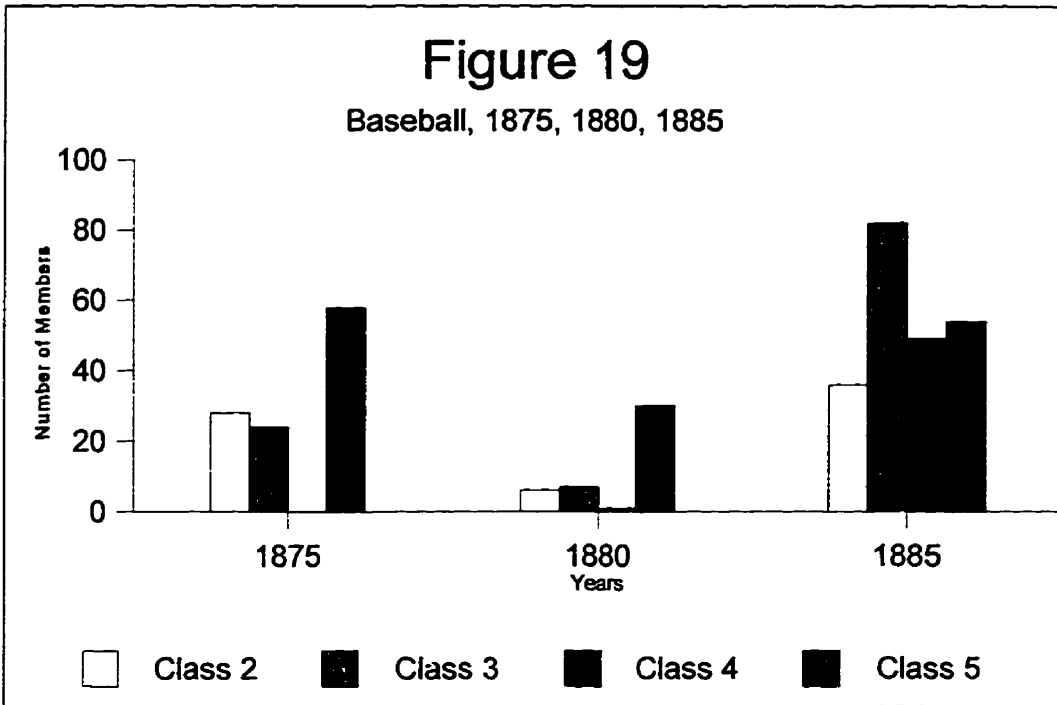
# Figure 18

Lacrosse, 1875, 1880, 1885



# Figure 19

Baseball, 1875, 1880, 1885



supposedly disreputable nature of the game was established early. In 1871, the Toronto Lacrosse Club, at the invitation of ex-Torontonian, Erastus Wiman, travelled to Brooklyn to play a series of exhibition matches. Samuel Hughes, Canada's Minister of Defence during World War I, provided the following report:

[While] in Brooklyn the twelve visited a game of baseball played by two well-known clubs - the Eckfords of Brooklyn and the Red Stockings of Boston - and found that among the spectators, there were few besides the Toronto boys who were not engaged in gambling, buying and selling pools on the game and betting; whereas highly respectable assemblages of ladies and gentlemen witnessed the lacrosse matches and the "rough" element was conspicuous by its absence.<sup>58</sup>

While blue-collar workers numerically dominated baseball the attacks continued. In 1878, the Globe attributed the demise of Hamilton's Standard Baseball Club, to the "preponderance of roughs and dead-heads at the matches."<sup>59</sup> In 1881, attitudes toward the game began to change. A game between the Toronto Baseball Club and the Independents of Montreal, drew six-hundred spectators among them "ladies, clergymen, wholesale merchants, and other prominent people." Now here was news! The game received its official state blessing with the Lieutenant-Governor's attendance at the opening of "Sunlight Park" in 1886. By that time bourgeois and white-collar players had taken up the game.

If social barriers mitigated against working-class club

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<sup>58</sup> Globe, 9 August 1871.

<sup>59</sup> Globe, 27 July 1878.

members in sport, then, with the rise of commercial sport, social sanctions relaxed for other forms of participation. Clubs and sports dependent on gate receipts like lacrosse and baseball sought working-class patronage, under certain conditions. Commercial enterprises also sought customers with the price of admission but their motivation for profit was mediated by social considerations. The cross-class winter and summer recreations of skating and swimming posed particular and representative problems for entrepreneurs and promoters and focused conflictual events.

When commercial rinks were still comparatively new, complaints emerged about the breaking of unwritten laws about who should be admitted and who should be excluded. These induced proprietors to take action. In the winter of 1864, a soldier wrote to a newspaper complaining of treatment he received from officials at the Toronto Skating Rink. A week after he paid two dollars for a season pass they offered to refund his money as "the dignity of the rink was lowered by [his] admission" and that his presence had "given offense to the other subscribers." Unless he hid his uniform, managers told him, he would be denied access to the ice. He claims to have overheard disparaging remarks such as: "Oh dear! are common soldiers allowed to skate on this rink?"<sup>60</sup> Two years later another letter confirmed the

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<sup>60</sup> Globe, 13 January 1864.



rinks' exclusionary policies. Calling for "the better informed" to "unite to break down the barriers," the writer complained that soldiers and non-commissioned officers were "debarred from the enjoyment of an evening's amusement."<sup>61</sup>

Toward the end of the 1870s, social qualification for admittance at rinks relaxed as more opened and competed for business, but prejudices remained. In 1882, despite a slow season in which rinks were poorly patronized, managers denied access at both the Adelaide rink of the Toronto Curling Club and the College Street rink to two black men. A liberal editorial condemned this action and called on Toronto citizens to boycott the rinks until "narrow social prejudices" were "wiped away."<sup>62</sup> Response, at least in the public press, was not forthcoming.

If in the mid-1880s in Toronto, black men, common soldiers, labourers, poor immigrants and other marginalized groups were denied membership and access to rinks they could participate elsewhere. A rink opened at St. Mary's and Vincent, in the heart of the working-class St. John's ward. If workers could not afford admission they could skate on the Don or on the bay. But even on common ice the precedent for social distinction and conflict existed:

Allow me through the medium of your journal to call the attention of the authorities to the fact that there is a gang of young rowdies from near the Rolling Mill, who

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<sup>61</sup> Globe, 22 January 1866.

<sup>62</sup> Globe, 9 January 1882.

make it a practice upon holidays and leisure times to go upon the Don, and annoy any persons, who by their respectable appearance etc. may excite their malice, by tripping them up, scoffing and jeering and upon remonstrance being made, will fall upon the party and beat him unmercifully with their shinty sticks. There have been several persons most shamefully maltreated this way. On Christmas Day a young man who went to separate his brother and one of these rowdies who was annoying him was knocked down and beaten until he was senseless.<sup>63</sup>

Although the writer suggested that the City Fathers appoint policemen to patrol the problem area, the crowds and the melee on the ice made control impossible. Between Christmas and New Year 1863, "several thousand persons" skated on the bay. The go-where-you-will nature of skating, the varying degrees of ability, the number of skaters and onlookers on the ice from all levels of society, and the propensity to solve differences with violence ensured disturbances continued. On New Year's Day 1866, a number of "ladies and gentlemen" celebrated the occasion with a skating party on the Don. Encountering "a few roughs who seemed bent on mischief" they retreated, but one was tripped and fell heavily on the ice. One of the "roughs" tried to kick the fallen man in the head. The intervention by one of the "gentlemen" prevented him but in the resulting melee the "roughs" felled another of the party. While laying on the ice the second man was kicked in the face "and his brow laid open by the point of a skate".<sup>64</sup> Such occurrences prompted

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<sup>63</sup> Globe, 27 December 1863.

<sup>64</sup> Globe, 3 January 1866.

police action but many "respectable" middle-class skaters took matters into their own hands and separated themselves by buying prohibitively priced memberships with exclusive skating rinks.

Similar problems faced swimming pool entrepreneurs. The formation of the city's first swim club in the mid-1870s initiated the growth in acceptance, popularity and patronage of pools. In July 1875, Captain W. D. Andrews formed the Dolphin Swimming Club which held its activities on the bay. After differences of opinion some club members formed the Toronto Swimming Club in the early 1880s and held their activities at Hanlan's Point on Toronto Island. Both clubs encouraged men and women to make use of the swimming facilities, watch the races and exhibitions, and use the instruction that each club offered.

Public interest in swimming prompted entrepreneurs and others with a social agenda to promote the building of pools. Erastus Wiman, ex-Toronto Alderman and philanthropist, entrenched swimming pools in the Toronto economy and class structure. Although not explicitly stated, the inculcation of temperance and respectability were Wiman's goals. In 1882, he pledged money for the creation of a park in the city on the condition that the number of licenses for "grog shops would decrease." In 1881, he offered \$10,000 for the construction of two floating swimming baths, one at the east end of Toronto

Island and one at the foot of Frederick Street on the mainland. For "Toronto's less affluent citizens"<sup>65</sup> the baths would be free. Wiman's munificence was duly accepted by City Council, which awarded local builder Joseph McBean the contract to build the Frederick Street baths at a cost of \$5,000.00. Designed with sixty-four dressing rooms and a float of eight pontoons, twelve foot high planks on the perimeter protected the modesty of bathers. Next month the Wiman Trust, set up by City Council to oversee the pools, invited tenders for the construction of the baths at the east end of Toronto Island.

While a storm delayed opening day for the baths on the Island, the baths at the foot of Frederick Street opened in time for the season. In August, six-hundred customers a day used the facility.<sup>66</sup> In July 1882, the baths on the Island opened and in celebration the Dolphin Swim Club held a swim meet and a thousand spectators lined the shore to watch the races. Later, visitors toured the building designed by Canadian National Exhibition architect Mark Hall and were impressed with the structure that could accommodate from 200 to 300 bathers.<sup>67</sup> Initially, problems occurred travelling to the Island as steamers ran sporadically, but two weeks

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<sup>65</sup> Sally Gibson, More than an Island: A History of Toronto Island (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1984), 91.

<sup>66</sup> Globe, 1 August 1882.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

later the Trust commissioned the "Toronto Belle" to run between the Church Street wharf and the bath on the Island. The hourly service ran from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m., and cost bathers 25 cents.

The expense, time necessary for a swim and the desire to distance themselves from working-class patrons using the Frederick Street baths, dictated that the middle-class, particularly women, became the main clientele for the Island baths. In 1884, C. Pelham Mulvany wrote that during the season "many a hundred of Toronto's fair visitors and yet fairer daughters" visited the baths, where:

in lovely and close fitting array, more becoming than any ball dress, the maids of our city disport in the shallows and under careful guidance venture in the rudiments of swimming. There after the bath these maids may be seen reclining, book in hand, on strand or green sward, or chattering to girl friend or boy comrade as they sun their wave tossed hair.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to the Island baths becoming a middle-class preserve, they facilitated the taming of a traditionally boisterous working-class recreational venue. Mulvany reported that "[a] few years before, there had been a great deal of rowdyism; not only on weekdays but on Sundays, the bars and groceries were crowded by the lowest class of roughs; near these haunts it was not safe for a lady to venture."<sup>69</sup> A week after the opening of the pool and the

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<sup>68</sup> C. Pelham Mulvany, Toronto: Past and Present (Toronto: W. E. Caiger, 1884), 265.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

resulting patronage by the middle class, the city campaigned to ensure respectability. Police announced that those bathing without a suit on the Island would be fined. In September, after reports that 1,000 people a day used the baths, City Council appointed a caretaker and a Constable to maintain order. The following year, in eliminating "rowdy young men and their questionable female associates"<sup>70</sup> from rowing over from the city "in boats well furnished with liquor,"<sup>71</sup> city council withdrew all liquor licenses from the Island and threatened charges against anyone drinking.

The success of the Wiman venture on the Island generated improvements to the existing facility and created other businesses that intended capitalizing on and reinforcing middle-class patronage. The Trust appointed James B. Marshall, manager of the baths and lessee of the refreshment booths. Landscapers graded the grounds and planted flowers and trees. Lighting allowed night bathing. Swimming master Captain Andrews offered lessons. New shelters and sidewalks kept spectators dry during rainstorms and bathers' feet from becoming muddy. A lengthened swimming area, by eighty feet, created more space for the swimmers. Three steamers the "Arlington", "Jessie McEdwards" and "Canadian" transported the crowds. The cost of such improvements, \$1,400, was paid by the Wiman Bath

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<sup>70</sup> Globe, 15 August 1882.

<sup>71</sup> Mulvany, Toronto, 265.

Trust.

Seeking further improvements, in 1884, the Trust negotiated with William Ward for the lease of his hotel for four months of the year. Ward built the hotel in 1882 close to the baths to take advantage of the crowds. Sally Gibson suggests that "the three storey hotel offered sixty-foot long verandas and a four storey tower from which guests could admire the antics of frolicking bathers in the bay .... And family members could keep an eye out for The Law as they sold illegal alcoholic drinks in the hotel below."<sup>72</sup> By 1884, Ward attempted to legalize his operation by applying for a license. Concerned by this development, the Trust instructed the city solicitor to offer Ward \$600 for the four months. If Ward refused, the Trust intended to "double the capacity of their own refreshment rooms where refreshments will then be had at reasonable rates" in an effort to drive Ward out of business or at least limit the amount of alcohol sold.

Edward Hanlan and James Beaty an ex-mayor of Toronto, seeking to emulate the financial success of the east Island entrepreneurs, applied to lease beach front property to the west of Hanlan's hotel. Unfortunately, Hanlan's credibility had worn thin with Toronto's politicians and civic-minded men. With a bourgeois, temperance-minded reformer funding operations at one end of the Island and civic, judicial and

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<sup>72</sup> Gibson, More Than Just an Island, 93.

law enforcement interests imposing temperance and conformity on inhabitants and visitors, the possibility of City Council granting Hanlan, an individual tainted by liquor scandals, a license to operate a business in proximity to his hotel was remote. Accordingly, in May 1884, City By-Law 1372 granted Peter McIntyre a ten year lease for 500 feet of lake front on a strip of land west of Hanlan's point.<sup>73</sup> Council stipulated the condition that the operation be alcohol-free.

Success at the middle-class Island baths did not translate into success for the working-class baths at the foot of Frederick Street. Only a year after opening, observers reported it in "filthy condition" with "piles of manure" and "garbage" in evidence.<sup>74</sup> Political efficacy of the clientele and the revenue generating potential of the facility explains the decline. As common labourers earned \$1.60 per day for their toil, a trip to the Island with its incumbent expense was out of the question for them or their families. Able to afford little after paying for the necessities of living, the working class supplied limited potential for generating profit from the sales of refreshments, meals or reading materials. Furthermore, workers' lack of political power made improvements to the Frederick Street baths low on the political priority list.

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<sup>73</sup> By-Law 1372, Toronto City Council Minutes 1884 (Toronto: E. F. Clarke, 1885), 229.

<sup>74</sup> Globe, 29 June 1883.



Without middle-class support, either financial or municipal, the baths fell into disrepair.

As doors swung closed for recreations for workers due to legislative and municipal edicts and doors remained bolted by class discrimination, other opportunities for working-class sport opened. Tavern sports flourished. Picnics and outings revealed the possibilities inherent in physical exercise. Many trotting races welcomed anyone with a horse and the entrance fee. Hunt clubs organized by saloon keepers drew members whose sole qualification was ownership of a dog and a gun. "Black Bob" Berry, the rower and skater, broke the colour bar in the 1860s and "coloured" and native athletes periodically participated in regattas and pedestrian events. Cricket and baseball clubs, formed and run by employers, offered working men the opportunity to play, if under paternalistic conditions. Other clubs with national, church, union, profession, area, employee and craft affiliations provided workers with the chance to run for club officers and organize according to their own agendas. Despite overt and covert bourgeois initiatives, working-class sport emerged during the 1870s and 1880s.

In a 1975 paper Gareth Stedman Jones warned historians about the pitfalls of viewing the development of popular recreations as either "class expression" or "social control." At that time, the concentration of studies on the latter resulted in his assessment that:

[i]t as if class conflict in England has been a largely one-sided affair conducted by capitalism and its representatives; as if the rural and urban masses, like the newborn child in Locke's psychology, were simply a blank page upon which each successive stage of capitalism has successfully imposed its imprint.<sup>75</sup>

In nineteenth-century Toronto, industrialization, the march of capital and the resulting consolidation of class divisions affected sport's development. Consequently, it is difficult to argue with Wayne Simpson's conclusion that "sport ... was relegated to class control."<sup>76</sup> Yet sport was also a source of inspiration for the working class. For working-class players and spectators, sport had significance. Unlike politics, commerce or yachting, which remained the domain of the bourgeoisie, sport provided an opportunity to compete and heighten the sense of self-esteem. Even the informal games at picnics provided a means for displaying athletic prowess. In addition, common values were reinforced and identity forged from mutually supportive attitudes and activities. By playing or identifying with and supporting one of the local teams, workers could enjoy a brief respite from the rigours and monotony of the factory schedule. Whether baseball ever achieved the social

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<sup>75</sup> Gareth Stedman Jones, "Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of the Trends in the Social History of Leisure," chap. in Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), 78.

<sup>76</sup> Robert Wayne Simpson, "The Elite and Sport Club Membership in Toronto 1827-1881," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta 1987), v.

significance of soccer in England which Bill Baker described as a "warm blanket covering the cold fact of political impotence"<sup>77</sup> is moot. Nevertheless, sport was, in part, the expression of working-class identity and collective consciousness within preexisting parameters determined by a capitalist economy. The interplay of these factors formed the context in which sport and class interacted, and in which the rowing career of world champion, Edward Hanlan, unfolded.

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<sup>77</sup> William J. Baker, "The Making of a Working-Class Football Culture in Victorian England," Journal of Social History 13 (1979): 248.

Appendix A

Class 2

Agent	Architect	Artist
Art Merch.	Auditor	Bicycle Merch.
Bishop	Broker	Butcher
Canned Goods Merch.	Carpet Merch.	Chemist
Chief Justice	Chief of Police	Chimney Insp.
City Assessor	City Auditor	City Clerk
City Registrar	City Treasurer	Clerk of Assizes
Commandant	Commissioner	County Clerk
Collector	Confectioner	Court Recorder
Court Registrar	Crown Land Officer	Curate
Customs Officer	Harbour Master	Deputy Purveyor
Drover	Druggist	Dry Goods Merch.
Engineer	Fancy Goods Merch.	Fishing Tackle
Fruit Dealer	Flour Insp.	Flour Merch.
Furniture Merch.	Grain Merch.	Grocer
Gunsmith	Hardware Merch.	Hatter
Headmaster	Horse Dealer	Horse Trainer
Importer	Inspector-General	Investment Broker
Jeweller	Jobber	Judge
Justice of the Peace	Land Agent	Leather Merch.
License Insp.	Liquor Merch.	Lumber Merch.
Map Agent	Marine Captain	Marine Insp.
Mayor	Mechanical Supt.	M.P.P.
Military Officer	Mining Agent	Mining Broker
Music Publisher	Oarsman	Optician
Organ Merch.	Pastor	Pawnbroker
Police Insp.	Postmaster	Post Office
Inspector	Photographer	President
Principal	Prison Insp.	Probability Off.
Professor	Proprietor	Prov. Auditor
Public School Insp.	Railroad Insp.	Reverend
Saddler	Secretary	Sexton
Sheriff	Ship Owner	Shipping Merch.
Solicitor-General	Stationary Merch.	Stockbroker
Sugar Merch.	Supt. of Education	Tea Merch.
Trustee	U. S. Consul	Supt.
Tax Collector	Tobacconist	Trader
Treasurer	Watchmaker	Weights Insp.
Wharfinger	Wine Merch.	Wood Carver
Wood Merch.		

Class 3

Accountant	Appraiser	Assessor
Bookkeeper	Buyer	Canvasser
Cashier	Checker	Clerk
Collector	Compiler	Court House Crier
Court House Usher	Detective	Draughtsman
Editor	Elocutionist	Foreman
Gym Instructor	Journalist	Jockey
Ledgerkeeper	Manager	Musician
Observatory Asst.	Observer	Operator
Organist	Phonographer	Piano Seller
Regulator	Reporter	Representative
Salesman	Shorthand Writer	Stenographer
Steward	Teacher	Telegraph Operator
Telephone Operator	Train Despatcher	Teller
Traveller		

Class 5

Attendant	Baggageman	Bartender
Blacksmith	Bookbinder	Bottler
Box Maker	Brakeman	Brass Founder
Brewer	Bricklayer	Broom Maker
Cabinet Maker	Cabman	Car Driver
Caretaker	Car Repairer	Carpenter
Carter	Carver	Case Maker
China Decorator	Cigar Maker	Coachman
Compositor	Conductor	Confectioner
Cook	Cooper	Core Maker
Cutter	Driver	Dyer
Engine Driver	Engraver	Expressman
Finisher	Fireman	Fisherman
Gas Fitter	Gardener	Gilder
Groom	Guard	Hackman
House Mover	Janitor	Labourer
Lamp Maker	Lather	Letter Carrier
Lighthouse Keeper	Lithographer	Longshoreman
Machinist	Maltster	Mariner
Mason	Messenger	Milkman
Moulder	Mounter	Nurseryman
Packer	Packing Case Maker	Painter
Pattern Maker	Piano Finisher	Piano Maker
Plasterer	Plumber	Policeman
Police Sgt.	Polisher	Porter
Pressman	Printer	Roofer
Sailor	Sausage Maker	Shipper
Shoemaker	Silver Plater	Skate Maker
Sorter	Steamfitter	Stonecutter
Stone Driller	Switchman	Tailor
Teamster	Tinner	Tinsmith
Trunk Maker	Tuck Pointer	Tuner
Turner	Upholsterer	Varnisher
Watchman	Yardman	

## Chapter VII

Edward Hanlan

Edward Hanlan: "An oarsman to the manor born."  
Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 15 Sept. 1876.

It might be as well right here to disabuse the public mind of the impression that Hanlan and his friends row races just for the fun of the thing and the public's amusement. They, in common with all other people similarly engaged, look upon his matches as business affairs - matters of dollars and cents.  
Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 12 July 1878.

A month before the opening of "Sunlight Park" in 1886, the world heavyweight boxing champion, John L. Sullivan, arrived drunk at the Rossin House, Toronto. Sullivan, a brawler of enormous reputation, won the title in 1882, and over the next ten year defended it in bar rooms and arenas throughout the United States, France, England, Ireland and Australia. Among those that called at the hotel the following day to pay their respects to the "Boston Strong Boy", were John Francis Scholes and Edward Hanlan. Scholes, a pugilist of slightly less modest achievement and an outstanding athlete in rowing, snowshoeing and lacrosse advised and at the time trained Canada's most famous individual, rower Edward Hanlan, the "Boy in Blue".

Sullivan's wife turned the callers away claiming that her husband was recovering from the journey and preparing for an exhibition at the Horticultural Gardens with Lester

and Allen's minstrels. In reality Sullivan was "sleeping it off." Hanlan's and Sullivan's paths must have crossed during the visit as their relationship, over the years, developed from acquaintanceship to friendship.

Unfortunately, their conversation was not recorded. It may have covered their Irish backgrounds, their working-class families, their scrapes with the law and the establishment, the prejudices each faced and the attitudes of bourgeois society toward professional athletes. Gambling on one another's athletic contests probably entered the conversation as each liked a wager. Or they may have reminisced about two years earlier in San Francisco. At that time, Sullivan gave boxing exhibitions and Hanlan, clad in a scant costume, posed as a living statue of a Roman gladiator on a pedestal on the stage of the San Francisco Theatre. The five hundred dollars a week pay did little to sooth his ego as San Franciscans, not attuned to such progressive art, or perhaps wise to such hucksterism, were derisive and the exhibition was "laughed at by the whole town."<sup>1</sup> Two years later, Sullivan had a similar act. Described as a "highly intellectual and refined" performance, he posed as a living representation of ancient and modern statuary.<sup>2</sup> Whatever topics their conversation covered, they certainly discussed making money. In a

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<sup>1</sup> Globe, 13 February 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Mail, 1 April 1886.



hostile capitalist environment that militated against working-class Irishmen succeeding, both controlled, promoted and capitalized on their only assets, their labour and fame.

Despite their similarities, ten years after his last fight Sullivan, in ill-health, declared bankruptcy, a victim of inept management, adroit tippling and years of suffering the consequences of resisting the conformities of polite society. Hanlan, in contrast, despite a streak of self-destruction that included larceny, a furious temper, an over-fondness for food and alcohol, parlayed and consolidated his athletic fame and fortune. Astute enough to accommodate to the dictates of bourgeois hegemony that might further his interests, yet strong-willed enough to resist those that compromised his autonomy, Hanlan was simply a working-class product of his times.

This chapter traces Hanlan's early life and rowing career. Specifically, it examines his working-class origins, his indenture to capital, the division of his work and his alienation from the product of his labour. Lastly, it studies the circumstances of Hanlan's seizing control of the means of his production and the initial problems he faced as master of his own destiny. The development of rowing as a commercial enterprise and the commodification of Hanlan's performance provides the backdrop for the analysis. In many senses Hanlan's rowing career serves as a metaphor for the developing dialectic between labour and capital and

class relations in the nineteenth century with one significant difference, he escaped the clutches of the moneyed men exploiting him. Much like the preindustrial craftsman's work, initially Hanlan rowed for pleasure, chose where and when to compete, under what circumstances, with and against whom. His association with the Hanlan Club, a group of moneyed men intent on capitalising on their investment, gradually compromised that autonomy. During the years of the Club's management, Hanlan, displaying characteristic working-class behaviour, accommodated and resisted their exploitation. Despite his resistance, he became estranged from the product of his labour. The Club assumed responsibility for the direction of his career, who he rowed against, how many times he rowed, how much he won by, in some cases, how much he rowed for, perhaps even who won and if he rowed at all. The employment of trainers and equipment managers, the Club suggested, relieved Hanlan of mundane tasks and allowed him to concentrate on competition. Although credited with Hanlan's meteoric rise to fame this powerful influence eroded his control. It reduced Hanlan's influence over the duration and intensity of his training and how he organized it. Further, the Club purchased the tools of his trade, the shells, oars, oarlocks and outriggers. During his early years, rowing personified Hanlan's life. He made a living as a fisherman and rowed for pleasure. Racing with his fisherman friends provided

social gratification and personal identity. Later his races became a means to an end. He rowed for extrinsic reward rather than intrinsic expression.

Sport historian Don Morrow describes Hanlan as a "rather shadowy character" whose "Irish lower-class family background did not endear him to Toronto's snobbish upper- or middle-class British sportsmen ...."<sup>3</sup> The reasons for Hanlan's equivocal relationship with society, however, went beyond his humble origins. In an age that wholeheartedly embraced the potential of progress and capitalist development, Hanlan presented an enigma. Victorian Toronto equated wealth with respectability. Hanlan's wealth was undeniable, but his veneer of respectability was only thick enough to maintain the adoration of the masses and thin enough to earn the censure of the bourgeoisie. In puritan Toronto, work presented the means to respectability and salvation but rowing hardly appeased the work ethic. The bourgeoisie revered success through hard work, perseverance and temperance, but to many hippodroming, chicanery and the abrogation of the ideals of manly sport characterised Hanlan's rise to wealth and fame. Perhaps worse, Hanlan incorporated, took advantage of and laid bare the exploitive excesses of a capitalist economy. Despite control mechanisms designed to keep the classes in place, Hanlan

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<sup>3</sup> Don Morrow, "Of Leadership and Excellence: Rubenstein, Hanlan, and Cyr," chap. in A Concise History of Sport in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 32.

used the axioms of capitalism to his own advantage thus providing an example for the working-class and alienating those who opposed the growth of democracy.

As with many poor immigrant families, the circumstances of Hanlan's early years on Toronto Island are sketchy and accounts of the rower's childhood often contradictory.<sup>4</sup> Cosentino in a brief biography claims that the family squatted at Mugg's Landing and later purchased a hotel where Hanlan was born on July 12, 1855.<sup>5</sup> Sally Gibson, in her history of Toronto Island, agrees with the birth date but claims that the family moved to the east end of the island when Hanlan was an infant. Sometime around 1865, after losing their home in a gale, the family, seeking a safer place to build, moved to the western end of the island. Here they constructed a hotel that served as Hanlan's headquarters until he moved to the mainland in 1880.

For at least eight years before Hanlan's birth, his father, John, fished the waters around the Island. His name appears as one of a group of fishermen, including John and

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<sup>4</sup> Even Hanlan's birthplace and date cannot be determined absolutely. J. W. Campbell's elegy cites 14 July 1855 as the date of birth. J. W. Campbell, "Edward Hanlan", 1908 Broadside, Baldwin Room, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto. The Globe in a report of Hanlan's death mentions his birth on Hanlan's Point on the same date. Globe, 4 January 1908. In 1876, the Leader reported that he had been born in 1854. Leader, 7 September 1876. The Evening Telegram claimed that Hanlan was born in Toronto General Hospital and the family came from Owen Sound. Evening Telegram, 4 January 1908.

<sup>5</sup> Frank Cosentino, Ned Hanlan (Don Mills: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1978), 7.

David Ward and James Durnan, who petitioned against the 1846 application of William Geddes for a seven year monopoly over the profitable fishing grounds around the western part of the Island. Geddes employed about thirty men and sought control of the Island's fishing industry by buying the nets and boats of independent fishermen including two of those that petitioned against him. After much political manoeuvring, in 1849, city officials granted Geddes a seven year lease. Hanlan and the other small fishermen bitterly resented Geddes, city council, the loss of their traditional fishing grounds and the threat to their income. In the face of competition from a well-capitalized business with political connections, resistance subsided and the fishermen eked their living from less productive areas.<sup>6</sup>

The harsh physical geography of the Island, a close family life that adapted to it, and the working-class fraternity of fishermen formed the environment of Hanlan's early life. In 1863, his mother died and his younger brother and sister were left in the care of their elder sister. The ties and alliances formed between father, brothers, sisters and friends during this difficult period were evident throughout Hanlan's life. Despite his frequent absences, family and community were of paramount importance to him. The hotel at the point provided a haven from the

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<sup>6</sup> An account of the "fishing wars" can be found in Sally Gibson, More Than an Island: A History of the Toronto Island (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1984), 52-55.

demands of a life in the public eye. Surrounded by avaricious promoters, big time gamblers, swindlers, shills and assorted hangers on, each seeking a piece of the champion's action, his family and life-long friends provided stability and trust.

John Hanlan did not row races but provided the opportunity for his sons to develop their rowing skills. He built a rowing shell out of a thick plank, whittled down the ends and fitted it with outriggers and a seat. In 1860, the Toronto Colonist with some license announced the future world champion, at the age of three and a half, would row across Toronto Bay to the mainland.<sup>7</sup> As a teenager and in later years Hanlan acknowledged his father's role in the development of his skills by naming one of his first shells, the "John Hanlan".

Hanlan accompanied his father to work and his long time association with the Island's fishermen attests to an affinity and bond with the group. John Hanlan's friends became his son's, and family ties forged in the "fishing wars" of the mid-1840s were continued and honoured by Hanlan until his death. The Ward and Durnan families, John Hanlan's co-petitioners, played a central role in his life. James Ward supplied financial backing during the rower's early years and David Ward initially became the rower's

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<sup>7</sup> Toronto Colonist, 6 September 1860. Reprinted in Evening Telegram, 12 October 1878. Hanlan was probably five at the time.

financial manager, friend and confidant. The Durnan family, lighthouse keepers on Hanlan's Point, were also interwoven throughout his life. In 1872, Hanlan competed in his first official competition as part of a crew in a fishermen's race in the Toronto Rowing Club's regatta.<sup>8</sup> As one of a crew of three, he rowed two miles for a purse of \$25 with Bob Berry, the black fisherman who worked for the Ward family, and J. Durnan, one of the sons of his father's fishermen friends.<sup>9</sup> After the turn of the century, Hanlan coached Eddie Durnan, American champion from 1905 to 1921 and son of his sister Emily. Threaded throughout his life were longtime friendships such as these. Although strained at times, his personal relationships extended beyond mere business or family obligations and transcended his later fame and wealth.

As loyal as Hanlan was to his friends, his animosity towards enemies also lasted for years. Almost lost in a

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<sup>8</sup> The regatta was not deemed a success as most of the prizes were won by rowers from Quebec. The championship of the bay went to Ed Boswell of the Lachine Rowing club in a walkover. As a result the Toronto Row Club suspended the regatta and only resumed the competition in 1877. At that time it cited the domination of professional rowers as the reason it suspended competition.

<sup>9</sup> Mail, 12 August 1872. In various reports of Hanlan's rowing career, 1871 is cited as the first year he rowed in a competitive race. Globe, 8 October 1877. Edward Hanlan: America's Champion Oarsman, (New York: Police Gazette, undated). His biographer, Frank Cosentino, also cites that date as the rower's initial race. Sally Gibson, cites 1871 as Hanlan's first race but comments that newspapers made no mention of his contribution. In reality, Hanlan did not compete until 1872.

report of the 1872 regatta in which Hanlan and his crew won the fisherman's race was a brief report of the Duck race.<sup>10</sup> Comic relief after a tense and exciting day of racing, the event consisted of rowers trying to catch a designated rower, the duck. The first to catch the duck won the prize. Paul Patillo, a rower and boxer, played the part of the duck and Hanlan and Durnan manned one of the chasing boats. After weaving around the steamers and pleasure craft, they rowed a collision course with Patillo's boat. Seeing the inevitability of an accident Patillo jumped out of his boat to avoid injury, much to the amusement of the crowd. Made the butt of the joke, Patillo must have confronted Hanlan and Durnan and exchanged heated words.

The episode in itself is minor and only an early example of Hanlan's win-at-all-cost attitude. In the context of an incident eight years later, however, it assumes greater significance. In August 1880, one month before an important race in Washington, a magistrate fined Hanlan, by then world champion, \$2.00, and bound him to keep the peace. On the night of the incident, Patillo and Maitland Ackroyd accompanied three young women to the Island. A witness, boat builder Henry Ackroyd, gave evidence that he:

... warned Patullo (sic) not to go to the Island as he was drunk and might get hammered. At the boathouse Patullo (sic) called Hanlan a thief and used most

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<sup>10</sup> Mail, 12 August 1872.



tantalizing language, after which Hanlan knocked him down and then put his finger in his eye. Witness called out "that won't do Ned, you must not gouge him".<sup>11</sup>

In his defense Hanlan claimed that Patillo and Ackroyd habitually brought women to the Island "whose company was objectionable" and admitted "taking the law into his own hands" but only for the purpose of keeping "loafers and jailbirds from the hotel."<sup>12</sup> At face value, Hanlan attempted to maintain Victorian propriety - an opinion the presiding magistrate took when he noted that "if Patullo did not take objectionable women over to Hanlan's hotel there would be no danger of a breach of the peace."<sup>13</sup> But the means by which Hanlan confronted Patillo suggested propriety disguised hostilities started previously. Furthermore, that Hanlan took matters into his own hands indicates a casual disregard for institutional law and an endorsement of vigilante action. His intention to "gouge" Patillo illustrated that Hanlan bore a grudge and that anger impaired his judgement, a character flaw that plagued and caused him public relations problems throughout his life.

Hanlan's method of attack provides insight into his nature and the environment in which he lived. Eye-gouging, an activity for settling old scores and establishing

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<sup>11</sup> Telegram, 8 April 1880.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Globe, 9 April 1880.

prestige among the mountain men of Tennessee and Virginia, had made its way north and fighting was a regular way of settling differences. Despite success, competitively, financially and socially, Hanlan only stood one step from his working class fisherman days with its violent ways of settling differences.

After the 1872 regatta, Hanlan achieved success and recognition although not as rapidly as contemporary accounts of his career suggest.<sup>14</sup> In September 1873, Hanlan competed in a skiff race in an International regatta on Toronto Bay. Rowing over one mile, he easily defeated his opponents, including Paul Patillo, for the prize of \$30.<sup>15</sup> The following July he first sculled in a racing shell, against Robert McKay and Sam Williams. Hanlan won after a close race with Williams who had just competed in the double sculls race. A month later, on Burlington Bay, demonstrating that the promise of money overrode personal animosity, Hanlan and Patillo won the double oared race.

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<sup>14</sup> Confusion exists over the sequence, dates and circumstances of Hanlan's races. Cosentino suggests Hanlan first rowed a shell in competition in 1873 against two well known Toronto scullers, Sam Williams and William McKen. Sally Gibson also endorses 1873 as the year the rower became champion of Toronto Bay. The Globe, 8 October 1877 relates 1873 as the year Hanlan defeated Sam Williams and Robert McKay. The only race in 1873 involving Hanlan that could be found, however, was a skiff race in September. The first race Hanlan rowed in a shell was his July, 1874 single scull club race, not the championship, against Williams and McKay. The championship that year was contested between the Tinning brothers and Colin Nurse.

<sup>15</sup> Leader, 4 September 1873.

Hanlan then faced Patillo and the well-known Thomas Louden for the championship of Burlington Bay. Despite his earlier race, Hanlan demonstrated stamina and skill and surprised Louden and the spectators by winning. Patillo failed to finish.<sup>16</sup>

His reputation as Ontario's best sculler in jeopardy, Louden challenged Hanlan to a match race on Toronto Bay. The distance, he insisted, would be one mile; short enough for skill and technique to defeat youthful stamina and strength. Backing his challenge with a stake of \$200 Louden sought to intimidate Hanlan. To a young fisherman \$200 represented a fortune far beyond his means. Hanlan turned to family friend James Ward. Self-styled champion pigeon shooter of Canada, Ward accumulated his money from pawnbroking, the stakes and bets from his matches, and the entrance fees at his exhibitions. Whatever the motivation, friendship or business acumen, Ward backed Hanlan. Initially beneficial, Ward's sponsorship proved a double-edged sword for the rower.

While the arrangement provided opportunity to row in a big race and dispel his reputation as an upstart, Hanlan's association with Ward tainted his fledgling career.

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<sup>16</sup> Hamilton Spectator, 24 August 1874. Cosentino claims that after Hanlan defeated Louden on Burlington bay a rematch was arranged which Hanlan won. Later, another race between the pair on 15 August 1874, also resulted in victory for Hanlan. Unfortunately Cosentino's sources are not cited and no record of these competitions could be found.

Pawnbrokers' reputations ranked with gamblers and money lenders and Ward's sport supported the stereotype of the tight lip, cold eye and stone heart. Pigeon shooting, popular in the late 1860 and early 1870s, came under middle-class attack by the mid-1870s. Labelled "cowardly" and "cruel", matches drew the attention of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. As the pigeon population declined, shooters substituted snowbirds, which incited further public censure. Gambling and the suggestion of fixing also turned the middle-class against competitions.<sup>17</sup> Throughout his career Hanlan could never shed entirely the stigma of association with James Ward and others of his ilk that succeeded him.

One month prior to the race with Loudon, Ward firmly established his relationship with Hanlan. In the Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, Ward crowed "I will back the boy Hanlon, (sic) of Toronto, for from one hundred up to one thousand dollars a side to row against any man in Ontario." At the same time he challenged anyone to a shooting match for not less than \$100.<sup>18</sup> Hanlan justified Ward's faith and finished the race from the foot of Parliament to Bay a beat and a half in front of his opponent. Following the race, Ward declared he would back

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<sup>17</sup> Globe, 23 January 1873. In one match gamblers offered \$25 to one of the competitors to fire blanks.

<sup>18</sup> Canadian Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 16 July 1875.

Hanlan for \$1,000 against anyone under twenty-one years of age in America,<sup>19</sup> and in the same week announced the opening of his new rifle gallery.<sup>20</sup> For the first time Hanlan rowed under financial obligation.

In 1876, Hanlan achieved fame and notoriety and caught the attention of the high stakes gamblers of the city. At the Toronto Rowing Club's regatta, he faced William McKen, a fellow fisherman, for the championship of the bay. Hanlan won the prize money but not without controversy. Soon after the start, McKen lost water as a skiff pulled in front of him.<sup>21</sup> Able to regain his composure he closed on Hanlan but the yacht "Oriole" impeded him again. Near the finish, the yacht sailed in the path of the two oarsmen. Hanlan, a few seconds ahead, steered a course round the bow but McKen had to wait until the vessel passed. As a result Hanlan won by twenty-two seconds. Judges and referees decreed Hanlan would have won despite the interference and awarded him the race. McKen accepted the decision and found consolation in the fishermen's race when he teamed with Hanlan and Alex Elliot to win easily. The greatest indignation was expressed by those that wagered on McKen and lost their money. Quickly forgotten, only in posterity cast in a different light by the context of concurrent and little-

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<sup>19</sup> Leader, 21 August 1875.

<sup>20</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 27 August 1875.

<sup>21</sup> Mail, 14 August 1876.

known events, the race became just one more in Hanlan's path to the world title.

In attempts to lionize Canada's first world champion, "stories" and anecdotes evolved that romanticize Hanlan.<sup>22</sup> Even Morrow's critical study accepts the tale first told by Robert Hunter in Rowing in Canada Since 1848.<sup>23</sup> Sally Gibson captures the simplicity of the myth.

In addition to training for Philadelphia Hanlan continued to help run the family hotel. Unfortunately he expanded his contribution to include a bit of bootlegging-i.e., selling liquor to people outside the hotel's licensed area. A warrant was issued for his arrest and Hanlan went into hiding. With policemen patrolling the waters, practice was almost impossible. Just two days before he was scheduled to leave for Philadelphia, his career nearly came to an abrupt end. While he was meeting friends in the Toronto Rowing Club headquarters, lookouts warned him that the police were on the way. As the men in blue entered the front door, the "Boy in Blue" dashed out the back, jumped into a skiff and rowed furiously toward a steamer heading for Lewiston. The astonished police watched helplessly as Hanlan narrowed the distance, pulled even and climbed up a dangling rope ladder. It was a good workout. By the time he returned to Toronto he was the toast of the town and all was forgiven.<sup>24</sup>

The bad-boy-makes-good theme provided good copy, but it strained the reality. Three weeks before Philadelphia's Centennial Regatta, a License Inspector charged Hanlan with selling liquor without a license. On August 9, Hanlan

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<sup>22</sup> See the circumstances of Hanlan's departure to the Centennial Regatta in Philadelphia in Cosentino, Ned Hanlan, 13, and Gibson, More Than an Island, 81.

<sup>23</sup> Robert S. Hunter, Rowing in Canada Since 1848 (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson, 1933).

<sup>24</sup> Gibson, More Than an Island, 81.

appeared in court but the magistrate set aside the case for two days to allow the prosecution to contact witnesses. On August 11, the magistrate delayed the case again as one of the witnesses disappeared. The case finally came to trial on August 16, four days after his race with McKen. The witness testified that Hanlan sold him whiskey on the island and paid his expenses to Hamilton and told him to stay away until the Inspector dropped the charges. In the face of such damning testimony, the magistrate judged both cases proved and fined Hanlan \$50, or thirty days hard labour.

Myth and reality provide insight into Hanlan's life. Throughout his career he struggled to maintain an image in the face of potentially threatening incidents. That the liquor-selling infraction quickly turned to the rower's advantage attests to a public relations team of ability. Hanlan returned from Philadelphia to a hero's welcome. Amid the adulation, the public overlooked his indiscretion. The Hanlan Club, a group of businessmen who euphemistically described their activities as managerial, probably orchestrated both myth and reception. Little more than gamblers seeking easy money, they saw in Hanlan an investment of enormous potential. Handsome, charismatic and talented, the rower captured the public's imagination. The prospects for profit were excellent if he stayed out of trouble or, at least, if his problems were covered up.

The events of the week between August 9 and 16, 1876

underscore two facets of Hanlan's personality, his willingness to defy the law, and his ability to compete at an optimal level despite external stressers. Selling liquor without a license generally earned a fine of ten or fifteen dollars. As a hotel owner Hanlan knew the penalty and could afford to pay with his race winnings. Instead, in an effort to evade the law and jeopardize his freedom and rowing career, he chose to pay as much, if not more, to bribe the witness and pay his expenses in Hamilton.<sup>25</sup> These events took place as Hanlan prepared to row for the championship of the bay. Despite time demands that detracted from his training, the psychological and emotional pressure during court sessions, and concern about the outcome, he concentrated all his faculties on the race.

The "managerial" actions of the Hanlan Club allowed the sculler to focus on the race. Whether the members, concerned about a situation that threatened their investment before it paid any dividend, orchestrated the witness' disappearance in an effort to preserve Hanlan's image is not known. The origins of the club are vague, much like their behind-the-scenes dealings with Hanlan's races. Although James Ward managed the rower until his race with McKen, the Club usurped him so that by the time of the Centennial Regatta, two weeks later, the infrastructure of the Club was

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<sup>25</sup> Hanlan may have been trying to avoid a conviction which would result in the License Commissioners denying him a permit to sell liquor the following year.



in place. During its existence, membership increased, adjusted structurally in terms of who was responsible for what and changed as members left and others replaced them. Originally the Club comprised twenty prominent men including fellow islander and friend David Ward, American Consul, Colonel Albert D. Shaw, James Douglas, hotel-keeper and also a rower of repute, John Davis of Windsor, an Internal Revenue Inspector and H. J. P. Good, who, after Hanlan's death, wrote a series of articles for Toronto newspapers titled "Incidents in the Life of Edward Hanlan".<sup>26</sup> Before the club managed Hanlan's affairs, he was little known outside Ontario. One of the Club's first decisions was to enter Hanlan in the Philadelphia Centennial Regatta on the Schuykill River.

Preparation for the regatta revealed the efficiency of the Hanlan Club. A little over two weeks passed between Hanlan's victory over McKen and his departure for Philadelphia. During that time the Club negotiated with Tom Loudon for the loan of his British-made scull the "The Duke of Beaufort", and installed a sliding seat. The seat, invented by American Walter Brown, revolutionized sculling, but in 1876 most rowers viewed it sceptically.<sup>27</sup> For

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<sup>26</sup> Other Club members identified include P. D. Conger, D. F. Shaw, Thomas Winfield, W. C. Schreiber, C. J. Starling, George Gooderham, W. Kennedy and J. Maughan jnr.

<sup>27</sup> Albert S. Manders, Edward Hanlan: Champion Oarsman (East Melbourne: 1884).

Hanlan, a small man, it provided leverage, a longer stroke and allowed him to combine the power in his legs, shoulders and arms.<sup>28</sup> Hanlan, a fast learner, employed the new technique with devastating results in Philadelphia. Taking the burden of looking after the boat and arranging for its transportation, the Club employed mariner Jimmy Heasley as trainer and equipment manager. Under the watchful eye of Hanlan's new handlers the trip south was uneventful.

On the first day of the single sculls Hanlan defeated English rower Henry Thomas and the famous American, Harry Coulter of Pittsburgh. Telegraphs to Toronto remarked on the ease with which Hanlan covered the three miles. The following day he faced Fred Plaisted of New York and Pat Luther of Pittsburgh. The previous day Luther had beaten Evan Morris, champion of America, and brimmed with confidence. Confidence became arrogance, when, informed of his opponents Luther sneeringly referred to Hanlan as "this boy from Canada."<sup>29</sup> Luther's remarks influenced the nature in which the race was rowed. Hanlan destroyed his opposition and for the first time employed tactics that became his trade mark. In the course of the race, Hanlan rowed away from Plaisted and Luther, stopped and looked

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<sup>28</sup> Hanlan stood 5 ft. 6 3/4 inches and rowed at between 150 and 155 lbs. during his championship years.

<sup>29</sup> H. J. P. Good, "Incidents in the Life of Edward Hanlan," Hanlan Biographical File, Toronto Reference Library, Toronto.

round until they almost drew level. Then, toying and taunting, he started rowing again, winning "as he liked." Patronizing it may have been, but the crowds lining the banks cheered in appreciation. American pride suffered further when two Canadians rowed for the championship. Alex Brayley of St. John also made it to the final but found himself hopelessly outmatched by Hanlan. The Toronto rower won easily in a record time and collected the purse of \$800. Hanlan's win vaulted him to prominence in the rowing world. Opponents still hurled derogatory remarks, but not from arrogance. Hanlan had won respect for his ability, at least from his fellow competitors.

Hanlan returned to Toronto to a tumultuous welcome. Astute politicians, businessmen and other assorted interests hitched their wagons to the rising star. The event and its preparation consisted of a potent melange of political opportunism, hero worship, civic boosterism, nationalism, militarism and unadorned capitalism. Two days after the victory, a self-appointed committee met to organize a public reception. Alderman Harry Piper of St. John's ward took the Chair. Immediately it established a subscription fund so that the citizens of Toronto could express their financial appreciation. By September 13, the fund contained \$347, which the committee used to purchase a gold stopwatch. With an eye for publicity, the jeweller announced his civic pride and largesse by selling the \$275 watch for \$220. Another

committee member donated old tar and oil barrels for a large bonfire on Hanlan's Point. The fire illuminated the bay as the steamer carrying the champion neared the city. As Hanlan stepped ashore, Mayor Angus Morrison and the committee greeted him while thousands cheered and a military band played "See the Conquering Hero Comes." A hook and ladder carriage donated for the occasion by the Toronto Fire Department and decorated with British and American flags paraded Hanlan through the streets. Four white Clydesdale horses on loan from the Great West Railroad Company pulled the carriage. Two hundred torch bearers, torches donated by Alderman Piper, accompanied the parade. Taking a circuitous route to afford the 5,000 people lining the streets a glimpse of the champion, the procession arrived at the Pavilion at the Horticultural Gardens; public admission, 10 cents. After opening remarks by Piper, Mayor Morrison presented the watch. The Mayor claimed he had known Hanlan since the rower's childhood and that in all rowing contests he demonstrated that he was "honourable, kind and good natured."<sup>30</sup> He made no mention of the previous month's court charges. Hanlan replied briefly and modestly and made no reference to his legal altercation, although the irony of his transformation from criminal to hero in four weeks cannot have escaped him. Amid the strains of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow", Hanlan returned to the wharf where two

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<sup>30</sup> Leader, 15 September 1876.

steamers waited to take him and his retinue to the Island.

Euphoria soon subsided. Hanlan's confident backers issued challenges to anyone in the world and English champion Robert W. Boyd accepted. The problems and financial implications associated with a trans-Atlantic match soon became apparent, however, and the risks too great for the Hanlan Club to chance. Boyd insisted that Hanlan race in England. Without guarantees and with only one regatta victory of note, some of the members of the Club balked at the cost. Hanlan even had difficulty finding backers for North American contests. Almost in desperation he approached the Ontario Rowing Club to fund a proposed match against the American William Scharff.<sup>31</sup> The match also fell through, which drove him to smaller purses in Boston.

In June 1877, at the Silver Lake Regatta, Hanlan faced Fred A. Plaisted and others in the first of three races in Boston that severely damaged his reputation. The series also epitomised problems that plagued Hanlan throughout his career when the Club was unable to smooth them over. As one of the premier rowers in America, Plaisted provided a worthy opponent in two respects. First, he ensured considerable purse money and, second, Hanlan could demonstrate the validity of the Schuykill result. Unfortunately, the long-

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<sup>31</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 16 February 1877.

awaited match was anti-climactic. Hanlan's oarlock broke and Plaisted won easily.<sup>32</sup> Immediately, Boston city officials offered a purse of \$150 for a race over the same course and distance twelve days later. Eagerly Hanlan entered. Plaisted, with nothing to prove and much to the Toronto rower's chagrin, declined the opportunity. The race went to Hanlan who defeated up-and-coming crowd favourite, Frenchy Johnson who figured in the controversial third race.

On July 4, at the Boston Civic Regatta, Hanlan and eight other rowers competed against Plaisted. A crowd of 50,000 people lined the banks of the Charles River. Initially, the race went well, but after an eighth of a mile, Frenchy Johnson cut into Hanlan's water and struck him with an oar. As a result both oarsmen lost several lengths to Plaisted. Incensed, Hanlan rowed furiously and at the stake boat only trailed Plaisted by several lengths.<sup>33</sup> On the following events as many opinions exist as witnesses. According to the Regatta Committee, Hanlan deliberately rounded the stake boat the wrong way and fouled Plaisted. Witnesses reported Hanlan shouting "I will cut him in two." Hanlan also violently argued with the judge in the stake boat who had seen the foul. Although Plaisted won the race, the Committee disqualified Hanlan. Several days later the

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<sup>32</sup> Mail, 16 June 1877.

<sup>33</sup> Most races required the shells to round a buoy or stake boat and finish at the point they started from.

Committee banned Hanlan from races sponsored by the Boston city government.

The Mail printed a copy of Hanlan's letter to the Boston Herald challenging the charges. The language used indicated a level of sophistication beyond the capabilities of a fisherman with little formal schooling. Hanlan vehemently denied that he entered a pact with another rower to defeat Plaisted. The rumours might have resulted from fellow Torontonians, fisherman and friend, Billy McCann being in the race.<sup>34</sup> Hanlan did not deny he interfered with Plaisted but stated it was unintentional. In all previous races, he claimed, he rounded the stake boat from the left and under duress he reacted instinctively. Furthermore, if he intended to "cut Plaisted in two" he had the opportunity. Finally in fighting words Hanlan stated that

I should like to know the name of the man who informed you that he heard me make the assertion "I will cut him in two." It would be a pleasure for me to go to Boston for the sole object of meeting him face to face and compel him to acknowledge his error even in your presence.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> William McCann rowed in the first Boston race and entered the second although he did not compete. His name is linked with Hanlan's several times in 1876 and 1877. Robert S. Hunter in Rowing in Canada claims McCann served as the lookout who, in 1876, warned Hanlan about the approach of the police, allowing him to escape from the Toronto Rowing Club and row after the steamer. McCann became Hanlan's trainer for the October 1877 race against New Brunswicker Wallace Ross. In the 1876 fisherman's race Hanlan competed with William McKin. As the papers frequently spelled names incorrectly and even referred to the rower as Hanlon, this may have been the same individual.

<sup>35</sup> Mail, 20 July 1877.

His denials fell on deaf ears. The ban stood.

Compounding Hanlan's difficult situation, Toronto Licence Commissioners refused to grant a license to sell alcohol at his hotel on the Island. His 1876 application had been refused and the convictions against him later in that year compromised his application for 1877. The Commissioners released their decision in mid-May as Hanlan prepared to travel to Boston. To Hanlan, who resented authority, rejection after adulation eight months earlier embittered him further. In a fit of anger Hanlan closed the hotel. Burdened by the expenses of his month's excursion to Boston where his winnings totalled only \$150 he returned to a boarded-up hotel and found himself pressed for cash and ripe for indenture.

Without revenue from his hotel, his reserves drained by the events in Boston and too far and too long removed from fishing, he disappeared from public view for almost three months. One paper described Hanlan during this period as "Micawber like" after the improvident Dickens character who sat around waiting for things to turn up.<sup>36</sup> Cosentino claims that Hanlan married Margaret Gordon Sutherland of Pictou, Nova Scotia during his hiatus from rowing.

While Hanlan idled, his Club bound the rower in financial obligation and wove political and civic interests into their business dealings. Albert Shaw arranged for

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<sup>36</sup> Globe, 8 October 1877.



Hanlan to row against "The New Brunswick Renforth," and Champion of the Maritime Provinces, Wallace Ross, in October. In addition to Ross's fame, the race could be legitimately billed as the Championship of Canada. Hanlan and Ross finalized the Articles of Agreement in September; the stakes set at \$1,000 per side. The stake money went far beyond Hanlan's means. In addition, the Articles stipulated that Ross receive \$300 for expenses. In early October, Shaw and Ross's manager, George Barker, handed over \$1,000 each to P. D. Collins, editor of the Sporting Times. Shaw paid a further \$300 to Barker in accordance with the terms and Hanlan's indenture was complete.

Daily newspaper reports on the rowers' health, training itineraries, rowing styles, racing records, physical description, boats and current gambling odds created a frenzy of excitement. Photographers Hunter and Company did a thriving business selling photographs of the rowers by mail.<sup>37</sup> Crowds gathered at the rowers' boathouses hoping to see them practising. Odds fluctuated and gamblers made bets of \$1,000 at even money. After the race, the Globe reported that \$30,000 had been wagered. To ensure a race free from scandal, Mayor Angus Morrison appealed to the public to keep the course clear and announced that police

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<sup>37</sup> Their initial venture into "sporting" photography was so successful, a month later they advertised their services to "Athletes, Pedestrians, Rowers, Gymnasts, etc., in position or dress."

would patrol the flagged area. A training accident further inflamed partisan feelings in both Toronto and St. John. Ross ran aground tearing a hole in his shell. A despatch to St. John read: "[t]he first rumour here today concerning the accident to Ross' boat at Toronto was that the boat had been smashed during the night by supporters of Hanlan."<sup>38</sup> The truth restored tempers and the Ross camp expressed gratitude when Hanlan's boat maker repaired the craft. The public's readiness to believe such a rumour indicated Hanlan's none too pristine reputation.

Over 25,000 people lined the shore and packed rooftops and wharves for the race. A flotilla of boats carried spectators closer to the action. The race fell short of expectation as Ross, hopelessly outclassed, finished far behind Hanlan. Most notable about the race were Hanlan's antics. Several times he steered erratically and stopped rowing, looked round, waved to the crowd and even kissed his hand to his sister. The timer on the judges boat neglected to record the race time and the referee and judges declared all wagers on the final time off. A reception at the Queen's Hotel followed the race with M. P. P. Robert Bell in the Chair. Amid much civic self-congratulation, Mayor Morrison awarded the prize money. Although present, Hanlan deferred its collection and the acceptance speech to Albert Shaw. Hanlan may have been financially indebted and reduced

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<sup>38</sup> Globe, 13 October 1877.

to providing labour, but Toronto's son reigned as Champion of Canada.

The events of 1878 confirmed Hanlan as one of the world's top rowers and also further enmeshed him in the commercialization of his sport. Encouraged by his easy win over Ross, the Club challenged all-comers, and this time provided the capital. They challenged Higgins to row on Toronto Bay for \$2,500 a side with a guarantee of \$500 for expenses for the English sculler. They considered a rematch with Ross, a trip to England to face Higgins, proposals from Charles Courtney, invitations to regattas and challenges by established and up-and-coming rowers. By the end of March they finalised Hanlan's racing schedule for the year. During the season Hanlan competed in four match races and three regattas against all the premier rowers in North America. In a public relations coup, the Club also influenced the Boston Centennial Committee to remove the "sinister bar on the record of Hanlan."<sup>39</sup> His reputation restored, and a full season of racing, Hanlan's future seemed assured.

The changes in Hanlan's training and equipment management illustrate the pervasiveness of the Club's influence. The stable of shells had grown to six including one from Elliot and Greenpoint of New York which Hanlan named the "Col. A. D. Shaw". The Club suggested James

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<sup>39</sup> Globe, 9 January 1878.

Heasley needed help in the boathouse. Hanlan, in an attempt to retain some control, insisted they hire his brother-in-law, Robert Sutherland. John Louden, brother of erstwhile rival Thomas, and John F. Scholes became Hanlan's trainers. They became an integral component of his entourage, Heasley and Sutherland keeping a watchful eye on the equipment and Louden and Scholes keeping an eye on Hanlan. Louden imposed a rigorous diet and training schedule that included a daily walk where they discussed training and racing issues. A rowing machine allowed Hanlan to train in the winter months in preparation for mid-May's rematch with Fred Plaisted.<sup>40</sup>

The race itself went Hanlan's way, an easy victory with obligatory stops and starts to underscore its ease. Mayor Morrison held the \$1,500 a side stakes. A large and enthusiastic crowd, gambling, police patrols, political dignitaries, and Hanlan's uniform, a blue sleeveless shirt with a red headband, completed the scene. If events appeared familiar, more subtle ones signalled the increasing sophistication of the Hanlan Club in the pursuit of profit. One week prior to the race, a letter to the Globe related a chance encounter with Hanlan. After a description of the rower's style, boat and oars, the correspondent wrote that "the consideration arises that his [Hanlan's] outfit and training involve very considerable expense." Readers were

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<sup>40</sup> Hanlan endorsed the rowing machine in Skiff, Canoe and Steam Launch Illustrated Catalogue, 1889. Clayton Marine Archives, Clayton, New York.

reminded that the influx of spectators would be to the "advantage of almost all classes of citizens" and that "[i]n order that as many as possible of the contests ... should come off in Toronto waters, it will be necessary to provide funds to back him." The writer offered to pledge funds "if proper schemes were devised."<sup>41</sup> By coincidence the Hanlan Club were devising an appropriately "proper scheme."

The club's machinations in generating publicity and dictating the conditions of the race illustrated its drive to maximize profits. City council declared the day of the race a civic half-holiday, considerably increasing the crowd. Representatives of the Club negotiated with the Grand Trunk, Great Western, Northern, Nipissing and Grey and Bruce railways for commissions and to offer cheap return rates. Daily reports on the rowers' condition, race updates and advertising appeared in newspapers and coverage increased as race day neared. Mayor Morrison, civic representatives and crowds greeted Plaisted and his handlers on their arrival in the city. The Club missed no opportunity to build the profile of the race. In the guise of a plea to keep the course clear they declared "[t]he great international match race to be rowed on Toronto Bay today will be an event of more than ordinary aquatic interest."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Globe, 7 May 1878.

<sup>42</sup> Mail, 15 May 1878.

The Club's publicity drive ran in concert with the limitation of spectatorship to paying customers. The rowers' race preparations took place away from the public eye. Hanlan practised around the Island waters and Plaisted trained only when he thought he was unobserved. On race day at least forty-thousand people gathered. Many saw little or nothing. Representatives also negotiated with the steamer owners who "met the Hanlan Club very liberally." As a consequence the two mile course was "purposely...laid well out in the bay."<sup>43</sup> If spectators wanted an uninterrupted view of the race they had to pay to ride one of the steamers. Twenty steamers, "crowded like a beehive," and three-hundred and sixty small craft obscured the view from the shoreline. To gain a vantage point men filled the rigging of schooners moored in the harbour and crowded the rooftops of warehouses, the fire hall, Great Western Railway and elevators. In the jostling one fell to his death from the City Elevator. The incident was quickly brushed aside as the "only accident" on an otherwise successful day and certainly not linked to the Club's "arrangements".

On the evening of the race, in an orchestrated tour designed to publicize a benefit, support the myth of the impoverished Toronto rower, and endow the race with a significance beyond athletic competition, Hanlan and

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid. The race course was laid out a half a mile from the shore.

Plaisted appeared at the Lyceum and the Royal Opera House. At the former, Hanlan received a gold medal from the proprietors. At the latter, the owners provided national overtones and draped Hanlan's box with the Union Jack and Plaisted's with the Stars and Stripes. One of the singers presented both men with bouquets of flowers amid enthusiastic applause. The following day the Mayor and other "prominent citizens" announced a benefit concert at the Grand Opera House where Hanlan would appear in his blue racing costume. Thanking the citizens of Toronto for their support Morrison suggested that:

to benefit our hero in a more pecuniary sense would be a more substantial expression of their views for him .... The city has profited largely by the aquatic events held over its bay in which Hanlan has been a principal, and it is only justice the city should make a return.<sup>44</sup>

Trickett, the Australian champion, the Mayor declared, had received \$1,000 upon his return from England. Hanlan, with characteristic modesty and apparent civic pride, replied: "If in my endeavors to cross the winning line first in great rowing contests, I add to the fair fame of my native city, in the smallest degree, it is a pleasure in itself ...."<sup>45</sup> Such utterances became a standard of Hanlan's post-race repertoire, particularly those issued in Toronto. As the Club sought to rationalize or hide its primary motive,

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<sup>44</sup> Mail, 17 May 1878.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

profit-maximization, the rower became a shill for their practices.

A month after Hanlan's victory over Plaisted he travelled to Pittsburgh to race against Ephraim Morris on the Allegheny River for \$1,000 a side. Although a considerable sum to Hanlan, the total economic context of the race overshadowed this small amount. The Toronto owners of the steamer the "Chicora" offered excursion tickets. Some affluent supporters chartered a train from the Grand Trunk Railway to take them to Pittsburgh. The Globe reported that \$60,000 made the trip with them, one individual carrying \$16,000 to bet on Hanlan, and that gamblers wagered \$300,000 on the race.<sup>46</sup> Hotel owners in Pittsburgh increased their prices and packed in the crowds. On race day the site became a hive of commerce as refreshment sellers set up booths and tents and gamblers and pickpockets plied their trade. Rumours circulated that first Morris then Hanlan intended selling the race. Thousands lined the banks to watch Hanlan stop rowing two or three times, greet his friends and sweep to an easy victory. In Toronto, telegraph offices swarmed with crowds who were given periodic updates of the race. Cheers erupted when operators announced the result. On the train ride home, flushed with victory and the money of Pittsburgh in their pockets, excursionists donated \$550 to the Hanlan Fund. On

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<sup>46</sup> Globe, 21 June 1878.



his return to Toronto, Hanlan appeared with the Mayor on the balcony of the Queen's Hotel. The Mayor stated that he had done honour not only to Toronto but to the Dominion of Canada.

Noticeably absent at Pittsburgh, Hanlan Club President, Albert Shaw had visited Brockville to secure accommodation and a boathouse for Hanlan's next regatta on Dominion day. Little more than a formality, as previously Hanlan had easily defeated most of the rowers in the field, he collected the \$500 first prize purse. At a post-race meeting, Club member P. D. Conger, speaking for Hanlan, addressed the crowd thanking the organizers and unashamedly promoted the Fund.

During Hanlan's stay in Brockville the organizers of the Cape Vincent Regatta, due to take place on July 4th, contacted the Club and induced the rower to enter. His acceptance attests to Albert Shaw's influence. Cape Vincent was Shaw's home town. At a dinner celebrating Independence day and Hanlan's victory, Shaw, in one of his last speeches before taking his post in Manchester, England, addressed the diners with Hanlan sitting at his right hand. After thanking them for their hospitality he turned his topic to another matter. "He touched in vigorous terms on the evils of communism and appealed to his hearers not to endorse its errors."<sup>47</sup> Hanlan's response, if any, was not noted.

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<sup>47</sup> Mail, 5 July 1878.

If Hanlan's opinion differed from Shaw's, he curbed its expression as the Club appeared to work on his behalf raising money. After his victories in Brockville and Cape Vincent, John Maughan, Honourary Secretary of the Club, announced the formation of a committee to oversee the "Homestead Fund". The list of members read like a political who's-who of Toronto including the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. George Gooderham of distilling fame served as Treasurer. Publication of the names provided the Fund with credibility and respectability. Maughan then appealed to the public for a monetary "expression of their admiration for Canadian muscle, skill, endurance and worth."<sup>48</sup> At every public appearance, Hanlan's spokesmen promoted the Fund couching their appeal to civic and national pride.

Tight managerial control, training and scheduling had kept Hanlan out of trouble. His visit to New Brunswick changed that, through no fault of his own. Interest in the Hanlan - Ross rematch was intense. The Gentleman's Journal commented that it "monopolizes conversation, and the press is full of it. Even politics are insignificant when placed in comparison."<sup>49</sup> On the day of the race twenty-five thousand spectators lined the course, including many Torontonians who had taken advantage of the excursion rates offered by the Grand Trunk. Before daybreak, gangs of men

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<sup>48</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 19 July 1878.

<sup>49</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 26 July 1878.

and boys eager to secure a good view set off from the St. John. Following them came the express vans and wagons carrying everything from lemonade to whiskey. Passengers in a variety of vehicles followed. Many, drunk on arrival, passed out in the fifty yards between the road and the river bank. The arrival of packed special trains swelled the crowd further. Steamers, yachts and small boats carried more from the city. Fuelled by the "strongest and most virulent spirits" and frustrated by race delays caused by strong winds they turned against one another:

Men were mauling each other with clubs and fists, slicing each other with knives, shouting and screaming like raving maniacs. Every fifth man in some localities would have either a bloody nose or a blood bedabbled shirt front. One man was carried through the crowd with his face ripped open from his temple to his chin. Shouts, groans and oaths, mingled with the thwacking of clubs resounded on every side.<sup>50</sup>

The referee postponed the race three times and the violence carried over. After the third postponement the mood of some of the crowd further deteriorated. A local gang beat and robbed a member of a rival gang and sacked the Goddard Hotel, Ross's headquarters. They then turned to Clairmont House where Hanlan lodged. Hanlan's friends and some summer boarders bolted the doors and armed themselves with whatever came to hand including walking sticks, stove wood, pokers and even a potato masher. Besieging the front door the gang threatened to "cut the heart out of that d....d oarsman".

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<sup>50</sup> Globe, 26 July 1878.

Then the gang offered to leave the house and its occupants if they handed over Hanlan. The hotel manager and John Scholes, Hanlan's trainer, refused the offer. As the front door caved in, the defenders extinguished the lights and Scholes shouted that they might succeed in ransacking the house and injuring the rower but some would die. In the face of such threats the mob retreated and contented themselves with hurling rocks and shooting through Hanlan's windows. Gradually their enthusiasm waned and they dispersed. Hanlan slept soundly and, as if to prove that it took more than a few roughs and drunks to upset him, calmly attended church next day and on Monday defeated Ross.

In early August Hanlan returned to Toronto after a public appearance in Montreal and the avoidance of one at Union Station. In Montreal, assorted politicians gathered at the Victoria Skating Rink to greet him while a military band played marches. John Munro, the Club's speaker of occasion, thanked organizers and solicited donations to the Fund. The band of the Victoria Rifles played as Hanlan boarded the train for his final stage home. Tired and unwilling to face the crowds at Union Station, which included his wife, he slipped out of the train at the foot of George Street, made his way to Wharin's boat house and rowed to the Island. The crowd and his wife, annoyed by his actions, were soothed with placating speeches by Club members. The following day Hanlan announced his intention

to row the Barrie Regatta five days later.

By now Hanlan's fame and advertising potential warranted a special car supplied by the Northern Railway Company to transport him, his trainers and equipment to Barrie. Later, the Grand Trunk offered a car to Hanlan's wife, her mother and other members of the Club making the journey. The railways advertised excursion rates of \$2 a return trip from Toronto for spectators. On the day of the race the "Northern" ran three trains with a total of fifty-seven cars; each was packed. In Barrie, gamblers paid Hanlan the ultimate compliment by quoting odds on the other nine rowers as if he were absent. He fulfilled their expectations, easily defeating a field which included Wallace Ross, his brother Edward and Americans Evan Morris, Pat Luther, Fred Plaisted and Harry Coulter. Only one rower, Charles Courtney from Union Springs, New York stood in Hanlan's way to the title of North American Champion.

Newspapers speculated on the date and place of Hanlan's meeting with Courtney. Hanlan declared that he would not row in another regatta until Articles of Agreement were signed. True to his word, he remained on the Island during the Hamilton Regatta as David Ward met with Courtney's representatives in Rochester to negotiate. Ward reported that only the site of the race remained undetermined but discussed no other details. Rumours circulated that Courtney offered Hanlan \$4,000 to cover expenses in addition

to the \$2,500 a side stake money if Courtney selected the location of the race. A month later the amount increased to \$5,000. The size of the offer caused the press to question the Club's dealings. The previous year, the Club paid Ross an extravagant sum of \$800 in expenses to race in Toronto. Consequently, many thought \$5,000 excessive. The incredible sum and the secret negotiations resulted in negative comment. An editorial in the Gentlemen's Journal opined:

the business has been conducted in a manner so foreign to the usual course of matchmaking that there have not been a few who were inclined to look upon it with suspicion, or fancied it would simply be a hippodrome affair with some unsatisfactory termination having financial receipts as their main object.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless, money indicated the race would take place on Owasco Lake in New York, Courtney's home water.

When the Articles of Agreement announced Lachine as the location of the race, controversy faded in the excitement. The city of Montreal guaranteed at least \$5,000 in addition to the stakes. By race time the amount totalled \$6,000. Later the press revealed that Hanlan's and Courtney's backers conducted an auction with Barrie bidding \$5,000 and Toronto \$7,000; both locations were vetoed by Courtney. Lachine represented neutral ground - acceptable to Courtney as far from Hanlan's home base and acceptable to Hanlan as the Club's coffers swelled by about \$4,000, the percentage negotiated on Grand Trunk excursion rates to Montreal.

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<sup>51</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 23 August 1878.

Before departing for Lachine, Hanlan organized two regattas on the Island. Although primarily to make money, the regattas illustrate that he felt an affiliation with his fellow rowers. The first regatta Hanlan dedicated to the memory of Robert Rennardson who had died the previous week. Twenty years earlier Rennardson, a boat builder, won the Championship of the Bay, but had fallen on hard times. Blind drunk, he staggered from his home, tripped on the rail tracks, passed out and was run over by an express train. His grandson competed in the boy's race. Many scullers competing in local regattas in Ontario boarded with Hanlan on the Island, trained with him, and were scheduled to row in his second regatta. Wallace Ross, on his return to New Brunswick felt compelled to thank Hanlan publicly by sending a letter to the press. Two years later Ten Eyck, an American rower who competed against and trained with Hanlan, christened his son Edward Hanlan. Although the weather caused cancellation of the regatta, Hanlan donated a cup for a skiff race for "coloured men." As six men competed for the prize, Hanlan's mind probably conjured up memories of Bob Berry, his crew mate in fisherman's races.

In the third week of September Hanlan and his entourage, including his personal cook, embarked for Montreal on the first of a series of three notorious races with Courtney. Controversy surrounded each race. Their outcome cast a shadow over the sport, and severely

compromised Courtney's and the Club's reputation. Even Hanlan's by now pristine image tarnished as rumours swirled before and after each race and accusations were hurled.

One rumour suggested that Hanlan's and Courtney's backers "fixed" all three races. The "arrangements" dictated that Hanlan won the first, Courtney the second and the former take the rubber. The financial implications were enormous. In addition to the stakes, gambling revenue and kickbacks from railroads, city hotels, steamers and business increased the ante. Before the first race at Lachine however, plans went awry. The Spirit of the Times, reported that the odds on Hanlan fell rapidly. Four days before the race the rowers were at even money but with just hours to go, even at \$100 to \$30, thousands of Hanlan dollars "go begging for want of takers." Courtney supporters telegraphed their friends: "Hedge out immediately and go the other way; we are all wrong." "Bet all you have and can borrow on Hanlan." "Go broke on the little fellow; the other is settled." "Back Hanlan any amount, any odds, on joint account." "Everything on Hanlan; any odds; the race is a stiff." Reports from the New York Herald, Turf Field and Farm, Buffalo Commercial Advertiser and the Rochester Democrat corroborated the story. Courtney's friends, relatives and advisors had placed their money on Hanlan.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 11 October 1878.



Other aspects of the race went according to plan. Advertising, production of a booklet, Sketches of the Champion Oarsman: Hanlan and Courtney, and official programmes created mass interest and generated revenues. Refreshment booths did "a very brisk trade all day, while the amount of gambling must have been enormous."<sup>53</sup> One enterprising pool-seller rented a vacant lot beside Lake View House for two hundred dollars. In addition to taking bets on the race he was "surrounded on every side by tables for different sorts of gambling devices."<sup>54</sup> The Globe reported that "money brought from Toronto to lay on Hanlan is variously estimated at from \$150,000 to \$300,000."<sup>55</sup> Approximately twenty thousand people lined the shores to watch Hanlan narrowly win by a length and a quarter - a distance conducive to a rematch.

Immediately following the race, suggestions of wrongdoing surfaced. While Hanlan travelled to Ottawa for a reception at the Opera House, a dinner at the "Queens" and an interview with the Governor-General, word leaked out that the stakes for the race were only \$1,000 a side. Further, although the Articles called for both contestants to pay their expenses, the loser was guaranteed \$2,000 of the total purse and an additional \$1,000 from a benefit at the

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<sup>53</sup> Globe, 3 October 1878.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

Victoria Skating Rink. Another rumour accused the Club of negotiating the \$6,000 added purse for the "Championship of Canada" although the 11th Article stipulated that the race "is not to involve or affect, the championship of either the United States or the Dominion of Canada." Termed a "hippodrome of the worst character" and a "contemptible deception," the episode threatened the reputations of all concerned. The Club was further impugned by reports that they instructed Hanlan to row slowly in a previous race and moved the turning flag on the Kenebecassis River so the course was six miles instead of five, defrauding those who wagered on time. Both deceits, the Club hoped, would induce Courtney's backers to agree to favourable conditions.

Criticism of the Club intensified and they rashly published a balance sheet including Hanlan's earnings for the year. Hanlan earned \$11,985 from his races alone, they claimed. This included his share of the stakes and railroad commissions and all of the money from benefits. The Club receipts, from their share of the stakes and railroad commissions, totalled \$4,000. Out of this the Club paid all the expenses including the purchase of six shells at \$140 each, and the costs of Hanlan and his staff at all the races. According to the balance sheet, members made little financially by their involvement in the Club.<sup>56</sup> This strained the credulity of even the most gullible. But as

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<sup>56</sup> Globe, 15 October 1878.

those involved were local, respectable men of business, newspapers cited unnamed third parties as the critics. Vaguely the Gentlemen's Journal stated that "there are many who fancy themselves to be in a good position to obtain information, who think that an error has been committed ... as regards the matter of fact."<sup>57</sup> The Club's silence, the correct response originally, now further fuelled the fires of innuendo.

Initially, Hanlan's reputation went unsullied. He received tumultuous welcomes in Ottawa and Toronto. Crowds flocked to the Island to watch him perform exhibitions. Admirers organized concert benefits in aid of his Homestead Fund in Hamilton, Windsor, Chatham, Ottawa, Prescott and Brockville. As the Club's denigration increased, editors suggested that "it would be a malodorous injustice to Hanlan to connect him with any underhand work. So far he has held himself above suspicion."<sup>58</sup> The Napanee Beaver elevated him to aristocracy:

But there are two single individuals that have done most to bring Canada into prominence in the quarters where that prominence will most avail. They are Lord Dufferin and Edward Hanlan .... Edward Hanlan by his victories with the oars, has as a Canadian oarsman appealed strongly to the hearts of a nation having the warmest sporting proclivities. Through him and his conquests Canada has become known wherever oar ruffles waves and the capabilities of the country, her

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<sup>57</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 25 October 1878.

<sup>58</sup> Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 22 November 1878.

resources, her people and everything pertaining to her will by this means secure a range of discussion productive of results that are of vastly more moment than would be thought of at a superficial glance.<sup>59</sup>

Inevitably Hanlan's elevated status and the Club's rapidly sinking reputations caused speculation why he continued with a group referred to as "crooked gamblers." When, in November, Hanlan announced his departure for England in mid-January to race John Hawdon, rumours surfaced of his split with the Club. To many observers it looked like Hanlan, dissatisfied with his management, had placed his interests in other hands when John Bright, a Newcastle tavern keeper, completed the negotiations without the help of the Club. The Spirit of the Times congratulated Hanlan for breaking away, suggesting that he acted "wisely" as his "money and reputation [had] been mismanaged." Almost gleefully they hurled a new barrage of accusations at the Club: that Hanlan had "been pulled and hauled in the interest of the pool box"; instructed to stay behind for certain portions of the race to influence the betting; directed to win by only a specified distance; and that at one time telegrams had been sent up the course telling him to hold back. Although the Club was comprised of some reputable citizens who supplied an aura of respectability, the paper claimed stripped of its "veneering and feathers" there remained a "half-dozen schemers who planned the

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<sup>59</sup> Napanee Beaver, reprinted in Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 1 November 1878).

speculation. They apparently bought the champion ... and proceeded to make the circuit with their newly-purchased property." Throughout the controversy Hanlan "kept his mouth shut and proved a docile and faithful servant."<sup>60</sup> Eventually though, he, not the Club, responded.

In the Mail, Hanlan called the article "absurd" and "without truth or foundation." Further, he stated he was happy with his treatment by the Club and that he did not intend severing his connection with them. In England he would be under their guidance and Albert Shaw would meet and welcome him. Although Hanlan received criticism for his defence of an indefensible group, his letter astutely placed the Club in a difficult situation. Prior to the letter, Hanlan had trouble raising the necessary funding and many club members balked at the additional expenses. Hanlan's unequivocal statement of support and declaration that he would row under their management gave them no option. Refusal would destroy any credibility they had left. Accordingly, in early January each of the twenty-five members were assessed \$250 to cover the cost of the trip.

Whatever troubles faced him in Canada, Shaw's influence proved a steadying factor and the trip was completed without negative incident. In May, Hanlan defeated Hawdon over five miles on the Tyne. The Mail called the race "ridiculously

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<sup>60</sup> Spirit of the Times, reprinted in Gentlemen's Journal and Sporting Times, 13 December 1878.

easy" and that Hanlan "simply played with his man" even stopping to bail some water out of his boat with a sponge. As soon as the race finished Hanlan identified himself as the "sculler to be named later" in the Articles of Agreement signed in March with English champion, William Elliot for the title and the Sportsman's Aquatic Championship Challenge Cup. Joining Shaw, Hanlan Club mainstays John Davis and David Ward assumed many managerial and administrative responsibilities. Hanlan displayed characteristic form, stopping and starting, setting a new course record by 55 seconds and winning by eleven lengths. In Canada, flags flew and various dignitaries sent cablegrams of congratulation, including Toronto's mayor and the Marquis of Lorne. The Globe gushed "Canadians may well be pardoned for taking a genuine pride in the victory."<sup>61</sup> The shadow cast by the Courtney affair was forgotten by the public, if not by Hanlan.

In Toronto, a committee of minor politicians, businessmen and the secretary of the Club, Dr. F. W. Ross, planned Hanlan's reception to capitalize on his new status. Sports club and municipal officers in "every city, town and village in the Dominion" were solicited for donations to the Homestead Fund. The committee appointed five collectors for each Ward in the city. The steamers Rothsey, Picton, St, Jean Baptiste, Empress of India and Southern Belle offered

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<sup>61</sup> Globe, 17 June 1879.

25% of their fares when they formed a welcoming flotilla. The Chicora, Hanlan's transportation from Lewiston, offered 30 cents on a one dollar ticket; three hundred well-wishers subscribed. The proprietor of the Royal Opera House offered \$100 if, upon arrival, Hanlan made a brief appearance. Entrance fees to the Horticultural Gardens were set at 25 cents. Local poet, W. H. C. Kerr, even published "An Epinkian Ode" and donated the proceeds to the Fund. When Hanlan arrived, hundreds of boats formed the welcoming party. Steamers blew their whistles, crowds cheered and clapped, bands played, flags flew, politicians made speeches and the Hanlan Club counted the money.

Without a match in the offing Hanlan turned his attention to his own business. Initially his talents on land didn't match his abilities on water. Two weeks after his return he agreed to act as referee in a double scull race. Originally the Articles called for a straight course from Gooderham's wharf. In a ploy designed solely to make money, Hanlan agreed to referee if the rowers changed to an Island course. Hanlan also wanted to include a turn which would mean the crowds could gather in one place, his hotel, to see the start and finish. The rowers objected so Hanlan counter-proposed that the race start at Gooderham's and finish at the Island. Further negotiations were promised but did not take place. In response to Hanlan's promotion, crowds flocked to the Island to watch the race while the

rowers adhered to the original Articles by competing the race along the bay. Undaunted by the setback and negative publicity and convinced of revenue potential, Hanlan organized a race complete with turn, two weeks later. A crowd of three thousand gathered near his hotel to watch the race. The financial success of the venture provided a degree of security for the events about to unfold.

A week later the Hanlan Club officially disbanded. On the occasion of Albert Shaw's visit to Toronto, the Club met for the last time. After a report of the English trip and a justification of the expenses incurred, Shaw stated that the Club had achieved its goal. As quietly as the Club formed, it folded and Hanlan controlled his own labour.

Without the Club's guidance, Hanlan foolishly entered the Barrie regatta. Tired by the competitions in England, Hanlan had hardly trained since his return. Kinder reports declared him "not in first class condition", others as "fat as a bullock", "unfit" and "full of plum pudding and beer."<sup>62</sup> The following year, a Hanlan Club member reminisced that the night before the Barrie regatta, Hanlan played cards until 2 am and drank "a fair quantity of whiskey."<sup>63</sup> The outstanding field of twelve men included James H. Riley, Hosmer, Plaisted and Jake Gaudaur. Initially Hanlan took the lead, but lack of conditioning

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<sup>62</sup> Grip, 23 August 1879.

<sup>63</sup> Mail, 24 November 1880.



showed and toward the end of the race he stopped, this time through exhaustion not gamesmanship. Riley, in second place, also stopped rowing. Rumours emerged that he bet heavily on Hanlan. The astounded referee declared the race a dead-heat and suggested that Hanlan and Riley row the race again for the \$800 stake money. Tired, sick and woefully out of shape, Hanlan declined and forfeited the race-money.

Shaken by the Barrie experience, Hanlan returned to the Island, dropped out of public view and concentrated on returning to form. In late September 1879 he departed for Chataqua Lake with his personally appointed attendant, J. C. Adair, and business advisor, Sam Coulson of Montreal, for his second race with Courtney.

The Hop Bitters Manufacturing Company supplied incentive for the rematch. The company contributed \$6,000 hoping to generate interest in the event throughout the world. Thousands witnessed the fiasco and millions read about it. Initially all went as expected as workmen erected a grandstand seating 50,000 people. Steamers sold tickets for five dollars. Hotel rooms that rented for five dollars fetched twelve. A railway track specially built for the occasion transported spectators to the site and a train half a mile long planned to follow the race along the course. The amount of money wagered on the race totalled \$370,000 without including private bets. Newspapers throughout North America provided daily coverage, detailed the amount of

money at stake and described the rowdy crowds that thronged Mayfield, ensuring that tension remained high and the eyes of the sporting world focused on the competition.

Numerous newspaper editorials speculated on the events of the night before the race and for many months principals and peripherals bandied about rumours, hearsay and accusations. Everyone expressed an opinion. During the night, two watchmen guarding Courtney's boathouse left their post to visit town and gamble. In their absence, vandals damaged his practice and competition boats. Courtney refused to row with a borrowed boat. Hanlan took his mark and at the signal of referee rowed the five miles unchallenged. The aftermath of the walkover occupied and monopolized bar room conversations, newspapers and boardroom discussions. Who was responsible and why? Most likely Hanlan, in an assertion of his new autonomy, refused to throw the race as arranged by his previous managers, but whether Courtney's backers, Hanlan's backers or even Courtney himself wrecked the boats will never be known. The referee presented Hanlan with the \$6,000 cheque. Predictably, the Hop Bitters Company refused to honour it. Accusations from both sides contributed to the tangled web of fraud, lies and deceit. Courtney claimed Hanlan's supporters had damaged his boats as the Canadian had drunk too much the night before. Hanlan called Courtney a coward who had damaged the boats himself. In the mud-slinging,

Courtney accused the Hop Bitters Company of promising to pay him \$2,000 regardless of the result. Hanlan's attempts at managing his own business suffered a rocky start.

By the Spring of 1880, Hanlan, now attuned to the financial ways of the world, completed his business apprenticeship. For the past three years he had been a complete rower and now his business acumen almost reached that status. Despite the License Commissioner's continued refusal to grant him a permit to sell alcohol, Hanlan forged ahead with the building of his hotel. By early April, Hanlan employed thirty workmen, transported daily from the mainland. Rumours suggested that money filtered from the Homestead Fund paid for the construction. On April 8, newspapers published a list of tavern owners granted licenses for the year. Among the names, as a first-time licensee, appeared Edward Hanlan's. Did Hanlan know in advance of the Commissioners' decision? His plans to push ahead with the construction of his hotel suggest he did. While workers constructed on the Island, Hanlan prepared to reconstruct rowing's reputation and his own integrity.

Many sportsmen thought that the Chataqua fiasco had irreparably damaged rowing. The sport had its detractors before the race. One letter to the editor referred to the public interest in rowing as a "mania" or "fever". He claimed it "ludicrous" that the "honour of the nation hung upon this sculling contest." Insightfully he suggested that

the race was nothing more than an "exhibition" arranged "by a class of people who have for their sole object the making of a pot of money out of the masses of the people."<sup>64</sup>

After the race criticisms intensified. Grip, a weekly satirical magazine, put aside humour when it observed "[t]o judge by the space devoted to them in the daily papers, one would imagine that Aquatics was some intellectual science, whereas it is generally admitted to be merely a trade, and a crooked one at that."<sup>65</sup> Controversy and debate continued to rage, creating publicity for the time Hanlan and Courtney faced each other for the third time.

After much negotiation and the cancellation of a rematch, Courtney and Hanlan settled their differences in Washington the following May. Written into the terms of the agreement was that the stake be awarded if only one rower made the starting line. The organizers, aware of the potential for disaster, posted guards on the boathouses and arranged for James Riley as a substitute, should one of the rowers fail to start. An estimated 100,000 people watched the event, including United States President Rutherford Birchard Hayes, members of his Cabinet and Sir Edward Thornton, the British ambassador. Both Houses of Congress adjourned early and most businesses in the capital city closed at noon. Washington's hotels and the railroads

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<sup>64</sup> Globe, 14 July 1879.

<sup>65</sup> Grip, 1 November 1879.

serving the city were solicited for funds and described by newspapers as "subscribing generously." The Pennsylvania Railroad donated fifty cents on every excursion ticket sold to the purse. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Baltimore and Potomac contributed \$200. Fifteen hundred Canadians made the trip with their pockets full of cash.

The race only marginally avoided the disaster of their previous meeting, but at least it was free from corruption. Hanlan, fit, lean and sinewy at 150 lbs, started with a tremendous stroke rate. Courtney fell behind almost immediately and before reaching the turning buoy gave up and turned for home. Riley added to the confusion. He rowed ahead of the race and seeing Courtney turn, swung into Hanlan's lane and rowed for the finish line. Many at the finish line believed Courtney led the race, creating momentary excitement. Hanlan, in the meantime, increased his stroke, caught both rowers and crossed the finish line first. The Hop Bitters Company presented the \$6,000 cheque directly to the winner.

The race signalled an end to a chapter in Hanlan's career characterized by the promotion, exploitation, manipulation and legacy of the Club. The decisive end of the Courtney fiasco in Washington dispelled any questions about Hanlan's integrity and ability. Arguably, Hanlan might not have attained prominence if the Club had not recognized his potential and left him to his own devices -

that he reigned as world champion from 1881 to 1884 attests that he would. Several club members continued to operate behind the scenes, but in contrast to their earlier endeavors, they acted at Hanlan's behest, if not always in his best interest. Hanlan made mistakes. His brash and competitive attitude and the lessons learned from his association with the Club resulted in questionable decisions. Nevertheless, he gained the ultimate worker's control.

Hanlan continued to row competitively until 1897 when at the age of forty-two he eventually retired. He remained in the city on Beverley Street, a home bought for him by the Homestead Fund. He stayed close to the sport by coaching the Ottawa and University of Toronto rowing clubs and individual professional rowers. Comfortable in the company of other athletes he frequented the Argonaut and Toronto rowing clubs. A photograph, taken at a 1907 civic parade, depicts a portly Hanlan standing in the back of an open car. His arm rests on his son Gordon's shoulder and to his left stand his two proteges, his nephew Eddie Durnan, Champion rower of America from 1905 to 1921, and Lewis Scholes a son of his lifelong friend, John Scholes. Lewis reigned as heavyweight boxing champion of Canada in 1902 and Diamond Sculls champion in 1904. Beside the driver in front sat the 1907 Boston Marathon winner Tom Longboat. The following January Hanlan died of pneumonia.

During his career Hanlan catalyzed sport into a cultural phenomenon that heralded its contemporary form and function. With Hanlan at the oar, sport became an activity that incorporated economics, communication, religion, law, politics, militarism, civic boosterism, nationalism, international diplomacy and even art and poetry. Despite a class system that militated against social mobility and his frequent skirmishes with authority, Hanlan became Canada's most talked about and recognizable figure. Charismatic, talented and unsentimental in his business dealings, Hanlan firmly placed sport in the bureaucracy of Canada's fledgling mass consumer society. In the milieu of modern sport his legacy remains.

## Chapter VIII

### Conclusion

The development of sport in nineteenth-century Toronto was fraught with class implications. In 1845, colonial elites in the form of army officers, government officials and commercial entrepreneurs from Britain influenced the political, economic and cultural life of the city. Part of their imported cultural baggage included attitudes and behaviours toward who they viewed as socially inferior and their sporting activities. By 1886, military officers had returned home, second and third generation Canadians replaced government officials born in Britain and industrial capital and a new bourgeois order had usurped commercial capital. Far from democratizing sport, these changes reinforced and accentuated class divisions in the fields of not-so-friendly strife. Aspects of class structure, identity, consciousness and conflict influenced every level of sport participation.

In Toronto participation in sport grew tremendously from 1845 to 1886. In 1845, five sports were played by ninety-five club members from five clubs. No blue-collar workers showed on club membership lists. By 1886, thirty-three sports were played by four thousand five hundred and sixty-four club members from one hundred and eighty-six clubs. Almost 14% of these men, for there were no female club members, although by the 1880s women participated in



cycling, tennis, archery and croquet, were blue-collar workers. But while increased numbers of working-class men played sport and joined clubs they were generally not the clubs and sports of the petite bourgeoisie and white-collar worker.

Initially organized sport was the exclusive preserve of Toronto's elite. Restrictive legislation that facilitated accumulation and the demands of employer and factory schedules that dictated twelve hour days of toil excluded the working class. Time and opportunity to recreate away from work also became issues of class contention as an emerging bourgeoisie concerned itself with the threat of working-class organization. Subsequently, workers' traditional centre of associational life, the tavern, became the focus of legislative control. In addition, activities associated with taverns became the target of reformers who masked their intentions of producing and reproducing manageable labour behind pious rhetoric and nationalist dogma. Activities that might incite insurrection or threaten the existing social and economic order were banned or curbed. Others, less threatening and with revenue potential were licensed.

Legitimization of the creed of accumulation was socially systemic. Subtle rationalization was found in the hierarchical and sometimes militaristic ordering and activity of sports clubs; the introduction of an educational

system that included in its curricula sports and athletic exercises replete with bourgeois values; the infusion of athletic competition with religious cant via the ideology of Muscular Christianity; and the sponsoring of and appearance at various competitions of state representatives.

When, on occasion, legitimization failed and protest erupted, coercive mechanisms were employed in an attempt to maintain propriety and order. Police warned or arrested those involved in illegal sporting and recreational activities. In the 1870s and 1880s police presence and the intimation of coercive action at sporting events deterred violent expressions of opinion even where fraudulent practices had bilked the public of their money.

Beginning in the 1840s, industrialization and urbanization wrought massive changes on the city. Initially, the areas along the bay were dominated by the residences and ample grounds of the elite. As the industrial and commercial core expanded around the railway hub, many open spaces filled-in and pollution and dirty factories defaced the landscape. The factories attracted proletarianized labour and the bourgeoisie and white-collar workers seeking to distance themselves from the working class, moved to the city's periphery. Such settlement patterns created wards with distinct class characteristics. This in turn influenced sport participation and resulted in forms and functions of sport peculiar to neighbourhood and

community.

Poor wards and working-class areas developed different sport practices from affluent wards and white-collar areas. The juxtaposition of St. John and St. James in terms of space, area, relative wealth and recreational activities, illustrates the significance of place in terms of recreational behaviours. As the means of production determined human settlement it also determined patterns of sport participation. These, in conjuncture, created class identities and consciousness also peculiar to neighbourhood and community.

The increase in both participation and spectatorship created opportunities for capital accumulation culminating in the opening of Sunlight Park. Essentially the co-option of sport by business was a marriage of convenience as the infrastructure to facilitate accumulation had been formed with the first clubs. Initially, tavern owners recognized the profit potential in having their hostelries associated with sport in some capacity. Despite legislation to curb activities, landlords continued to promote sport to augment their income and in the process set examples for entrepreneurs. Early recreational businesses included swimming baths, skating rinks, bowling alleys and billiard and bagatelle parlours. Each catered to class-specific clienteles and made their money from charging customers to participate.

Sport as a product for consumption lay dormant until the 1860s. But if its profit-generating potential was unrealized, the development of the foundations and bureaucracy of the business of sport assured its easy transition into Toronto's economy. Club officers generally endorsed the capitalist system and held positions of responsibility and power within it. They also subscribed to Christian morality, the virtues of hard work and a hierarchical ordering of society. Accordingly, clubs organized with these principles implicitly built in to their rules, regulations, by-laws and constitutions. With managers, accountants, brokers and financiers at the helm, many of the larger clubs sold shares and accumulated wealth in the form of real estate, capital holdings, leases and money in the bank. Stockholders elected directors, treasurers collected membership fees, published balance sheets and lobbied for reductions in taxes, Presidents underwrote costs of capital improvements, clubs moved their facilities with an eye on the bottom line, and in the late 1860s lacrosse led the way to the fledgling sports entrepreneur's promised land of gate receipts.

The potential for profit had existed since the first entrance fee was collected but not realized until lacrosse captured the public attention. Cricket games against touring teams and international matches periodically produced large crowds but the pace and time necessary for

play mitigated against mass spectatorship. Lacrosse supplied speed, skill, violence and excitement and all within the space of an afternoon. After organizers understood the financial possibilities, they amended the rules to ensure value for money and a finite time for play. In some sports this shift of emphasis signalled a move away from participation as rationale, to spectatorship. The Toronto Rowing Club confirmed this phenomenon when, despite rough water, it refused to postpone its regatta - the reason given was that gathered crowds should not be disappointed.

A modest reduction in working hours and increase in expendable cash also catalyzed spectator and participatory sport and turned workers into consumers. By 1886, forty-three sports were played in Toronto and, based on newspaper reports, only three could claim to be free of commercial aspects: coursing, pigeon racing and croquet. Even these are questionable. Coursing and pigeon racing demanded expensive breeding stock and although no record could be found of wagering in Toronto, the sports commonly attracted gamblers in Britain. Croquet, as one of the first sports men and women played against each other, demonstrated the capabilities of women as competitors and their potential as consumers. By 1886, sports that drew spectators in the thousands included lacrosse, football, cycling, horse racing, track and field, pedestrianism, baseball and the occasional cricket game. In the stadia and arenas the

crowds were hierarchically ordered according to the ability to pay.

As sport entered Toronto's economy and generated more money, the incidence of chicanery and exploitation increased. Gambling became ubiquitous. The fraudulent practices of the race course spread to other sports, particularly spectator sports. Without national or provincial governing organizations to police many sports, "hippodroming" and deception became commonplace. Exhibitions and competitions were arranged with the sole intent of making money and in this context athletes became commodities in the production process. In 1886 in Toronto, the buying, selling, hiring and firing of professional baseball players to keep payrolls at a minimum was in its infancy. But the practice of appropriating surplus had been applied previously to boxing, wrestling, track and field, pedestrianism and lacrosse.

Enforcement of the code of amateurism kept labour costs down and also contributed to class differences. Originally definitions of "amateurs" and "professionals" were based on social considerations and their segregation little more than an attempt to exclude workers from competition. In the late 1860s competing for money became the defining factor of professionalism and anyone who had ever competed with or against a professional became socially tainted.

Working in conjunction with the application of amateur

rules were other mechanisms designed to exclude workers. Some clubs maintained their exclusivity by secret balloting for membership. Others left decisions for membership with club officers who, after careful consideration of the social standing of the applicant, gave their verdict. Expensive equipment for competition and strict rules of dress on the field and in the clubhouse also prohibited blue-collar membership. Stringent codes of conduct espoused gentlemanly behaviour and officers expelled those who abrogated them. In the face of such exclusionary policies blue-collar workers did not appear in sports clubs until the 1860s, and remained underrepresented at the administrative level and in every sport except baseball at least until 1885.

Excluded from clubs, workers discovered the potential for sport and collectivity at picnics organized by unions, craft associations, churches and national groups. Away from the control of bosses and bourgeois values they reinforced common values and found identity and inspiration in the formal and informal sports and recreation played. Often these experiences coalesced into sports clubs administered by blue-collar workers.

As sport has developed over the decades, and as its control groups and mechanisms bureaucratized and consolidated, class discrimination and oppression in sport has become increasingly sophisticated and legitimized. The Canadian population generally accept and subscribe to a

functionalist perspective of sport. State involvement in sport has become normative to the point of including Ministers of Sport on the Cabinet, and the public's perception of the business of sport is the same as its perception of the business of banking - occasionally shady but mostly indispensable and invaluable. Functionalists view athletics as an admirable medium in which society's values are reflected, and by which those societal values are reaffirmed through emphasis on behaviours and traits characteristic of good citizens. Those that view society and sport from a conflict perspective, that athletics are influenced by what Coakley terms "inherent differences of interests and held together by force, coercion and subtle manipulation,"<sup>1</sup> exist on the margins of academia and popular culture.

But the importance of class analysis on the historical development of sport must not be depreciated. From their inception on the stump-scarred fields of York bowling, cricket and horse racing reflected the values of the class-ridden provincial town. If anything, in an attempt to impose order in the face of the spread of republican ideas from the south, colonial elites honed and accentuated class divisions imported from Britain. Later the elites ceded political and economic power to a new bourgeoisie and a

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<sup>1</sup> Jay J. Coakley, "Sport in Society: an Inspiration or an Opiate," in Sport in Contemporary Society, ed. D. Stanley Eitzen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 27-28.



rising white-collar middle class who pursued their own class aspirations with equal resolution. By 1886, however, overt class prejudice had been replaced partially by the genesis of discrete and complex discrimination characteristic of contemporary sport. Also present was the camouflage that presently shrouds and obscures the mechanisms of oppression. Declarations of sport's democratization, notions of a level playing field and a meritocratic system that rewarded hard work, adherence to the rules and acceptance of authority, masked a plethora of capitalist society's ideological and economic goals.

Amid the discrimination and exploitation and their many guises, nineteenth-century workers negotiated their own space and time for sporting pursuits by alternately resisting and accommodating bourgeois imperatives. In so doing they contributed to and consolidated an identity and consciousness forged at the workplace in their relationship to the means of production. Their legacy remains in the continuation of sporting subcultures that exist on the perimeter of legality, in the professional hockey and baseball player's labour agitation for free agency, in the crowds that sit in the cheap seats and endorse particular codes of behaviour, in ritualized boisterousness, drunkenness and obscene language at sporting events and in the patronage of particular sports and events. Their continuance attests to their strength and significance in

nineteenth-century Canadian culture.

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